The Syntax of Nominal Apposition in Modern Standard Arabic: A Three-Configuration Proposal

Muteb Alqarni

King Khalid University

Mutebalqarni@gmail.com

Moteebalqarni@kku.edu.sa

First Draft, Under Review

Abstract: The current paper argues that there are three types of apposition, i.e. two juxtaposed noun phrases (NPs), in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Each type exhibits special properties in terms of the nominal class of the two units, their word order, case (dis)agreement, semantic relation, and the removability of either NP. For each type, we assign a separate structural analysis. An adjunction analysis is proposed for Type I which consists of a common noun followed by a proper name. For Type II which involves two common NPs, the second of which behaves as an attributive element, we situate the two nouns in a spec-head relation. A head-complement structure is proposed for the last type which involves a pronoun followed by an accusative-marked NP.

Keywords: Apposition, Modern Standard Arabic, adjuncts, specifiers, complements.

1. Introduction

Apposition is a grammatical relation in which two elements, typically NPs, are placed side by side, as illustrated in (1)[1].

> (1) <u>The linguist</u>, *John McCarthy*, published a new article.

In (1), the first underlined phrase is called **the anchor** (following Huddleston & Pullum 2002) while the second one in italics is called **the appositive** (Potts 2005). The nominal construction in (1) is the clearest manifestation of apposition. For this reason, early grammarians restrict apposition to NPs only (Fries 1952:187; Francis 1958: 301). However, other "grammarians vary in the freedom with which they apply the term apposition" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1302), extending it to adjectives, adverbials, pronouns, genitives, participles and predicates as shown in the following examples (cf. Meyer 1992, 1-2).

> (2) <u>the room</u> *above*   [adjectival apposition]

---

[1] Abbreviations used in this article are as follows: 1 = First Person; 2 = Second Person; 3 = Third Person; ACC = Accusative; AP = Adjective Phrase; DP = Determiner Phrase; DU = Dual; F = Feminine; FP(s) = Functional Projection(s); GEN = Genitive; IMPERF = Imperfective; INDEF = Indefinite; M = Masculine; MSA = Modern Standard Arabic; NOM = Nominative ; NP = Noun Phrase; PERF = Perfective; PL = Plural; PNC(s) = Pronoun-

(3) They met <u>here</u>, *in London*.   [adverbial apposition]
(4) <u>You</u> *yourself* must set some tasks   [reflexive pronoun apposition]
(5) <u>The vice</u> *of intemperance*   [genitive apposition]
(6) He <u>sat</u> *smoking*.   [participle apposition]
(7) He <u>came home</u> *sick*   [predicative apposition]

In light of these variations, it has been argued in the literature that apposition is a type of relatives (Grosu 2000; De Vries 2006; O'Connor 2008; Cardoso & De Vries 2010), a process of correction or repetition (Ortner 1985; Schindler 1990; Rath 1995), a special kind of epithets (Klein 1977) or a type of reformulation (Del Saz Rubio 2003; Jasinskaja 2007). This variety of proposals is due to the irregular behaviors that apposition display cross-linguistically. Even within the same language, apposition is not uniform, showing different manifestations. Molitor (1979), for instance, draws a distinction between subordinative and coordinative appositions in German, arguing that subordinative apposition always takes nominative irrespective of the case of the anchor, whereas the coordinative apposition agrees in case (a similar analysis put forward by Burton-Roberts 1975).

Given that the situation in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is not quite different and most of the earlier works on Arabic apposition are descriptive (Wright 1967; Howell 1986; Suleiman 1999; Fischer 2002; Ali 2012; Sawaie 2014 among others), we aim to provide the first formal analysis to Arabic nominal apposition, leaving other complex non-nominal appositions for future works. In her Arabic grammar book, Ryding (2005: 224-225) provided (8) through (10) as representations of nominal apposition in MSA.

(8) dʒa:ʔa   <u>n-nabiyy-u</u>   *Muħammad-un*
     come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
     'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'

(9) qarrar-ati   <u>d-duwal-u</u>   *l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u*   l-muɣa:darat-a
     decide.PERF-3.F   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   the-departure-ACC
     'The states, the members, decided to leave.'

(10) <u>naħnu</u>   *l-ʕarab-a*   naqu:lu   ða:lika
     We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
     'We, the Arabs, say that.'

There are two properties in the above constructions that qualify them as appositional. The constructions in (8) through (10) consist of two adjacent nominal elements (i.e. NP-NP as in (8) and (9) or a pronoun-NP as in (10)), and this juxtaposition of two nominal units is the most salient property of apposition in the literature (see e.g. Huddleston & Pullum 2002; Potts 2005; Heringa, 2011 among others).

Second, every two units in the above constructions refer to a single referent. In (8), for instance, *the prophet* and *Muhammad* refer to the same person in the external world. The NPs *the states* and *the members* in (9) also refer to the same entities. In (10), both the pronoun *we* and the NP *the Arabs* refer to the plural first person speaker who produced sentence (10).

This referential property is also common among appositions attested in the literature (see Sopher 1971; Quirk et al. 1985; Koktová 1986; Hannay & Keizer 2005). In light of these characteristics, we take (8) through (10) as appositional constructions in MSA.

We will show, however, that each example in (8) through (10) represents a distinct type with specific properties. From now on, we will call example (8) Type I, example (9) Type II, and example (10) Type III. We will argue that these types should not receive a uniform syntactic account, but each type requires a separate syntactic structure.

The remainder of the article is organized as follows. Section (2) presents the differences between the three types discussed above. Section (3) provides a syntactic analysis for each type. Concluding remarks are given in section (4).

2 The Distinctions between Type I, II, and III Appositions

In this section, we will highlight five distinctions that can be drawn between the three types of nominal appositions in MSA. We will address these distinctions in terms of the nominal classes of the two units, their word order, their case (dis)agreement, the deletion of either unit in their constructions and finally their semantic classes.

2.1 Nominal Classes of the Two Elements

The nominal class of each element in Arabic nominal appositions differentiates between the three types in (8) through (10), repeated below using different examples. We provided new examples that are parallel to the examples above, to reiterate that these types are productive in MSA.

(11)   dʒa:ʔa   <u>ʔabi,</u>   *ʕali-un*
        come.PERF.3.M   father.my.NOM   Ali-NOM
        'My father, Ali, came.'   (Type   I)

(12)   qarrar-ati   <u>ʃ-ʃarikat-u</u>   *l-ʔumm-u*   l-insiħa:b-a
        decide.PERF-3.F   the-company-NOM   the-mother-NOM the-withdrawal-ACC
        'The company, the mother, decided to withdraw.'   (Type II)

(13)   <u>ʔana</u>   *l-muʕallim-a*   ʔaʕtarif-u   ʔanna …
        I.NOM   the-teacher-ACC   acknowledged.IMPERF.1.M   that …
        'I, the teacher, acknowledge that…'   (Type III)

As shown from the examples above, Type I apposition in (11) involves **common noun**+**proper name** whereas Type II apposition in (12) involves **common noun**+**common noun**. As for Type III apposition, it involves **pronoun**+**common noun** as in (13). In other words, we can conclude that the two units in each type are different in terms of their nominal categories.

2.2 Case (Dis)agreement

The constructions in (8) through (10) also differ in terms of case (dis)agreement. The appositive agrees in case with the anchor as shown in (14) for Type I and (15) for Type II. In

these types, the two elements share the same case suffixes in different positions: *-u* for nominative (i.e. a-examples), *-a* for accusative (i.e. b-examples) and *–i* for genitive (i.e. c-examples).

(14) a. dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-**u**,   Muħammad-**u**-n
come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM-INDEF
'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'

b. qa:baltu   n-nabiyy-**a**,   Muħammad-**a**-n
meet.PERF.1.S   the-prophet-ACC   Muhammad-ACC-INDEF
'I met the prophet, Muhammad.'

c. marartu   bi   n-nabiyy-**i**,   Muħammad-**i**-n
pass.PERF.1.S   by   the-prophet-GEN   Muhammad-GEN-INDEF
'I passed by the prophet, Muhammad.'   (Type I)

(15) a. qarrar-ati   d-duwal-**u**   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-**u**   l-muɣa:darat-a
decide.PERF-3.F the-states-NOM the-members-NOM   the-departure-ACC
'The states, the members, decided to leave.'

b. qa:baltu   d-duwal-**a**   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-**a**
meet.PERF.1.S   the-states-ACC the-members-ACC
'I met the states, the members.'

c. taħadaθtu   maʕa   d-duwal-**i**   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-**i**
talk.PERF.1.S   with   the-states-GEN the-members-GEN
'I talked with the states, the members.'   (Type II)

However, the anchor in Type III apposition takes only the nominative case whereas the appositive invariably takes the accusative as in (16a). Type III apposition is restricted to subject positions as in (16a) and do appear in non-subject positions as in (16b,c).

(16) a. naħn**u**   l-ʕarab-**a**   naqulu   ða:lika
We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
'We, the Arabs, say that.'

b. *ʔaħmad-u   qa:bal-**na**   l-ʕarab-**a**
Ahmed.NOM   meet.IMPERF.3.M.S-us.ACC   the-arab.PL-ACC
'Ahmed met us, the Arabs.'

c. *ʔaħmad-u   takallama   ʕan-**na**   l-ʕarab-**a**
Ahmed.NOM   talk.IMPRF.3.M.S   about-us.GEN   the-arab.PL-ACC
'Ahmed talked about us, the Arabs'.   (Type III)

4

It should be noted that the sentences in (16b,c) are ungrammatical because the anchor cannot be a clitic. These sentences can be rescued if we insert the whole appositional phrase *naħnu l-ʕaraba* 'we, the Arabs' after the pronominal clitics attached to the verb or the preposition as shown in (17) and (18) respectively. However, in both examples, the two elements *naħnu l-ʕaraba* 'we, the Arabs' maintain their case markings: nominative and accusative respectively.

(17) Ɂaħmad-u qa:bal-**na**,   <u>naħn**u**</u>   l-ʕarab-**a**
   Ahmed.NOM met.3.M.S-us.ACC, we.NOM the-arab.PL-ACC
   'Ahmed met us, we the Arabs.'

(18) Ɂaħmad-u takallama ʕan-**na**, <u>naħn**u**</u> l-ʕarab-**a**
   Ahmed.NOM talked.3.M.S about-us.GEN, we.NOM the-arab.PL-ACC
   'Ahmed talked about us, we the Arabs'.

To conclude, the two units of Type I and Type II show case agreement whereas those of Type III do not.

2.3 Word Order

Another distinction between the three types of Arabic nominal apposition follows from the ordering of the two units in their constructions. As apparent from (19), Type I appositions allow the common noun to precede or follow the proper name.

(19) a. <u>Ɂan-nabiyy-u,</u> *Muħammad-un*
     the-prophet-NOM Muhammad-NOM
     'The prophet, Muhammad'

   b. *Muħammad-un,* <u>an-nabiyy-u</u>
     Muhammad-NOM the-prophet-NOM
     'Muhammad, the prophet'   (Type I)

However, Types II and III appositions impose ordering restrictions. As shown in Type II apposition (20a), the first common noun *Ɂadduwalu* 'states' must precede the second common noun *lɁaʕdˤa:Ɂu* 'the members'. The reverse ordering is not allowed; see (20b).

(20) a. <u>Ɂad-duwal-u</u> *l-Ɂaʕdˤa:Ɂ-u*
     the-states-NOM the-members-NOM
     'The states, the members'

   b. **Ɂal-Ɂaʕdˤa:Ɂ-u* <u>d-duwal-u</u>
     the-members-NOM the-states-NOM
     'The members, the states'   (Type II)

The same applies to Type III apposition in (21). The pronoun must always precede the common noun as in (21a). As shown in (21b), the common noun cannot precede the pronoun irrespective of the case it takes: accusative or nominative.

(21)   a.   naħnu   *l-ʕarab-a*
                  We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC
                  'We, the Arabs'

           b.   **ʔal-ʕarab-a/u*   naħnu
                  the-arab.PL-ACC/NOM   we.NOM
                  'The Arabs, we'   (Type III)

In this section, we conclude that Type I allows the two units in its constructions to be freely ordered. However, there is a strict ordering of the two units in Type II and III appositions.

2.4 Deletion of Either Unit

In their extensive study of apposition, Quirk et al. (1985: 1302) list three primary characteristics of the two units of apposition, summarized in (22).

(22)   A.   Each of the appositional units can be separately omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence.
           B.   Each fulfils the same syntactic function in the resultant sentences.
           C.   It can be assumed that there is no difference between the original sentence and either of the resultant sentences in extralinguistic reference.

In light of these properties, Quirk et al. (1985, 1302-3) propose that appositions which fulfill all the criteria in (22) are **full appositions**, see e.g. (23). Those which do not meet all the requirements in (22) are **partial appositions**, see (24).

(23)   a. *A neighbor*, *Fred Brick*, is on the telephone.
          b. *A neighbor* is on the telephone.
          c. *Fred Brick* is on the telephone.   (Full Apposition)

(24)   a. *An unusual present* was given to him for his birthday, *a book on ethics*.
          b. *An unusual present* was given to him for his birthday.
          c. *Was given to him for his birthday, *a book on ethics*.   (Partial Apposition)

The three types of Arabic nominal apposition also differ in terms of their fulfilment of the three conditions above. Let us start with Type I in (25).

(25) a. qa:la   <u>n-nabiyy-u,</u>   *Muḥammad-un*   …
          say.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM   …
          'The prophet, Muhammad, said...'

      b. qa:la   <u>n-nabiyy-u</u>   …
          say.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   …
          'The prophet said...'

      c. qa:la   *Muḥammad-un*   …
          say.PERF.3.M   Muhammad-NOM   …
          'Muhammad said...'

As is clear from (25), Type I is full apposition because it meets all the requirements in (22). Either unit in Type I apposition can be deleted as in (25b,c) without affecting the grammaticality of the resultant sentence (requirement A). Note here that the deletion applies to either unit in (25a) without changing the inflection of the verb. Also, each unit in (25b,c) fulfills the same syntactic function in sentence (35a), namely a subject (requirement B). Moreover, it can be assumed from the resultant sentences in (25b,c) that there is no difference between the original sentence and either of the resultant sentences in extralinguistic reference (requirement C). In both (25b,c), the referent in the subject position is still extralinguistically identified in the appropriate discourse, and it is the same person referred to in (25a).

Type II apposition is partial because it violate all the requirements in (22) as shown in (26) below.

(26) a. qarrar-ati   <u>d-duwal-u</u>   *l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u*   l-muɣa:darat-a
          decide.PERF.3.F the-states.F-NOM   the-members.M-NOM   the-departure-ACC
          'The states, the members, decided to leave.'

      b. qarrar-ati   <u>d-duwal-u</u>   l-muɣa:darat-a
          decide.PERF.3.F the-states.F-NOM   the-departure-ACC
          'The states decided to leave.'

      c. *qarrar-ati   *l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u*   l-muɣa:darat-a
          decide.PERF.3.F the-members.M-NOM   the-departure-ACC
          'Indented meaning: the members (=the states) decided to leave.'

      d. qarrara   <u>l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u</u>   l-muɣa:darat-a
          decide.PERF.3.M the-members.M-NOM   the-departure-ACC
          'The members decided to leave.'

Type II appositions only allow the deletion of the second unit *lʔaʕdˤa:ʔu* 'the members' from (26a) as shown in (26b) but not the first unit *d-duwalu* 'the states' as in (26c). One might assume that the ungrammaticality is due to the incorrect subject-verb agreement in (26c). When subject-verb agreement is corrected, it becomes grammatical as in (26c).

Although this is true, this behavior is not attested in Type I apposition. Note that the deletion of the appositive in (25b) and (25c) for Type I apposition does not require any change in subject-verb agreement. Even if we correct the subject-verb agreement, unlike Type I apposition, *l-ʔaʕdˤaː-ʔ-u* 'the members' in Type II apposition (26d) does not necessarily capture the extralinguistic referent *d-duwal-u* 'the states' in the original sentence (26a).

The same applies to Type III appositions in (27). The deletion of the second unit is allowable as in (27b), but the deletion of the first unit causes ungrammaticality as in (27c) unless we fix the subject-verb agreement as in (27d). However, the extralinguistic referent in both (27b,d) cannot be linked to the same person *we* as in sentence (27a).

(27) a. <u>naħnu</u>   *l-ʕarab-a*   naqu:lu   ða:lika
          We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
          'We, the Arabs, say that.'

      b. <u>naħnu</u>   naqu:lu   ða:lika
          We.NOM   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
          'We say that.'

      c. *<u>ʔal-ʕarab-u</u>   naqu:lu   ða:lika
          the-arab.PL-NOM   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
          'Indented meaning: The Arabs (=we) say that.'

      d. <u>ʔal-ʕarab-u</u>   yaqu:lu:na   ða:lika
          the-arab.PL-NOM   say.IMPERF.3.PL   that
          'The Arabs say that.'

Thus, from a descriptive point of view, Type I allows the deletion of either unit without any alternations of the verb inflection, whereas Type II and III do not allow the deletion of the first unit unless the verb-subject agreement is properly repaired. Even after the correction of subject-verb agreements, the appositive in Type I and II does not necessarily refer to a deleted anchor. In light of these differences, Type I is full apposition, whereas Type I, Type II, and Type III are partial appositions. Being partial apposition does not mean that the latter types are not appositional any longer. They are still viewed as apposition according to Quirk et al. (1985, 1302-3), similar to other partial appositions found in French and English (O'Connor 2008; Hannay & Keizer 2005).

2.5 Semantic Classes
The semantic relations between the two units in (8) through (10) are also different. In this section, we refer to descriptive non-formal semantics, not formal semantics. These relations can categorize the Arabic appositional types into different semantic classes, depending on the manner in which the appositive provides information about the anchor. Using non-formal semantic terminologies, Meyer (1992: 73) demonstrates that apposition, in general, is a relation where the second member, i.e. the appositive, adds specificity to the interpretation of the first one, i.e. the anchor. In most cases, the second member contains more specific

information than the first one. Under this view, many scholars propose different semantics classes for appositional constructions: appellation, characterization, identification, attribution, inclusion among many others (Meyer, 1992; Heringa, 2011).

According to Meyer (1992: 76), the class of appellation includes apposition where the second unit specifies the name of the first one. In other words, the second member is a proper name. Given that Type I in (28) fares well with this class, we propose that Type I appositions fall under 'appellation'.

(28) qa:la   <u>n-nabiyy-u,</u>   *Muħammad-un*   …
      say.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM   …
      'The prophet, Muhammad, said...'   (Type I)

However, as discussed in section (2.4), we know that Type I appositions can allow the reverse order of the two units: (i) proper name and (ii) common noun as in (29) below. With that word order, 'identification' is a more appropriate semantic class for Type I appositions. Identification means that the first unit is followed by an NP that 'identifies' the referent of the first one (Meyer 1992: 75), and this fares well with the examples below.

(29) qa:la   *Muħammad-un,*   <u>an-nabiyy-u,</u>   …
      say.PERF.3.M   Muhammad-NOM   the-prophet-NOM   …
      'Muhammad, the prophet, said...'   (Type I)

Thus, we conclude that Type I appositions can fall under either appellation or identification, depending on the ordering of their two units.

As for Type II in (30) below, we propose that it belongs to the characterization class. The characterization class requires that the second unit of appositions be attributive and provide "general 'characteristics' of the first unit" (Meyer, 1992: 78). This requirement fits Type II as the second unit behaves as a characterizing modifier to the anchor. Note that this semantic relation, however, does not render Type II constructions non-propositional because modifying appositives are common in the literature (Doron 1994; Acuña-Fariña 1996; Potts 2005).

(30) qarrar-ati   <u>d-duwal-u</u>   *l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u*   l-muɣa:darat-a
      decide.PERF-3.F   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   the-departure-ACC
      'The states, the members, decided to leave.'

As for Type III apposition in (31), we argue that it fares well with the identification class.

(31) a. <u>humu</u>   *l-fuqara:ʔ-a*   yaħta:dʒu:na   ða:lika
          they.NOM   the-poor.PL-ACC   need.IMPERF.1.PL   that
          'They, the poor, need that'.

b.	Ɂana	l-muʕallim-a	Ɂaʕtarif-u		Ɂanna …
	I.NOM	the-teacher-ACC	acknowledged.IMPERF.1.M		that …
	'I, the teacher, acknowledge that…'				

According to Meyer (1992: 75), the identification class can allow the second unit to identify the referent of the first member, even if the latter is a pronoun such as *what* as in (46) or *we* as in (47).

(32)   Most important of all, this description of the linguistic configuration of metaphor brings out the truth of <u>what</u> some writers on metaphor have been at pains to point out: that is, *that with a metaphor one can make a complex statement without complication the grammatical construction of the sentence that carries the statement.* (SEU, w. 9.4.56-2, 56-3). (Meyer 1992: 75, ex. 56).

(33)   <u>We</u>, *John and I*, intend to resign.   (Quirk et al, 1985: 1309)

Given that Type III apposition (31a,b) also includes a pronoun that is additionally identified with NPs such as *lfuqara:Ɂa* 'the poor' and *lmuʕallima* 'the teacher', we propose that it falls under the identification class. In conclusion, Type I falls under 'appellation' or 'identification' based on the order of the two units, Type II under 'characterization' and Type III under 'identification'.

2.6 Intermediate Summary
To summarize the distinctions between the three types of Arabic nominal apposition under study, consider Table 1.

Distinctions	Type I	Type II	Type II
Classes of the two units	Common noun	Common noun	Pronoun
	+	+	+
	Proper noun	Common noun	Common noun
Case Agreement	Yes	Yes	No
Word Order	Free	Restricted	Restricted
Deletion of either unit	Yes	No	No
Semantic Class	Appellation Identification	Characterization	Identification

Table 1: Distinctions between the Three-Type of Nominal Appositions in MSA

As obvious from Table 1, the deletion of either unit seems to follow from the free ordering of the two units. Given that Type I appositions allow the two units to be freely ordered, the deletion of either unit is allowed. However, because Type II and III impose strict ordering on the two elements of their appositions, the first unit is always required.

We conclude from Table 1 that the distinctions between the three types of Arabic nominal apposition suggest that nominal apposition in MSA cannot take a unified account; a separate analysis should rather be developed for each type.[2]

3. The Syntax of Arabic Nominal Appositions

In this section, we will argue that a separate syntactic account should be assigned to each type of Arabic nominal appositions. Type I appositions will be explored in section (3.1) and they will require an adjunction analysis. In the same section, we will argue against the coordination account that has been proposed for similar appositional constructions (Sadler & Nordlinger 2006; De Vries 2006; Heringa 2007). Type II appositions will take a specifier-head structure in section (3.2), whereas Type III will be represented in a head-complement configuration in section (3.3).

3.1 The Syntax of Type I Appositions

In the former section, we have shown that apposition of Type I, reproduced in (34), consists of a common noun and a proper name. Such appositions allow their two units to switch positions (e.g. 19) and they allow the first unit to be removed without disturbing the grammaticality the resulting sentence (e.g. 25). However, the resultant sentences can capture the extralinguistic referent only in Type I (e.g. 25b,c). The two units in both subtypes agree in case (e.g. 14).

---

[2] One reviewer claims that our three-fold classification of apposition (i.e. Type I, II, III) has been mentioned in the traditional literature; thus, accreditation is needed. This is not true. The traditional literature classifies apposition into three types: whole apposition, partitive apposition and possessive apposition. Whole apposition occurs when an element wholly replaces the other as in (i).

    i.   dʒa:ʔa   ʕali-u-n   ʕamm-u-ka
        come.PERF.3.M   Ali-NOM-INDEF   uncle-NOM-your
        'Ali, your uncle, came.'

    Our classification (Type I, II, and III) is subsumed under this type (whole apposition). Partitive apposition occurs when the second element is a part or a quantity of the first one as in (ii). Possessive apposition is when the first element is the possessor of the second one as in (iii). In the latter two types, the second element must bear a clitic bound to the first element.

    ii.   qaraʔtu   l-kita:b-a   nisˤf-a-hu/θuluθ-a-hu/baʕdˤ-a-hu
         read.PERF.1.M   the-book-ACC   half-ACC-its/third-ACC-its/some-ACC-its
         'I read the book, half/third/some of it.'

    iii.   ʔuħibbu   l-marʔat-a   ħadi:θ-a-ha/ʔaxla:q-a-ha
         love.IMPERF.1.M the-woman-ACC   talk-ACC-her/manner.PL-ACC-her
         'I love the woman, her talk/manners.'

    Obviously, the last two types in the literature involve the movement of the first element from the second phrase, leaving a pronominal clitic attached onto the second element. It is now clear that nothing in the traditional literature is related to our classification discussed in the body of the paper, because Type I, II and III do not involve the movement of the first element from the second one which in turn does not have a clitic. Rather, the first element in all the three types wholly replaces the second element, i.e. whole apposition.

(34) dʒa:ʔa   <u>n-nabiyy-**u**,</u>   *Muħammad-**u**-n*
come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM-INDEF
'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'   (Type I)

To account for the properties of Type I appositions, we propose the adjunction structure in (35), where two DPs are adjoined to each other.

(35)
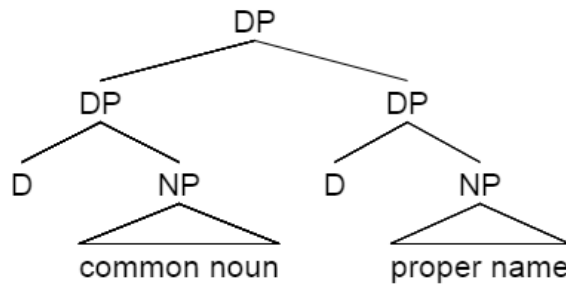
Our structural proposal in (35) is not totally new, but it is similar to the structure proposed by Lekakou and Szendrői's (2011) for Greek apposition in (36) below. Like Type I, Greek appositions allow their two elements to exchange positions as in (36a,b).

(36)   a.   <u>o   aetos</u> *to*   *puli*
           the.MASC   eagle the.NEUT   bird
           'The bird that is an eagle'

       b.   *to*   *puli* <u>o   aetos</u>
           the.NEUT   bird the.MASC   eagle
           'The eagle that is a bird' (Lekakou and Szendrői, 2011: 108: ex. 2)

To capture the free ordering between the two units in (36), Lekakou and Szendrői (2011) propose that the two units are adjuncts. Adjuncts are known for their bidirectionality as they can branch to the left or the right of other categories (Cinque 1999; Dalrymple 2001; Ernst 2002). Given that we also attest the same free ordering between the two units in (37) for Type I, we follow Lekakou and Szendrői (2011) and propose that each unit in Type I apposition is a DP-adjunct which can adjoin to the right or the left of the other one.

(37)   a.   dʒa:ʔa   <u>n-nabiyy-u,</u>   *Muħammad-un*
           come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
           'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'

       b.   dʒa:ʔa   *Muħammad-un,*   <u>an-nabiyy-u</u>
           come.PERF.3.M   Muhammad-NOM   the-prophet-NOM
           'Muhammad, the prophet, came.'

Thus, the derivation of the free ordering in (37a,b) will immediately follow from structure (35) as in trees (38a,b).

(38)   a. Common Noun-Proper Noun   b. Proper Noun-Common Noun
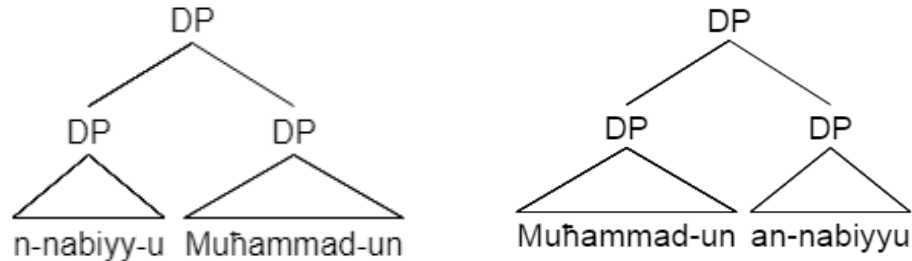
The free ordering between the two units in Type I apposition in (38) is the first property that adjunction structure (35) can capture without any further stipulations such as movement etc. Given that adjuncts are by definition optional and structurally dispensable (Travis 1988; Ernst 2002: 157), the adjunction structure in (49) can also account for the removability of either unit of Type I appositional constructions. Being adjuncts, the proper name *Muħammadun* 'Muhammad' and the common noun *nnabiyyu* 'the prophet' are removable as shown in (39b) and (39b) respectively.

(39)   a.   dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-u   *Muħammad-un*
              come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
              'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'

        b.   dʒa:ʔa   *Muħammad-un*
              come.PERF.3.M   Muhammad-NOM
              'Muhammad came.'

        c.   dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-u
              come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM
              'The prophet came.'

Iterativity is a third characteristic of adjuncts that can explain how structure (35) is plausible (Bresnan 1982; Svenonius 1994; Stroik & Putnam 2013). Under our account, we expect iterative DPs in Type I appositions. This prediction is borne out as exemplified in (40) for Type I.

(40)   dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-u,   l-muʕallim-u,
        come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   the-educator-NOM
        l-ha:di,   Muħammad-un
        the-guide.NOM   Muhammad-NOM
        'The prophet, the educator, the guide, Muhammad, came.'

Observe that all the iterative elements in (58) and (59) are nouns but not adjectives, i.e. they are iterative DPs. Also, all these iterative DPs refer to the same individual, namely the person called *Muħammad*. Adjunction structure (49) can capture this iterative behavior as shown in (41).

(41)
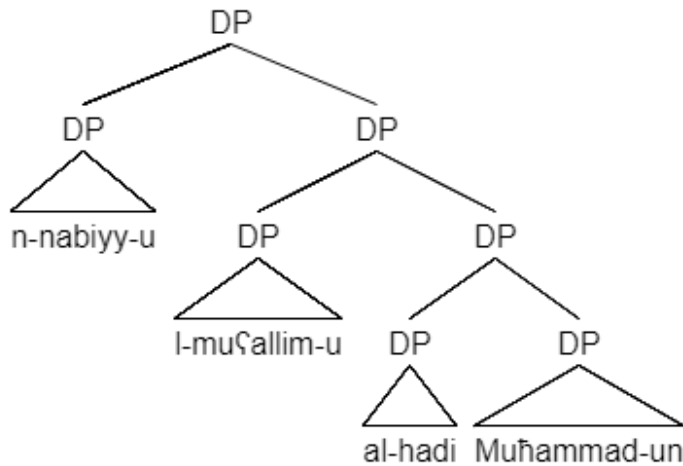
We also predict that the recursive DPs, being adjuncts, can also be freely ordered. This prediction is borne out. The iterative DPs above can take different word orders as shown in (42)[3].

(42)   a.   dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-u,   l-muʕallim-u,
               come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   the-educator-NOM
               l-ha:di,   Muħammad-un
               the-guide.NOM   Muhammad-NOM
               'The prophet, the educator, the guide, Muhammad, came.'

       b.   dʒa:ʔa   l-muʕallim-u,   l-ha:di,
               come.PERF.3.M   the-educator-NOM   the-guide.NOM
               n-nabiyy-u,   Muħammad-un
               the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
               'The educator, the guide, the prophet, Muhammad, came.'

---

[3] Generally speaking, it is preferable to end these iterative DPs with the proper name. However, the proper name in Type I apposition can still occur between these iterative DPs as in (i).

   i.   dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-u,   <u>Muħammad-un,</u>
         come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
         l-muʕallim-u,   l-ha:di
         the-educator-NOM   the-guide.NOM
         'The prophet, Muhammad, the educator, the guide came.'

c. dʒa:ʔa   l-ha:di,   l-muʕallim-u,
    come.PERF.3.M   the-guide.NOM   the-educator-NOM
    n-nabiyy-u,   Muħammad-un
    the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
    'The guide, the educator, the prophet, Muhammad, came.'

A fourth advantage of our adjunction account follows from its ability to handle the so-called case agreement in Type I appositions. Given that the two units in Type I appositions agree in case, we can simply propose that the anchor DP, which is commonly the first member, receives case from the clause and share it with the appositive DP, as demonstrated in (43b) for Type I apposition in (43a).

(43) dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-**u**,   *Muħammad-**u**-n*
      come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM-INDEF
      'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'

b.
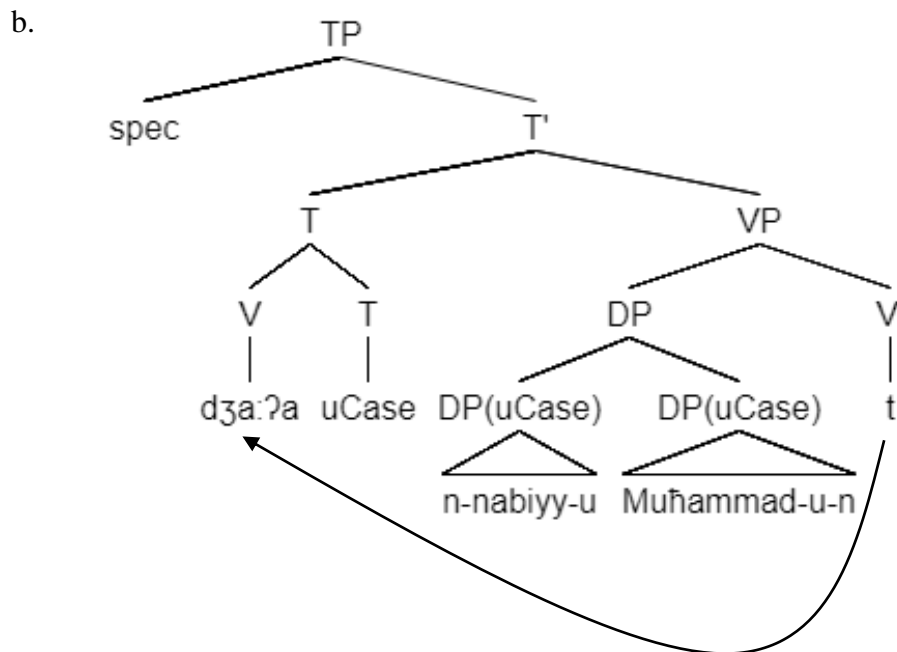
As shown in (43b), the verb in the past tense moves from V to T, which is a common movement for VSO word order in Arabic (Aoun et al. 2010). Adopting Pesetsky & Torrego's (2007) view of Agree as a feature sharing approach, we assume that the anchor DP is endowed with an uninterpretable feature [uCase], with which the feature [uCase] of the appositive DP agrees. The two features are linked together. After the anchor's case is checked against the uninterpretable feature [uCase] on the tense head T, the appositive immediately takes the same case. This leads to case agreement attested in Type I appositions. In other words, the adjunction analysis can also capture the case agreement between the two elements in both subtypes.

15

It should be noted, however, that case agreement between the two appositional units does not necessarily mean that both units must as well agree in morphological definiteness. Both units in (43a) above are semantically definite, even though each of them takes a separate marker. Proper names, albeit definite, are always marked with an indefinite suffix *–n* as in (43a) perhaps because 'many of these Arabic names are derived from adjectives which describe particular attributes' (Ryding 2005: 164). Under this analysis, we take it for granted that the head D of each DP hosts the definite article *ʔal-* or the indefinite suffix *–n*. We follow Alqarni (2015: 233) who argues that Arabic has a requirement that every noun must be marked in (in)definintesss. If a noun is not morphologically marked in (in)defnniteness, the indefinite suffix *–n* must be inserted to it even if it is definite by default. In other words, the indefinite suffix *–n* attached to the proper name *Muhammad* in (43a) is semantically vacuous, i.e. it does not render *Muhammad* indefinite.

Proper names cannot take the definite article as shown in (44) below, unless they have an attributive interpretation rather than being proper names with reference to specific individuals.

(44) *dʒa:ʔa   **n**-nabiyy-u   ***l-Muhammad-u***
   come.PERF.3.M the-prophet-NOM the-Muhammad-NOM
   'The prophet, the Muhammad, came.'

The two units in both subtypes cannot take indefiniteness markers, either.

(45) *dʒaʔa   nabiyy-u-**n**   ***Muhammad-u-n***
   come.PERF.3.M prophet-NOM-INDEF Muhammad-NOM-INDEF
   'A prophet, Muhammad, came.'

These observation suggests that each unit in Type I apposition does not agree in definiteness, but only in case. We assume that he two elements in Type I appositions are semantically definite, irrespective of their markers. Given that each unit is DP in adjunction structure (35), each one takes its separate definiteness marker according to the Arabic (in)definiteness rules for nouns and proper nouns. If we assume that the anchor is DP and the appositive is NP agreeing with it in definiteness, we may expect that the proper name in () takes the definite article in agreement with the definiteness. The proper name will not be able to generate its own definiteness markers (-n) if it depends on the definiteness of the anchor. Thus, structure (35) is plausible in combining two DPs, each of it might presents its definiteness markers on its own. In conclusion, the adjunction structure in (35) is free of problems and can account for all the properties arising from Type I appositions (free ordering, removability of either unit, iterativity, case agreement and definiteness markers).

Before closing this section, however, we will argue against an alternative analysis that might be proposed for Type I appositions, namely coordination structure. In the literature, it has been assumed that the syntax of apposition and coordination is indistinguishable (Burton-Roberts 1975; Sturm 1986; Sadler & Nordlinger 2006; De Vries 2006; Heringa 2007). Thus, for Type I appositions, one may propose the coordination structure in (46) where the head, i.e. Conj, is null.

(46)
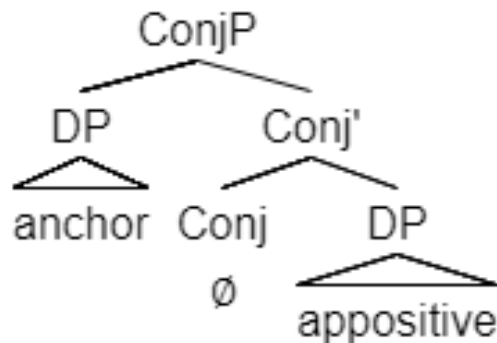
Unlike the adjunction analysis, the coordination proposal yields several undesirable consequences. First, the two conjuncts in regular coordinated constructions refer to totally different persons. For instance, in (47), the first conjunct Sˤa:liħ 'Salih' and the second conjunct ʕali 'Ali' are two different persons, and they cannot refer to one person.

(47) Sˤa:liħ-un   wa   ʕali-un   ħadˤara:
      Salih-NOM   and   Ali-NOM   attend.PERF.3.**DU**
      'Salih and Ali attended.'

This is contra the two units in Type I appositions which refer to one person. In other words, the treatment of the two units in Type I appositions as two conjuncts allows them to refer to two individuals, which is not attested in Type I.

The other issue with the coordination analysis follows from the fact that the verb agrees in dual number with the conjunct phrase as seen in (47) above, but this does not hold for Type I apposition which requires only singular verb agreement as in (48) below. The singular verb agreement excludes that the units in Type I appositions are coordinated.

(48) ʔan-nabiyy-u   Muħammad-un   ħadˤara/*ħadˤara:
      the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM attend.PERF.3.M.**S**/*attend.PERF.3.M.**DU**
      'The prophet, Muhammad, attended.'

Moreover, the coordination structure misses important generalizations regarding the optional occurrences of the two units of Type I appositions in (39) above. In canonical coordinated structures, the deletion of either conjunct, as in (67) below, is not allowed.

(49) a.   *Sˤa:liħ-un   wa   ħadˤara:
              Salih-NOM   and   attend.PERF.3.DU
              'Salih and attended.'

      b.   *wa   ʕali-un   ħadˤara:
              and   Ali-NOM   attend.PERF.3.DU
              'and Ali attended.'

17

This behavior is not in line with the facts in (39) where either element in Type appositions is removable. To implement the removability of the appositive within the coordination analysis, we may need to propose that the deletion of the appositive in (39) is based on the c-selection of the null head Conj in (46), which sometimes selects the appositive and in other times does not. The encoding of complement selection is superfluous and unneeded under the adjunction analysis.

Another drawback of the coordination proposal follows from its structure which allows the coordination of two definite NPs as in (50a), two indefinite conjuncts as in (50b), or even a definite conjunct plus an indefinite one as in (50c).

(50) a. ħadˤar-ati   ʔal-ʔimraʔat-u   wa   tˤ-tˤifl-u
          attend.PERF-3.F the-woman-NOM   and   the-child-NOM
          'The woman and the child attended'.

      b. had ˤar-ati   ʔimaraʔat-u-**n**   wa   tˤifl-u-**n**
          attend.PERF-3.F woman-NOM-INDEF   and   child-NOM.INDEF
          'A woman and a boy attended.'

      c. had ˤar-ati   **l**-marʔat-u   wa   tˤifl-u-**n**   ɣari:b-u-**n**
          attend.PERF-3.F the-woman-NOM and   child-NOM-INDEF strange-NOM-INDEF
          'The woman and a strange boy attended.'

As shown in (50), two indefinite units are not allowed in Type I appositions. Although proper names bear the indefinite marker -*n*, that does not mean that either unit can be indefinite and the other is definite. Proper names take the indefinite suffix –*n*, but they are definite by default. The second conjunct marked with -*n* in (70b) is not assumed to be definite by default. To clearly show that Type I appositions, unlike coordinated constructions in (50c), do not allow the combination of definite and indefinite NPs, consider (51) for Type appositions where one appositive cannot be indefinite.

(51) *ħadˤara   **n**-nabiyy-u   ha:di-u-**n**   Muħammad-un
      attend.PERF.3.M the-prophet-NOM   guide-NOM-INDEF   Muhammad-NOM
      'The prophet, a guide, Muhammad, attended.'

In light of these dissimilarities, we conclude that Type I apposition is not compatible with the coordination structure in (46). The two elements in Type I appositions are better treated as adjuncts.

3.2. The Syntax of Type II Appositions
Type II appositions, re-demonstrated in (52) below, consists of two common nouns. We have earlier pointed out that this type does not allow the two units to be freely ordered (e.g. 20), neither does it allow the deletion of the first unit (e.g. 26). As regards case, the two units display case agreement (e.g. 15).

(52) qarrar-ati   <u>d-duwal-**u**</u>   *l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-**u***   l-muɣa:darat-a
     decide.PERF-3.F   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   the-departure-ACC
     'The states, the members, decided to leave.'   (Type II)

Before proposing a separate analysis to Type II, let us show how the adjunction structure that we proposed for Type I cannot be extended to Type II. If we adopt an adjunction analysis, Type II will be represented in as (53).
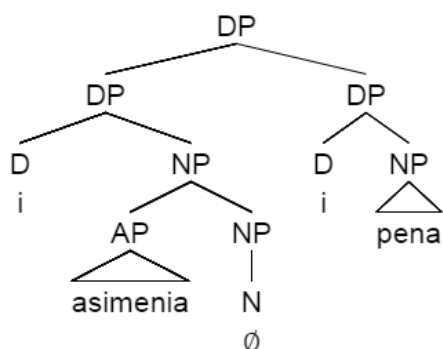
(53)
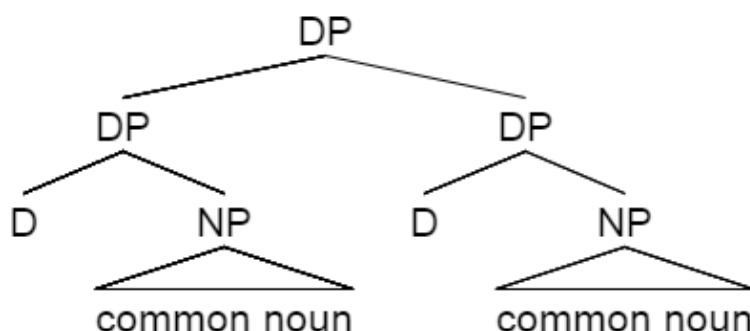
It should also be noted that the adjunction analysis in (53) is given to Greek polydefinitess in addition to Greek apposition (Lekakou and Szendrői, 2011). Greek polydefinites different from Greek apposition in that it involve a noun and an adjective which are both definite, and which can switch positions as in (54).

(54) a.   <u>i   asimenia</u>   *i*   *pena*
           the.NOM   silver   the.NOM   pen
     b.   *i*   *pena*   <u>i   asimenia</u>
           the.NOM   pen   the.NOM   silver
     'the silver pen' (Lekakou and Szendrői, 2011: 108: ex. 1)

Lekakou and Szendrői (2011) propose that the two units in (54) are two DP-adjuncts, but "an elliptical noun is contained inside the 'adjectival' DP" (p. 120). In other words, the examples in (54a,b) can be represented as in (55a,b), where the adjectival DP *i asimenia* 'the sliver' involves a noun ellipsis.

(55)   a. Representation of (74a)   b. Representation of (74b)

19
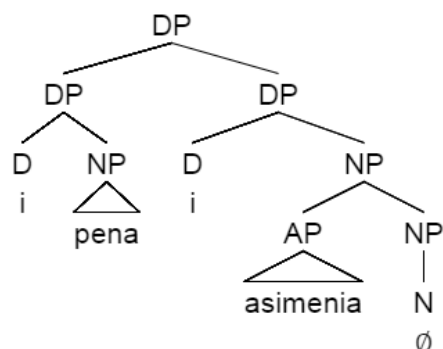
Given that the semantic class of Type II apposition in MSA is characterization as the second common noun modifies the first one, one might extend the analysis given to Greek polydefinites to Type II. This is a desirable move because Type I and II appositions will end up having a unified account. However, we argue that the adjunction proposal is problematic for Type II apposition for two reasons. First, as shown in (54), the two units of Greek polydefinites can exchange positions. Such a free ordering is not allowed in Type II apposition as in (56). In (56), the first noun *ʔadduwalu* 'the states' must come first. This is always true, irrespective of subject-verb agreement.

(56)　a.　　(qarrar-ati)　　　　d-duwal-u　　　l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-u　　　　…
　　　　　(decided-3.F)　　　　the-states-NOM　the-members-NOM
　　　　　'The states, the members (decided that ….)'

　　　b.　　(qarrar-a/ati)　　　*l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-u　　　d-duwal-u　　　….
　　　　　(decided-3.M/3.F)　　　the-members-NOM　　the-states-NOM
　　　　　'The members, the states (decided that …)'

Second, Lekakou and Szendrői (2011: 121) show that more adjectives can be added to Greek polydefinites. Being adjuncts, these multiplied adjectives can be freely ordered as in (57).
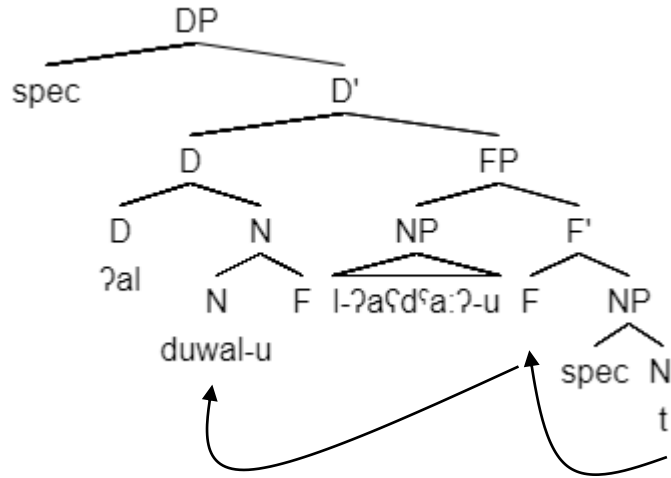
(57)　a. i　　pena　　i　　asimenia i　　kenurja
　　　　　the　pen　　the　silver　the　　new
　　　b. i　　pena　　i　　kenurja i　　asimenia
　　　c. i　　asimenia i　　pena　　i　　kenurja
　　　d. i　　asimenia i　　kenurja i　　pena
　　　e. i　　kenurja i　　asimenia i　　pena
　　　f. i　　kenurja i　　pena　　i　　asimenia
　　　'the new silver pen' . (Lekakou and Szendrői 2011: 121, ex. 21)

In contrast, the free ordering of the modifying elements after the anchor in Type II appositions is not allowed. If we add an adjective to the Type II apposition as in (58), there is a relatively strict order between the modifying elements.

(58)　a. qarrar-ati　　　d-duwal-u　　　　l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-u　　　　l-kubra　　　…
　　　　decide.PERF-3.F the-states-NOM　　the-members-NOM　　the-big.NOM　…
　　　　'The major member-states decided to …'

　　　b. ?qarrar-ati　　　d-duwal-u　　　l-kubra　　l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-u
　　　　decide.PERF-3.F　the-states-NOM　the-big.NOM the-members-NOM　…
　　　　'The major member-states decided to ….'

As shown in (58a), the adjective *lkubra* 'the big' must follow the modifying noun *l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔu* 'the member'. Otherwise, the sentence will be marginal as in (58b). In light of

these distinctions, i.e. the rigid word order between the two units and between their modifiers, we conclude that Type II cannot adopt an adjunction structure.

For Type II apposition, we need a structure that places the NP-anchor in a strict order with the NP-appositive which appears in a relatively strict order with other modifiers. Given that the relationship between the two elements in Type II is modificational, we propose structure (59) for Type II apposition. Structure (59) has been proposed for noun-adjective constructions in many studies (see e.g. Cinque 1999; Julien 2002; Laenzlinger 2005 among others).

(59)

As shown in (59), we follow the generative scholarship who proposed that an attributive element, be it an adjective or a noun, can occupy left-branching specifiers of multiple functional projections (FP), sandwiched between the highest functional DP and the lowest lexical NP (Cinque 1999; Julien 2002; Laenzlinger 2005). Since the appositive is structurally higher than the anchor in structure (95), this yields an illicit word order (appositive+anchor), which is ungrammatical as in (56b) above. Therefore, we propose that the head N undergoes a successive head-to-head movement through the functional head sites until it lands on D as in (60b) for Type II apposition (60a).

(60)   a. qarrar-ati   **d**-duwal-**u**   *l-ʔaʕdˁa:ʔ-**u***   l-muɣa:darat-a
          decide.PERF-3.F   the-states.**F**-NOM   the-members.**M**-NOM   the-departure-ACC
          'The states, the members, decided to leave.'   (Type II)

b.

The N-to-D movement can be motivated by the requirement of noun to receive Case (according to Case Filter, Chomsky 2015: 145 and his earlier works) and by the requirement of the noun to be morphologically attached to the definite article *ʔal* 'the' on the D. In fact, this movement is a very common operation in Arabic and many other languages (see e.g. Fassi Fehri 1999; Sichel 2000; Alexiadou 2001; Longobardi 2001; Shlonsky 2004) and it captures the rigid word order where nouns always precede typical adjectives. Given that the anchor in (60b) now appears higher in the structure, i.e. first in linear ordering, the appositive in a fixed specifier position cannot appear prenominally. This accounts for the main property of Type II appositions, namely the rigid word order of their two units.

Note that the NP-appositive in (60a) above behaves like Arabic adjectival modifiers in (61) below, in that they both follow the head noun.

(61)　　qarrar-ati　　　　　　**d**-dawlat-**u**　　*l-faqi:r-at-u*　　　　l-muɣa:darat-a
　　　　decide.PERF-3.F　　　the-state-**F**-NOM　the-poor-**F**-NOM　　the-departure-ACC
　　　　'The poor state decided to...'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(NP+AP)

Like the adjective *lfaq:iratu* 'the poor' in (61) which agree in case, gender, number and definiteness with the preceding noun *ddawlatu* 'the state', the appositive NP *lʔaʕdˤa:ʔu* 'the members' can agree in case, number and definiteness with the anchor *dduwalu* 'the states' in Type II appositions as in (60a). However, as a noun, the appositive *ʔaʕda:ʔu* 'members' in (60a) maintains its lexical gender, namely masculine.

Given that agreement is assumed to take place in a spec-head relation (Fassi Fehri 1999; Julien 2002; Laenzlinger 2005), structure (60b) can account for the definiteness, case, and number agreement between the two elements in Type II appositions. In this paper, we will not implement how this agreement is established in Type II apposition because it would be no different from the noun-adjective concord heavily discussed in the literature (see e.g. Albarrag 2013, Alqarni 2015 among many others). In other words, what applies to adjective-noun constructions in terms of agreement can be easily carried over to Type II appositions given that they both take the same structure. Following Pesetsky & Torrego's (2007) view of

Agree as a feature sharing, we propose that the anchor, being higher in the structure, becomes the only element that can receive the nominative case from the head T; thus, it shares it with the appositive. The same feature sharing applies to definiteness and number, but not gender. In other words, structure (60b) can also account for the case agreement between the two units in Type II appositions.

Structure (59) also explains an important behavior in Type II appositions, i.e. that the verb only agrees in gender with the anchor, but not with the gender of the modifying appositive as shown in (62).

(62) a. qarrar-ati   d-duwal-u   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u   …
          decide.PERF-3.F the-states.F-NOM   the-members.M-NOM ….
          'The states, the members, decided to …..'   (Type II)

      b. *qarrara   d-duwal-u   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u   …
          decide.PERF.3.M the-states.F-NOM   the-members.M-NOM ….
          'The states, the members, decided to …..'   (Type II)

In (62a), the verb only agrees in feminine gender with the anchor (*dawlah* 'a state', feminine) but not with the masculine gender of the NP-appositive (*ʕudˤu* 'member', *masculine*). We assume that this is because the anchor is the only element found on the D, which is the closest head to the verb. However, the appositive is buried in the structure; thus, the verb cannot induce any masculine agreement with it as in the ill-formed sentence (62b). If the NP-appositive is treated as DP-adjunct as proposed early in this section, such a masculine gender agreement with the verb is possible. Under that proposal, NP-adjuncts will be as high and close as the NP-anchor to the verb and both will be possible goals for the verb[4].

Spec-head structure (59) also accounts for the non-deletion of the first unit (i.e. the anchor) and the deletion of the second one (i.e. the appositive). We assume that this is because the first unit in Type II apposition is the head of the whole construction with which the verb establishes agreement as shown in (62). Being the head of the whole constructions, the head noun cannot be removed without affecting the grammaticality of the apposition (see section 2.4, example 26). As for the appositive (which takes the same position as adjectives),

---

[4] Note that Lekakou and Szendrői (2011) show that the adjunction analysis accounts for the gender agreement between the verb and either unit of Greek appositions. In Greek apposition, the verb can agree in gender with the first or second unit as shown in the following examples.

i.   o   aetos   to   puli   ine   megaloprepos/megaloprepo.
      the.M   eagle.M the.NEUT   bird.N is   majestic.M/majestic.NEUT
      'The eagle that is a bird is majestic'

ii.   to   puli   o   aetos   ine   megaloprepos/megaloprepo
      the.NEUT   bird.NEUT the.M   eagle.M is   majestic.M/majestic.N
   'The eagle that is a bird is majestic.' (Lekakou and Szendrői, 2011:114, ex. 12).

As is clear from (82), this variation is disallowed in Type II appositions. Only the anchor appears in gender agreement with the verb because the former is higher and closer to the latter from a structural perspective. This is further evidence that the adjunction analysis is incompatible with Type II appositions.

it is generated in a specifier of a functional projection (FP) which is structurally dispensable (Cinque 1999; Julien 2002; Laenzlinger 2005)[5].

Another important fact that structure (59) can account for is the strict word order between the NP-appositive and other adjectival modifiers as shown in (58) above. Many scholars argue that Arabic adjectives follow a strict ordering because the FPs between DP and NP are strictly arranged within Cinque (1999)'s nominal cartography (Fassi Fehri 1999; Shlonsky 2004). Thus, the serialization of the strictly ordered adjectives can be implemented via a c-selection mechanism where each FP c-selects and dominates another FP. Under this account, the representation of (63a) will be as shown in (63b).

(63) a. qarrar-ati   d-duwal-u   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u   l-kubra   …
         decide.PERF-3.F the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   the-big.NOM   …
         'The major member-states decided to …'

b.
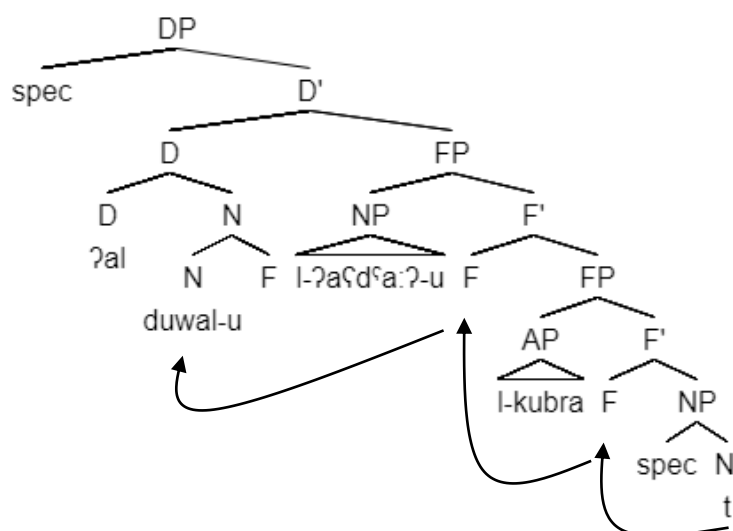
In (63b), the attributive NP l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔu 'the members' is structurally higher than the adjective lkubra 'the big', hence the inflexible word order of these modifiers. In light of these

observations, we conclude that Type II apposition is best treated under a specifier-head account. The N-to-D movement captures the strict order of the two units, and the rigid arrangement of FPs within the nominal hierarchy explains the order of the modifiers. Being on the head D and in agreement with the verb in person, the anchor is always maintained. Being in spec,FP, the appositive becomes optional in accordance with the optionality of FP itself. In a spec-head relation, the appositive, like other adjectives, can agree with the head noun in number, case and definiteness but not in gender. Each unit in Type II apposition is a noun, thus having a separate gender.

3.3 The Syntax of Type III Appositions

The last type of apposition, reproduced in (64), consists of a pronoun followed by a common noun. As discussed in section (2), the pronoun (i.e. the anchor) is obligatory, but the common noun (i.e. the appositive) is optional, e.g. (27). The common noun cannot precede the pronoun as in (21). As for case, there is no case agreement between the two units in this type as apparent from (64) below; the pronoun in a subject position is always case-marked with the nominative whereas the appositive invariably takes the accusative.

(64) naħn**u**   *l-ʕarab-**a***   naqu:lu   ða:lika
      We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
   'We, the Arabs, say that.'

In this section, we will show that Type III requires a separate analysis. The adjunction analysis proposed for Type I and the specifier-head structure proposed for Type II cannot be extended to Type III appositions. Let us start with the problems arising from the adjunction analysis. Unlike Type I appositions that allow the two units/adjuncts to be freely ordered, the two units in Type III appositions follow a strict order as in (65) below. The pronoun must always come first.

(65) a.   naħnu   *l-ʕarab-a*
              We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC
              'We, the Arabs'

      b.   *ʔal-ʕarab-a/u*   naħnu
              the-arab.PL-ACC/NOM   we.NOM
              'The Arabs, we'

Second, being an adjunct, the appositive in Type I appositions can iterate as in (66) below for Type I. However, the appositive in Type III appositions cannot multiply as shown in (67). Only one appositive is allowed as in (64) above.

(66) dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-u,   l-muʕallim-u,
      come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   the-educator-NOM
      l-ha:di,   Muħammad-un
      the-guide.NOM   Muhammad-NOM
      'The prophet, the educator, the guide, Muhammad, came.'

(67) *naħnu   l-ʕarab-a,   tˤ-tˤulla:b-a,   naqu:lu   …
      We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   the-students-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL …
      'We, the Arabs, the students, say …'

For these two reasons, we cannot adopt the adjunction account for Type III appositions. The spec-head structure in (68) below is also problematic for Type III for three reasons. First, pronouns, i.e. the anchors, are unlikely to occupy the head of the lexical noun in (68), because they are categorized as functional categories, namely determiners. Thus, they should be directly base-generated in the head D (Abney, 1987).

(68)
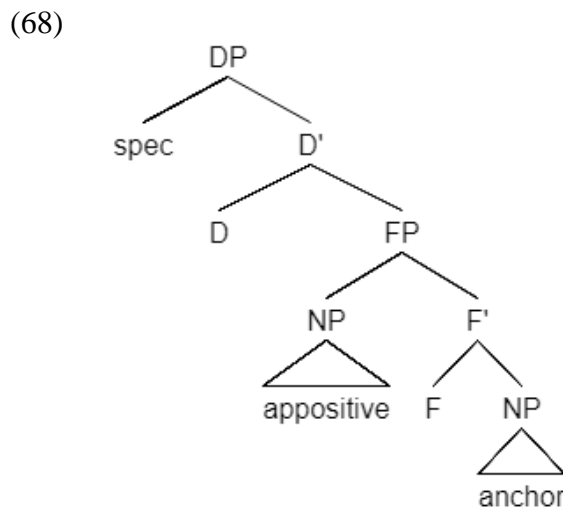
Second, the appositive in Type II in (68) behaves as a modifier, thus agreeing in case with the anchor as shown in (69) below. However, case agreement is not attested in Type III apposition (70), where the appositive always appears in the accusative.

(69) qarrar-ati   d-duwal-**u**   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-**u**   l-muɣa:darat-a
      decide.PERF-3.F   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   the-departure-ACC
      'The states, the members, decided to leave.'   (Type II)

(70) naħn**u**   l-ʕarab-**a**   naqu:lu   ða:lika
      We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
      'We, the Arabs, say that.'

The case disagreement suggests that the appositive cannot function as a modifier to the pronoun. This is predictable because pronouns cannot be modified by adjectives in the

first place as in (71) from English (cf. Abney, 1987: 178). The same applies to Arabic as in (72), where *lʔafdˁalu* 'the best' behaves as an adjective agreeing in case with the pronoun.

(71)   *dependable them are hard to find.   (Abney, 1987: 178, ex. 304).

(72)   <u>*ʔana</u>   *l-ʔafdˁal-u*   ʔaʕtarif-u   ʔanna …
        I.NOM   the-best-NOM   acknowledged.IMPERF.1.M   that …
        'I, the best, acknowledge that…'

For these three reasons, we will not consider the spec-head structure for Type III apposition either. Alternatively, we propose that Type III requires a head-complement structure as the one in (73).

(73)
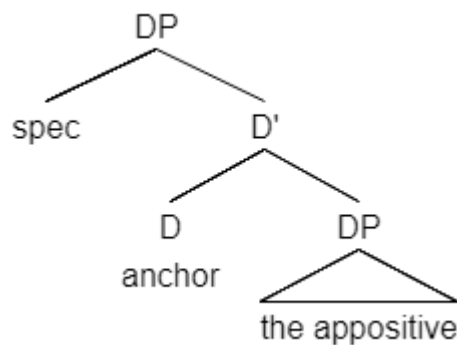
Structure (73) is not totally new, but it is relatively similar to the structure that Abney (1987) proposed for English Pronoun-Noun-Constructions (PNCs) in (74) where the pronoun is followed by NP.

(74)   a. I Claudius/*idiot
        c. we linguists/*idiots
        d. you *sailor/idiot
        e. you idiots/sailors
        f. *he tradesman/idiot
        g. *they sailors/idiots (cf. Postal 1966)

For the example in (74b), Abney (1987: 180, ex. 307a) proposed the following derivation.

(75)
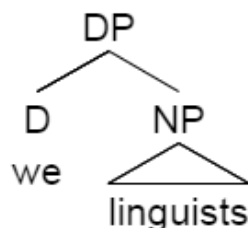
Obviously, structure (75) is different from our structure in (73) in that the head D in the former structure selects NP rather than DP. We assume that this is the case because English PNCs differ from Arabic Type III appositions in a few respects. First, unlike the English PNCs where the second noun can be indefinite, the second element of Type III appositions must always be definite, thus bearing the definite article *(ʔa)l* 'the' as in (76a) above. Indefinite appositives are not allowed in Type III as in (76a).

(76) a. *<u>naħn**u**</u>*   *l-ʕarab-a*   naqu:lu   ða:lika
       We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
       'We, the Arabs, say that.'

    b. *<u>naħn**u**</u>*   *ʕarab-a-**n***   naqu:lu   ða:lika
       We.NOM   arab.PL-ACC-INDEF   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
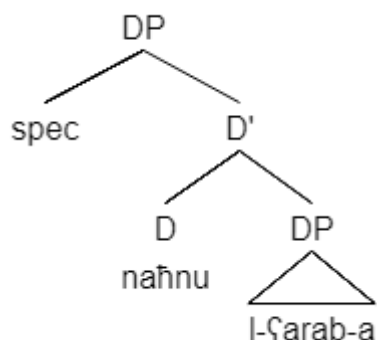   'We, Arabs, say that.'

In other words, the head D in Type III apposition must select a fully fledged DP as proposed in (73). Given that the appositive in Type III is DP, we predict that the appositive can be modified by an adjective. This prediction is borne out in (77). Also, given that Type I and II appositions are DPs in themselves, we predict that they can appear after the pronoun in Type III appositions as well. This prediction is borne out as in (78) for Type I and (79) for Type II.

(77) <u>naħnu</u> *l-ʕarab-a*   *l-muha:dʒir-i:na*   naqu:lu …
      We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   the-immigrant-PL.ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL …
      'We, the immigrant Arabs, say …'

(78) ʔaʕtarifu   ʔana, <u>l-muwa:tˤin-a</u>   ʕaliy-an, ʔanna
      acknowledge.IMPERF.1.M   I.NOM, the-citizen-ACC   Ali-ACC   that
      'I, the citizen Ali, acknowledge that …'   (Type I inside Type III)

(79) naʕtarifu   naħnu, <u>d-duwal-a</u>   <u>l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-a</u>,   ʔanna
      acknowledge.IMPERF.1.M we.NOM, the-states-ACC   the-member-ACC   that
      'We, the member states, acknowledge that …'   (Type II inside Type III)

Second, as shown in (74) above, English PNCs follow restrictions, one of which is that they disallow the use of third person pronouns in their constructions. However, all the pronouns, regardless of their person (first, second or third), are allowed in Arabic Type III appositions as exemplified in (80).

(80) a. <u>humu</u>   *l-fuqara:ʔ-a*   yaħta:dʒu:na   …
       they.NOM   the-poor.PL-ACC   need.IMPERF.3.PL   …
       'They, the poor, need …..'   (Third Person)

b.	_ʔanta_	_l-muʕallim-a_	_taqu:lu_	_ða:lik!_
	you.NOM	the-teacher-ACC	say.IMPERF.2.M	that

'You, the teacher, say that!' (Second Person)

c.	_naħnu_	_l-ʕarab-a_	_naqu:lu_	_ða:lika_
	We.NOM	the-arab.PL-ACC	say.IMPERF.1.PL	that

'We, the Arabs, say that.' (First Person)

For the above reasons, we argue that structure (73) is more appropriate for Arabic Type III appositions than the structure proposed for English PNCs in (75).

One might argue that Type III appositions could however be more similar to Greek PNCs in (81) because the second element in Greek PNCs must be definite (Choi 2014).

(81)	(Emis)	*(i)	glossologi	imaste	exypni
	we	the	linguists	be.1PL.PRES	smart

'We linguists are smart.' (Choi 2014, 21, ex. 6)

A variety of proposals have been put forward to account for Greek PNCs in (81), and they are too complex to be addressed here (see e.g. Choi 2014; Höhn 2016, 2017). What is important to us is that neither of these analyses can immediately relate to our proposed structure in (93). In fact, there are basic differences between Type III appositions and Greek PNCs. First, Greek PNCs allow the deletion of the pronoun as shown in (81) where the pronoun is optional. After the deletion of the pronoun in (81), however, the verb can still show person agreement with the deleted pronoun as shown in the example below.

(82)	~~(Emis)~~	*(i)	glossologi	**imaste**	exypni
	~~We~~	the	linguists	be.**1PL**.PRES	smart

'~~We~~ linguists are smart.'

By contrast, Type III apposition does not allow the deletion of the pronoun as shown in (83) below; the verb agreement with the deleted pronoun in person is neither enough for the sentence to be grammatical.

(83)	*(naħn**u)**	_l-ʕarab-**a**_	naqu:lu	ða:lika
	We.NOM	the-arab.PL-ACC	say.IMPERF.1.PL	that

'We, the Arabs, say that.'

In light of these dissimilarities, we take (73) as the best structure to account for all the variations in Type III appositions. As demonstrated in (84), the pronominal anchor, like other pronouns, will occupy the head D whereas the appositive appears as a complement to it.

(84)

The head-complement structure in (84) is favorable because it explains many other aspects of the structure. For example, it explains why the anchor takes the nominative whereas the appositive takes the accusative. The anchor, being higher in the structure, is the closest head to the head T which checks the nominative case against it. The appositive, being a buried complement, cannot be accessible to the verb. Thus, the head D in turn assigns the accusative case to it (see a discussion below).

Second, the different structural positions of the anchor and the appositive in (84) can also explain why the verb only agrees in person with the anchor rather than the appositive as shown in (85). This is because the verb cannot access the third person feature found on the buried complement, i.e. *lʕaraba* 'the Arabs'.

(85)   naħnu   *l-ʕarab-a*   naqu:lu/*yaqu:lu:na   ða:lika
       We.**1**.NOM   the-arab.**3**.PL–ACC   say.IMPERF.**1**.PL/say.IMPERF.**3**.PL   that
       'We, the Arabs, say that.'

Structure (84) also accounts for the disallowance of multiple appositives in Type III apposition. In (86b), two appositives are not allowed.

(86)   a.   naħn**u**   *l-ʕarab-**a***   naqu:lu   ða:lika
               We.NOM   the-arab.PL–ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
               'We, the Arabs, say that.'
       b.   *naħnu   *l-ʕarab-a*   *tˤ-tˤulla:b-a*   naqu:lu …
               We.NOM   the-arab.PL–ACC   the-students–ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL …
               'We, the Arabs, the students, say that…'

We argue that the appositive in (86a) cannot iterate, simply because it is a complement, which does not have the iterative property of specifiers or adjuncts. Given that the head D is monotransitive and can take only one complement in line with Single Complement Hypothesis (Abney 1987; Svenonius 1994; Pyze 2006), Type III appositions are restricted to one appositive (see also Sadler & Arnold 1994 where pre-nominal adjectival heads behaves similarly in taking no more than one complement).

Structure (84) also explains why the appositive can be obligatory or optional. We argue that the optionality of the appositive boils down to the selectional properties of the pronominal head. Sometimes, the pronoun selects DP as a complement, and it does not at

other times. The structure (84) also explains why the pronoun is deletable. This is because it occupies the head of the whole DP. In conclusion, the head-complement structure is the best option for Type III apposition as it captures all of its attested properties such as case disparity, word order restrictions, subject-verb agreement in person, the non-multiplicity of the appositive and the non-removability of the anchor.

Let us now turn to the accusative case that appears on the appositive. We do not have a clear answer to this behavior, but we will put forward two possible proposals that explain why the appositive takes the accusative. The first proposal assumes that the pronoun directly assigns accusative to the complement. This is not an uncommon behavior in MSA because we attest that heads (like Arabic pre-nominal adjectives, numerals, and wh-words) can assign the accusative to their complements as shown in the following examples.

(87) a. Muħammad-un Ɂakθar-**u** fahm-**a**-n
Muhammad-NOM more-NOM understanding-ACC-INDEF
'Muhammad is the best in understanding.'

b. wasˤala θala:θ-**una** kita:b-**a**-n
arrived.PERF.3.M thirty-NOM book-ACC-INDEF
'Thirty books arrived.'

c. kam radʒul-**a**-n hadˤra l-ħaflat-a
how-many.NOM man-ACC-INDEF attend.PERF.3.M the-party-ACC
'How many men did they attend the party?'

In all the examples above, adjectives, numerals, and wh-words head-govern their complements and assign the accusative case to them. We assume that the pronoun is not an exception in Arabic, and can assign an accusative to its complement in Type III appositions.

The second proposal suggests that pronouns (plus adjectives, numerals and wh-words) do not have the ability to assign case. Given that pronouns (and other categories) occupy a head position, they preclude the structural nominative case from reaching the embedded complements. Thus, the complement as an NP (requiring Case) retreats to take the accusative as the default case (See Schütze 2001 for more discussion on the mechanism of default case). However, this proposal might be problematic because Mohammad (2000), Soltan (2007) and Al-Balushi (2011) among many others assume that the nominative case is the default case in Arabic. For example, the nominative is assigned to the NPs found in the A'-periphery as in the clitic left dislocation constructions in (88a) or the focus construction in (88b). Note that the difference between clitic left dislocation and focus constructions follows from the fact that the former requires a pronominal clitic associated with the initial NP whereas the latter does not.

(88) a. Ɂal-madʒallat-**u**ᵢ qaraɁa-**ha**ᵢ l-mudi:r-u
the-magazine-NOM read.IMPERF.3.M the-manager-NOM
'the magazine, the manager read it.'

b. ʔal-madʒallat-**u**   qaraʔa   l-mudi:r-u
the-magazine-NOM   read.IMPERF.3.M   the-manager-NOM
'the magazine, the manager read it.'

However, the nominative case cannot appear as the default case on the complements of adjectives, numerals, wh-word, and pronouns in the examples below.

(89) a. *Muħammad-un   ʔakθar-**u**   fahm-**u**-n
Muhammad-NOM   more-NOM   understanding-NOM-INDEF
'Muhammad is the best in understanding.'

b. *wasˤala   θala:θ-**una**   kita:b-**u**-n
arrived.PERF.3.M   thirty-NOM   book-NOM-INDEF
'Thirty books arrived.'

c. *kam   radʒul-**u**-n   hadˤra   l-ħaflat-a
how-many.NOM   man-NOM-INDEF   attend.PERF.3.M the-party-ACC
'How many men did they attend the party?'

d. *naħn**u**   l-ʕarab-**u**   naqu:lu   ða:lika
We.NOM   the-arab.PL-NOM   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
'We, the Arabs, say that.'

Only the accusative case has been attested as is clear from the examples in (87). Given that the nominative case is the default case in the clausal domain (for clitic left dislocation and focus), we assume that the accusative case could be the default case in the nominal domain because all the examples in (87) are nominal constructions.

In short, we take the two proposals as possible accounts for the accusative case marking on the appositive. Given that there is no clear indication to favor one over the other, both proposals should be studied under a more comprehensive work on Case in MSA. The main contribution of this section is that Type III appositions should be treated as a head-complement structure, unlike other Types I (which requires an adjunction analysis) and Type II (that appears in a spec-head configuration).

4 Conclusion

In this article, we explore the phenomenon of nominal apposition in MSA. Although nominal appositions include phrases that involve two nominal elements that refer to the same individuals or entities, they display a cluster of properties in terms of the nominal classes of their two units, word order, case (dis)agreement, semantic relation as well as the removability of the first unit. We argue that these distinctions suggest that nominal apposition in MSA cannot receive a uniform syntactic account. Rather, Arabic nominal apposition has different types, each of which requires a special structural position within the nominal hierarchy. Type I (which involves a common noun followed by a proper name) should be treated as adjuncts, whereas Type II (which involves two common nouns) should appear in a spec-head

configuration. The last type, III, which consists of a pronoun followed by a common noun, better takes a head-complement structure.

The fact that the appositive in Arabic can be base-generated as an adjunct, a specifier or a complement is in line with the mainstream proposal in the literature that apposition is a gradable phenomenon sharing properties with other constructions in a given language (Quirk et al. 1985; Acuña-Fariña 2006). Given that nominal apposition requires different structures in MSA, we predict that any attempt towards a uniform analysis for all appositions in the world languages will end in failure.

References

Abney, Steven. 1987. *The English Noun Phrase in its Sentential Aspect*. PhD thesis. Cambridge, MA: MIT, USA.

Al-Balushi, Rashid. 2011. *Case in Standard Arabic: The Untraveled Paths*. PhD thesis. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto, Canada.

Acuña-Fariña, Juan C. 1996. *The Puzzle of Apposition: On So-Called Appositive Structures in English*. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela: Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico.

Acuña-Fariña, Juan C. 2006. A constructional network in appositive space. *Cognitive Linguistics* 17 (1). 1-37.

Albarrag, Thamer. 2013. Noun phrases in Urban Hijazi Arabic: A Distributed Morphology Approach. PhD thesis. Brisbane: The University of Queensland, Australia.

Alexiadou, Artemis. 2001. Adjective syntax and noun raising: word order asymmetries in the DP as the result of adjective distribution. *Studia Linguistica* 55 (3). 217-248.

Ali, Hasan. 2012. English and Arabic appositions: A contrastive study. *Journal of Basic Education College* 9 (1). 439-450.

Alqarni, Muteb. 2015. *The morphosyntax of numeral-noun constructions in Modern Standard Arabic*. PhD Thesis. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida, USA.

Aoun, Joseph, Elabbas Benmamoun, Lina Choueiri. 2010. *The Syntax of Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bresnan, Joan. 1982. *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Burton-Roberts, Noel. 1975. Nominal apposition. *Foundations of Language* 13 (3). 391- 419.

Cardoso, Adriana, Mark de Vries. 2010. Internal and external heads in appositive constructions. Ms., Lisbon and Groningen: University of Lisbon and University of Groningen.

Chomsky, Noam. 2015. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Choi, Jaehoon. 2014. *Pronoun-Noun Constructions and the Syntax of DP*. PhD thesis. Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona, USA.

Dalrymple, Mary. 2001. *Lexical Functional Grammar*. New York: Academic Press.

De Vries, Mark. 2006. The syntax of appositive relativization: On specifying coordination, false free relatives, and promotion. *Linguistic Inquiry* 37 (2). 229-270.

Del Gobbo, F. 2003. Appositives at the Interface. PhD thesis. Irvine, CA: University of California, USA.

Del Saz Rubio, Ma. 2003. *An analysis of English discourse markers of reformulation*. PhD Thesis, València: Universidad de Valencia, Spain.

Doron, Edit. 1994. The discourse function of appositives. In: Buchalla, Rhonna, Anita Mitwoch (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Conference and the Workshop on Discourse of the Israel Association for Theoretical Linguistics*, 53-65. Jerusalem: Academon.

Ernst, Thomas. 2002. *The Syntax of Adjuncts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fassi Fehri, Abdelkader. 1999. Arabic modifying adjectives and DP structures. *Studia Linguistica* 53 (2). 105–154.

Fischer, Wolfdietrich. 2002. *A Grammar of Classical Arabic*. London: Yale University Press.

Francis, Nelson W. 1958. *The Structure of American English*. New York: Ronald Press.

Fries, Charles C. 1952. *The Structure of English*. New York: Harcourt.

Grosu, Alexander. 2000. Type-resolution in relative constructions. In: Alexiadou, Artemis, Paul Law, André Meinunger, Chris Wilder (eds.), *The Syntax of Relative Clauses*, 83-119. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Hannay, Mike, Evelien Keizer. 2005. A discourse treatment of English non-restrictive nominal appositions in functional discourse grammar. In: Mackenzie, John L., Maria Á. Gómez-González (eds.), *Studies in Functional Discourse Grammar*, 159-194. Bern: Peter Lang.

Heringa, Hermanus. 2007. Appositional constructions: coordination and predication. In: Kluck, Marlies E., Erik-Jan Smits (eds). *Proceedings of the Fifth Semantics in the Netherlands Day*, 67–82. Groningen: University of Groningen.

Heringa, Hermanus. 2011. *Appositional Constructions*. Groningen: LOT Publication.

Howell, Mortimer S. 1986. *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*. New Delhi: Gian Publishing.

Höhn, Georg F. K. 2016. Unagreement is an illusion: Apparent person mismatches and nominal structure. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 34(2). 543–592

Höhn, Georg F. K. 2017. *Non-possessive Person in the Nominal Domain*. PhD thesis. Cambridge: University of Cambridge, UK.

Huddleston, Rodney, Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jasinskaja, E. 2007. Nominal restatement. In: Puig-Waldmüller, Estella (ed.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 11*, 346-360. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

Julien, Marit. 2002. Determiners and word order in Scandinavian DPs. *Studia Linguistica* 56 (3). 265-315.

Klein, Maarten. 1977. *Appositionele constructies in het Nederlands* [Appositional constructions in Dutch]. PhD Thesis, Nijmegen: University of Nijmegen, Netherlands.

Koktová, Eva. 1986. *Apposition as a Pragmatic Phenomenon in a Functional Description*. Duisburg: Linguistic Agency, University of Duisburg.

Laenzlinger, Christopher. 2005. French adjective ordering: perspectives on DP-internal movement types. *Lingua* 115 (5). 645-689.

Lehmann, C. 1984. Der Relativsatz [The Relative Clauses]. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Lekakou, Marika & Kriszta Szendrői. 2011. Polydefinites in Greek: Ellipsis, close apposition and expletive determiners. *Journal of Linguistics*, 48(1): 107-149.

Longobardi, Giuseppe. 2001. The structure of DPs: Some principles, parameters, and problems. In: Baltin, Mark, Chris Collins (eds.), *Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, 562–603. Oxford: Blackwell.

McCawley, James D. 1998. *The Syntactic Phenomena of English*. Chicago/London: The University of Chicago Press.

Meyer, Charles. 1992. *Apposition in Contemporary English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mohammad, Mohammad. 2000. Word Order, Agreement, and Pronominalization in Standard and Palestinian Arabic. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Molitor, Friedhelm. 1979. *Zur apposition im heutigen Deutsch: Eine Vorstudie* [To apposition in today's German: A preliminary study]. PhD Thesis, Köln: University of Cologne, Germany.

Niyaz, Qari M. 2000. *Tafseer Fath Ar-rahman* [A Commentary by The Merciful God's Success]. Beirut: Dar Qurtuba, Lebanon.

O'Connor, Kathleen. 2008. Aspects de la syntaxe et de l'interprétation de l'apposition à antécédent nominal [Aspects of syntax and interpretation of affixing with nominal antecedent]. PhD Thesis, Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Université Charles de Gaulle, France.

Ortner, Hanspeter. 1985. Hervorgehobene Korrektur- und Bestätigungssignale in Texten geschriebener Sprache [Highlighted correction and acknowledgment signals in texts of written language]. In: Koller, Erwin, Hans Moser (eds.), Studien zur Deutschen Grammatik. Festschrift Fur Johannes Erben Zum 65 Geburtstag [Studies on German Grammar. Festschrift for Johannes Erben on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday], 239-254. Innsbruck: Institut für Germanistik.

Pesetsky, David, Esther Torrego. 2007. The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. In: Karimi, Simin, Vida Samiian, Wendy K. Wilkins (eds.), *Phrasal and Clausal Architecture*, 262-294. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Postal, Paul. 1969. On So-called "Pronouns" in English. In: David A. Reibel and Sanford A. Schane (eds.). Modern Studies in English: Readings in Transformational Grammar. Englewood Cliffs (NJ): Prentice Hall.

Potts, Christopher. 2005. *The Logic of Conventional Implicatures*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pyse, Agnieszka. 2006. The structural location of adnominal adjectives: Prospects for Old English. *SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics* 3 (3). 59-85.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of The English Language*. London: Longman.

Rath, Rainer. 1995. Korrektur und Anakoluth im Gesprochenen Deutsch [Correction and Anacoluth in spoken German]. *Linguistische Berichte* 37 (1). 1-12.

Ryding, Karin. 2005. *A Reference Grammar of Modern Standard Arabic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sadler, Louisa, Douglas Arnold. 1994. Prenominal adjectives and the phrasal/lexical distinction. *Journal of Linguistics* 30 (1). 187-226.

Sadler, Louisa, Rachel Nordlinger. 2006. Apposition as coordination: evidence from Australian languages. In: Butt, Miriam, Tracy H. King (eds.), *Proceedings of the Lexical Functional Grammar 2006 Conference*, 437-454. Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Sawaie, Mohammed. 2014. *Fundamentals of Arabic Grammar*. New York: Routledge.

Schindler, Wolfgang. 1990. *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik appositionsverdächtiger Einheiten im Deutschen* [Studies on the Grammar of Apposition Suspicious Units in German]. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Shlonsky, Ur. 2004. The form of Semitic noun phrases. *Lingua* 114 (12). 1465–1526.

Sichel, Ivy. 2000. Evidence for DP-internal remnant movement. In: Hirotani, Masako, Andries Coetzee, Nancy Hall, Ji-yung Kim (eds.), *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society 30*, 568–581. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University.

Soltan, Usama. 2007. *On Formal Feature Licensing in Minimalism: Aspects of Standard Arabic Morphosyntax*. PhD thesis. College Park, MD: University of Maryland, USA.

Sopher, Hadas. 1971. Apposition. *English Studies* 52 (1-6). 401-412.

Stroik, Thomas, Michael Putnam. 2013. *The Structural Design of Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sturm, Arie. 1986. *Primaire syntactische structuren in het Nederlands* [Primary syntactic structures in Dutch]. PhD Thesis, Nijmegen: University of Nijmegen, Netherlands.

Suleiman, Yasir. 1999. *Arabic Grammar and Linguistics*. Surrey: Curzon.

Svenonius, Peter. 1994. The structural location of the attributive adjective. In: Duncan, Eric, Donka Farkas, Phillip Spaelti (eds), *The Proceeding of the Twelfth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, 439-454. Standford, CA: CSLI.

Travis, Lisa. 1988. The syntax of adverbs. In McGill Working Papers in Linguistics, Proceedings of the IVth Workshop on Comparative Germanic Syntax, 280-310. Montreal: McGill University.

Wright, William. 1967. *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.