Adverbs as evidence for functional structure in appositives

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Abstract

This paper presents an investigation into the functional structure of appositives. Taking Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of adverbs and functional categories as a point of departure, the analysis shows that all but one of Cinque's adverb classes can be found in appositives. The exception concerns speech act adverbs. Because appositives are non-finite, they lack phi features, resulting in an inability to represent discourse roles such as Speaker. Speech act adverbs obligatorily select Speaker as an argument, accounting for their failure to appear in non-finite structures such as appositives.

1 Introduction

Prototypical examples of appositives with nominal antecedents appear at first to be rather limited syntactically, as shown by the examples in (1), where the appositive is underlined and the type is given before the example[1]:

(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.

This characteristic has led researchers working on appositives to focus on the external syntax, in other words how the appositive is linked to the clause containing its antecedent (e.g. McCawley, 1996), or on the semantic or pragmatic aspects of these structures (e.g. Doron, 1992; Koktovà, 1985; Matthews, 1981).

However, an examination of attested examples reveals that appositives may contain adverbs, as shown in (2).

(2)   He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, *now* his fiefdom *no longer*. (*The Guardian*, 20/11/01, page 9, column 2)

Adverbs have been shown to be associated with the presence of functional structure (e.g. Cinque, 1999), suggesting that appositives may in fact contain more extensive structure than has previously been proposed.

With this in mind, the goal of this paper is to examine systematically the presence of adverbs in appositives. Section 2 provides a summary of previous research relating adverbs to the determination of clausal structure. Section 3 contains an outline of the theoretical approach to adverb placement adopted for the analysis which then permits, in section 4, an

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[1] Appositives can also be verbal: 'Limes, fast becoming a trend in popular cuisine, are selling like hotcakes.' In the interest of limiting the field of study, these types are not included here.

evaluation of adverbs in appositives and the implications for their syntactic structure. Section 5 explores the absence of one class of adverbs. A summary and conclusion are provided in section 6.

2 Background: Adverbs and clause structure

Adverbs have long been recognized as implicated in the determination of clause structure (e.g. Jackendoff, 1972). Broadly speaking, there are two different factors at work. First, adverbs seem to belong to different semantic classes (e.g. sentential, subject-oriented, agent-oriented and manner adverbs) which are restricted to particular zones of the sentence. Thus, as might be expected, manner adverbs tend to be found in the lower part of the sentence close to the predicate that they modify, whereas sentential adverbs are generally found in the higher zones of the sentence, before the subject or between the subject and the predicate (e.g. Jackendoff, 1972).

Second, the same adverb may belong to more than one class, resulting in an interplay between adverb position and interpretation. When an adverb occupies more than one position there may be no effect on the meaning, as in (3), or it may provoke a change in the scope of the adverb, as in (4): in (a) *cleverly* is subject-oriented, whereas in (b) it is a manner adverb. Alternatively, the meaning may be ambiguous between the two interpretations, as in (5).

(3)   a. Mary *probably* has left already.
         b. Mary has *probably* left already.

(4)   a. *Cleverly*, Mary opened the letter.
         b. Mary opened the letter *cleverly*.

(5)   Mary *cleverly* opened the letter.

Together, these facts present a challenge for linguists interested in accounting for adverb placement. Two major approaches to the problem have emerged. The first, which might be termed the adjunction approach, assumes that adverbs are adjoined to the various projections that compose the clause (see, e.g., Ernst (2002) and references therein). Semantic rules interact with the syntax to restrict semantic classes of adverbs to particular zones of the clause.

The second approach can be called the functional specifier approach (e.g. Alexiadou, 1997; Cinque, 1999; Laenzlinger, 1996). Under such an analysis, adverbs are found in the specifiers of functional heads containing semantic features relating to, for example, modality, aspect, tense and manner. These functional heads are fixed in a rigid hierarchy, and form in some sense the backbone of clausal structure. The adverb found in a particular specifier position is interpreted as being semantically related to the features expressed by the functional head, explaining the relationship between an adverb's position and its meaning.

Both approaches offer interesting possibilities for studying the structure of appositives. Under the adjunction approach, the presence of an adverb implies the presence of the projection to which they are adjoined. For example, the presence of a manner adverb indicates that the VP (or other projection) to which it adjoins is necessarily present. If, on the other hand, a functional specifier approach is adopted, the presence of an adverb means that the associated functional projection is integrated into the structure. The present analysis adopts the functional specifier approach: the more rigid structure defined in this approach means that the conclusions drawn concerning appositives are all the more precise.

3 Theoretical framework

Several competing versions of the functional specifier approach have emerged. For the current analysis, the proposal developed by Cinque (1999) has been adopted, as it is the most comprehensive and has served as the basis for subsequent research along the same lines.

Cinque bases his proposal on a cross-linguistic survey of adverbs and functional morphemes. He first demonstrates that the order of different classes of adverbs is the same cross-linguistically based on an examination of languages from several different families. He then examines the order of classes of functional morphemes and shows they also exhibit the same order across languages. Comparing the orders for the classes of adverbs and functional heads, Cinque finds that the base order of adverb classes corresponds to the base order of the classes of functional morphemes. He thus proposes that each adverb class is located in the specifier of the functional projection headed by its corresponding morpheme. The end result is a highly articulated structure for the clause, with a series of functional projections located high in the clause before the canonical subject position.

Based on his cross-linguistic study, Cinque establishes the order of functional projections shown in (6), starting at the leftmost edge of the clause and moving rightward. An associated adverb is given in italics with the name of the semantic class as a subscript.

(6) *frankly*$_{\text{MoodSpeechAct}}$ > *fortunately*$_{\text{MoodEvaluative}}$ > *allegedly*$_{\text{MoodEvidential}}$ > *probably*$_{\text{ModEpistemic}}$ > *once*$_{\text{T(Past)}}$ > *then*$_{\text{T(Future)}}$ > *perhaps*$_{\text{MoodIrrealis}}$ > *necessarily*$_{\text{ModNecessity}}$ > *possibly*$_{\text{ModPossibility}}$ > *willingly*$_{\text{ModVolitional}}$ > *inevitably*$_{\text{ModObligation}}$ > *cleverly*$_{\text{ModAbility/Permission}}$ > *usually*$_{\text{AspHabitual}}$ > *again*$_{\text{AspRepetitive(I)}}$ > *often*$_{\text{AspFrequentative(I)}}$ > *quickly*$_{\text{AspCelerative(I)}}$ > *already*$_{\text{T(Anterior)}}$ > *no longer*$_{\text{AspTerminative}}$ > *still*$_{\text{AspContinuative}}$ > *always*$_{\text{AspPerfect}}$ > *just*$_{\text{AspRetrospective}}$ > *soon*$_{\text{AspProximative}}$ > *briefly*$_{\text{AspDurative}}$ > *characteristically*$_{\text{AspGeneric/Progressive}}$ > *almost*$_{\text{AspProspective}}$ > *completely*$_{\text{AspSgCompletive(I)}}$ > *tutto*$_{\text{AspPlCompletive}}$ > *well*$_{\text{Voice}}$ > *fast/early*$_{\text{AspCelerative(II)}}$ > *again*$_{\text{AspRepetitive(II)}}$ > *often*$_{\text{AspFrequentative(II)}}$ > *completely*$_{\text{AspSgCompletive(II)}}$

Under Cinque's analysis, the fact that the same adverb can occupy two different positions without a change in meaning, as in (3), results from the movement of other elements across the adverb, from movement of the adverb in topicalisation or focalisation or from movement of the larger constituent containing the adverb. Cases such as those in (4), where an adverb changes meaning as a function of its position, arise when an adverb occupies the specifier of two different functional heads with different semantic features. This can be seen for adverbs such as *quickly, again, completely*.

It should also be noted that one class of adverbs, called Aspect Plural Completive, is not relevant for English, which does not distinguish singular from plural within the completive aspect. It is represented in the hierarchy by the Italian adverb *tutto*. Since the present analysis is concerned with English, this class will not be considered further.

With respect to appositives, the adoption of Cinque's approach has important implications. Essentially, the acceptability of a particular class of adverbs within an appositive provides evidence for the presence of its corresponding functional projection in the syntactic structure. Likewise, the unacceptability of a particular class of adverbs is evidence for the absence of its corresponding functional projection. In this way, a much finer-grained picture emerges.

4 Testing the hierarchy

Cinque's hierarchy of adverb classes was tested in order to determine the acceptability of each class within an appositive. Whenever possible, attested examples were employed.

Sample sentences are given in (7). For each adverb class, a representative sentence is provided with the appositive underlined and the relevant adverb given in italics.

(7) a. *completely*$_{AspSgCompletive(II)}$: The eastern arm is a golden building called the Café de Paris, *completely* rebuilt in 1988, which houses restaurants, sidewalk cafes and one-armed bandits. (*New York Times* online, 'Churchill slept here', 04/03/90)

   b. *often*$_{AspFrequentative(II)}$: The movement, which takes place in Bruce Steinberg's shifting landscape of light, ranges from images of battle — like a soldier worming his way across hostile terrain — to frankly sexual writhing, *often* repeated like a tic. (*New York Times* online, 'Slithering over the edge of the envelope to see what happens', 20/02/07)

   c. *again*$_{AspRepetitive(II)}$: John, *again* away from home, missed the reception.

   d. *fast/early*$_{AspCelerative(II)}$: Utilities also found that they had overestimated power demand for the early 1980's; smaller plants, more *quickly* built, do not require such accurate long-range projections. (*New York Times* online edition, 'The nuclear industry tries again', 26/11/89)

   e. *well*$_{Voice}$: Roberts, *well* suited to the task, seemed confident during the meeting.

   f. *completely*$_{AspSgCompletive(I)}$: Robinson, *completely* in the dark about the government project, was surprised to learn about it on the evening news.

   g. *almost*$_{AspProspective}$: The car, *almost* out of control, just missed hitting a pedestrian.

   h. *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)

   i. *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.

   j. *soon*$_{AspProximative}$: Jerry Nielsen's South Pole saga, *soon* in stores everywhere, recounts her fight against breast cancer.

   k. *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)

   l. *always*$_{AspPerfect}$: Within a week of his arrival Mr Morton, *always* an interventionist in his economics, was gone.

   m. *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.

   n. *no longer*$_{AspTerminative}$: He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, now *no longer* his fiefdom.

   o. *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."

   p. *quickly*$_{AspCelerative(I)}$: The rumor, *quickly* denied by the Kremlin, briefly lifted the dollar and the Swiss franc while hurting the German mark. (*New York Times* online edition, "Rumor that Yeltsin had died briefly lifts dollar vs. the mark", 10/10/96)

   q. *often*$_{AspFrequentative(I)}$: But the tendency has accelerated recently as business travel has rebounded and hotels have invested heavily in their public spaces, expanding them and installing wireless Internet service — *often* available at no charge — in their

lobbies and restaurants. (*New York Times* online, 'Let's meet in the lobby', 02/05/06)

r. *again*ₐₛₚRₑₚₑₜᵢₜᵢᵥₑ₍ᵢ₎: Cluff, _again under criminal investigation 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.

s. *usually*ₐₛₚHₐᵦᵢₜᵤₐₗ: Fill out the form provided by your state's health department, _usually available from your doctor or local hospital_. (*New York Times* online, 'Personal health; Name a proxy early to prepare for the unexpected', 18/11/03)

t. *cleverly*ₘₒₐAᵦᵢₗᵢₜᵧ/Pₑᵣₘᵢₛₛᵢₒₙ: Such absurd and obvious manipulation of reality lay at the heart of this hourlong solo, _cleverly disguised as a quartet_. (*New York Times* online, 'The emperor does have clothes (but he says he doesn't)', 24/01/07)

u. *inevitably*ₘₒₐOᵦₗᵢᵍₐₜᵢₒₙ: In his work, Mr. Moore seeks to elevate the level of conversation, _inevitably lowered by the screen adaptations of his work_.

v. *willingly*ₘₒₐVₒₗᵢₜᵢₒₙₐₗ: This noble life, _willingly sacrificed for love of God_, makes a book of which it can rightly be said, 'it will change your life.' (http://www.amazon.ca/Jungle-Pilot-Russell-Hitt/dp/1572930225)

w. *possibly*ₘₒₐPₒₛₛᵢᵦᵢₗᵢₜᵧ: 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)

x. *necessarily*ₘₒₐNₑcₑₛₛᵢₜᵧ: 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)

y. *perhaps*ₘₒₒₐIᵣᵣₑₐₗᵢₛ : 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)

z. *then*ₜ₍Fᵤₜᵤᵣₑ₎: The story involves an elaborate safari about bagging an exotic African game animal, _then flown fresh to Paris_.

aa. *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)

bb. *probably*ₘₒₐEₚᵢₛₜₑₘᵢc: His death, _probably a suicide_, is glossed over and there is no actual diagnosis to back up the pop psychology.

cc. *allegedly*ₘₒₒₐEᵥᵢₐₑₙₜᵢₐₗ: Smith, _allegedly unaware of the proposed amendment_, declined to comment.

dd. *fortunately*ₘₒₒₐEᵥₐₗᵤₐₜᵢᵥₑ: Racial profiling, _unfortunately a frequent occurrence in American society_, must be stopped.

ee. *frankly*ₘₒₒₐSₚₑₑₑcₕAcₜ: *Mr. Minghella, _frankly not particularly excited by the prospect of the book_, was hooked by the time he finished it.

Two important observations can be made concerning the results. First, there is evidence of movement operations within appositives. Sentence (7n) is a constructed example showing the adverb *no longer* in its base position. However, the constructed example is in fact a manipulation of an attested example, given in (8).

(8)   He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, now his fiefdom _no longer_. (*The Guardian*, 20/11/01, page 9, column 2)

For Cinque, example (7n) results from movement of 'his fiefdom' to a position higher in the structure. The implication is that, like matrix clauses, appositives contain some functional structure and permit some of the same movement operations.

Second, it appears that all of Cinque's adverb classes are present in appositives except[2] speech act adverbs, such as *frankly*. While the example given in (7ee) is unacceptable, other examples can be found in which *frankly* is grammatical, as seen in (9).

(9)   a. Mapplethorpe courted commercial success by concentrating more on flower images: <u>elegant, cold and often *frankly* sexual depictions of orchids and lilies in single blooms or arrangements</u>. (*New York Times* online edition, 'Fallen angel', 25/06/95)

        b. The facts are uncontroversial, but unacceptable, therefore turned into their opposite here with amazing regularity (<u>though discussed *frankly* in Israel</u>). (http://www.chomsky.info/articles/199601--.htm)

        c. During my time in Oakhurst, my brother, <u>*frankly* a racist</u> (he openly admits it), was telling me about the catastrophe called Southern California.

This variation in acceptability is related to the differing functions of the adverb. There appear to be at least four. First, in (7ee), is the standard speech act adverb interpretation, which qualifies the illocutionary force of the utterance, expressing the speaker's attitude toward what he/she is saying, signifying that he/she is being frank. In (10) an example of *frankly* with this interpretation in a finite clause is given.

(10)   *Frankly*, the idea that there was a distinction to be made…strains credibility. (*New York Times* online, 'Air of truth', 08/07/07)

In (9a), *frankly* is used as an intensifier before an adjective. In these cases, it seems to have the meaning of "openly and completely". In this use, it does not belong to the class of speech act adverbs discussed by Cinque, but seems to be similar to degree adverbs such as *well*, *truly* and *very* (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1997).

A third interpretation of *frankly* is as a classic manner adverb, exemplified by (9b). This use is generally found with verbs expressing speech acts, such as *say*, *ask*, *answer*, etc., and can be paraphrased to mean 'in a frank manner' (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1997). Like other manner adverbs, *frankly* always has this interpretation when placed after the verb and its complement, without a comma or an intonation break.

The fourth function of *frankly* is exemplified by the example in (9c). Here, it acts as a sentential intensifier (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1997). In such cases, it appears between the subject and the verb and indicates the attitude of the subject with respect to the action described by the VP, as has been suggested for sentences like those in (4).

In sum, *frankly* does appear in appositives, but not in its function as a speech act adverb. In the following section, two different are considered to account for this.

5 Speech act adverbs

The absence of speech act adverbs in appositives can be accounted for in at least two ways. First, as proposed by Haegeman (2004) for certain types of adverbial clauses, the tree structure of appositives may be truncated below the projection that contains these adverbs. Alternatively, there may be a property inherent to appositives that inhibits the appearance of speech act adverbs.

The first possibility, whereby the tree of an appositive is truncated below the projection containing speech act adverbs, would explain their absence without any difficulty. This predicts that any projections located higher than that of speech act adverbs will not be present. However, this immediately raises a problem. Consider Rizzi's (1997) decomposition of the CP space into four projections, as shown in (11). Rizzi assumes that complementisers are located in ForceP, the highest projection in the clause. If the tree structure of an appositive is assumed to be truncated below the speech act projection, then complementisers are predicted to be absent from appositives. Yet this is not the case, as shown in (12), where the appositive contains the conjunction *though*.

(11)   Rizzi's (1997) CP: ForceP > TopicP > FocusP > FinP > IP

(12)   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)

This problem can be worked out by adopting Haegeman's (2004) proposal for central adverbial clauses. As is the case for appositives, speech act adverbs are not permitted in certain adverbials, whereas conjunctions are (see Haegeman (2004) for a fuller description of the characteristics of central adverbials). Haegeman proposes that speech act adverbs are associated with Rizzi's (1997) ForceP, and she further assumes, *contra* Rizzi, that conjunctions are located in a higher projection called SubordinateP. She then claims that central adverbials have a truncated structure that does not allow Force to be projected, but maintains SubP. Her structure for central adverbials is given in (13).

(13)   Haegeman's (2004) truncated CP: SubP > FinP > IP

This permits the presence of conjunctions, but not that of speech act adverbs. However, Haegeman's solution is also designed to eliminate evidential, evaluative and epistemic adverbs, which are unacceptable in central adverbial clauses; yet, as the examples in (7bb), (cc) and (dd) show, all of these are grammatical in appositives. In addition, the solution suffers from a failure to find motivation in other syntactic principles.

Alternatively, the absence of speech act adverbs may be due to some other property inherent to appositives. Before proceeding to a discussion of what that property might be, it is first important to consider how speech act adverbs differ from other adverbs that compose the class known as point-of-view adverbs: evidential, evaluative and epistemic adverbs.

In sum, the difference is that speech act adverbs require the presence of Speaker, whereas the others do not. This has been expressed in different ways. For example, Bellert (1997) distinguishes speech act adverbs from other point of view adverbs in terms of argument structure: speech act adverbs form the only class that takes Speaker as an argument. This idea is developed further by Speas and Tenny (2003), who propose that discourse roles such as Speaker and Hearer are governed by syntactic principles, and that the syntax-pragmatic interaction takes place in a part of the syntax called the point of view domain. While they recognize that evidential, evaluative and speech act adverbs can all express the point of view of the speaker, only evidential and evaluative adverbs can also transmit the point of view of a third person. Ernst (2002) also treats speech act adverbs differently from other point of view adverbs. In his model, speech act adverbs take as their argument the abstract predicate *Express, which is introduced by an operator representing the speech act. By contrast, the other point of view adverbs select the proposition as their argument. This distinction accounts for the intuition that speech act adverbs modify the way the speaker expresses the content of the proposition, whereas the other adverbs modify the content of the

proposition itself. In sum, it appears that speech act adverbs are obligatorily linked to the speaker, while the other point of view adverbs are not. Nonetheless, the question remains as to how this tight link to the speaker explains the lack of speech act adverbs in appositives.

One important observation is that speech act adverbials are disallowed in certain other types of non-finite clauses, such as infinitivals and root infinitives (Grohmann & Etxepare, 2003), as shown in (14).
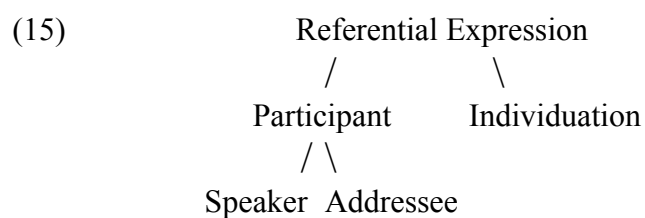
(14)   a. *For *frankly* Mary to come is not a good idea.
        b. **Frankly* for Mary to come is not a good idea.
        c. *John *frankly* win the election?!
        d. **Frankly* John win the election?!

This suggests that there may be a relationship between speech act adverbs and finiteness. In the remainder of this section, it will be suggested that finiteness licenses [person] features, which in turn license discourse roles such as Speaker.

The notion that there is a relationship between finiteness and [person] features is not revolutionary. Jespersen (1924), for example, claims that a finite verb has two major properties: the capacity to serve as the main verb in an independent clause and the ability to assign person features to its subject. In government and binding theory, several proposals have been made relating finiteness to [person] features. Hornstein (1990) and Cowper (2002), for instance, claim that Agr is only projected in finite clauses, while several others have suggested that phi features are present only when IP is finite. In the *Minimalist Program*, it is claimed that nominative case and subject-verb agreement are two manifestations of the link between verbal inflection and the subject (e.g. Chomsky, 1995).

Bianchi (2001) takes this relationship one step further to relate tense and person features to the discourse. She claims that finiteness features are located in Rizzi's FinP, along with S, which stands for the moment of speech. Moreover, S encodes information concerning the participants in the discourse. This is accomplished by allowing the head of FinP to select [person] features only when S is present. Crucially, S is only present when the FinP is [+finite].

The relationship between features and discourse is further developed in the work of Harley & Ritter (2002), who propose the geometry of discourse features in (15), which is similar to the feature geometries used in generative phonology in that it encodes dependency relationships between features.

(15)   Referential Expression
                          /   \
                    Participant   Individuation
                      / \
                Speaker Addressee

The root node of the geometry is a referential expression that branches into two nodes: Participant and Individuation. The Individuation node, which is not relevant to this paper, can be set aside. The Participation Node has two branches, Speaker and Addressee, which interact to identify the R-expression. If Speaker is present and Addressee is absent, then the R-expression is identified as first person. When Addressee is present and Speaker is absent, the R-expression is defined as second person. The absence of the Participant node altogether identifies the R-expression as third person. Harley and Ritter thus establish an explicit link between [person] features and discourse roles. Combining this analysis with the previous observations concerning the relationship between finiteness and [person] features, the

conclusion is that a non-finite clause such as an appositive bears no [person] features and consequently no representation of the discourse role of Speaker.

Returning to the discussion of speech act adverbs, the explanation for their absence is now clear. Since they obligatorily select Speaker as an argument, the unavailability of Speaker results in a clash. Other point of view adverbs, on the other hand, do not select Speaker as an argument, and are thus permitted to appear freely in appositives. In terms of functional structure, nothing prevents the speech act projection from being integrated into the tree structure of appositives. Consequently, the presence of CP-level conjunctions, paradoxical under a truncation analysis, does not represent a problem for this account.

6 Conclusion

In sum, it appears that appositives do indeed contain a considerable amount of functional structure. Using Cinque's (1999) model for the position of adverbs as a starting point, the above analysis shows that the vast majority of adverb classes, and consequently their associated functional projections, can be found in appositives. In turn, the analysis represents an initial test into the validity of Cinque's hierarchy for non-finite structures.

This study is intended to set the stage for further investigation into the structure of appositives. As the example in (12) shows, appositives may contain at least one type of element associated with the CP layer, raising questions about the left periphery and its associated structures and operations. Other issues relate to the status of the NP, AP or PP that composes the appositive itself, as well as to the more widely studied problem of how the appositive is integrated into its host clause. While appositives are of interest in their own right, such investigations are also relevant to broader questions concerning the syntax of non-finite structures and their relationship to finite clauses.

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