Form and Function Mismatch in the English Appositional Construction*

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The English apposition construction is a phenomenon where two equivalent expressions (anchor and appositive) are adjacent to each other. The construction, whose grammatical relation is different from typical complementation or modification, displays quite intriguing syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic characteristics. Syntactically, the construction is analogous to coordination, but semantically it behaves like a subordination, evoking a propositional meaning. This propositional meaning, incongruously induced from the nominal appositive, does not contribute to the main clausal meaning but induces a conventional implicature. This paper provides a surface-based Construction Grammar analysis that can capture such mismatch mapping between form and function in the construction.

Keywords: loose apposition, close apposition, coordination, predication, mismatch, conventional implicature, construction grammar

1. Introduction

English employs two different types of (bracketed) appositional construction (AC), as exemplified from the following corpus data:[1]

(1) a. Loose AC: [AC My brother, Richard,] is developing a low-cost modular ground robot. (COCA 2009 NEWS)
   b. Close AC: [AC My brother Richard] built the distinctive twin-gabled church. (COCA 2009 ACAD)

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1) The corpus COCA (Corpus of Contemporary American English) consists of about 400 million words and are freely available online. To increase the readability, we minimally modified the corpus examples.

In both examples, the AC consists of two adjacent expressions, anchor *my brother* and appositive *Richard*, in which the latter serves to define or modify the former. However, the two are different in several respects. The presence of commas differentiates the two, eventually leading to a difference in intonation. That is, unlike the appositive of the close AC, that of loose AC in (1a) functions as a phonologically isolated phrase. The semantic contribution is also different even though the appositive in both cases takes the anchor as its argument to return a proposition: the close AC in (1b) suggests that the speaker has several brothers and picks out the one called Richard. Meanwhile, the loose AC in (1a) refers to only one brother, adding information about this sibling.

We can observe further morpho-syntactic differences between the two, indicating that the loose and close ACs may be the same type of apposition, but differ in syntax as well as at semantic composition (Meyer 1992). Observe the different positional possibility (Burton-Roberts 1975, Acuña-Fariña 1999, 2009):

(2) a. The linguist of the year, Johnson, is a brilliant man.
    b. *The linguist of the year Johnson is a brilliant man.

As seen here in (2a), the anchor of a loose AC can be modified or intervened by a complement, but this is not possible with that of a close AC as in (2b). The definiteness of the anchor can also differentiate the two: the anchor of the close AC has to be definite whereas that of the loose AC can be indefinite (Delorme and Dougherty 1972, Burton-Roberts 1975):

(3) a. *Mary invited a linguist Johnson to her party.
    b. Mary invited a linguist, Johnson, to her party.

VP ellipsis brings about another difference between the loose and close AC (see Lasersohn 1986):

(4) a. *My friend, Fred, lives in Seoul, and so does my friend, Dave.
    b. My friend Fred lives in Seoul, and so does my friend Dave.

The loose AC in (4a) cannot be the subject of the elided VP while this is possible in the close AC (4b).

Leaving out these clear differences between the two types of apposition in English, in this paper, we focus on the grammatical properties of the loose AC while referring to the close AC when needed. In what follows, we first look into major grammatical properties of the loose AC, focusing on relations between the anchor and the appositive. In particular, we investigate coordination-like as well as subordination-like properties of the construction and discuss how each component (anchor and appositive) in the construction contributes to its semantic/pragmatic meaning composition in an incongruous way. In order to capture this incongruous mapping relation between syntax and semantics, we introduce the framework of Construction Grammar (CG) and discuss some welcoming explanatory consequences.

2. Grammatical Properties

2.1. Equivalence and Coordination Properties

The typical appositional construction (AC) places two equivalent expressions (anchor and appositive) in the adjacent position while each refers to the same individual.[2] The equivalence conditions of the anchor and the appositive are also noted by the literature including Quirk et al. (1985) and Heringa (2011):

- They need to be identical in reference or the reference of one must be included in the other.
- Each of the appositives can be optional without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence.
- Each fulfils the same syntactic function in the resultant sentences.
- There is no difference between the original and the one with omitting one of the two in extralinguistic reference.

For example, consider the following:

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2) We use the AC (appositional construction) as the cover term when there is no need to distinguish loose and close AC.

(5) a. He was one of the few that told the president, Johnson, to get out of Vietnam. (COCA 1996 SPOK)

   b. He was one of the few that told the president to get out of Vietnam.

   c. He was one of the few that told Johnson to get out of Vietnam.

The reference of *the president* is the same as the reference of *Johnson*. Either the anchor or the apposition can be optional, without affecting the grammaticality as seen from (5b) and (5c). In both cases, the element left behind functions as the object and both also have the same meaning as the original one in (5a). As such, the syntactic and semantic equivalence conditions seem to hold in general, but they can be violated depending on the semantic relation of the appositive (see Hannay and Keizer 2005 also):

(6) a. Chuck Selwyn, headmaster of Walden School, halted in mid-stride as we entered his office unannounced. (COCA 1994 PUB)

   b. *Headmaster of Walden School halted in mid-stride as we entered his office unannounced.

As in (6a), the appositive can be a bare nominal, which cannot be referential. This nonreferential property is evidenced by (6b) where the bare nominal is in the subject position. In addition, the omission possibility does not hold always in particular when the appositive is preceded by an adverbial expression:

(7) a. He visited his daughter, back then a student at Southern Methodist University. (COCA 2006 NEWS)

   b. *He visited back then a student at Southern Methodist University.

As seen from the contrast, when a temporal adverb precedes the apposition, we cannot omit the anchor. The preservation of the extralinguistic reference can be also be violated.

(8) a. Chomsky, a long time critic of American politics, gave a talk

on syntax.
b. Chomsky gave a talk on syntax.
c. A long time critic of American politics gave a talk on syntax.

If there is no connection between *Chomsky* and *a long time critic*, we would not have the same extralinguistic reference value for *Chomsky* in (8b) and *a long time critic* in (8c).

As such, the syntax and semantics of the two expressions in question display mismatching properties in some cases, we can still find equivalent properties of the two in syntax. The first property related to this is that the two equivalent syntactic types are adjacent to each other (data from Potts 2005):

(9) a. *We spoke with Lance before the race, the famous cyclist.
    b. *Jan was the fastest on the course, the famous German sprinter.
    c. *Lance has, the famous cyclist, taken the lead.

The AC is thus subject to a strict adjacency requirement at the phrasal level. The syntactic and semantic equivalence makes the order of the two expressions reversible:

(10) a. Barack Obama, the current president of the USA, visited his university at Seoul.
     b. The current president of the USA, Barack Obama, visited his university at Seoul.

The AC shares some syntactic properties with coordination in several respects (also see, among others, Quirk et al. 1985; De Vries 2006, 2009; and Heringa 2007, 2011, 2012). Other evidence for the coordination properties of the apposition construction comes from apposition markers. Consider the following naturally occurring data:

(11) a. You never know when you'll need a friend, or a favor. (COCA 1993 FIC).
     b. There was that knife, and a knife which police claimed was the murder weapon. (COCA 2009 SPOK)

The coordinators marker *or* and *and* here are optional but make the

relation between the two constituents in the AC more explicit. The possibility of having more than one appositive also supports the coordination-like properties (see Quirk et al. 1985:1306):
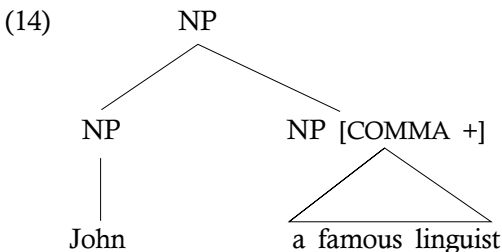
(12) They returned to their birthplace, their place of residence, the country of which they were citizens.

In addition, note that the apposition marker, just like coordinators, forms a constituent with the appositive.[3]

(13) a. People were willing to trade loyalty to a large institution, namely a company, in exchange for the security they got in return. (COCA 1998 SPOK)
    b. *People were willing to trade loyalty to a large institution, a company, namely in exchange for the security they got in return.

As the coordinators form a constituent with the following conjunct, the apposition marker cannot be separated from the apposition in extraposition.

Taking into account these distributional and syntactic properties of the AC while leaving aside the semantics at this moment, it seems to be clear that the anchor and the appositive form a constituent, as represented in the following:

(14)

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                    NP
                  /    \
                /        \
             NP          NP [COMMA +]
             |            /‾‾‾‾‾‾‾\
           John      a famous linguist
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This structure resembles the asyndetic coordination in English in that there is no linking marker between the anchor and the appositive. To differentiate the loose AC from the close AC, we assign the positive

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3) As an anonymous reviewer suggests, one may attribute the ungrammaticality of (12b) from to a semantic reason: extraposition would lose an appositive meaning.

value for the feature COMMA to the appositive in the loose AC. In what follows, we will see that this value eventually plays a significant role in semantic contributions of the loose AC.

2.2. Subordination and Predication Properties

Even though the AC displays many coordination-like properties in terms of syntax, the meaning relation between the anchor and the appositive is not. First, noncoordination properties can be observed from the equivalent properties:

(15) a. Ron Johnson, the new chief executive officer, got a fabulous track record. (COCA 2012 SPOK)
   b. The conservative business man, Richard Roirdan, was elected as mayor of Los Angeles last June. (COCA 1993 NEWS)

In both cases, the anchor and the appositive are definite and coreferential. Each of these NPs can independently preform the same function and each can express the same meaning as the whole string. These features are not part of the coordination or subordination where there is no coreferential requirement between the two involved expressions.

In terms of meaning, the apposition introduces the second message, describing a proposition like the [anchor] is [apposition]. For example, consider the following:

(16) Clifford, a linguist at Columbia University, explained what influenced the lingua franca. (COCA 1993 MAG)

The sentence here can induce both of the following messages:

(17) a. Clifford explained what influenced the lingua franca.
   b. Clifford is a linguist at Columbia University.

The second message (17b) evoked by the appositive is semantically independent of the host clause. That is, the truth value of the two messages (17a) and (17b) is independent (Potts 2005; Heringa 2011; 2012). That is, the whole utterance in (16) is false if the main propo-

sition in (17a) is false. However, even if the proposition (17b), evoked by the appositive, is false, the main proposition still can be true or false. This is evidenced by the possibility of having an exchange of dialogue after (16):

(18) Well yes, but he is not a linguist but a philosopher at Columbia University.

Evidence for the appositive's introducing an independent proposition can also be found from the presence of a sentential adverb (Heringa 2011):

(19) a. My husband, also a former federal prosecutor, very much wanted to read this report. (COCA 2012 SPOK)
b. He was just a kid, probably a teenager, and he was still alive. (COCA 2009 FIC)
c. Chuck was a powerful corporate lawyer, then a high official in the Nixon White House. (COCA 2001 MAG).

Adverbs like these cannot occur in non-sentential environments. Further evidence for the sentential property comes from the possibility to express a separate illocutionary force:

(20) a. Is Jane, the best doctor in town, already married?
b. What will Mary, John's wife, say when she hears about this?

Both sentences have two distinct illocutionary forces: interrogative and declarative, the latter of which is contributed by the appositive.

In terms of the meaning relations between the anchor and the appositive, we can observe that the relations between the two are analogous to those in copular constructions (Quirk et al. 1985; Heringa 2012). Consider the three semantic types of copular constructions:

(21) a. Tom is a novelist. (predicative)
b. The Morning Star is the Evening Star. (equative)
c. The winner of the election is John Smith. (specificational)

As the name implies, the predicative use of the copula in (21a) pre-

dicates a property of the subject of the clause. The equative copula in (21b) equates the referents of the two surrounding expressions. In both of these uses, the subject is referential. The specificational copula in (21c) is different, for the subject expression sets up a variable − so it does not refer − and the post-copular expression provides the value for this variable (see Mikkelsen 2011 and references therein).

In the loose AC, we can observe these three similar semantic relations from corpus data too (see Quirk et al. 1985 also):

(22) a. Attribution: It wasn't until he saw Clara's house, an impo-
sing mansion set back an acre from the street. (COCA 2011 FIC)
   b. Equative: I have a really good Italian friend, Anna Bom-
bara, who gives me some wonderful recipes. (COCA 2000 FIC)
   c. Inclusion: They passed him, clucking softly to their animals, the little donkeys snorting at his scent (COCA 2001 FIC)

The anchor is characterized by the apposition giving some characteristics of the individual referred by the anchor. The attribution use corresponds a predicative use, denoting a property of the anchor as seen from the fact that the content of the apposition can be paraphrased as following:

(23) a. The Clara's house is an imposing mansion.
   b. The house set back an acre from the street.

The apposition in an equivalence (or identificational) relation allows the insertion of an expression like *that is (to say)* representing 'a naming relation'. However, this does not mean that the appositive can be interchangeable with the nonrestrictive relative clause. This is also born out form the following:

(24) *I have a really good Italian friend, who is Anna Bombara, who gives me some wonderful recipes.

In the inclusive apposition, the reference of the apposition is included in the referent of the anchor. The omission of the anchor or the appo-

sition thus brings about a radical change in meaning (see Meyer 1992).

2.3. More on the Semantic and Pragmatic Properties

Appositional constructions juxtapose two NPs, but conjure primary and secondary messages or propositions, which are independent from each other. The question that follows is then what is the relationship between these two propositions. As noted in the earlier section, the appositive proposition and the main proposition linked by the anchor have their own, independent truth value. Consider one more naturally occurring example:

(25) Sam, a carpenter, has a good reputation as a worker, but a
     difficult one. (COCA 2004 NEWS)

Even if the proposition *Sam is a carpenter* is false, the one that *Sam has a good reputation* can be true. The appositive message is thus not part of what is said, but it is implied from the utterance, the conventional meaning of the words involved, and the composition of words. This is what Potts (2005) call 'conventional implicature'. Since conventional implicature can follow from the composition and meaning of the words involved in the given utterance, it belongs to the class of entailments. Consider the edited corpus examples:[4]

(26) A: William, the fearless leader of spaceship Enterprise, beamed
        into the recording room.
     B: No, that's not true.

B's denial is not about his being fearless leader, but his beaming into

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4) There are at least two different implicatures: conversational and conventional. Conversational implicature refers to what is suggested in an utterance. For example, in the conversation exchange A: *Are you going to Paul's party?* and B: *I have to work*, even though B didn't say she/he is not going to the party, but it is implied. Conversation implicature thus asks the speaker to follow the conversational maxims or at least the cooperative principle, based on the addressee's assumption. Meanwhile, conventional implicature is independent of the cooperative principle and its four maxims. A statement always carries its conventional implicature. For example, the sentence *John is poor but happy* implies that poverty and happiness are not compatible but in spite of this Joe is still happy. The conventional interpretation of the word *but* will always create the implicature of a sense of contrast. In this sense, conventional implicature depends on the lexical meaning.

the recording room. B's denial thus applies only to the at-issue content of A's utterance, indicating that conventional implicature cannot be denied by the hearer.

The independence of the appositive meaning can be also observed from its speaker-oriented property, as pointed out by Doron (1998), Keizer (2005), and Potts (2005, 2007):

(27) a. Sam says that Chuck is fit to watch the kids and that Chuck is a confirmed psychopath.
  b. Sam says that Chuck, a confirmed psychopath, is fit to watch the kids.

In (27a), the proposition that Chuck is a confirmed psychopath is part of the message reported by Sam. However, in (27b) the message that Chuck is a psychopath is what the speaker reports, evidenced from the fact that this cannot be denied: we cannot continue (27b) with something like *But he is not a confirmed psychopath*. The appositive message is thus distinct from the main proposition.

The independence of the appositive's propositional meaning can be also observed with the interaction of quantifiers and negation (Potts 2005, 2007). This is, the semantic interaction between the apposition and operators in the host sentence is cross-clausal:

(28) a. *Every woman, a talkative person, participated in the discussion.
  b. John did not kiss Mary, his girlfriend.

The elements in the apposition cannot be in the scope of quantifier in the anchor. The appositives here behave like they were separate sentences with a discourse anaphor referring to the anchor, as seen from the following:

(29) a. Every woman participated in the discussion. #She is a talkative person.
  b. John did not kiss Mary. She is his girlfriend.

As pointed out by Meyer (1987, 1992), Keizer (2005), Potts (2005), the primary function of the AC is to introduce new information. This

is not hard to find from corpus data too:

(30) a. She describes a complex case involving Richard, a vulnerable man with learning disabilities. (COCA 2011 ACAD)
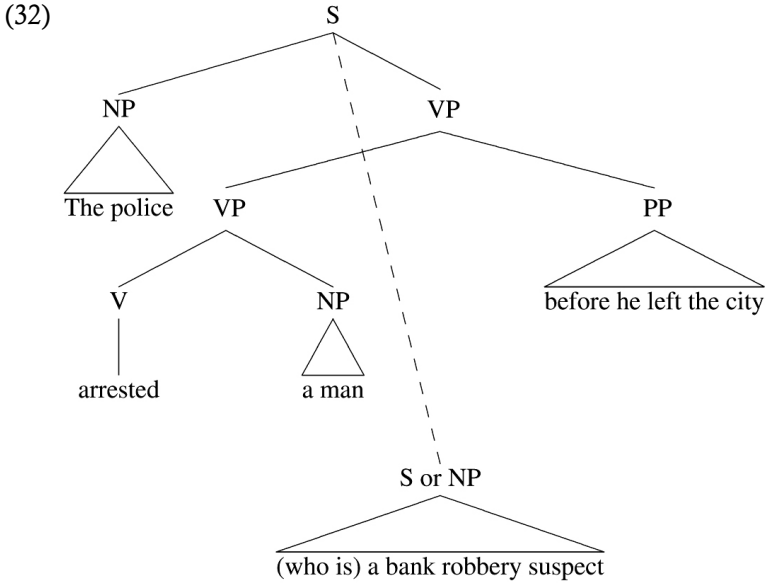b. Madeleine Albright calls up the chief inspector, Richard Butler. (COCA 1998 FIC)

The appositive here helps the reader to identify the referent of the anchor, linking the anchor to the right referent. In this sense, the appositive is new to the hearer. Even when the anchor is indefinite and the appositive is definite, the latter provides additional information to the information described by the anchor:

(31) a. Ruddy's paper is owned by a prominent conservative, Richard Mellon Scaife. (COCA 1996 SPOK)
b. A white student, Kim Cummings, says she went to a private school for a while. (COCA 1999 NEWS)

Note that the appositive denoting a focus is not an obligatory, but optional expression. This means the focus is in a sense deemphasized.

3. A Multidominance Analysis

In capturing the syntactic coordination with the semantic subordination (predication) properties that we have seen so far, one can adopt a multidominance or orphanage structure like the following in which the appositive is syntactically isolated from its anchor:

(32)

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                              S
              ┌───────────────┼──────────────┐
             NP              (dashed)        VP
            ╱──╲            ╱       ╲     ╱──────────╲
         The police      VP         ╲  VP            PP
                        ╱──╲          ╲             ╱────╲
                       V    NP         ╲      before he left the city
                       │   ╱──╲         ╲
                   arrested  a man       ╲
                                      S or NP
                                    ╱────────╲
                          (who is) a bank robbery suspect
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Versions of this structure, disjoint from dominance and precedent, represents a designated supplementary propositional meaning by the appositive (see Emonds 1979; Huddleston and Pullum 2002; Heringa 2011).[5] That is, the appositive NP *a bank robbery suspect* has a sentential meaning, but being subordinated to the main content.

The strong advantage of this orphange, multidominance analysis is that it reflects the fact that the appositive evokes a proposition independent from the main position.[6] However, this non-integrated syntactic structure then cannot reflect the coordination-like properties of the AC in terms of syntax. As we have seen, the appositive can be introduced by a coordinator marker too, as seen from the following (also see Griffiths and Vries 2012):

(33) a. Anna, and my best friend, was here last night.
     b. They have visited Las Vegas, or the City of Sin.

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5) Haegeman (2009) also accepts this 'orphanage' structure for parenthetical expressions, derived separately from their host clause and interpreted as related to their host when contextualized post-LF.

6) See Haegeman (2009) for an orphanage analysis for parenthetical adverbs in English and Arnold (2004) for an integrated syntactic analysis for non-restrictive relative clauses.

The structure thus may reflect the semantic or pragmatic properties of the construction, sacrificing the syntactic nature of the construction.

As pointed out by Potts (2005), this multidominance style also runs into issues with respect to the strict adjacency requirement between the anchor and the appositive:

(34) a. Paris, the capital of France, still remains a large part of its former grandeur.
      b. *Paris, still remains a large part of its former grandeur, the capital of France.

The only evidence for such a root-level adjunction is the widest scope of the appositive.

4. A Construction Grammar Approach: With the Intergrated Syntax

As we have seen, the loose AC displays incongruous mapping between form and function: syntax follows nominal coordination, but semantics evokes a subordinating sentential meaning. In capturing this mismatch, we adopt the philosophy of Construction Grammar (CG) whose main features can be summarized as follows (see, among others, Goldberg and Jackendoff 2004; Goldberg 2006; Kim and Sells 2011 and 2012; Michaelis 2012; Sag 2012):

- All levels of description (including morpheme, word, phrase, and clause) are understood to involve pairings of form with semantic or discourse functions.
- Constructions vary in size and complexity and form and function are specified if not readily transparent.
- Language-specific generalizations across constructions are captured via inheritance networks, reflecting commonalities or differences among constructions.

As we have seen, the loose AC in English displays syntactic patterns linked to semantic and pragmatic purposes. In terms of syntax, it behaves like an NP coordination, but in terms of meaning, the appositive

introduces a propositional meaning, independent from the main clause. These peculiarities of the loose AC in English can be summarized as following:
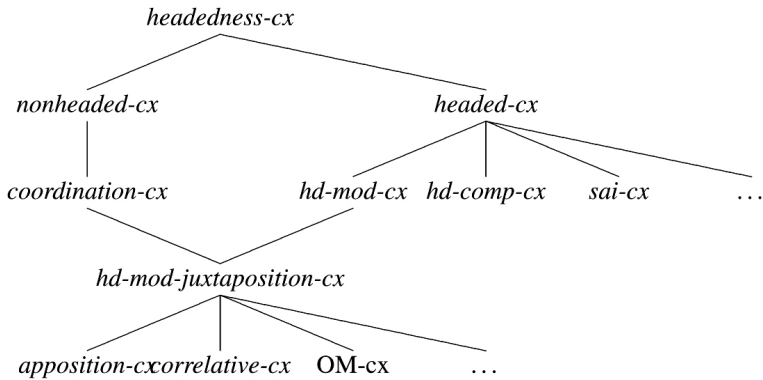
- Syntactic properties: two equivalent classes of expressions are, like asyndetic coordination, juxtaposed without the resultant sentence becoming unacceptable.
- Semantic properties: The anchor and the appositive are in a copular-like semantic relation. The appositive induces a conventional implicature (CI), propositional meaning, which differs from the at-issue semantic content.
- Pragmatic properties: The appositive supplies speaker-oriented, deemphasized new information.

Considering the combinatorial properties of the construction, we see that the apposition is juxtaposing two nominal constructions. Matthews (1981) assumes four different syntactic dependency relations: complementation, modification, coordination, and parataxis. In addition to these four, he places 'juxtaposition' as an additional dependency that lies between modification and coordination. Of the cases of juxtaposition, one exemplar construction is the correlative construction, OM (*one more*) construction, and others (Culicover and Jackendoff 1997, 1999; Kim 2011):

(35) a. The less I do, the better I feel.
  b. One more can of beer and I am leaving (or You drink another can of beer and I am leaving).

Following Matthews' idea together with the construction grammar view of English, we can posit the following hierarchy for English (see Sag et al. 2003; Kim and Sells 2008):

(36) Inheritance hierarchy for headness-cx:

headedness-cx

nonheaded-cx   *headed-cx*

coordination-cx   *hd-mod-cx* *hd-comp-cx*   *sai-cx*   …

hd-mod-juxtaposition-cx

apposition-cx *correlative-cx*   OM-cx   …

As such, the construction-based framework captures linguistic gene-
ralizations within a particular language via the inheritance hierarchies
in which cross-cutting generalizations are captured by inheritance
constraints. The hierarchy in (36) represents hierarchical classification
of headed phrasal types. The headed phrases include constructions
such as head-modifier (*hd-mod-cx*), head-complement (*hd-comp-cx*), and
subject-aux-inversion (*sai-cx*) while the nonheaded phrases include coor-
dination constructions.

  The headed juxtaposition construction is herewith assumed to be a
subtype of both coordination and head modifier construction. This
means that the juxtaposition construction may inherit some of the
constructional properties of its supertypes such as coordination and
head modifier construction. Consider the following data for compara-
tive correlatives showing both coordination and subordination (as
head-modifier) properties (Culicover 1999; Culicover and Jackendoff
1997, 1999; Abeillé and Borsley 2008):

  (37) a. The more we eat, the angrier you get, don't you?
       b. *The more we eat, the angrier you get, don't we?

  (38) a. *[The more food] Mary knows a man that eats __, the
          poorer she gets. [CNPC]
       b. *The more he eats, [the poorer] he knows a woman that
          gets __. [CNPC]

The examples in (37) show us that it is the second clause that is

sensitive to the tag questions, indicating the first clause is a subordination while the second one is the head. The examples in (38), meanwhile, show that both clauses behave alike with respect to island constraints. These dual properties of English comparative correlatives can be direct consequences of the way phrasal types are organized as sketched in (36).

The English apposition construction (*apposition-cx*) is also a subtype of the superconstruction *hd-mod-juxtaposition-cx* and thus inherits properties from both coordination and modification. The coordination properties are reflected in its syntactic structure while the subordination properties ensure that the second appositive is subordinated to the anchor. In addition to these inherited properties, the construction has its own properties with respect to the semantics and information structure, as represented in the following:[7]
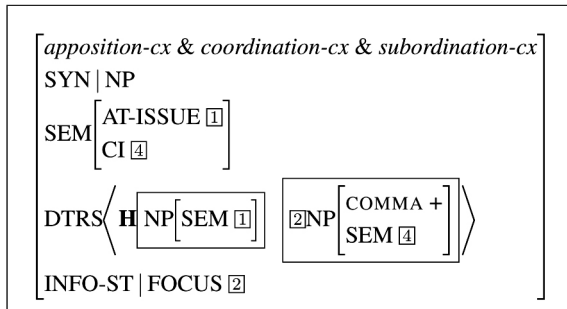
$$
\begin{bmatrix}
\textit{apposition-cx \& coordination-cx \& subordination-cx} \\
\text{SYN} \mid \text{NP} \\[4pt]
\text{SEM}\begin{bmatrix} \text{AT-ISSUE } \boxed{1} \\ \text{CI } \boxed{4} \end{bmatrix} \\[10pt]
\text{DTRS}\left\langle \textbf{H}\ \text{NP}\begin{bmatrix}\text{SEM } \boxed{1}\end{bmatrix}\ \ \boxed{2}\text{NP}\begin{bmatrix}\text{COMMA } + \\ \text{SEM } \boxed{4}\end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \\[10pt]
\text{INFO-ST} \mid \text{FOCUS } \boxed{2}
\end{bmatrix}
$$

Figure 1. English Loose Apposition Construction.

As specified in Figure 1, in terms of syntax, the construction has two immediate daughters, ensuring that the anchor and the appositive are in the adjacent position. This will generate a structure like the following:[8]

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7) The constructional properties of *coordination-cx* and *subordination-cx* follow traditional assumptions in that the former coordinates two identical categories while the latter consists of a head and a modifying clause. We leave out detailed discussion here for space reason.

8) The construction *loose-ac-cx* belongs to a subtype of the construction *apposition-cx*.

(39)   NP[*loose-ac-cx*]

       NP   NP[COMMA +]

       |
     Denzel   the director of our art department
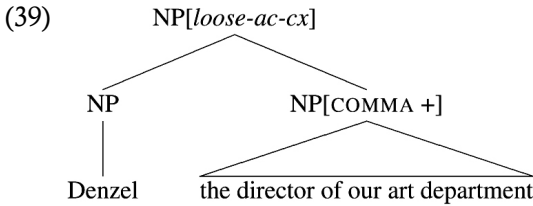
As the structure shows us here, the appositive is right-adjoined to the anchor, forming a constituent with it. This will block examples where the two units of the AC are non-adjacent or the two do not form a constituent.

(40) a. Denzel, the director of our art department, has been with the company for ten years.
     b. *Denzel has, the director of our art department, been with the company for ten years.

Since the construction inherits coordination properties in terms of syntax, we can expect that a syntactic process cannot be applied only to one of the two:

(41) a. *Who, the direct of our art department, ___, has been with the company for ten years?
     b. *Who is the new school superintendent ____, a veteran agriculture teacher?

In the structure, the anchor NP serves as the head, the appositive serving as the modifier. This will also reflect the optional properties of not the anchor but the appositive:

(42) a. James, back then a little boy, impressed his audience.
     b. James impressed his audience.
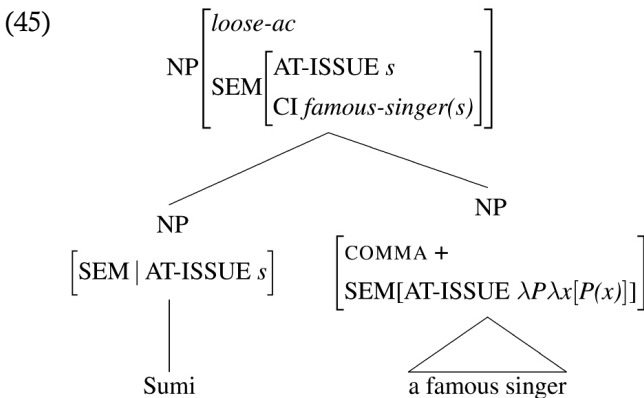   c. *Back then a little boy, impressed his audience.

In terms of semantics, the construction specifies that the appositive is a copular predicate relation with the anchor. The copular predicate relation has three different types, depending on the context, as once again illustrated by the examples in (43):

(43) a. Captain Madison, the troop commander, assembled his men. (attribution)

b. The house, an imposing building, dominates the street. (equative)

c. The children liked the animals, particularly the monkeys. (inclusion)

As seen earlier and argued by Potts (2005), there are two different types of semantics: at-issue and CI (conventional implicature). CIs are parts of the conventional, lexical meaning of words, but are logically and compositionally independent of what is 'said', i.e., the at issue entailments. Consider one more example:

(44) a. It is not the case that Sumi, a famous singer, lives at Seoul.

b. It is not the case that Sumi lives at Seoul.

c. Sumi is a famous singer.

The sentence (44a) induces two propositional meaning: the proposition (44b) is the at-issue content while (44c) has the status of a conventional implicature.[9] Note that meaning (44c) evoked by the appositive is outside the scope of negation. Following Potts (2005), we posit two different dimensions of content: at-issue and CI content, whose compositional processes we can represent as following:

(45)

$$
NP \begin{bmatrix} \textit{loose-ac} \\ SEM \begin{bmatrix} \text{AT-ISSUE } s \\ \text{CI } \textit{famous-singer(s)} \end{bmatrix} \end{bmatrix}
$$

NP

$$
\begin{bmatrix} SEM \mid \text{AT-ISSUE } s \end{bmatrix}
$$

Sumi

NP

$$
\begin{bmatrix} \text{COMMA } + \\ SEM[\text{AT-ISSUE } \lambda P \lambda x[P(x)]] \end{bmatrix}
$$

a famous singer

---

9) Potts (2005) distinguishes the two levels of content in the type-system, e.g., t^a for the former and t^c for the latter. This type system prevents the grammar from generating an AC like *every boxer, a famous one*: the quantified anchor ($<e, t^a>, t^a>$) and the appositive ($<e, t^a>$) have a type clash to undergo a functional application.

As illustrated by the structure, the anchor and the appositive have their own at-issue contents, but when they participate in the apposition construction, the structure evokes a CI meaning. This process is in a sense triggered by the value of the feature COMMA. The process of turning the at-issue meaning into a CI message would not happen in the close AC, as seen from the following contrast:

(46) a. My brother Peter is still at high school.
     b. My brother, Peter, is still at high school.

Unlike the loose AC, the appositive of the close AC just gives us a unique description of the extralinguistic reference. The close AC has an identifying function, different from a copular-relation in the loose AC. This way of dealing with the close and loose AC may provide a way of describing the similarities between the loose and close ACs while teasing apart their differences.[10]

5. Conclusion

The English apposition construction has two components: anchor and appositive. We have seen that the construction displays coordination properties in the combinatorial processes but subordination ones in terms of semantics. The construction has both an individual meaning (projected from the anchor) and a propositional meaning from the appositive. The appositive is property-denoting, but its semantic contribution is distinct from the at-issue meaning (what is said or regular assertive content).

There is thus a clear mismatch between form and meaning. That is, syntactic structures are nominal coordination, but semantic outputs yield a propositional meaning independent from the main content. In capturing these incongruous properties, we may adopt a multidominance or orphange approach in which the appositive expression is not under the precedence or dominance relationship. The advantage of such an nonintegrated syntax may come from semantic contributions, but it misses coordination properties as well as still lacks in teasing

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10) The detailed analysis of the close AC and its comparison with the loose AC is beyond the scope of this paper.

out the CI contribution from the at-issue contribution.

Departing from this, couched upon the CG framework, we in this paper proposed an integrated approach in which the appositive forms a syntactic unit with the anchor but allows an incongruous mapping into semantic contributions. The CG framework assumes that all levels of linguistic description (including morpheme, word, phrase, and clauses) are understood to involve pairings of form with semantic or discourse functions. We hope to have shown that this framework can provide a modular way of describing the incongruous properties of the close AC.

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