ON THE PROJECTION BEHAVIOR OF APPOSI TIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

APPOSI TIVE CONSTRUCTIONS are non-selected constituents that are felt not to be fully integrated into the sentence. And indeed, they exhibit a range of notable properties that in many ways challenge standard assumptions about linguistic form and meaning. This presentation will address the PROJECTION behavior of appositives, i.e. the fact that appositive content is typically implied even when the appositive itself is placed in the syntactic scope of entailment-canceling operators such as negation or modals (see Böer & Lycan 1976; Chierchia & McConnell-Ginet 2000; Del Gobbo 2003; Potts 2005).

The current proposal views appositive constructions as adjuncts (cf. Jackendoff 1977; de Vries 2006; Citko 2009) that are interpreted in surface position. Root clauses, appositive relative clauses, and possibly all appositive constructions, are assumed to form FORCE PHRASES (see Rizzi 1997, 2004; Cinque 1999; Krifka 2001, to appear). ForcePs mark constituents for the type of speech act performed when they are uttered. Assertively specified Force heads are operators which introduce a *fresh* propositional discourse referent for the content of the constituent in their scope. Since lexical predicates are relativized to propositional variables, such operators can bind into the lexical predicates in their syntactic scope (cf. Stone 1999; Stone & Hardt 1999). This mechanism keeps apart appositive content from the content expressed by the rest of the sentence and is key to explaining the projective behavior of appositives. I assume that propositional operators introduce propositional discourse referents for the content of their scope, similarly to Force heads. But unlike Force heads, propositional operators can be bound and thus interact with higher operators. Since appositives form separate ForcePs, their interpretation does not depend on whether or not they appear in the syntactic scope of higher operators such as negation or modals. In other words, appositive content necessarily projects.

In the second part of the talk I will extend the account to some apparent exceptions to appositive projection (see Amaral et al. 2007; Harris & Potts 2009). I will argue that in the presence of a reported speech context appositives can shift their perspective to the agent of that context, thus drawing a novel parallel between SHIFTED APPOSI TIVES in English and SHIFTED INDEXICAL PRONOUNS in some languages (see Rice 1986; Speas 1999; Schlenker 2003; Anand 2006).