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RESEARCH ARTICLE

The syntax of nominal appositives

Niina Ning Zhang

National Chung Cheng University, Taiwan
Email: zongningzhang@gmail.com

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Abstract

There are various types of nominal appositives. One is predicative, as in *She invited Lulu Moppet, an old friend, to the party*; one is specificational, as in *She invited an old friend, Lulu Moppet, to the party;* and a further type is equative, as in *She invited Reginald Kenneth Dwight, Elton John, to the party.* This paper argues that each type of nominal appositive comes from a reduced copular clause of a certain kind. Such a copular clause is base-generated as the complement of a categoryless functional head, like a low conjunct or a modifier. The combination of the reduced copular clause and the functional head is merged with, and categorized by, the matrix clause. Thus, a nominal appositive is not base-generated in the same proposition-denoting expression where its anchor occurs. Explicit steps of derivation for building a nominal appositive construction are proposed. The proposed syntactic derivations rule out unacceptable positions of nominal appositives. The research explores the general syntax of non-argument-taking relations.

1. Introduction

This paper investigates the syntax of nominal appositive (NAP) constructions, such as the three examples in (1) (de Vries 2006, 2012, Heringa 2011, Griffiths 2015, Onea & Ott 2022, among others).[1] A NAP (the bold part) must occur with an anchor nominal (the italic part).

(1) a. She met *Lulu Moppet*, **an old friend**, at the pub today.
b. She met *an old friend*, **Lulu Moppet**, at the pub today.
c. She invited *Reginald Kenneth Dwight*, **Elton John**, to the party.

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In (1a), the NAP *an old friend* seems to function as a nominal predicate of its anchor, *Lulu Moppet.* Following Onea & Ott (2022), I call the NAP in such an example predicative NAP (p-NAP). In (1b), the NAP *Lulu Moppet* specifies the referent of its anchor, *an old friend.* I thus call the NAP in such an example specificational NAP (s-NAP). In (1c), the NAP *Elton John* and its anchor *Reginald Kenneth Dwight* refer to the same musician. I call the NAP in such an example equative NAP (eq-NAP).[2]

NAP is one type of parentheticals (see Dehé 2014 for a review of various approaches to parentheticals). Parentheticals look like insertions into the host clauses that would be grammatically complete without them. Thus, compared to (1a), (1b), and (1c), the three clauses (2a), (2b), and (2c) are also grammatically complete. From now on, I call the NAP-less part of a NAP construction Anchor Clause (AnC). Thus, the three examples in (2) are the AnCs of the three examples in (1), respectively.

(2) a. She met Lulu Moppet at the pub today.
b. She met an old friend at the pub today.
c. She invited Reginald Kenneth Dwight to the party.

Semantically, every NAP construction entails the meaning of the AnC. Thus, (1a) entails (2a), (1b) entails (2b), and (1c) entails (2c).

The goal of this paper is to explore the building of NAP constructions in syntax. In §2 through §6, I discuss p-NAPs only, leaving the other types to §7. In §2, I clarify that a NAP and its anchor are not base-generated in the same simple clause. In §3, I argue that a NAP comes from a reduced copular clause. In §4, I claim that the relation between such a copular clause and the relevant AnC is a non-argument-taking relation, and the relation is captured by a general structure for both coordination and modification. In §5, I present how various NAP constructions can be derived, without any construction-specific functional projections and configurations. In §6, I show how the proposed derivations rule out ungrammatical NAP constructions. Then, the same syntactic analysis is extended to other types of NAP constructions in §7. I highlight the advantages of this research in §8. §9 concludes the paper.

2. The syntactic separation of a NAP from its AnC

This section argues that a NAP and its anchor must be hosted in separate clauses.

2.1. A NAP and its anchor neither are merged in the same DP nor are in the same clause

In this section, I show that a NAP and its anchor are not in the same DP or same clause.

First, as reported by Doron (1994: 56), Heringa (2011: 95–101, 180–182), and Onea & Ott (2022: 361), an adverb may occur between a NAP and its anchor, as seen in (3).

[2] Abbreviations: MOD: modification marker; NAP: nominal appositive; eq-NAP: equative NAP; p-NAP: predicative NAP; s-NAP: specificational NAP; AnC: anchor-containing clause; NaC: NAP-containing clause; J: the functional element Junct; J-set: the combination of J and its complement; Head: the nominal that a relative or appositive clause is associated with.

P-NAPs are called attributive NAPs in Griffiths (2015), and s-NAPs are called identificational NAPs in Heringa (2011: 10) and reformulating-NAPs in Griffiths (2015) and Onea & Ott (2022: 360).

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(3) a. Ten years ago, I didn't know anything about *appositions*, **currently my subject**.
b. *Keith*, **once a drug addict**, now leads a rehabilitation center.
c. I met *Skylar García*, **frankly a rather dull character**, at the pub today.
d. *Racial profiling*, **unfortunately a frequent occurrence in American society**, must be stopped.

An adverb, by definition, occurs in a non-nominal context. Since no adverb may occur between two nominals that form a bigger nominal (e.g., *a drug* (**once*) *addict*), the examples in (3) show that a NAP and its anchor do not form a nominal constituent. In such examples, as stated by Heringa (2011: 180), "the presence of adverbials reveals the predicative or even clausal status of the apposition."[3] This adverb fact challenges Pott's (2005: 97) and de Vries's (2006: 238, 2012: 154) claim that a NAP and its anchor form a nominal constituent.

Also, in examples like (4), the anchor and the NAP are not next to each other. If they were base-generated in a definite DP, their separation would violate the definite DP island.

(4) I met *John* yesterday, **a really nice guy**. (Heringa 2011: 15)

We thus get the following conclusion:

(5) *[$_{DP}$ anchor NAP]

(5) implies that a NAP is not a nominal conjunct in any assumed nominal coordination (contra de Vries 2006). An anonymous reviewer challenges the ungrammaticality of (5) by the apparent possibility of its topicalization and passivization. Later, in (50) and (52), I show that the adjacency of an anchor and a NAP in passive and topicalization constructions does not challenge (5) and explain where the illusion comes from.

Second, the formal properties of a NAP are invisible to the clause where it surfaces. As pointed out by Heringa (2011: 9), "if some element in the matrix agrees with the appositional construction, it only agrees with the anchor." In (6a) (Onea & Ott 2022: 362), only the singularity of the anchor *the loot*, but not the plurality of the NAP *fourteen pure diamonds*, triggers the number agreement on the auxiliary in the AnC. (6b) (adapted from Potts 2005: 124) shows the same point (also see Burton-Roberts 1994: 185).

(6) a. *The loot*, **fourteen pure diamonds**, {was/*were} worth millions.
b. *Every climber*, **all experienced adventurers**, {has/*have} made it to the summit.

Third, neither *it*-cleft (Heringa 2011: 110) nor pseudo-cleft may target a NAP. See (7).

(7) a. Joe asked *Bill*, **a famous trumpet player**, to teach him.
b. *It is a famous trumpet player that Joe asked Bill to teach him.
c. *What Joe asked Bill to teach him is a famous trumpet player.

Fourth, according to Onea & Ott (2022), a NAP and the AnC are independent illocutionary objects. In (8a), the matrix clause is a question but the p-NAP is not the

[3] In some constructions, e.g., [[*John and perhaps Mary*] *have gone to the store*], an adverb surfaces in a nominal. In Zhang (2025 and the references thereof), the adverb in such constructions is hosted in a clause, and then the clause is integrated into the complex nominal.

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part of the question (Onea & Ott 2022: 361). In (8b), the AnC is not a question, but the p-NAP is.

(8) a. Is *Jane*, (*allegedly*) *the best doctor in town*, already married?
b. He called his dad, perhaps a professor? right before it happened.

Different illocutionary forces are represented in different clause types in syntax. Therefore, a NAP and its anchor cannot be hosted in the same simple clause.

The above three points further show that a NAP and its anchor are not base-generated in the same simple clause. We thus get a more general constraint:

(9) *[$_{\text{simple clause}}$ … anchor NAP …]

2.2. A NAP and its anchor do not form a clause-containing DP

It is also unlikely for an assumed NAP-containing clause and the anchor to form a complex DP. In this subsection, I show that the form in (10) is also ill-formed.

(10) *[$_{\text{DP}}$ anchor [$_{\text{CP}}$ … NAP …]]

First, the relation between an anchor and its NAP is not that between a relational noun and its licensor, and thus a NAP cannot be contained in a complement clause of an anchor.

Second, a NAP functions as a reduced appositive clause. But this clause is associated with an expression bigger than its associated DP (or called Head), i.e., the anchor. In (11), if the clause containing the NAP [*a married woman*] were merged with the anchor *Mary* alone, forming a complex subject, it would be in the scope of *believed.* But this is not the intended reading. More plausibly, (11) should be interpreted as the combination of two clauses: the AnC [*John believes that Mary is still single*] and another clause where the NAP [*a married woman*] appears as a predicate and its null subject is anaphoric to *Mary* in the AnC. See Potts (2005: 114f) for more discussion of the fact that a NAP is not in the scope of any AnC element.

(11) John believes that *Mary*, **a married woman**, is still single.

Third, the Head of a restrictive relative c-commands the relative, but that of an appositive clause does not (Emonds 1979); like the latter, an anchor does not c-command its NAP. In (12a), the quantifier Head *every assistant* can bind *his* in the restrictive relative; but in (12b), the same Head cannot bind *his* in the appositive clause (Emonds 1979: 236). Similarly, in (12c, d) (Potts 2005: 122), if the clause containing the NAP [*{an/the} experienced adventurer*] were merged with the anchor *every climber*, forming a complex DP, it would be c-commanded by the anchor; and the NAP should be qualified as a variable. But this is not the case.

(12) a. I told every assistant$_1$ [who loved his$_1$ uniform] that he$_1$ was unwanted.
b. *I told every assistant$_1$, who loved his$_1$ uniform, that he$_1$ was unwanted.
c. ∗Every climber, {an/the} experienced adventurer, was found sipping hot cocoa in the lodge.
d. ∗No climber, {an/the} experienced adventurer, was found sipping hot cocoa in the lodge.

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Fourth, in (13b), for example, the NAP and its anchor co-refer. If they were in the same complex DP where the anchor c-commands the NAP in the reduced appositive clause, Condition C would be violated.

(13) a. We have invited *him*, **a genius**, to give us a talk here.
b. We have invited *him*, **Prof. Brown**, to give us a talk here.

Instead of the complex DP analysis, if an appositive clause and its associated DP are each hosted in a separate clause, and the two clauses form a bigger clause (Ross 1967; Emonds 1979; or any other versions of a bi-clausal analysis), and if a NAP is analyzed as a reduced appositive clause, the above challenges disappear.[4]

Fifth, in Onea and Ott's (2022) well-argued bi-clausal analysis, it is an AnC, not an anchor alone, that denotes an implicit question, which is answered by the NAP. From this perspective, it is also unlikely for an anchor and its NAP to form a complex DP. I have thus explained why (10) is ill-formed.

A NAP is independent of the other parts of the NAP construction. Syntactically, a parenthetical is not an argument of any element of the AnC. It is thus "invisible" to the internal structure of the AnC (cf. de Vries 2007: 207). The relation between a NAP and its AnC is like that between two sentences in discourse (cf. Ott 2016: 488). The possible prosodic breaks next to a NAP are expected from this relation. As claimed by Kayne (2002: 139; also his 2026: 3), in a discourse example such as *John is famous. He's smart, too*, "the two sentences in question form a single syntactic entity, akin to coordination." In §3 through §6, I probe the issue of how to form a p-NAP construction, which is a complex CP, not a complex DP or simple CP, and the issue of how to exclude unacceptable forms of such constructions in syntax.

3. A reduced copular clause source of NAPs

Regarding the syntactic source of a p-NAP, in this section, I present new evidence to support Heringa (2011) and Onea and Ott's (2022) copular clause analysis.

Both Heringa (2011) and Onea and Ott (2022) claim that a p-NAP is contained in a clause different from the matrix clause. In other words, there are two clauses: in addition to an AnC, a NAP comes from another clause. Onea and Ott (2022) further conclude that a NAP answers a potential question raised in the AnC in pragmatics.

As pointed out by Heringa (2011: 19), a NAP may occur with a sentential adverb. We have seen such examples in (3). I add the example in (14) to show that a NAP may not occur with a non-sentential adverb. This restriction indicates that a NAP must be in a clause separated from the AnC.

(14) I asked *Susie*, {probably/*reluctantly} a student, to help me.

Since a p-NAP is predicative in semantics, following Doron (1994) and Heringa (2011), I assume that its containing clause is a predicational copular clause and the p-NAP is a

[4] Demirdache (1991: 111; also Potts 2005: 90) assumes that an appositive clause is adjoined to the associated DP, forming a complex DP, but it is "interpreted at LF as independent clause" (p. 104). If the clause cannot be interpreted in the assumed base-position, the assumption about the base-position is challenged.

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predicative nominal. One of Doron's many arguments for the predicate nominal status of p-NAPs is that neither a predicate nominal nor a p-NAP can be quantified by *every* or *most* ((15) and (16) are from Heringa 2011: 76):

(15) a. *Abe, Bonnie, and Chimp {are/is} every chimpanzee in the zoo.
b. *Abe, Bonnie, and Chimp are most chimpanzees in the zoo.

(16) a. *We saw Abe, Bonnie, and Chimp, every chimpanzee in the zoo.
b. *Abe, Bonnie, and Chimp, most chimpanzees in the zoo, were out in the sun.

There are also other shared properties between a p-NAP and a post-copula predicate nominal. For example, for a predicational copular clause, the predicative nominal rejects expressions such as *certain*, as seen in (17a). This word occurs with a specific indefinite (referential), but not a predicative nominal (non-referential). The same constraint is found on p-NAPs, as seen in (17b) (cf. Burton-Roberts 1975: 413).

(17) a. Napoleon is a (*certain) French soldier. [predicational clause]
b. *Mr Pontefract*, **a (*certain) upholster**, called today. [p-NAP construction]

This copular clause analysis can further be supported by the fact that only the sentential adverbs that can occur in a copular clause may occur with a NAP. Adverbs such as *gradually, eventually, rarely, frequently* cannot occur in a copular clause and they cannot occur with a NAP, either. This is shown in (18).

(18) I asked *Susie*, {**probably**/***eventually**} **a student**, to help me.

If a NAP comes from a copular clause, it must be in a reduced form. In such a clause, as in a reduced relative clause for a predicative adjective (cf. Cinque 2010), the non-focused parts, i.e., the copula, as a functional element, and the pre-copula pronominal subject, are not PF visible. So, the NAP-hosting clause has the syntactic form in (19a). Accordingly, the NAP-hosting clause in (1a) has the form in (19b) (I use the capital form of the copula to represent its silence).

(19) a. [*pro* BE NAP]
b. [*pro* BE an old friend]

The null prenominal in (19) is anaphoric to the anchor. The anchor of a p-NAP can be definite, as in (18), or quantificational, as in (20) (Potts 2005: 124).

(20) *Every climber*, **all experienced adventurers**, made it to the summit.

Heringa (2011: 118) claims that the pronoun that is the subject of the copular clause for a NAP is a null E-type pronoun (see Heycock 2025: 42 on the issue for s-NAPs). The pronoun's hosting clause can be built separately from the clause that hosts its antecedent. In (21), *he* is anaphoric to *someone.* Each of the two clausal conjuncts must be constructed separately before they form the whole coordinate complex.

(21) Someone broke into the house, and he stole the silver. (Moltmann 2006: 199)

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Although the null pronoun is labeled as *pro*, it is exclusively anaphoric to the anchor. I will not discuss the semantic type(s) of the pronoun that occurs with a NAP anymore.

In addition to AnC, we have now identified another clause, a NAP clause (NaC), as in (19). Therefore, each of the examples in (1) contains two clauses, as shown in (22) for (1a). Note that NaC and AnC are convenient descriptive names for the clauses, rather than syntactic categories. Their category can be CP.

(22) She met *Lulu Moppet*, **an old friend**, at the pub today.
Anchor clause (AnC): [She met Lulu Moppet at the pub today]
NAP clause (NaC): [*pro* BE an old friend]

In this section, I have added more syntactic arguments to support the idea that a NAP and its anchor are base-generated in different clauses, and that the clause that hosts a p-NAP is a predicational copular clause (e.g., Heringa 2011; Onea & Ott 2022).

4. The structural position of a NaC

After separating NaCs from AnCs, I now show how they are integrated into a bigger clause.

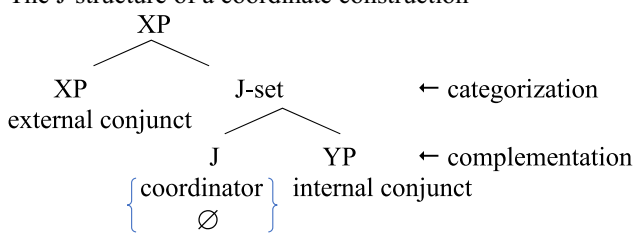
The structural relation between a NAP and its anchor has long been a puzzle (see Burton-Roberts 1975, 1994, Heringa 2011 for reviews). Intuitively, we know that the former depends on the latter, but not vice versa. A p-NAP seems to function as an appositive of its anchor (cf. Burton-Roberts 1975: 411). Onea and Ott (2022) argue that an AnC is the source of a potential question, and the NAP answers the question. Burton-Roberts (1975: 406), Heringa (2011), and Onea and Ott (2022) all have helped us to see that the full form of a NAP is a clause (i.e., a NaC), and this clause depends on the AnC. In syntax, this clause is not an argument of any lexical element. In this section, I clarify the syntactic position of this clause.

4.1. Background: a generalized non-argument-taking structure

Zhang (2023) proposes a general structure for a non-argument-taking relation, covering both coordination and modification relations. I introduce this structure in this subsection.

In the minimal form of coordination, there are two conjuncts. One of them is the complement of a functional element, called Junct (J). J can be realized by a coordinator. J has no categorial features. But like all other functional heads, it must have a complement. The combination of J and its complement is called J-set, which also has no syntactic category, since the complement of an element does not project. In this respect, both J and a J-set are like a root. Then, it is the other conjunct, which is the sister of J-set, that decides the category of the whole coordinate complex. The conjunct that is the complement of J is called internal conjunct, and the higher one is called external conjunct. Like some other functional heads, J can be null.

(23) The J-structure of a coordinate construction



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In this structure, the J-set empirically functions as an adjunct of XP, although a well-recognized adjunct or modifier has its category, but a J-set does not. Moreover, J does not get a category from YP, since the latter is its complement. If J got its category from its complement, XP would be merged with YP (Chomsky's 2013 Pair Merge). To solve the labeling problem of the assumed Pair Merge, neither of the two ways proposed by Chomsky works here, because the two phrases do not have to share features and neither moves away (see Zhang 2023: 10 for a comment on Chomsky's analysis of coordination). In the J-theory, a generalized categorization occurs, instead of Pair Merge.[5]

The main arguments for this J-theory of coordination are the following. First, a coordinator must occur with at least two conjuncts. This is shown in (24). This follows the obligatory co-occurrence of the complement of J and the categorizer of the J-set. Second, the combination of a coordinator and a conjunct is syntactically optional. This is shown in (25). In the J-theory, a J-set depends on its categorizer, but not vice versa. Third, unlike arguments, conjuncts can be unlimited in number, syntactically. This is shown in (26). In the J-structure, multiple layers of J-set are possible, before the complex J-set is categorized by another element. Fourth, it is the highest conjunct, rather than the coordinator or any other conjunct, that decides the category of the whole coordinate complex. This is shown in (27) (cf. Sag et al. 1985). In (27a), the high conjunct (i.e., the external one) is a nominal, which satisfies the c-selection of the preposition *on.* (27b) shows that *on* does not take a declarative clause as its complement. (27c) shows that if the high conjunct is a declarative clause, the c-section of *on* cannot be satisfied and thus the construction is not acceptable.

(24) a. Susi and Bob swam.
b. *And Bob swam.
c. *Susi and swam.

(25) Susi (and Bob) swam.

(26) Susi, Trisha, Bill, … and Bob all swam.

(27) a. You can depend on [$_{NP}$ my assistance] and [$_{CP}$ that he will be on time].
b. *You can depend on [$_{CP}$ that he will be on time].
c. *You can depend on [$_{CP}$ that he will be on time] and [$_{NP}$ my assistance].

For a modification relation, a modifier has the same syntactic position as an internal conjunct, and the modified element has the same syntactic position as an external conjunct. The above arguments for the J-theory are also found in modification constructions: the occurrence of a modifier depends on the occurrence of a modified element; a modifier is optional syntactically; unlike arguments, modifiers can be unlimited in number; and it is the modified element that decides the category of the whole modification construction.

J can also be realized by a modification marker, which is found in some languages, but not in languages such as English (Rubin 1994, 2003). In the two Mandarin Chinese examples in (28), *de* is a modification marker, glossed as MOD (the different written forms, 的 and 地, are contextual variations of the same functional element; see Zhang 2023: 34).

[5] Why does J not project an independent JP (cf. Munn's 1992 BooleanP)? This is because such a phrase would be intrinsically an adjunct, but other phrases can be an argument of a head. The theory that J-set has no category can capture both J's inability to be an argument and its shared property with roots.

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(28) a. Nà-gè pàngpàng-de nánhái zhèngzài yóuyǒng.
that-CL fat-MOD boy PRG swim
'That fat boy is swimming.'
b. Nà-gè nánhái zhèngzài mànman-de yóuyǒng
that-CL boy PRG slow-MOD swim
'That boy is swimming slowly.'

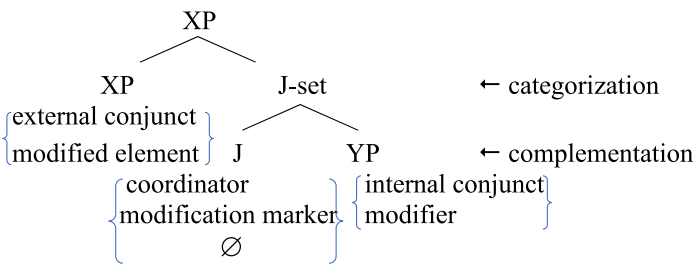
There are many structural similarities between a coordinator and a modification marker. For example, neither has a theta relation with another element; both are a closed set; both must be associated with at least two elements (one introduces a modifier to a modified element, and the other introduces one conjunct to another conjunct); neither has category features; both can be silent in a language or in certain constructions of a language; both occur in a linker position morphologically, e.g., if there are only two elements, they occur between them (Zhang 2023: 20); and when they occur with more than two linked elements, they both must be next to the right-edge element. The last point is seen in the coordination construction in (29) and the modification construction in (30) (Zhang 2023: 35).

(29) a. I saw Susi, Bob, **and** Sam.
b. *I saw Susi, **and** Bob, Sam.

(30) a. Ālán mǎi-le yī-gè hěn xiǎo hěn báo hěn qīng-**de** shǒujī.
Alan buy-PRF one-CL very small very thin very light-MOD cellphone
'Alan bought a very small, very light, and very thin cellphone.'
b. *Ālán mǎi-le yī-gè hěn xiǎo hěn báo-**de** hěn qīng shǒujī.
Alan buy-PRF one-CL very small very thin-MOD very light cellphone

Zhang (2023) proposes a general syntactic structure for a non-argument-taking relation.

(31) The J-structure of a non-argument-taking relation between XP and YP



In this J-structure, the J-set, as well as J, is categoryless. Like a root, it must be categorized. It is XP that categorizes the J-set and decides the category of the whole construction. It is also the category of XP that satisfies the c-selection of any higher element that takes the construction as its argument. This analysis explains why an internal conjunct needs an external conjunct, and why a modifier needs a modified element, syntactically.

In (31), the category of the complement of J (YP), as well as that of the categorizer of the J-set (XP), is underspecified. The exact choice depends on the constructions.

Moreover, the relation between the complement of J (YP) and the categorizer of a J-set (XP) is not argument-taking. But what kind of non-argument-taking relation it should be is

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underspecified. The exact relation depends on the context and J's realization. For example, if XP and YP are both DPs and J is realized by *and*, the whole complex is a DP coordinate complex, which can trigger a plural agreement. But in other situations, the whole complex does not need to be a coordinate complex, and does not have to trigger a plural agreement.

Furthermore, in this theory, what is crucial is the hierarchy. At each level in (31), the surface order of the sisters varies. For example, a modifier can either follow or precede its modified element, as seen in (32a) and (32b), respectively. If a modifier is contained in a J-set, such examples show that a J-set can follow or precede its categorizer.

(32) a. If you drink another can of beer, I'm leaving.
b. I'm leaving, if you drink another can of beer.

However, the position of the element that realizes J is always between the complement of J and the sister of the J-set. Generally, coordinators occur between conjuncts. Zhang (2024: 49) uses the Mandarin Chinese examples in (33) to show the position of modification markers. In (33a), the modifier *hěn kāixīn* 'very heartily' follows the modified expression *xiào* 'laugh', but in (33b), the same modifier precedes *xiào*; however, the enclitic modification marker *de* always occurs between the modifier and the modified element.

(33) a. Ālán xiào-de hěn kāixīn.
Alan laugh-MOD very heartily
b. Ālán hěn kāixīn-de xiào-le.
Alan very heartily-MOD laugh-PRF
Both a and b: 'Alan laughed very heartily.'

The J-structure introduced in this subsection paves a way for us to analyze the syntactic relation between a NaC and its AnC, to be discussed in the next subsection.

4.2. A NaC as the complement of J

I claim that a NaC, like a modifier or an internal conjunct, is the complement of J, and an AnC is the categorizer of the J-set. Then, syntactically, the J-set that contains a NaC is dependent on the AnC. This explains why a NAP needs an anchor, syntactically. Moreover, a NaC can be treated as a reduced appositive clause (cf. §2.2). Such a clause cannot be Headless (Emonds 1979: 231). Appositives need their Heads, and similarly, NAPs need their anchors.

This analysis explains the possible conjunct property and possible modifier property of a NAP. In the J-structure, whether an element is an internal conjunct or a modifier makes no structural difference: it is just the complement of J. On the one hand, a NAP may occur with a coordinator, or a cluster that is composed of a coordinator and a particle, as seen in (34).

(34) a. You could cut the atmosphere with *a knife*, **and a blunt knife** at that.
(Kluck 2015: 130)

b. Piet gaat *een auto*, **en wel een Porsche**, kopen. [Dutch]
Piet goes a car and PRT a Porsche buy
'Piet will buy a car, namely a Porsche.'

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c. Viděl jsem *něco krásného*, **a** **to** **zlat** **dům**. [Czech]
saw AUX.1SG.PST something beautiful and PRT golden house
'I saw something beautiful, namely a golden house.' (Heringa 2011: 144-145)

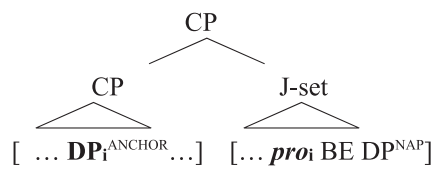
In (31), a coordinator realizes J. The coordinator or the cluster of a coordinator and a particle in (34) can be a realization of J. The existence of the constructions in (34) shows the conjunct property of a NaC. Note that as pointed out by a reviewer, while the conjunction of two DPs can trigger a plural agreement (*John and Pete are/*is*…), the occurrence of a coordinator between a singular anchor and its NAP never triggers a plural agreement (*the teacher*, *a genius, is/*are*; *the teacher, John, is/*are*). In my analysis, this is because the NAP is hosted in a clause, and the anchor and its NAP do not form a DP (see (5)). On the other hand, although a NaC is not an argument of any lexical element of the AnC, it enriches the meaning of the whole construction, and it usually rejects a coordinator, as a modifier does. From the perspective of this J-theory, a NaC can be viewed as a conjunct, if it may occur with a coordinator; and it can also be viewed as a kind of modifier. In either way, it is just the complement of J.

To understand the syntax of NAP constructions, where NaCs are conjunct-and-modifier-like elements, we can consider the syntax of a kind of conjunct that functions as a modifier, the conditional conjunct, such as the left conjunct in (35).

(35) You drink another can of beer and I'm leaving. (Culicover & Jackendoff 1997: 197)
Reading: If you drink another can of beer, I'm leaving.

A NAP is like such a modifier-like conjunct. Also, in English, a clausal modifier can precede or follow the matrix clause in certain constructions, as seen in (32). A modifier is the complement of J. If a NaC is also the complement of J, and the AnC is the sister of the J-set. I propose that the base-order of the two clauses of a NAP construction is like that in (32b). As shown in (36), the AnC precedes the NaC. In this new understanding of NAP constructions, a NAP is a nominal in a clause that is the complement of J. In this NaC, there is a silent pronominal (see (19)). This pronominal is anaphoric to a nominal in the matrix clause (AnC). An anchor is a nominal in the AnC that the silent pronominal in the NaC is anaphoric to. Thus, although J syntactically links two clauses together, the semantic dependency between a NAP and its anchor is represented by the anaphoric relation between the nominals contained in the two clauses.

(36)



In this structure, the *pro* takes a preceding DP (i.e., the anchor) as its antecedent. This is an unmarked order in pronominalization, as pointed out by a reviewer. I represent this unmarked order in both the base and the surface positions of the NAP and its anchor.

My proposal made in this section is that a NaC is the complement of J, and the J-set built is categorized by the AnC in their base-positions. The non-argument-taking J-structure

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explains why a NaC depends on an AnC syntactically. We move on to the issue of the surface position of a NAP in the next section.

5. Deriving various NAP constructions

In this section, I propose my syntactic derivations of various NAP constructions. A NAP may occur at the right-edge of the construction, as in (37a), or in a non-right-edge position, as in (37b). I discuss the former construction in §5.1 and the latter one in §5.2.

(37) a. I met *John* yesterday, **a really nice guy**. (Heringa 2011: 15)
b. She invited *Lulu Moppet*, **an old friend**, to the party.

5.1. The right-edge NAPs

A NAP may occur at the right-edge of a construction, as seen (38). Also, a NAP and its anchor do not need to be next to each other, as seen in (38b) (Burton-Roberts 1994: 184, see Onea & Ott 2022: 370 for similar examples).

(38) a. We invited *Lulu*, **an old friend**.
b. *Two saints* are buried here, **St Andrew and St Matthew**.

Onea and Ott (2022: 383) claim that a construction like (38b) is possible for s-NAPs only, not p-NAPs. However, p-NAP examples like (39) are available.

(39) I met *John* yesterday, **a really nice guy**. (Heringa 2011: 15)

The right-edge NAPs are also called Afterthoughts in Ott and de Vries (2016: 643). They are different from the non-right-edge NAPs in that they can be supplied by a second speaker (Ott & de Vries 2016: 649, 684). In (40), speaker A's utterance is followed by speaker B's utterance, which functions as a p-NAP.

(40) A: I met John yesterday. B: A really nice guy!

Because of this difference, it is unlikely for the right-edge NAP to be derived from a structure of a non-edge NAP construction by any movement operation, including the operation that is for extraposition (cf. Heringa 2011: 15). Instead, I propose that the NaC follows the AnC in their base-positions, and the NaC is the complement of J, as in (36). Following Ott and de Vries (2016), I analyze the NaC of such a p-NAP as a reduced copula clause (deletion of a pronoun and a copula in Ott and de Vries 2016: 682, and a null proform and a null copula in my approach, as proposed in §3). The structure of (39) is thus (41) (I use the subscriptions *a* and *n* to label AnC and NaC, respectively).

(41) [I met John yesterday]$_{a}$ [$_{\text{J-set}}$ J [*pro* BE a rearly nice guy]$_{n}$]

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5.2. The non-right-edge NAPs

If a NAP does not occur at the right-edge of the construction, the surface order can be derived by movement, including meaningless movement. Movement can be meaningless because it does not need to be feature-driven, as claimed by Chomsky (2013, 2021), Moro & Roberts (2024), Cinque (2023), and Syed & Simpson (2024), among others. This type of movement has been extensively argued for in Cinque (2025). Cinque (2025: 44) states that certain meaningless movements affecting linear order must take place in narrow syntax (I-language). I thus assume that meaningless movement can derive various NAP constructions.

I assume that the base structure of a NAP construction is (36) consistently, as in (41). I label this structure ⓪. Based on the structure, maximally two consecutive steps are necessary: ① the NaC moves to the left-edge; ② if the anchor is a clause-initial DP, it moves out of the AnC; otherwise, ③ the core structure of the (reformed) AnC undergoes a remnant movement, after all post-anchor elements are fronted in the AnC. If a coordinator occurs, as a linker, it always surfaces to the immediate left of the NaC in the final representation.

Operation ① is similar to the movement of a modifying clause, and operation ② or ③ is similar to the movement of an element out of a modified clause. If a NaC and its AnC are treated as internal and external conjuncts, respectively, operation ① looks like a conjunct movement and operation ② or ③ looks like extraction from a conjunct. Both operations violate Ross's (1967) Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC). See Zhang (2023: 42–44) for a review of the literature that discusses how the CSC can be violated.

The details of the proposed derivations are below.

Construction A: The anchor is a clause-initial DP of the AnC. For example, the NAP construction in (42) is derived by the steps in (43).

(42) *Mr Blunt*, **an ex-soldier**, owns that house. (Burton-Roberts 1974: 412)

(43) a. An AnC and a NaC are integrated into a J-structure: ⓪
[Mr Blunt owns that house]$_a$ [$_{J\text{-set}}$ J [*pro* BE an ex-soldier]$_n$]
b. The NaC moves, deriving: ①
[*pro* BE an ex-soldier]$_n$ [Mr Blunt owns that house]$_a$ t$_n$
c. The anchor moves out of the matrix clause, the AnC, deriving: ②
[Mr Blunt]$_i$ [*pro* BE an ex-soldier]$_n$ [t$_i$ owns that house] t$_n$

In (43), neither of the movements changes the category of the hosting expression, and thus the hosting expression projects. This is because "it is impossible for Move to target K raising α, then projecting α rather than K." (Chomsky 1994 [1995: 66]; cf. Cecchetto & Donati 2015). Both AnC and NaC are CPs and the final result is also CP.

Construction B: The anchor is not a clause-initial DP of the AnC. For example, the NAP construction in (44) can be derived in the steps in (45).

(44) Joe asked *Bill*, **a famous trumpet player**, to teach him. (Heringa 2011: 110)

(45) a. An AnC is built:
[Joe asked Bill to teach him]$_a$
b. In this object-control structure, the nonfinite CP argument moves to the left edge:
[[to teach him]$_i$ Joe asked Bill t$_i$]$_a$
c. A NaC is also built, and a J-structure is built with the output of Step b. ⓪
[[to teach him]$_i$ Joe asked Bill t$_i$]$_a$ [$_{J\text{-set}}$ J[*pro* BE a famous trumpet player]$_n$]

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d. The NaC moves, deriving the order: ①
[*pro* BE a famous trumpet player]$_n$ [[to teach him]$_i$ Joe asked Bill t$_i$]$_a$ t$_n$
e. Part of the AnC undergoes a remnant movement, stranding [*to teach him*]: ③
[Joe asked Bill t$_i$]$_g$ [*pro* BE a famous trumpet player]$_n$[[to teach him]$_i$ t$_g$]$_a$ t$_n$

To derive a little more complicated NAP construction, (46), we need first to front the adverbial *today* to the left of the AnC, as in (47b). Then, front the other adverbial *at the pub*, to the left-edge, as in (47c). Thus, all post-anchor elements are fronted in the AnC. In another working site, a NaC is built, and it is merged with J. Then, ⓪, merge the J-set with the output of (47c), as in (47d). Then, ①, moves the NaC, as in (47e); ③ part of the AnC undergoes a remnant movement, stranding *at the pub today*, as in (47f).

(46) She met *Lulu Moppet*, **an old friend**, at the pub today. (= (1a))

(47) a. [she met Lulu Moppet at the pub today]$_a$
b. [today$_i$ she met Lulu Moppet at the pub t$_i$]$_a$
c. [[at the pub]$_k$ today$_i$ [she met Lulu Moppet t$_k$ t$_i$]]$_a$
d. [[at the pub]$_k$ today$_i$ [she met Lulu Moppet t$_k$ t$_i$]]$_a$ [J [*pro* BE an old friend]$_n$] ⓪
e. [*pro* BE an old friend]$_n$ [[at the pub]$_k$ today$_i$ [she met Lulu Moppet t$_k$ t$_i$]]$_a$ t$_n$ ①
f. [she met Lulu Moppet t$_k$ t$_i$]$_f$ [*pro* BE an old friend]$_n$[[at the pub]$_k$ today$_i$ t$_f$]$_a$ t$_n$ ③

If a NAP construction starts with a C-domain element, e.g., the adverb *unfortunately* in (48), the element can be merged after the basic steps (e.g., after Step f in (47)).

(48) Unfortunately, she met *Lulu Moppet*, **an old friend**, at the pub today.

In a NAP construction that has a coordinator, such as those in (34), the coordinator, as a J-element, is next to the surface position of the NaC in the final representation.

If an A-movement or A-bar movement occurs in an AnC, and if the left-edge DP functions as an anchor, after it moves to the left of the NaC, the construction gives an illusion that it is the combination of an anchor and a NAP that has undergone the movement. In (50), we can see how such an illusion is created for the passive construction in (49); and in (52), we can see how such an illusion is created for the topicalization construction in (51).

(49) *Lulu Moppet*, **an old friend**, was invited to a party.

(50) a. The passive AnC and a NaC form a J-structure: ⓪
[Lulu Moppet was invited to a party]$_a$ [J [*pro* BE an old friend]$_n$]
b. The NaC moves, deriving: ①
[*pro* BE an old friend]$_n$ [Lulu Moppet was invited to a party]$_a$ t$_n$
c. The raised subject in the AnC (the anchor) moves and merges with the top CP: ②
Lulu Moppet$_i$ [*pro* BE an old friend]$_n$ [t$_i$ was invited to a party]$_a$ t$_n$

(51) *Lulu Moppet*, **an old friend**, I heard is writing a book.

(52) a. The AnC, which has a topic, and a NaC form a J-structure: ⓪
[Lulu Moppet I heard is writing a book]$_a$ [J [*pro* BE an old friend]$_n$]
b. The NaC moves, deriving: ①
[*pro* BE an old friend]$_n$ [Lulu Moppet I heard is writing a book]$_a$ t$_n$

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c. The topic of the AnC (the anchor) moves and merges with the top CP: ②
Lulu Moppet$_i$ [$_{NaC}$ *pro* BE an old friend]$_n$ [t$_i$ I heard is writing a book]$_a$ t$_n$

In deriving these various NAP constructions, no construction-specific operation or functional category is necessary. My conclusion of this section is that various NAP constructions can be derived by the normal syntactic operations.

6. Excluding ungrammatical NAP constructions

Potts (2005: 104) and Onea and Ott (2022: 383) give some unacceptable NAP constructions, such as those in (53). In these examples, the NAP in the bold form takes the italic part as its anchor.

(53) a. **Mr Blunt* owns, **an ex-soldier**, that house.
b. **Jan* was the fastest on the course, **the famous German sprinter,** yesterday.
c. **Lance* has, **the famous cyclist**, taken the lead.
d. *She met *Skylar Garcia* at the pub **an old friend** today.
e. *We spoke with *Lance* before the race, **the famous cyclist**, about the weather.
f. *She **an old friend** met *Skylar Garcia* at the pub today.

A common property of these unacceptable forms is that the NAP is neither next to its anchor nor at the right-edge of the construction. My following generalization can capture the position restriction on NAPs:

(54) A NAP either is adjacent to its anchor or occurs at the right-edge of the construction.

Recall that the right-edge NAPs are understood as Afterthoughts in the literature. In my analysis, right-edge NAP constructions are in their default order, seen in (36) and (41). In non-right-edge NAP constructions, however, the speaker re-organizes the AnC and NaC such that the two "thoughts" are integrated together, instead of ordering them sequentially. In Onea and Ott's (2022) question-answer perspective, one may assume that for a non-right-edge NAP construction, the speaker chooses to arrange the answer to be next to the Question Under Discussion part of the AnC, which denotes an implicit question. In this way, a NAP follows its anchor immediately. The crucial part of the implicit question is answered immediately. The generalization in (54) is thus reasonable.

Our J-structure in (36) reflects the default structure of a NAP construction. The right-edge NAP order is generated without any movement from the J-structure. In the other possible orders, the adjacency between a NAP and its anchor is generated by the maximally two consecutive movements (① and ② or ③). Although the movement operations are meaningless (there is no LF effect), their implementation has a pragmatic motivation. No random movement is allowed.

If an AnC and its NaC are first ordered as in ⓪, and the two consecutive steps (① and ② or ③) are implemented, as proposed in §5, there is no way to generate the unacceptable orders in (53). In the first three unacceptable examples in (53), the anchor is the first constituent of the AnC. In order to derive (53a), after ①, which moves the NaC [*pro* BE *an ex-soldier*], instead of my proposed ②, which moves the anchor *Mr Blunt*, the AnC [*Mr Blunt owns* t$_i$] might

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move, stranding [*that house*]$_i$. A similar problem occurs in (53b) and (53c). In the last three unacceptable examples in (53), the anchor is not the first constituent of the AnC. I have proposed in §5 that in this case, within the AnC, all post-anchor elements should be fronted, before the remnant movement ③. So, in (53d), both *today* and *at the pub* need to be fronted in the AnC. But the unacceptable form could be derived if only *today* is fronted in the AnC. Then, after ① (the fronting of the NaC), the remnant movement derives the unacceptable (53d). The same problem occurs in (53e). To derive the unacceptable (53f), after ① (moving the NaC [*an old friend*]), instead of a remnant movement proposed in my analysis, *she* in the AnC, which is not the anchor, might move.

In this and previous sections, I have shown how the proposed derivations can rule in acceptable NAP positions and rule out unacceptable ones. We have not seen any alternative way to achieve this yet. Thus, this research can be an early step in the research.

7. Non-p-NAPs

Non-p-NAPs include s-NAPs, e.g., *Lulu Moppet* in (55a), and eq-NAPs, e.g., *America for short* in (55b). Unlike p-NAPs, these two kinds of NAPs are not predicative. They are definite and referential. In this section, I extend my analysis of p-NAPs to s- and eq-NAPs.

(55) a. She met *an old friend*, **Lulu Moppet**, at the pub today.
b. *The United States of America*, or **America for short** … (Kluck 2015: 130)

7.1. Similar properties of s/eq-NAPs and p-NAPs

Different types of NAPs share properties. The properties reported in §2 are all found in s/eq-NAP constructions. They all show that a NAP and its anchor are hosted in different clauses, not forming a complex DP. For example, first, like a p-NAP, an s/eq-NAP may also follow a sentential adverb, but reject a non-sentential adverb (see the p-NAP examples (3) and (14)).

(56) a. He met *an old friend*, **probably Skylar García**, at the pub today.
b. I asked *a student*, **obviously Susie**, to help me.
c. *I asked *a student*, **reluctantly Susie**, to help me.

Second, like p-NAPs, the formal properties of other kinds of NAPs are also invisible to the clause where they surface. In (57), the feminine *ihren* "her" in the clause agrees with the feminine anchor *die Lise*, not with the neuter NAP *das arme Weib* "the poor wife" (see Heringa 2011: 9 for the source of (57)).

(57) *Die Lise*, **das arme Weib**, hat ihren Mann verlohren. [German]
the.F Lise the.N poor wife has POSS.F husband lost
'Lise, that poor woman, lost her husband.'

Third, neither *it*-cleft (Heringa 2011: 110) nor pseudo-cleft targets a NAP. Both the p-NAP examples in (7) and the s-NAP examples in (58) show this. Eq-NAPs behave the same.

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(58) a. Joe asked *a famous trumpet player*, **Bill**, to teach him.
b. *It is Bill who Joe asked a famous trumpet player to teach him.
c. *What Joe asked a famous trumpet player to teach him is Bill.

Fourth, like a p-NAP, an s/eq-NAP may also be in a different illocutionary object from its AnC (Onea & Ott 2022: 361). In (59), the AnC is a declarative but the s-NAP is in a question.

(59) He called *someone* — **perhaps his dad?** — right before it happened.

Fifth, in an s/eq-NAP construction, the NAP and its anchor co-refer; if they were generated in the same clause, Condition C would be violated. The acceptability of examples like (60) challenges the same clause analysis.

(60) I invited *him*, **Prof. Brown**, to give us a talk here.

The conclusion that an s/eq-NAP and its anchor are hosted in different clauses is different from Griffiths's (2015) claim that an anchor and its s-NAP form a coordinate nominal. It is also different from the conclusion that a NAP and its anchor form a nominal in general (e.g., de Vries 2006).

7.2. The copular clause structures of s/eq-NaCs

Copular clauses can be predicative, specificational, and equative, seen in (61).

(61) a. E. M. Forster was a novelist. [predicational clause]
b. The author of *A Room with a View* was E. M. Forster. [specificational clause]
c. Barbara C. Hall is Barbara Partee. [equative clause]

"The intuition about predicational clauses is that they predicate a property of the subject referent" (Mikkelsen 2011: 1807). (61a) tells us the novelist's property of E. M. Forster. However, "The term specificational derives from the intuition that these clauses are used to specify who (or what) someone (or something) is, rather than to say anything about that person (or entity)." (Mikkelsen 2011: 1809) (61b) tells us who wrote a particular novel, not something about that person. According to Moro (1997) and den Dikken (2006), the post-copula nominal in a specificational clause is base-generated at an argument position, and the pre-copula nominal is a raised predicate. Heycock (2025 and the references therein), however, argues that the pre-copular nominal in specificational clauses denotes an individual concept, instead of a predicate (cf. Moro 1997). As for an equative copular clause, the pre- and post-copula nominals refer to the same individual. In (61c), the two names refer to the same famous scholar of formal semantics.

Heringa (2011: §3.7) claims that different types of NAPs correlate with different types of copular clauses. The post-copula nominal in a predicational clause is not referential, nor is a p-NAP. In contrast, the post-copula nominal in a specificational clause is referential, and so is an s-NAP. Also, the post-copula nominal in an equative clause is referential, and so is an eq-NAP. Therefore, the s-NAP construction in (62) (= (1b)) contains two clauses, AnC and NaC. Similarly, the eq-NAP construction in (63) (= (1c)) also contains two clauses.

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(62) She met *an old friend*, **Lulu Moppet**, at the pub today.
AnC: She met an old friend at the pub today.
NaC: *pro* BE Lulu Moppet.

(63) She invited *Reginald Kenneth Dwight*, **Elton John**, to the party.
AnC: She invited Reginald Kenneth Dwight to the party.
NaC: *pro* BE Elton John.

I have found one more fact to support the copular clause analysis of the s/eq-NAPs. Only the sentential adverbs that can occur in a copular clause may occur with an s/eq-NAP. This is the same constraint on p-NAPs (see §3). Adverbs such as *intelligently, gradually, eventually, rarely*, and *frequently* cannot occur in a copular clause and they cannot occur with a NAP, either. (64a) has an s-NAP and (64b) has an eq-NAP.

(64) a. I asked *a student*, (*eventually) Susie, to help me.
b. I asked Barbara C. Hall, (*eventually) Barbara Partee, to help me.

I discuss the integration of such NACs into the whole construction in the next subsection.

7.3. Deriving s/eq-NAP constructions

The J-structure analysis proposed for p-NAP constructions can apply to non-p NAP constructions. The possible occurrence of a coordinator in the eq-NAP examples in (65) shows that the J can be realized by a coordinator in the structure.

(65) a. I visited *the White House*, **or the house with the Oval Office**.
(adapted from de Vries 2006: 238)
b. The United States of America, **or America for short** … (Kluck 2015: 130)
c. *Olsen*, **or the First Mate (as we must call him now)**, usually closes the hatch.
(Burton-Roberts 1994: 186)

Like the NaC for a p-NAP, the NaC for an s/eq-NAP also has a null copula and a pre-copula null proform. In an s/eq-NAP construction, both the NAP and its anchor are referential, and the null proform is co-referential with the anchor. Thus, a general structure for the NaC of all types of NAPs is as in (36). Its simple form is (66).

(66) $[\ldots\ DP_i\ \ldots]_a\ [_{J\text{-set}}\ J\ [pro_i\ BE\ NAP]_n]$

We first consider the right-edge s-NAP construction (67).

(67) *Two saints* are buried here, **St Andrew and St Matthew**.

Like the right-end p-NAPs, the right-end s-NAPs can also be supplied by a second speaker. The German example in (68) is from Ott and de Vries (2016: 649). Speaker A utters an AnC and Speaker B utters a NaC.

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(68) A: Maria hat einen Star getroffen.
Maria has a.ACC start met
'Maria met a star.'
B: DEN JOHN TRAVOLTA!
the.ACC John Travolta
'John Travolta!'

The NaC exhibits the properties of specificational copula clauses. Also, all such right-edge NAPs reject adverbs that are also rejected by copula clauses (e.g., *eventually*). I thus assume that the syntax of the right edge s-NAPs is similar to the syntax of the right edge p-NAPs discussed in 5.2. The only difference is that the null copula in the NaC is a null specificational copula. The same analysis applies to right-edge eq-NAPs, such as those in (65).

The structure of (67) is shown in (69):

(69) [Two saints are buried here]$_a$ [$_{J\text{-set}}$ J [*pro* St Andrew and St Matthew]$_n$]

The derivation steps for the non-edge s-NAP construction in (70) are in (71), which are similar to the derivation steps in (47).

(70) She met *an old friend*, **Lulu Moppet**, at the pub today. (= (1b))

(71) a. An AnC is built:
[she met an old friend at the pub today]$_a$
b. Front the adverb *today*:
[today$_i$ she met an old friend at the pub t$_i$]$_a$
c. Front the PP *at the pub*:
[[at the pub]$_k$ today$_i$ she met an old friend t$_k$ t$_i$]$_a$
d. The reformed AnC and the NaC [*pro* BE Lulu Moppet]$_n$ form a J-structure:
[[at the pub]$_k$ today$_i$ she met an old friend t$_k$ t$_i$]$_a$ [J [*pro* BE Lulu Moppet]$_n$]
e. The NaC moves: ①
[*pro* BE Lulu Moppet]$_n$ [[at the pub]$_k$ today$_i$ she met an old friend t$_k$ t$_i$]$_a$ t$_n$
f. Part of the AnC moves, stranding the circumstantials: ③
[she met an old friend t$_k$ t$_i$]$_f$ [*pro* BE Lulu Moppet]$_n$ [[at the pub]$_k$ today$_i$ t$_f$]$_a$ t$_n$

Our generalization in (54) is also true of non-p NAPs, i.e., a NAP either follows its anchor immediately or occurs at the right-edge of the construction. In the unacceptable (72), the intended anchor is *an old friend* and the s-NAP is *Skylar Garcia*; neither of the two positions of the s-NAP is next to the anchor and neither shows up at the right edge position of the construction. I have explained the generalization by my proposed analysis of p-NAPs in §6. The same explanation applies to other types of NAPs.

(72) She (***Skylar Garcia**) met *an old friend* at the pub (***Skylar Garcia**) today.

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In the previous subsections, I have proposed the same syntactic derivation of s/eq-NAP constructions as p-NAP constructions.[6] This is different from a clause-copying and deletion analysis for s-NAP constructions in Onea and Ott (2022). See the next subsection.

7.4. Against a clause-copying and deletion analysis of s-NAPs

In Onea and Ott (2022), although the source (i.e., NaC) of a p-NAP is recognized as a copular clause (with an elided subject and copula), as shown in (74a) for (73a), the source of an s-NAP (their r-NAP; see footnote 1) is analyzed as a clause that is "propositionally reduplicative" (as called by Burton-Roberts 1994: 187) to the AnC, followed by deletion, as shown in their (74b) for (73b) (also see Burton-Roberts 1975: 406). In (74b), the NaC has an elided predicate.

(73) a. *Lance Armstrong*, **an Arkansan**, won the 2002 Tour de France.
b. *One of Mary's brothers*, **Emre**, has a girlfriend.

(74) a. *Lance Armstrong* [$_{\text{p-NAP}}$ ~~he is~~ **an Arkansan**] won the 2002 Tour de France.
b. *One of Mary's brothers* [$_{\text{r-NAP}}$ **Emre** ~~has a girlfriend~~] has a girlfriend.
(Onea & Ott 2022: 361)

Onea and Ott (2022) use a case pattern contrast in German to argue for this clause-copying and deletion analysis (I call it "clause-copying analysis" henceforth) of s-NAPs. In (75a), the p-NAP is nominative, which is different from its dative anchor; however, in (75b), the s-NAP is dative, which matches its dative anchor (Onea & Ott 2022: 362).

(75) a. Ich habe *dem Emre*, **(übrigens) ein Linguist**, mein Auto verkauft.
I have the.DAT Emre by.the.way a.NOM linguist my car sold
'I sold my car to Emre, a linguist (by the way).'
b. Ich habe *einem alten Freund*, **(nämlich) dem Emre**, mein Auto verkauft.
I have a.DAT old friend (namely) the.DAT Emre my car sold
'I sold my car to an old friend, (namely) Emre.'

However, first, examples where a p-NAP shows the same case with its anchors are reported in Heringa (2011). On the other hand, examples in which an s-NAP shows a different case from its anchors are also reported (Heringa 2011: 182; see (76)). The existence of such examples shows that it is risky to use the German case pattern to argue for the clause-copying analysis.

(76) Man wird *den Gewinner*, **selbstverständlich mein/?*meinen Freund**
one will the.ACC winner obviously my.NOM/my.ACC friend
Heinrich, mit einer Medaille belohnen.
Heinrich with a medal reward
'The winner, obviously my friend Heinrich, will be rewarded with a medal.'

[6] One anonymous reviewer asks about the analysis of non-nominal appositive constructions such as those in (i).

(i) a. Saturday John practiced an old hobby of his, throwing darts, in the pub …
b. His only wish, that she be happy, was never fulfilled.

I think *throwing darts* in (ia) and the *that*-clause in (ib) are both specificational appositives. They can be preceded by *that is.* They are in the complement of J. The analysis proposed for NAPs applies to such appositives.

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Second, the case contrast pattern assumed in the copying analysis is not seen in some other languages. In Russian, the case of a NAP always matches that of its anchor, regardless of the type of the NAP (Heringa 2011: 199). (77a), has a p-NAP and (77b) has an s-NAP. They are both dative, as their anchors. A similar pattern is seen in Czech (Heringa 2011: 206).

(77) a. Astronavty dali *Arabelle*, **sadovoj pau!ixe**, vodu i mjaso,
astronauts gave Arabella.DAT garden spider.DAT water.ACC and meat.ACC
vkusnuju pau!ju edu.
tasty spider food.ACC
'The astronauts gave Arabella, a garden spider, water and meat, a nice spider meal.'
b. Oni dali edu i *Anite*, **drugoj pau!ixe**.
they gave food also Anita.DAT other spider.DAT
'They gave the food to Anita, the other spider, as well.'

The language internal inconsistency and the cross-linguistic variation of the case patterns of various types of NAPs indicate that morphological case is not always a reliable diagnostic for syntactic structures. The case variation comes from two possible sources: the default case of the language (Schütze 2001) and the parallelism between a NAP and its anchor. See van Riemsdijk (1983: 247) for the default (or called unmarked) case analysis of case-disagreement between a NAP and its anchor in German. On the other hand, recall that a NAP is the only overt nominal in the complement of J, and it is semantically related to the anchor, which is hosted in the sister of the J-set. In my analysis, the complement of J and the sister of the J-set are the positions of two conjuncts. Conjuncts tend to show parallelism. It is thus possible for the case of a NAP to be parallel to the case of its anchor. Thus, case agreement between a NAP and its anchor might come from this parallelism. But I leave this conjecture for future research. See Heringa (2011) for another account of the complexity of the NAP cases. Anyway, I do not think morphological case alone is a decisive factor for syntactic analyses.

Onea and Ott (2022: 362) also argue that the clause that contains an s-NAP (NaC) is parallel to the matrix clause (AnC), but such a parallelism is not seen in p-NAP constructions. Thus, they claim that clause-copying occurs in s-NAP constructions, but not in p-NAP ones. A contrast is seen between the s-NAP construction in (78a) and the p-NAPconstruction in (78b).

(78) a. [Every inmate]$_i$ calls *a* (*particular*) *relative*, **his$_i$ mother**, once a week.
b. *[Every reporter]$_i$ believes that *Ames*, **often the subject of his$_i$ columns**, is a spy.

Their account is that if the s-NAP in (78a) comes from (79a), its acceptability is explained, since the bound pronoun *his* is bound by the quantifier *every inmate* before the deletion. But my proposed copular construction in (79b) can also be a possible NaC, where the *pro*, which has an E-type pronoun reading, is anaphoric to the anchor *a (particular) relative* in the AnC. The *pro* in the NaC in (78b), however, as pointed out by a reviewer, cannot get an E-type reading, since *Ames* is a proper name.

(79) a. [$_{s\text{-}NaC}$ [~~every inmate~~]$_i$ ~~calls~~ his$_i$ mother ~~once a week~~]
b. [$_{s\text{-}NaC}$ *pro* BE his mother]

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Thus, the acceptability contrast between (78a) and (78b) does not mean that the s-NAP must come from a copied clause. The unacceptability of the p-NAP construction in (78b) is irrelevant to the analysis of s-NAP constructions. Also, consider (80a), where the s-NAP comes from (80b) in the clause-coping analysis. (80b) violates Condition C and thus is not acceptable. The clause-copying analysis predicts that (80a) should also be bad. But (80a) is perfect. In contrast, the copular clause in (80c) is fine, and if (80c) is the NaC of the s-NAP in (80a), the latter's acceptability is explained.

(80) a. John calls *Bill*, **John's brother**, once a week.
b. *[$_{\text{s-NaC}}$ ~~John calls~~ John's brother ~~once a week~~]
c. [$_{\text{s-NaC}}$ *pro* BE John's brother]

In our opinion, if a theory predicts a construction is acceptable but the construction is not acceptable, the theory is not directly challenged (since the unacceptability may come from other factors); however, if a theory predicts a construction is unacceptable but the construction is acceptable, the theory is surely challenged.

P-NAPs and s-NAPs are semantically different: the former is predicative and the latter is not. This contrast explains some contrasts stated in Onea and Ott (2022: 362). For example, the German adverb *nämlich* "namely" occurs with s-NAPs, but not p-NAPs. Different types of NAPs are compatible with different types of adverbials. Heringa (2011: 56f, 147) extensively discusses the compatibility of adverbials with various types of NAPs. This compatibility contrast does not lead to a clause copying analysis of s-NAPs.

My preference for the copular clause analysis of NaCs to the clause copying analysis is for the following reasons, in addition to the avoidance of the Condition C issue in (80b). First, if a NAP, as argued by Onea and Ott (2022), answers a potential question raised by its AnC, it is more likely to be in the form of a copular clause than in the form of a near copy of the AnC. For example, the potential question raised by the AnC in (73b) can be *Who is the brother of Mary you are talking about*? One may answer *He is Emre*, rather than *Emre has a girlfriend.* The former, but not the latter, gives the right answer to the *who*-question. The question under discussion (QUD) of the implicit dialogue is about the property or identification of the individual denoted by the anchor alone, and thus, a NAC, as an answer to the potential question, should be in the form of a copular clause, rather than a near copy of the AnC.

In this respect, there is no contrast between a p-NAP and an s-NAP. In both cases, the proposition expressed by a NAP is associated with the anchor alone, which is an argument of an expression in the AnC, excluding the other parts of the AnC. In (73a), as claimed by Onea and Ott (2022) in (74a), the NaC does not encode "won the 2002 Tour de France." Similarly, in (73b), the NaC should not encode "has a girlfriend."

Second, if an s-NAP contains an adverb, the adverb does not scope over the non-anchor part of the AnC. The s-NAP construction in (81) entails the meaning of the AnC, and the appropriate NaC should be NaC1, rather than NaC2. Thus, the full form of the NaC does not contain "lost his wallet" at all. But in the clause copying analysis, since the adverb precedes the deleted verbal expression in NaC2, it may scope over the verbal expression. The analysis wrongly predicts that NaC2 is a possible reading for (81).

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(81) *A student*, **probably Sam**, lost his wallet.
AnC: A student lost his wallet.
NaC1: Probably *pro* BE Sam (rather than another person).
NaC2: Probably Sam lost his wallet (rather than he forgot his wallet, or lost his phone).

In this respect, again, there is no contrast between a p-NAP and s-NAP. In both cases, the proposition expressed by a NaC is associated with the anchor alone, excluding the other parts of the AnC. In (82), the p-NAP NaC *probably an Arkansan* expresses the meaning of NaC1, rather than that of NaC2. Thus, the full form of the p-NAP NaC, as claimed by Onea and Ott (2022) in (74a), does not contain "won the 2002 Tour de France" at all.

(82) *Lance Armstrong*, **probably an Arkansan**, won the 2002 Tour de France.
AnC: Lance Armstrong won the 2002 Tour de France.
NaC1: Probably he is an Arkansan (rather than a person from another place).
NaC2: Probably an Arkansan won the 2002 Tour de France (rather than did other things).

Third, in the clause copying analysis of the NaC of an s-NAP, the adverb with a NAP does not have to be those that are compatible with a copular clause (see (18) and (64)). Thus, my copular analysis correctly rules out *eventually* in (83a), as shown in the NaC in (83b), but the clause-copying analysis wrongly predicts that (83c) is a possible full form of (83a). The first clause in (83c) can be a well-formed AnC, and the second clause is its near copy, functioning as the full form of the NaC, before deleting the parts that are identical to the AnC. Then, we can see that *eventually* is predicted to be possible in the NAP construction, in this analysis.

(83) a. *A student*, {**obviously**/***eventually**} **Susie**, came to my office.
b. AnC: A student came to my office.
NaC: {obviously/*eventually} *pro* BE Susie.
c. *[~~Eventually~~ a student ~~came to my office~~] [eventually Susie came to my office].

Fourth, in Heringa and my copular clause analysis of the NaCs of various types of NAPs, such clauses contain a pre-copula *pro*, which is anaphoric to the anchor directly. In this respect, again, there is no contrast between a p-NAP and s-NAP: a *pro* occurs in both cases. In Onea and Ott's (2022) p-NAP example in (73a), the pronominal is the deleted pronoun *he*, as shown in (74a). In their proposed structure in (74b) for the s-NAP example in (73b), however, there is no pronominal that is anaphoric to *one of Mary's brothers.* How does the speaker express the intended coreference between the two referential expressions in the two propositions, i.e., *one of Mary's brothers* and *Emre*? The question-answer relation alone between two clauses cannot establish a coreference relation between two referential nominals in the two clauses. The copular approach, but not the clause coping and deletion approach, explains this anaphoric relation directly.

Fifth, it is not clear how the clause-coping and deletion approach rules out the ungrammatical constructions in which the NAP precedes its anchor. In this approach, (84b) is for (84a) (also see (74b) for (73b) above).

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(84) a. I met *an old friend*, **Sam**, yesterday.
b. I met an old friend, ~~I met~~ Sam ~~yesterday~~, yesterday. (Onea & Ott 2022: 364)

In the assumed NaC in (84b), the pre-NAP part (*I met*) has undergone a forward deletion, and the post-NAP part (*yesterday*) has undergone a backward deletion. But it is not clear how the NaC shows up in the middle of the AnC. For a p-NAP, no such forward and backward deletion occurs. We have seen Onea and Ott's (2022) (74a) above. But again, it is unclear how the NaC shows up in the middle of the AnC. Also, in this clause-copying approach, we see no clear syntactic reason to exclude the syntactically ill-positions of the NAPs in (53). Therefore, the assumed "linear Interpolation" is quite vague (also see Griffiths & de Vries 2019 for a challenge to the linear Interpolation).

Note that what I disagree with the clause-copying approach is just the form of the NaC for an s-NAP: it is a specificational copular clause in my approach, but a near copy of the AnC in the latter approach. So, even if we assume that the NaC is a near copy of the AnC, my syntactic analysis still can accommodate the assumption: a NaC is the complement of J, and the various NAP constructions can be derived in syntax, without any "linear Interpolation." I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing this out.

In conclusion, as claimed by Heringa (2011), various types of NAPs correlate with various types of copula constructions. I have given empirical arguments to support the claim and shown problems of a non-copular analysis of s-NAPs. In this generalized copula clause analysis of NaCs, the differences between different types of NAPs come from the differences between various kinds of copula clauses. Although the syntactic interaction of an NaC (as a copular clause) with the AnC is the same, the syntactic and semantic formations of the various types of copular clauses themselves remain to be worked out in future research.

8. Three advantages

The proposed syntactic derivation of NAP constructions exhibits three advantages over the previous analyses of the constructions in the literature.

First, this research has clarified the unsettled issue of whether a NAP (or NaC) is a modifier or a conjunct to its anchor (or AnC). The basic property of a NaC is that it is not an argument of any lexical element. Zhang's (2023) J-structure captures both coordination and modification constructions. In the J-structure in (31), XP can occur without the J-set, but the J-set, which contains YP, needs XP, syntactically. In this new analysis, a NaC is the complement of J, and the J-set is categorized by the AnC. Thus, the dependency of a NaC on an AnC parallels to the dependency of a modifier on a modified element, and to the dependency of a low conjunct on a high conjunct. If a NAP construction allows a coordinator to occur, as seen in (34) and (65), the construction is a coordinate construction, and the NaC is the complement of the overt J; if the construction does not allow a coordinator, the NaC is still the complement of a null J. In either case, the NaC is just *the complement of J*.

Second, I have worked out an explicit syntactic derivation of various types of NAP construction. Unlike previous analysis, this new analysis can account for the *ungrammatical* NAP constructions, and it does not need any *construction-specific* functional projection, such as ParP (de Vries 2007) and Colon Phrase (Ott & de Vries 2016, adopted from Koster 2000), and the multi-dominance configurations (de Vries 2006, Heringa 2011).

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The syntactic analysis completes Onea and Ott's (2022) semantic and pragmatic analysis of the constructions. The proposed J-structure for the syntactic relation between a NAP and its anchor is not ad hoc, and no new operations such as "linear Interpolation" are stipulated. I assume that any element in the discourse must have its syntactic position, and any construction in the discourse must also have its syntactic structure, which is built via normal syntactic operations. My effort is like some other efforts that recognize the basic syntactic properties of discourse effects or information structures (e.g., Diercks 2023).

Third, I have presented new arguments to support Heringa's claim (2011) that various types of NAPs come from various types of *copular clauses*. This analysis avoids some problems that are difficult for the clause-copying analysis of s-NAPs to explain.

In the proposed analysis of NAPs, semantically, it is an anaphoric relation between a null pronoun in the NaC and the anchor in the AnC that makes a NAP depend on its anchor. Pragmatically, as claimed by Onea and Ott (2022), it is the relation between an implicit question expressed by an AnC and the answer provided by the NaC that links the two clauses together. Syntactically, it is the J-set-internal position of a NAP that makes the NAP depend on the AnC, which is the categorizer of the J-set.

Overall, this paper has improved our understanding of the properties of NAPs, their relations to the anchors, and the formation of various NAP constructions in syntax. The research has brought us to see more about the syntax of non-argument-taking relations and a specific type of mapping between a semantic dependency and a syntactic dependency.

9. Summary

In this paper, I have argued that, in syntax, the non-argument-taking relation between a NaC and its AnC is represented in a J-structure, as in a coordination or modification construction: a NaC is the complement of J, and the J-set built is categorized by the AnC. Moreover, I have shown how various NAP constructions can be derived by the normal syntactic operations. The proposed derivations also rule out unacceptable positions of NAPs. Furthermore, I have clarified the syntactic status of a NAP: a p-NAP comes from a reduced predicational copular clause, an eq-NAP comes from a reduced equative copular clause, and an s-NAP comes from a reduced specificational copular clause, arguing against the clause copying analysis of s-NAPs.

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