

A clausal analysis of appositives in English

Kathleen M. O'Connor
Université de Lille 3, UMR 8528 SILEX

1. INTRODUCTION

- (1) a. Nominal: John, the village doctor, lives next door.
b. Adjectival: John, unhappy about the proposal, left the meeting early.
c. Prepositional: John, in hospital with the flu, was unable to come to the reception.
- (2) The road, though no longer an officially designated route, has been celebrated in books, song and a TV series. (*Los Angeles Times*, 26/12/02, page B2, col. 1)

2. EVIDENCE FOR A CLAUSAL STRUCTURE

2.1 Adverbs in appositives

- (3) *frankly*_{MoodSpeechAct} > *fortunately*_{MoodEvaluative} > *allegedly*_{MoodEvidential} > *probably*_{ModEpistemic} > *once*_{T(Past)} > *then*_{T(Future)} > *perhaps*_{MoodIrrealis} > *necessarily*_{ModNecessity} > *possibly*_{ModPossibility} > *usually*_{AspHabitual} > *again*_{AspRepetitive(I)} > *often*_{AspFrequentative(I)} > *intentionally*_{ModVolitional} > *quickly*_{AspCelerative(I)} > *already*_{T(Anterior)} > *no longer*_{AspTerminative} > *still*_{AspContinuative} > *always*_{AspPerfect} > *just*_{AspRetrospective} > *soon*_{AspProximative} > *briefly*_{AspDurative} > *characteristically*_{AspGeneric/Progressive} > *almost*_{AspProspective} > *completely*_{AspSgCompletive(I)} > *well*_{Voice} > *fast/early*_{AspCelerative(II)} > *again*_{AspRepetitive(II)} > *often*_{AspFrequentative(II)} > *completely*_{AspSgCompletive(II)}
- (4) a. Roberts, well suited to the task, seemed confident during the meeting.
b. Limes, fast becoming a trend in popular cuisine, are selling like hotcakes.
- (5) Dell, well ahead of its competition, saw its stocks go up 30% last year.
- (6) a. John, away from home again, missed the reception.
b. John, again away from home, missed the reception.
- (7) a. John has left for Paris *again*
b. John has *again* left for Paris.
- (8) a. He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, now no longer his fiefdom.
b. He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, now his fiefdom no longer. (*The Guardian*, 20/11/01, page 9, col. 2)
- (9) a. Scotland will be his fiefdom *no longer*.
b. Scotland will *no longer* be his fiefdom.
- (10) *John, frankly incompetent, should be fired immediately.
- (11) ?Bill said that John, frankly incompetent, should be fired immediately.

- (12) a. Evidential: Rhett looked at the window. *Apparently*, Scarlett had used the curtains for a dress.
b. Evaluative: Rhett looked at Scarlett. *Fortunately*, Ashley was not in love with her.
c. Speech act: #Rhett glared at Scarlett. *Frankly*, he didn't give a damn.
-Speas and Tenny (2003)
- (13) a. Infinitival clause: *For *frankly* Mary to come is not a good idea.
a': Infinitival clause: **Frankly* for Mary to come is not a good idea.
b. Root infinitive: *John *frankly* win the election?!
b'. Root infinitive: **Frankly* John win the election?!
c. Factive complement: *John forgot that Jane *frankly* hates him.
c'. Factive complement: *John forgot that *frankly* Jane hates him.
- (14) *Alex, about that matter silent, spoke mainly about the weather.

2.2 Floating quantifiers

- (15) a. We consider the men *all* fools.
b. *I saw the men *all*.
- (16) a. Sauter is...living with his lawyer-wife, Kathleen—the daughter of Pat Brown and sister of Jerry Brown, both former governors of California. (*Parade*, 10/5/87; McCawley, 1996)
b. Sauter is...living with his lawyer-wife, Kathleen—the daughter of Pat Brown and sister of Jerry Brown, who are both former governors of California. (McCawley, 1996)
- (17) a. Twelve wooden boxes, each smaller than a child's coffin, were lined up on green baize before the brief ceremony.... (*The Guardian*, 28/10/00, page 5, col. 4)
b. The professors, all in attendance at the meeting, voted to adopt the new curriculum.
- (18) a. Twelve wooden boxes, which were each smaller than a child's coffin, were lined up on green baize before the brief ceremony....
b. The professors, who were all in attendance at the meeting, voted to adopt the new curriculum.
- (19) a. Quantification over individuals: The picture on the wall, a tree/*every tree, was made by Mary.
b. i-within-i: John_i, [his_i own worst enemy]_i, lost the election again.
c. FQs: The men, both/some/all doctors/one a doctor, were awarded medals.
-Doron (1992)
- (20) They decided to *all* leave at the same time.

2.3 Predicate inversion

- (21) The real problem is John.
- (22) Davenport insists, now that they are blessed with both out MPs, such as frontbencher Alan Duncan, and out prospective MPs, among them Nicholas Boles and Iain Dale, the Conservatives have shed their image as ‘the nasty party’. (*The Guardian*, 26/3/04, page 3, col. 2)
- (23) Among them were Nicholas Boles and Iain Dale.
- (24) *He denied that into the room walked John.
- (25) a. If the Picasso paintings are also interesting, we’ll stay on
a’. *If also interesting are the Picasso paintings, we’ll stay on
b. Are factory closings also a menace to society?
b’. *Are also a menace to society factory closings?
-Heycock and Kroch (1997)
- (26) Survivors all, the three remaining Dolls look grizzled and gauche, but beautifully unbowed. (*The Observer*, 20/6/04, page 8, col. 4)
- (27) The road, though no longer an officially designated route, has been celebrated in books, song and a TV series. (*Los Angeles Times*, 26/12/02, page B2, col. 1)

3. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

- (28) I bought two shirts, one of which with long sleeves.
- (29) ForceP > TopicP > FocusP > FiniteP
- (30) a. John, while aware of the problems with the plan, went ahead with it.
b. John, while aware of the problems with the plan, went ahead with it anyway.
c. John, though aware of the problems with the plan, went ahead with it.
- (31) Inevitably the interview takes place in some airless office with a bored youth operating a single video camera while behind him sit a row of company executives, usually in their early 20s, all of whom will have already endured a procession of actors humiliating themselves in front of the lens. (*The Guardian*, G2, 8/4/02, page 9, col. 4)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Liliane Haegeman for her contributions to all aspects of this work. I would also like to thank Chad Langford for his help with the data and preparation of the text.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acuña-Fariña, J. C. (1999). On apposition. *English Language and Linguistics*, 3, 59-81.
Acuña-Fariña, J. C. (2000). Reduced relatives and apposition. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 20, 5-22.

- Alexiadou, A. (1997). *Adverb placement: A case study in antisymmetric syntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bobaljik, J. D. (2003). Floating quantifiers: Handle with care. In L. Cheng & R. Sybesma (Eds.), *The second Glot International state-of-the-article book* (pp. 107-148). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bowers, J. (1993). The syntax of predication. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 24, 591-656.
- Bresnan, J. (1994). Locative inversion and the architecture of universal grammar. *Language*, 70, 72-131.
- Burton-Roberts, N. (1975). Nominal apposition. *Foundations of Language*, 13, 391-419.
- Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, G. (2004). Issues in adverbial syntax. *Lingua*, 114, 683-710.
- Coopmans, P. (1989). Where stylistic and syntactic processes meet: Locative inversion in English. *Language*, 65, 728-751.
- Culicover, P. W., & Levine, R. D. (2001). Stylistic inversion in English: A reconsideration. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 19, 283-310.
- Doron, E. (1992). Appositive predicates. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 7, 23-33.
- Emonds, J. (1976). *A transformational approach to English syntax*. New York: Academic Press.
- Ernst, T. (2004). Principles of adverbial distribution in the lower clause. *Lingua*, 114, 755-777.
- Grohmann, K. K., & Etxepare, R. (2003). Root infinitives: A comparative view. *Probus*, 15, 201-236.
- Haegeman, L. (2003, November). *Topicalization, CLLD and the left periphery*. Paper presented at the Workshop on Dislocated Elements in Discourse: Syntactic, Semantic, and Pragmatic Perspectives, ZAS, Berlin.
- Heycock, C., & Kroch, A. (1997). Inversion and equation in copular sentences. *ZAS Papers in Linguistics*, 10, 71-87.
- Huddleston, R., & Pullum, G. K. (2002). *The Cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kayne, R. (1975). *French syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Kayne, R. (1981). Binding, quantifiers, clitics and control. In F. Heny (Ed.), *Binding and filtering* (pp. 191-211). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Koktovà, E. (1985). Apposition as a pragmatic phenomenon in a functional description. *University of East Anglia Papers in Linguistics*, 23, 39-79.
- Laenzlinger, C. (1998). *Comparative studies in word order variation*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Laenzlinger, C. (2000). More on adverb syntax and phrase structure. In A. Alexiadou & P. Svenonius (Eds.), *Adverbs and adjunction* (pp. 103-132). Potsdam: Institut für Linguistik, Universität Potsdam.
- Matthews, P. H. (1981). *Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCawley, J. D. (1996). An overview of appositive constructions in English. *Proceedings of the Eastern States Conference on Linguistics*, 12, 195-211.
- Melvold, J. (1991). Factivity and definiteness. *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics*, 15, 97-117.
- Meyer, C. F. (1987). Apposition in English. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 20, 101-121.
- Miyagawa, S. (1989). *Structure and case marking in Japanese*. New York: Academic Press.
- Rizzi, L. (1997). The fine structure of the left periphery. In L. Haegeman (Ed.), *Elements of grammar* (pp. 281-337). Kluwer: Dordrecht.

- Shaer, B. (1998). Adverbials, functional structure, and restrictiveness. *Proceedings of the North Eastern Linguistics Society*, 28, 391-407.
- Shlonsky, U. (1991). Quantifiers as functional heads: A study of Quantifier Float in Hebrew. *Lingua*, 84, 159-180.
- Speas, M. (2004). Evidentiality, logophoricity and the syntactic representation of pragmatic features. *Lingua*, 114, 255-276.
- Speas, P., & Tenny, C. (2003). Configurational properties of point of view roles. In A. M. Di Sciullo (Ed.), *Asymmetry in grammar (vol. 1): Syntax and semantics* (pp. 315-343). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sportiche, D. (1988). A theory of floating quantifiers and its corollary for constituent structure. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 19, 425-449.
- Tenny, C. (2000). Core events and adverbial modification. In C. Tenny & J. Pustejovsky (Eds.), *Events as grammatical objects* (pp. 285-334). Stanford, CA: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

APPENDIX

- completely*_{AspSgCompletive(II)}: Christian, unaware *completely* of what is going on, follows her into the bedroom and the two continue their confusion in a hilarious misunderstanding. (http://www.epinions.com/content_25381342852)
- often*_{AspFrequentative(II)}: New styles, available *often* in local retail stores, are first released online.
- again*_{AspRepetitive(II)}: John, away from home *again*, missed the reception.
- completely*_{AspSgCompletive(I)}: Robinson, *completely* in the dark about the government project, was surprised to learn about it on the evening news.
- almost*_{AspProspective}: A leaked report compiled by diplomats at the British high commission has blamed India's ruling BJP party for the continuing violence in Gujarat, in which at least 2,000 people, *almost* all of them Muslims, have died. (*The Guardian*, 30/04/02, page 5, col. 1)
- characteristically*_{AspGeneric/Progressive}: Over the years he had worked with quite a few accomplices and there was one with him tonight, *characteristically* silent, standing beside him lost in his own thoughts. (*The Perfect Crime*, Peter Balfe)
- briefly*_{AspDurative}: By that test the former Young Liberal, *briefly* MP for Neath and 52 next month, will make it into the cabinet sooner rather than later.
- soon*_{AspProximative}: Jerry Nielsen's South Pole saga, *soon* in stores everywhere, recounts her fight against breast cancer.
- just*_{AspRetrospective}: It was July 2000 when the hospice trustees, only *just* aware of a very large legacy, were shown Russell House, a redundant residential care home that would not be economically viable for the Council to update. (<http://www.uphillvillage.org.uk/HospiceSupport.htm>)
- always*_{AspPerfect}: Within a week of his arrival Mr Morton, *always* an interventionist in his economics, was gone.
- still*_{AspContinuative}: But Rusedski, a winner in Auckland last week and *still* a little tired, needed to fire himself up with uncharacteristic shows of aggression and histrionics and Henman, up against a man ranked No191, struggled for inspiration, and like Rusedski, was pleased to get off court after only three sets.
- no longer*_{AspTerminative}: He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, now *no longer* his fiefdom.
- already*_{T(Anterior)}: Robin Saxby, *already* one of the country's most successful entrepreneurs, having built the ARM microchip-design company into a £7.4billion business, is the most "underpaid executive."

- intentionally*_{ModVolitional}: Microsoft, *intentionally* quiet during the recent announcements, wanted to see what Yahoo offered before offering something comparable this July.
- often*_{AspFrequentative(I)}: The Association for the British Pharmaceutical Industry (ABPI) disagrees. Most doctors, *often* those who have run trials on a drug, are certainly asked to speak and are paid for it, says the spokesman, Richard Lay.
- again*_{AspRepetitive(I)}: Cluff, under criminal investigation *again* by county prosecutors, was ordered Friday by the EIDC's executive board to take a paid leave of absence, but he said he would defy the request.
- usually*_{AspHabitual}: The Association for the British Pharmaceutical Industry (ABPI) disagrees. Most doctors, *usually* those who have run trials on a drug, are certainly asked to speak and are paid for it, says the spokesman, Richard Lay.
- possibly*_{ModPossibility}: It is by far the longest short in the book, *possibly* a novella to some, and in my opinion it should have ended much sooner than it did. (<http://www.legendsmagazine.net/138/orbit.htm>)
- necessarily*_{ModNecessity}: The "Senior" following Peter Cornwell's name implies the existence of at least one other Peter Cornwell in the area, not *necessarily* his son, but one younger than he. (<http://boards.ancestry.com/mbexec/message/an/localities.northam.usa.states.virginia.counties.fauquier/1714>)
- perhaps*_{MoodIrrealis}: This year the world's population will reach six billion, reports a Swedish newspaper correspondent from Geneva. Somewhere, a child, *perhaps* a girl, will be born to mark this threshold event. (http://www.rotarydoctorbank.org/99i/db_99_3b.htm)
- once*_{T(Past)}: [H]is father, *once* a businessman himself, helps to keep things running smoothly and interacts with individuals who would otherwise act differently towards Blaustein because of his comparative youth. (<http://www.gradyhighschool.org/southerner/southerner1103/pizza.html>)
- probably*_{ModEpistemic}: His death, *probably* a suicide, is glossed over and there is no actual diagnosis to back up the pop psychology.
- allegedly*_{MoodEvidential}: Smith, *allegedly* unaware of the proposed amendment, declined to comment.
- fortunately*_{MoodEvaluative}: Racial profiling, *unfortunately* a frequent occurrence in American society, must be stopped.