Two types of apposition

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MY CLAIMS:
(i)   Appositions are derived from two syntactic sources, coordination and adjunction.
(ii)   Appositions are often ambiguous with respect to their syntactic source.
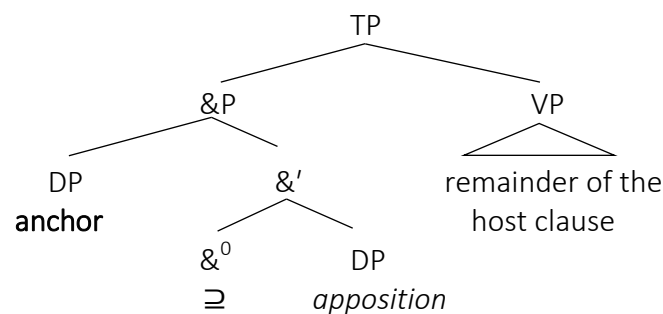
GOALS FOR THIS TALK:
(i)   Provide means by which to disambiguate between coordinate and adjunct appositions.
(ii)   Provide syntactic and semantic evidence for the two types of appositions I postulate.

(I will attempt to achieve these goals simultaneously.)

1.   The syntax of identificational and attributive appositions

Type 1:   <u>identificational</u> appositions (*coordination*)

(1)
```
                                    TP
                          _____
                        &P                         VP
                  _____               _____
                DP           &'            remainder of the
              anchor    _____            host clause
                       &⁰        DP
                       ⊇      apposition
```

- Identificational appositions are coordinated with their anchor
- The (semantic) *Law of Coordination of Likes* must be upheld.
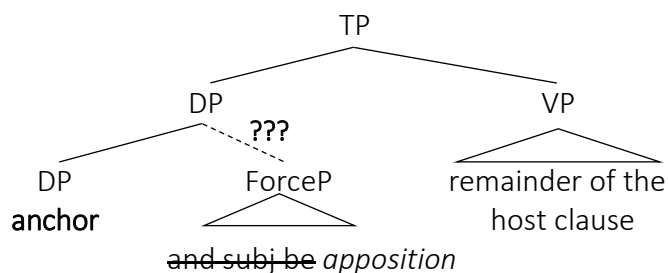- The coordinator has the lexical semantics of $\supseteq$.[1]

(2)   a)   **The Big Apple**, *New York*, is a huge city.
      b)   **My friends**, and especially *Brendan*, love the Beatles. $\rbrace$ anchor $\supseteq$ *app*

(3)   a)   **The Big Apple**
                                    $\lbrace x \rbrace$ is a huge city
           New York

      b)   **My friends**
                                    $\lbrace x_1,…,x_n \rbrace$ love the Beatles
           especially Brendan

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[1] This analysis is a simplification of Cardoso & De Vries (2010).

Type 2:   <u>attributive</u> appositions (*clausal adjunction*)[2]

(4)

- Attributive appositions are illocutionary force-bearing clausal adjuncts that are reduced via an ellipsis mechanism that targets non-lexical elements (pronouns, copulas, etc.).[3]
- Underlying, attributive appositions are either *predicative* (5a) or *truncated-cleft* (5b) copular clauses.

(5)   a)   **Suzan**, ~~and she's~~ [$_{\langle e,t \rangle}$ *a sucker for a bargain*], has been shopping for hours.
      b)   **One of my friends**, ~~and it's~~ [$_e$ *Pete*], has eaten all the biscuits.

- An additional constraint is required to ensure ForceP in (4) is semantically opaque to the host clause. There's three ways to enforce this (I don't choose one here):

  o   Force^0 provides opacity.   (Koev 2013)
  o   A unique MERGE operation provides opacity.   (De Vries 2012)
  o   Syntactic orphanage provides opacity.[4]
          (Haegeman 1991, Espinal 1991, Burton-Roberts 1999, Döring 2013, and Ott 2014, among others)

2.   Distinguishing identificational from attributive appositions

2.1. *Semantic balance*

- According to (1), semantic balance must pertain between anchors and <u>identificational</u> appositions.
- According to (4), <u>attributive</u> appositions are always either unary predicates (see (5a)), or entities (see (5b)).

Consequence:
- If semantic balance pertains, the apposition is identificational, <u>UNLESS</u> both anchor and apposition are entities.

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[2] The terms <u>identificational</u> and <u>attributive</u> come from Heringa & De Vries (2008).
[3] Putting aside external syntax (i.e. how attributive appositions attach to their host, if at all), this analysis is almost identical to Ott (2014).
[4] If attributive appositions are indeed orphans, then I cannot claim that they are true adjuncts. Rather, I must claim that they are 'adjunct-like': i.e. similar in all respects to adjunct clauses, except for their external syntax.

(6)   Non-entity identificational appositions
   a)   **All campanologists**, *all bell ringers*, dream of ringing at St. Paul's Cathedral.
   b)   **Every unmarried man in the room**, *every bachelor*, is looking for a date.
   c)   **No philatelist**, *no stamp collector*, would willingly sell her Perot Provisional.
   d)   Ben drew a **stereometric**, *three dimensional*, representation.
   e)   Brendan **confusticates**, *perplexes*, Swantje.
   f)   The wind blows **abaft**, *behind*, the boat.

(7)   Non-entity attributive appositions
   a)   [$_e$ **Kristian's new bicycle**], [$_{\langle e,t\rangle}$ *a racer*], has a flat tyre.
   b)   [$_e$ **A particular girl that Ben likes**], [$_{\langle e,t\rangle}$ *a student*], is coming to our party.
   c)   [$_e$ **The lion**], [$_{\langle e,t\rangle}$ *a species of the genus Panthera*], is a ferocious beast.

(8)   **????**
   a)   [$_e$ **London**], [$_{(e \text{ or } \langle e,t\rangle)}$ *the capital of England*], is a filthy city.
   b)   [$_e$ **A masked man**], [$_e$ *Pete*], kissed Miranda at the party.
   c)   [$_e$ **A rose**], [$_e$ *a perennial of the genus Rosa*], is a universal symbol for romance.

- The examples in (8) are ambiguous! For (8b) for example, the possible derivations are:

(9)   a)   [$_{\&P}$ **A masked man**, *Pete*], kissed Miranda.   (*identificational app*)
      b)   **A masked man**, ~~*it was*~~ *Pete*, kissed Miranda.   (*attributive app*)

2.2.   Apposition markers and speaker oriented adverbs

- The syntax in (1) predicts that $\&^0$ can be phonologically realised as <u>apposition markers</u> in identificational appositions (Heringa 2011).
- Because they display 'WYSIWYG' syntax, subclausal identificational appositions should be unable to license speaker-oriented adverbs (as they are not assertoric).

- <u>Apposition markers</u> are predicted to be illicit with attributive appositions, which must undergo ellipsis (see (4)).
- The syntax in (4) claims that attributive appositions bear illocutionary force. As such, assertoric attributive appositions should license speaker-oriented adverbs (Cinque 1999).

Consequences:
- Subclausal identificational appositions can host apposition markers, but not speaker-oriented adverbs.
- Attributive appositions can host speaker-oriented adverbs, but not apposition markers.
- No apposition can display both an apposition marker and speaker-oriented adverbs without obtaining a metalinguistic reading (*as no apposition can be identificational and attributive simultaneously*).

(10)   The examples in (8) when disambiguated as identificational apps:[5]
    a)   **London**, <u>or</u> *the capital of England*, is a filthy city.
    b)   **A masked man**, <u>namely</u> *Pete*, kissed Miranda at the party.
    c)   **A rose**, <u>that is to say</u> *a perennial of the genus Rosa*, is a universal symbol for romance.

(11)   The examples in (8) when disambiguated as attributive apps:
    a)   **London**, *<u>definitely</u> the capital of England*, is a filthy city.
    b)   **A masked man**, *<u>probably</u> Pete*, kissed Miranda at the party.
    c)   **A rose**, *<u>clearly</u> a perennial of the genus Rosa*, is a universal symbol for romance.

(12)   Unacceptable combinations:
    a) # **London**, <u>or *definitely*</u> *the capital of England*, is a filthy city.
    b) # **A masked man**, <u>namely *probably*</u> *Pete*, kissed Miranda at the party.
    c) # **A rose**, <u>that is to say *clearly*</u> *a perennial of the genus Rosa*, is a universal symbol for romance.

- We can use apposition markers to check that the specificity test to strengthen the argument from semantic balance discussed in §2.1:

(13)   # [$_e$ **Kristian's new bicycle**], or [$_{\langle e,t \rangle}$ *a racer*], has a flat tyre.

2.3. C-command

- According to (1) and (4), identificational appositions **can** participate in relations established by c-command, while their attributive counterparts **cannot**.

Identificational appositions:

(14) a)   Paul hasn't received **penny-one**, *anything*, from his bank.   (NPIs)
    b)   Lucy might visit **the Big Apple**, that is *New York*, in September.   (modals)
    c)   Pete can't touch **his nest egg**, i.e. *his trust fund*, until he is twenty five.   (negation)
    d)   Every competitor on the cookery TV programme was told that **his entry**, that is to say *his jam roly-poly with custard*, was too stodgy.   (quantifiers)

(15) a)   [**Sturgeon eggs**, more commonly *caviar*]$_1$, I've tried t_1, but foie gras I haven't.
    b) * [**Sturgeon eggs**]$_1$ I've tried t_1, more commonly *caviar*, but foie gras I haven't.

(16) a)   [Which country]$_1$ do you hate **the motorways of** t_1, or as the Americans say *the 'highways' of* t_1, the most?
    a')   It's actually [England]$_1$ that we hate **the motorways of** t_1, or as the Americans say *the 'highways' of* t_1, the most.

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[5] Apposition markers, which occupy a fixed apposition-initial position, should not be confused with speech-act parentheticals (*that is to say*, *more formally speaking*, etc.), whose linear position within the apposition is flexible. However, it turns out that speech-act parentheticals like *that is to say* cannot be licensed in attributive appositions. Thus, they make for acceptable delimiters of identificational and attributive appositions nonetheless.

b) * [Which country] do you hate **the motorways of** t_1, or as the Americans say *the 'highways' of a country*, the most?

b') * It's actually [England]$_1$ that we hate **the motorways of** t_1, or as the Americans say *the 'highways' of England*, the most.

Attributive appositions:

(17) a)   It's not the case that the ransom note was {someone's / anyone's} idea of a prank.

   b)   It's not the case that **the ransom note**, {*someone's / * anyone's*} *idea of a prank*, precludes a kidnapping.   (NPIs)

(18) Attributive appositions
   a)   Bob might call **Jenny**, *a plumber*, for help with his broken boiler.   (modals)
         Interpretation $= \Diamond$[call(Jenny, Bob)] $\wedge$ plumber(Jenny)
                         $\neq \Diamond$[call(Jenny, Bob) $\wedge$ plumber(Jenny)]

   b)   Pete won't visit **Sally**, *an old friend*, at the weekend.   (negation)
         Interpretation $= \neg$[visit(Sally, Pete)] $\wedge$ old-friend(Sally)
                         $\neq \neg$[visit(Sally, Pete) $\wedge$ old-friend(Sally)]

(19) a) *   Where$_1$ is **Elizabeth**, *the queen of* t_1, the country's longest reigning monarch?
   b) *   It is England$_1$ that **Elizabeth**, *the queen of* t_1, is the country's longest reigning monarch.
   c) *   England **Elizabeth**, *the queen of* t_1, is the country's longest reigning monarch.
   d) *   **Elizabeth**, *the queen* t_1, has just been crowned [of England]$_1$.

2.4.   Morphological case

• According to (1) and (4), nominal identificational appositions must display the same case as their anchors, while their attributive counterparts must display the same case postcopular elements are assigned in regular copular clauses.
• Heringa (2011) shows that prediction is not always borne out in inflectional languages: other morphological factors muddy the data.
• But in an agglutinative language like Turkish, in which morphological case in an <u>adphrasal</u> (Klavans 1982) reflex of structural CASE alone, this prediction is borne out.

(20) a)   Adem   Havva-yı,   yani   karı-sı-{nı/*∅},   düğün-de   öp-me-di.
         Adem   Havva-ACC   namely   wife-POSS-{ACC/NOM}   wedding-LOC   kiss-NEG-PST
         'Adem did not kiss **Havva**, namely *his wife*, at the wedding.'

   b)   Adem   Havva-yı,   ki   karı-sı-{∅/* nı},   düğün-de   öp-me-di.
         Adem   Havva-ACC   ki   wife-POSS-{NOM/ACC}   wedding-LOC   kiss-NEG-PST
         'Adem did not kiss **Havva**, *his wife*, at the wedding.'

2.5.   Differing illocutionary force

- According to (1) and (4), only attributive appositions can display differing illocutionary force to their host.

(21) a) * **The Big Apple** (i.e. *New York*?) is a huge city.
   b) **A masked man** (*who exactly*?) kissed Miranda at the party.
   c) **A masked man** (*Pete*?) kissed Miranda at the party.
   d) **John** (*a plumber*?) came to fix our boiler.

(22) a) **A masked man** (*who was it exactly*?) kissed Miranda at the party.
   b) **A masked man** (*was it Pete*?) kissed Miranda at the party.
   c) **John** (*is he a plumber*?) came to fix our boiler.

2.6. Presupposition projection

- If attributive appositions are clausal adjuncts that bear independent illocutionary force (as the syntax in (4) maintains), then one expects presuppositions to be 'unpluggable' (Potts 2005).

(23) Fred thinks that John$_i$ is a thief. He$_i$ is my neighbour.
   Interpretation: John is my neighbour in the real world, not just in the world of Fred's thoughts.

- If identificational appositions are final conjuncts (as the syntax in (1) maintains), the one expects presuppositions to be 'plugged'.

(24) Fred thinks that John$_i$ is a thief and he$_i$ is a lunatic.

(25) a) Mary wants to marry an Italian, *my neighbour*.   (✘ on *de dicto* reading)
   b) Mary wants to marry an **Italian**, (that is) *a rich one*.   (✓ on *de dicto* reading)
                                                               (modified from Wang et al. 2005)

(26) a) If a child is christened Bambi and Disney Inc. find out about it, they will sue **Bambi**, *an unlucky child*,'s parents.
   b) If a child is christened Bambi and Disney Inc. find out about it, they will sue **Bambi**, (that is) *the child*,'s parents.   (modified from Geurts 1997)

2.7. Recoverability

- As identificational appositions are final conjuncts (according to (1)), no information should be lost under ellipsis or deictic reference.

(27) a) Susie met Bill and Ben, and Frank did Δ too.   (= met Bill and Ben)
   b) Susie ordered tea and scones, and Pete ordered the same.   (= tea and scones)

- NB: this can only be tested in particularisation environments!

(28)   a)   For the last few nights my brother has enjoyed the company of **my friends**, especially *Brendan*, and I think tonight he will Δ too.

b)   Professor Jones talked about **ethics**, in particular *free will*, for a long time last night, and I bet he'll do <u>the same</u> tonight too.

- As attributive appositions display independent illocutionary force, one expects them to be absent from the computation of an ellipsis site (just like elaborate independent sentences are, cf. McCawley 1992:450).

(29)   John sold a violin to Mary. It was a bespoke piece that had once belonged to Mozart. A few days later, Bill did the same.

(30)   John sold **a violin**, *a bespoke piece that had once belonged to Mozart*, to Mary, and Bill did {Δ / <u>the same</u>} too.

2.8.   Prosody

- On the indirect access variant of the <u>autosegmental-metrical</u> approach to prosody, syntactic faithfulness constraints (MATCH, Selkirk 2011) compete with constraints on prosodic well-formedness.
- According to MATCH and the syntactic derivations in (1) and (4), subclausal identificational appositions should be prosodically realised as <u>phonological phrases</u> (φs), while attributive appositions should be realised as <u>intonation phases</u> (ɪs).

Turkish:
- Güneş & Çöltekin (to appear) study identificational appositions whose markers are absent:

(31)   Emir-i,   yeğen-im-i,   araba-yla   oyun-a   götür-üyor-lar.
        Emir-ACC cousin-ACC   car-INST   play-DAT take-PROG-PL
        'They are taking **Emir**, *my cousin*, to the play by car.'   (G&Ç, to appear:7)

- Such appositions display prosodic excursions on their left and right edges that show greater similarity to the excursions observed on regular φs (i.e. host clause arguments) than those observed on regular ɪs (i.e. the host clause itself).

German:
- Truckenbrodt (to appear) comments that identificational appositions are more prosodically integrated than attributive appositions (i.e. more φ-like).
  (*note that Truckenbrodt's remarks are not based upon the results of experimentally procured data*)

3.   Why isn't ⊂ a lexically-specified coordinator?

- Conceptually, there's no reason why the syntax outlined for identificational appositions in (1) couldn't be extended to attributive appositions, where the only dissimilarity would be the lexical semantics of the coordinator (i.e. ⊂ instead of ⊇).
- However, it appears that language (or rather, *English*) does not utilise this option:

(32)   *   **Jimmy Page**, in general *Led Zeppelin*, is going on tour this year.

- The example in (32) is acceptable only if understood as <u>corrective</u>:

(33)   **Jimmy Page**, actually *Led Zeppelin* as a whole, are going on tour this year.

- Why this option is unavailable is unknown to me, and requires further investigation.

4.   Conclusion

- Syntactic, semantic, and (some) prosodic data provide support for the claim that identificational appositions are coordinated with their anchors, while attributive appositions are reduced clauses that are {adjoined to / specially merged with / orphaned from} their anchors.
- If this claim is true, then the evidence for it can be understood as means by which to delimiter identificational from attributive appositions.

Acknowledgements

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