The Syntax of Nominal Appositions in Modern Standard Arabic

Muteb A. Alqarni[1]
Department of English Language, King Khalid University, Abha, Saudi Arabia

Mohammad S. Alanazi
Department of English Language & Literature, Imam Mohammad Ibn Saud Islamic University, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia

Abstract—**The current paper argues that there are three types of nominal appositions, i.e. two juxtaposed noun phrases (NPs), in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA). Each type shows special properties in terms of the nominal category of the two units, the deletion of the NP, word order, case agreement, and semantic relation. For each type, we propose a separate structural analysis. An adjunction analysis is motivated for Type I appositions which consist of a common noun followed by a proper name. For Type II appositions which involve two common nouns, we propose that they take a spec-head structure. A head-complement structure is finally proposed for Type III appositions which involve a pronoun followed by an accusative-marked NP.**

Index Terms—**apposition, Modern Standard Arabic, adjuncts, specifiers, complements**

I. INTRODUCTION

Apposition is a grammatical relation in which two elements, typically NPs, are placed side by side, as illustrated in (1)[2].

(1) The linguist, *John McCarthy*, published a new article.

In (1), the first underlined phrase is called 'the anchor' (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, to the degree that early grammarians restrict the phenomenon of apposition to NPs only (Fries 1952, p. 187; Francis, 1958, p. 301). However, other "grammarians vary in the freedom with which they apply the term 'apposition'" (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1302), extending it to adjectives, adverbials, pronouns, genitives, participles and predicates as shown in the following examples (cf. Meyer, 1992, p. 1-2).

(2) the room *above*   [adjectival apposition]
(3) They met here, *in London.*   [adverbial apposition]
(4) You *yourself* must set some tasks   [reflexive pronoun apposition]
(5) The vice *of intemperance*   [genitive apposition]
(6) He sat *smoking.*   [participle apposition]
(7) He came home *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 (Rubio, 2003; Jasinskaja, 2007). These different proposals are put forward due to the irregular behaviors that appositions display from a cross-linguistic perspective. Even within the same language, appositions are not uniform, showing unsystematic properties. Molitor (1979), for instance, draws a distinction between subordinative and coordinative appositions in German, arguing that the appositive unit in the former always takes the nominative irrespective of the case of the anchor, whereas the two units in the latter agree in case (see also a similar analysis advanced by Burton-Roberts, 1975).

Given that the situation in Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is not quite different from other languages and most of the earlier works on Arabic appositions are traditional and descriptive (Wright, 1967; Howell, 1986; Suleiman, 1999; Fischer, 2002; Ali, 2012; Sawaie, 2014 among others), we aim in this study to provide the first formal theory-driven analysis to these constructions. We will focus here on nominal appositions, leaving non-nominal ones for future works. In her Arabic grammar book, Ryding (2005, p. 224-5) provides (8) through (10) as representations of nominal appositions in MSA.

---

[2] 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-Noun Construction(s); and SG = Singular.

(8) dʒaːʔa   n-nabiyy-u   *Muħammad-un*
    come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
    'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'

(9) qarrar-ati   d-duwal-u   *l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-u*   l-muɣaːdarat-a
    decide.PERF-3.F   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   the-departure-ACC
    'The states, the members, decided to leave.'

(10) naħnu   l-ʕarab-a   naquːlu   ðaːlika
     We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
     'We, the Arabs, say that.'

Two properties confirm that the above constructions are appositional. According to previous works, the first property of apposition is that the two appositional units are juxtaposed side by side (see e.g. Huddleston & Pullum, 2002; Potts, 2005; Heringa, 2011 among others). The constructions in (8) through (10) also consist of two adjacent nominal elements, i.e. NP-NP as in (8) and (9) or pronoun-NP as in (10).

The second property of apposition reported in the literature follows from the reference of the two appositional units to a single person or entity (see Sopher, 1971; Quirk et al., 1985; Koktová, 1986; Hannay & Keizer, 2005). This referential property is also attested in constructions (8) through (10). 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). These two properties show that (8) through (10) are in fact appositional constructions in MSA.

We will, however, show that each example in (8) through (10) represents an independent type of apposition with specific characteristics. To highlight this hypothesis, let us call example (8) 'Type I apposition', example (9) 'Type II apposition', and example (10) 'Type III apposition', extending this classification to all other examples that are similar to these examples (see examples 11 through 13 in section A below). By this classification, we will be able to demonstrate that these types of appositions should not receive a uniform syntactic account, but each type requires a separate structural analysis.

The remainder of the article will be organized as follows. Section (II) will present the differences between the three types discussed above. Section (III) will provide a syntactic analysis for each type. Concluding remarks will be presented in section (IV).

II. THE DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN TYPE I, II, AND III APPOSITIONS

In this section, we will present five distinctions that can be drawn between the three types of Arabic nominal appositions. We will address these distinctions in terms of the nominal categories of the two units, word order, case agreement, NP deletion, and finally semantic classes.

A. Nominal Categories of the Two Units

The nominal category of each element in Arabic nominal appositions separates the three types repeated below using different examples. These new examples are intended to show that these types are productive in MSA.

(11) a. dʒaːʔa   n-nabiyy-u   *Muħammad-un*
        come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
        'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'
     b. dʒaːʔa   ʔabi,   *ʕali-un*
        come.PERF.3.M   father.my.NOM   Ali-NOM
        'My father, Ali, came.'   (Type I)

(12) a. qarrar-ati   d-duwal-u   *l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-u*   l-muɣaːdarat-a
        decide.PERF-3.F   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   the-departure-ACC
        'The states, the members, decided to leave.'
     b. qarrar-ati   ʃ-ʃarikat-u   *l-ʔumm-u*   l-insiħaːb-a
        decide.PERF-3.F   the-company-NOM   the-mother-NOM   the-withdrawal-ACC
        'The company, the mother, decided to withdraw.'   (Type II)

(13) a. naħnu   l-ʕarab-a   naquːlu   ðaːlika
        We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
        'We, the Arabs, say that.'
     b. ʔana   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, the Type I appositions in (11) consist of a common noun followed by a proper name whereas the Type II appositions in (12) involve two adjacent common nouns. As far as the Type III appositions in (13) are concerned, they contain a pronoun followed by a common noun. In other words, we can conclude that the two units in each type are different in terms of their nominal categories.

B. Case Agreement

The constructions in (8) through (10) also differ in terms of case 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 syntactic positions: *-u* for the nominative (i.e. a-examples), *-a* for the accusative (i.e. b-examples) and *–i* for the 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 pronominal anchor in the Type III apposition in (16a) takes only the nominative whereas the appositive takes the accusative. It should be noted that Type III appositions are 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)

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, i.e. the nominative and the accusative respectively.

(17) ʔaħmad-u   qa:bal-**na**,   naħn**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) ʔaħmad-u   takallama ʕan-**na**,   naħn**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 II appositions show case agreement whereas those of Type III do not.

C. Word Order

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

(19) a. ʔan-nabiyy-u,   *Muħammad-un*
   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
   'The prophet, Muhammad'

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

However, Type II and III appositions impose ordering restrictions. As shown in the Type II apposition in (20a), the first common noun *ʔadduwalu* 'states' must precede the second common noun *lʔaʕdˤa:ʔu* 'the members'. The reverse ordering is disallowed as shown in (20b).

(20) a. ʔad-duwal-u   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u
   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM
   'The states, the members'

b. *ʔal-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u   <u>d-duwal-u</u>
     the-members-NOM   the-states-NOM
     'The members, the states'   (Type II)

The same applies to the Type III apposition in (21). The pronoun must precede the common noun as in (21a), and the reverse as shown in (21b) is not allowed, irrespective of the case the common noun takes, be it the nominative or the accusative.

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

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

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

D. NP Deletion

In their seminal work, Quirk et al. (1985, p. 1302-3) refer to three primary characteristics of the two units of appositions. These three characteristics are summarized in (22).

(22)   A. Each of the appositional units can be separately omitted without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence.
      B. Each fulfills 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.

Following these properties, Quirk et al. (1985, p. 1302-3) call appositions which fulfill all the criteria in (22) 'full appositions' as exemplified in (23). Those which do not meet all the requirements in (22) as shown in (24) are termed as 'partial appositions'.

(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 appositions also differ in terms of their fulfillment of the three conditions in (22). Let us start with the Type I apposition in (25).

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

As is clear from (25), Type I is a full apposition because it meets all the requirements in (22). Either NP in the Type I apposition above 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 NP in (25a) without changing the inflection of the verb as well. Moreover, each NP in (25b,c) fulfills the same syntactic function in sentence (35a), namely a subject (Requirement B). Requirement C is also satisfied given that the resultant sentences in (25b,c) are not different from the original sentence in that both resultant sentences can capture the extralinguistic referent. To illustrate, the referent in the subject position in both (25b,c) is still extralinguistically identified in the appropriate discourse, and it is the same person referred to in (25a).

Type II appositions are 'partial appositions' because they meet a few of 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   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-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 NP *lʔaʕdˤa:ʔu* 'the members' from (26a) as shown in (26b) but not the first NP *adduwalu* 'the states' as in (26c). One might assume that the ungrammaticality in (26c) is due to the incorrect subject-verb agreement. When subject-verb agreement is corrected, it becomes grammatical as in (26d). Although this is true, it is noteworthy that Type II appositions differ from Type I ones in that the deletion of the appositive from Type I apposition in (25b) and (25c) does not initiate any change in subject-verb agreement. By contrast, Type II appositions require the verb to inflect in agreement with the appositive. All else being equal, the appositive *lʔaʕdˤa:ʔu* 'the members' in the Type II apposition in the corrected example in (26d) still does not capture the extralinguistic referent *adduwalu* 'the states' in the original sentence (26a).

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

(27) a. naħnu   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   naqu:lu   ða:lika
We.NOM   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
'We say that.'

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

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

In light of these distinctions, we conclude that Type I allows the NP deletion without altering the verb inflection, whereas Type II and III do not allow the deletion of the first unit unless the verb-subject agreement is repaired. Even with the correction of subject-verb agreements, the appositive in Type I and II does not refer to a deleted anchor. These differences suggest that Type I appositions are full, whereas Type II and III ones are partial. It is worthwhile to note here that being partial appositions does not mean that the latter types (i.e. Type II and III) are not appositional any longer. They are still viewed as appositions according to Quirk et al. (1985, p. 1302-3) and they are similar to other partial appositions found in French and English which do not respect the requirements in (22) (for further discussion, see O'Connor, 2008; Hannay & Keizer, 2005).

E. Semantic Classes

The semantic relations between the two units in (8) through (10) are also suggestive of the differences between the three types of nominal appositions in MSA. It should be noted that, in this section, we refer to descriptive non-formal semantics. We will show that these relations can reduce the Arabic appositional types to different classes, depending on the information with which the appositive provides the anchor.

Using non-formal semantic terminologies, Meyer (1992, p. 73) demonstrates that apposition, in general, is a relation where the second unit adds specificity to the interpretation of the first one. In most cases, the second unit involves more specific information than the first one. Under this view, many scholars propose different semantics classes for appositional constructions such as appellation, characterization, identification, attribution, inclusion among many others (Meyer, 1992; Heringa, 2011).

According to Meyer (1992, p. 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 the Type I apposition in (28) fares well with this class, we propose that Type I appositions fall under 'appellation' class.

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

However, as discussed in section (C) above, we know that Type I appositions can allow the reverse order of the two units: (i) the proper name and (ii) the 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, p. 75), and this definition fits the example below.

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

Taking these variations into account, we conclude that Type I appositions can fall under either 'appellation' or 'identification', depending on the ordering of the two units.

Concerning the Type II apposition in (30) below, we propose that it belongs to the 'characterization' class.

(30) qarrar-ati   d-duwal-u   l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-u   l-muɣaːdarat-a
      decide.PERF-3.F   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   the-departure-ACC
      'The states, the members, decided to leave.'   (Type II)

The 'characterization' class requires that the second unit of the apposition is attributive and can provide "general 'characteristics' of the first unit" (Meyer, 1992, p. 78). This requirement fits Type I appositions where the second unit behaves as a characterizing modifier to the first one. Although one might argue that this construction becomes a noun-adjective phrase rather than an apposition, it is important to note that this relation is semantic rather than syntactic. Modifying appositives, where the appositive functions as an attributive noun, are common in the literature (see e.g. Doron, 1994; Acuña-Fariña, 1996; Potts, 2005).

As for the Type III apposition in (31), it shares many properties that fit the 'identification' class.

(31) naħnu   l-ʕarab-a   naquːlu   ðaːlika
      We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that
      'We, the Arabs, say that.'   (Type III)

According to Meyer (1992, p. 75), the 'identification' class allows the second unit to identify the referent of the first one, even if the latter is a pronoun such as *what* as in (32) or *we* as in (33).

(32) Most important of all, this description of the linguistic configuration of metaphor brings out the truth of what 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, p. 75, ex. 56).

(33) We, *John and I*, intend to resign.   (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1309)

Given that the Type III apposition in (31) also includes a pronoun identified with the NP *alʕaraba* 'the Arabs', we propose that it fits the 'identification' class. To conclude this section, we argue that Type I appositions fare well with 'appellation' or 'identification' classes based on the order of the two units, while Type II and III ones fall under 'characterization' and 'identification' respectively.

F. Intermediate Summary

To recapitulate the distinctions between the three types of Arabic nominal appositions under study, consider Table 1.

TABLE 1
DISTINCTIONS BETWEEN THE THREE TYPES OF ARABIC NOMINAL APPOSITIONS

Distinctions	Type I	Type II	Type III
Nominal Category of the two units	Common noun+Proper noun	Common noun+Common noun	Pronoun+Common noun
Case Agreement	Yes	Yes	No
Word Order	Free	Restricted	Restricted
NP Deletion	Yes	No	No
Semantic Class	Appellation & Identification	Characterization	Identification

As obvious from Table 1, the NP deletion 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 NP is permitted. However, because Type II and III appositions impose restrictions on the ordering of their two units, the first unit is always maintained.

We conclude from Table 1 that the distinctions between the three types of Arabic nominal appositions suggest that they cannot take a unified account. Rather, a separate analysis should be developed for each type.[3]

III. THE SYNTAX OF ARABIC NOMINAL APPOSITIONS

---

[3] One reviewer claims that our three-fold classification of appositions (i.e. Type I, II, III) has been addressed in the traditional literature; thus, accreditation is needed. In fact, this is not true. The traditional literature reduces appositions to three types: whole appositions, partitive appositions and possessive appositions. Whole appositions occur when an element wholly replaces the other as in (i).

i.   dʒaːʔa   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 appositions occur when the second element is a part or a quantity of the first one as in (ii), while possessive appositions appear 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-kitaːb-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   ħadiːθ-a-ha/ʔaxlaːq-a-ha
     love.IMPERF.1.M   the-woman-ACC   talk-ACC-her/manner.PL-ACC-her
     'I love the woman, her talk/manners.'

From a syntactic perspective, it seems that the last two types in the literature involve the movement of the first element, being associated with a pronominal clitic attached onto the second element. Given that our tripartite classification does not involve any clitics, neither on the first unit nor the second, nothing in the traditional literature is related to our proposal.

In this section, we will argue that a separate syntactic account should be given to each type of Arabic nominal appositions. Type I appositions will be explored in section (A) and will take an adjunction proposal. In the same section, we will argue against the coordination analysis that has been motivated for similar appositional constructions (see e.g. Sadler & Nordlinger, 2006; De Vries, 2006; Heringa, 2007). In section (B), we will assign a specifier-head structure to Type II appositions, and we will present in section (C) a head-complement structure for Type III ones.

A. The Syntax of Type I Appositions

In the former section, we have shown that Type I appositions, like the one reproduced in (34) below, consist of a common noun and a proper name. They allow their two NPs to switch positions (e.g. 19) and permit the deletion of either NP without disturbing the grammaticality of the resulting sentence (e.g. 25). The two NPs agree in case (e.g. 14) and the resultant sentences can capture the extralinguistic referent (e.g. 25b,c).

(34) dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-**u**,   *Muḥammad-**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)
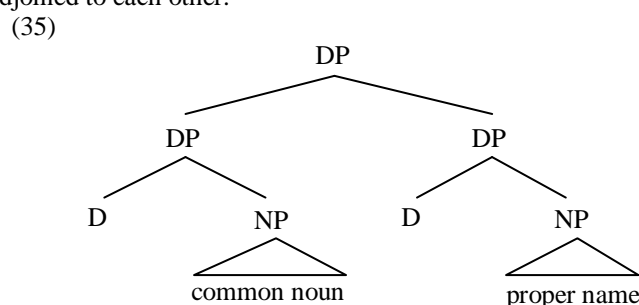
The proposal in (35) follows the spirit of the analysis advanced by Lekakou and Szendrői's (2011) for Greek appositions in (36) below. Like Type I, Greek appositions allow the two units to exchange positions as in (36a,b).

(36) a. o   aetos   *to*   *puli*
      the.MASC   eagle   the.NEUT   bird
      'The bird that is an eagle'
     b. *to*   *puli*   o   aetos
      the.NEUT   bird   the.MASC   eagle
      'The eagle that is a bird' (Lekakou & Szendrői, 2011, p. 108: ex. 2)

To capture the free ordering between the two units in (36), Lekakou and Szendrői (2011) propose that the two units in (36) 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 find the same free ordering between the two units of the Arabic Type I apposition in (37) below, we follow Lekakou and Szendrői (2011) and propose that each unit in Type I appositions is an adjunct-DP which can be merged to the right or the left of the other one.

(37) a. dʒa:ʔa   n-nabiyy-u,   *Muḥammad-un*
      come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
      'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'
     b. dʒa:ʔa   *Muḥammad-un*,   an-nabiyy-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 shown in (38a,b).

(38) a. Common Noun-Proper Noun   b. Proper Noun-Common Noun
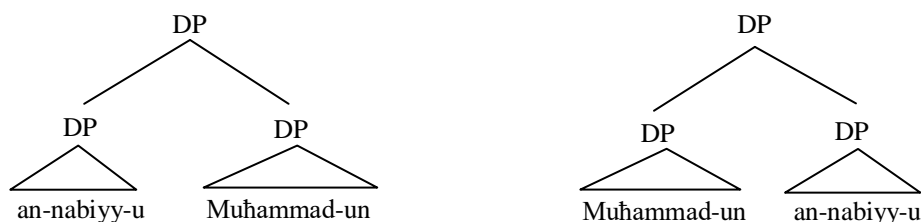
The free ordering between the two units in the Type I apposition in (38) is the first property that the adjunction structure in (35) can capture without any further movement-relevant stipulations. Given that adjuncts are by definition optional and structurally dispensable (Travis, 1988; Ernst, 2002, p. 157), the adjunction structure in (35) can also

account for the NP deletion from Type I appositions. Being an adjunct, the proper name *Muḥammadun* 'Muhammad' or the common noun *nnabiyyu* 'the prophet' is removable as shown in (39b) and (39c) respectively.

(39) a. dʒaːʔa   n-nabiyy-u   *Muḥammad-un*
    come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
    'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'

    b. dʒaːʔa   *Muḥammad-un*
    come.PERF.3.M   Muhammad-NOM
    'Muhammad came.'

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

Iterativity is a third characteristic of adjuncts (Bresnan, 1982; Svenonius, 1994; Stroik & Putnam, 2013), offering further evidence for structure (35) as a plausible analysis for Arabic Type I appositions. Under the adjunction account, we predict that Type I appositions allow iterative DPs and this prediction is also borne out as exemplified in (40).

(40) dʒaːʔa   n-nabiyy-u,   l-muʕallim-u,   l-haːdi,   Muḥammad-un
    come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   the-educator-NOM   the-guide.NOM   Muhammad-NOM
    'The prophet, the educator, the guide, Muhammad, came.'

Observe that all the iterative units in (40) are not adjectives but nouns, i.e. DPs. Also, all these iterative DPs refer to the same individual, namely *Muḥammad*. Consider how the adjunction structure in (35) can capture this iterative behavior in (41) for the apposition in (40).

(41)
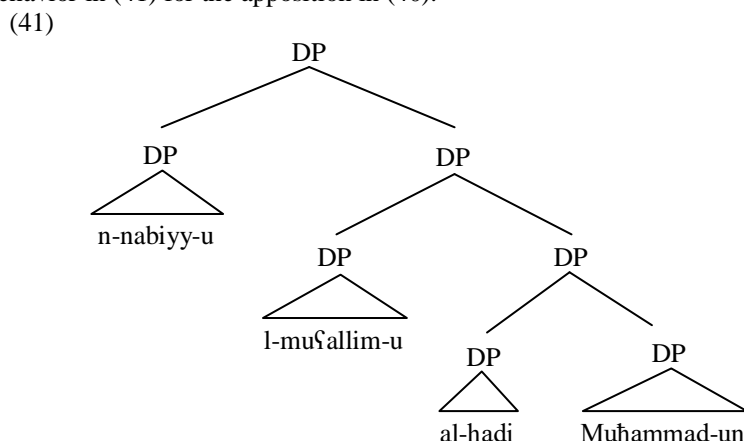
Given that these iterative DPs are adjuncts, we also predict that they can be freely ordered. This prediction is borne out as shown in (42) where the iterative DPs above take different word orders[4].

(42) a. dʒaːʔa   n-nabiyy-u,   l-muʕallim-u,   l-haːdi,   Muḥammad-un
    come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   the-educator-NOM   the-guide.NOM   Muhammad-NOM
    'The prophet, the educator, the guide, Muhammad, came.'
    b. dʒaːʔa   l-muʕallim-u,   l-haːdi,   n-nabiyy-u,   Muḥammad-un
    come.PERF.3.M   the-educator-NOM   the-guide.NOM   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
    'The educator, the guide, the prophet, Muhammad, came.'
    c. dʒaːʔa   l-haːdi,   l-muʕallim-u,   n-nabiyy-u,   Muḥammad-un
    come.PERF.3.M   the-guide.NOM   the-educator-NOM   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM
    'The guide, the educator, the prophet, Muhammad, came.'

A fourth advantage of our adjunction account follows from the fact that it handles the so-called case agreement in Type I appositions. Given that the two units in these 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 diagrammed in (43b) for the Type I apposition in (43a).

(43) a. dʒaːʔa   n-nabiyy-**u**,   *Muḥammad-**u**-n*
    come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM-INDEF
    'The prophet, Muhammad, came.'

---

[4] Generally speaking, it is preferable to end these iterative DPs with the proper name *Muhammad*. However, the proper name in these appositions can still occur between these iterative DPs as in (i).

  i.   dʒaːʔa   n-nabiyy-u,   Muḥammad-un,   l-muʕallim-u,   l-haːdi
     come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   Muhammad-NOM   the-educator-NOM   the-guide.NOM
     'The prophet, Muhammad, the educator, the guide came.'

b.
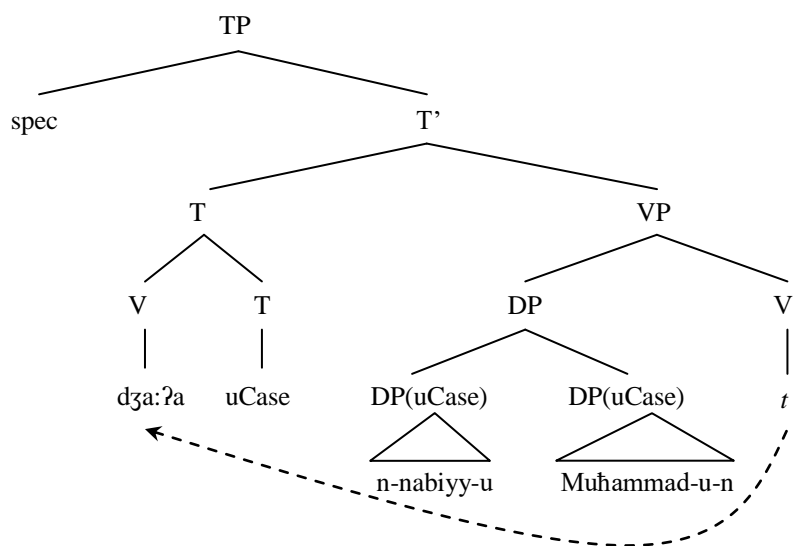
As shown in (43b), the verb in the past tense moves from V to T, which is a common movement operation for VSO word order in MSA (see Aoun et al., 2010). Adopting Pesetsky and Torrego's (2007) view of Agree as a feature sharing approach, we assume that the anchor-DP is endowed with an uninterpretable feature [uCase], with which the feature [uCase] of the appositive-DP initiates a case relation. After linking the two features of both the anchor and the appositive together, the anchor's case is checked against the uninterpretable feature [uCase] on the tense head T, and the appositive immediately derives the same case given to the anchor. This leads to case agreement attested in Type I appositions. In short, the adjunction analysis is preferable for Type I appositions because it can also capture the case agreement between the two elements.

It should, however, be noted 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 marked in MSA 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, p. 164). Under this analysis, we take it for granted that the head D of each DP in the adjunction structure hosts the definite article *Ɂal-* 'the' or the indefinite suffix *–n*. Therefore, we follow Alqarni (2015, p. 233) who argues that Arabic has a requirement that every noun must be marked in either definiteness or indefiniteness. If a noun is not morphologically marked in definiteness, 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 morphologically required even though *Muhammad* is definite from a semantic perspective.

Proper names cannot take the definite article as shown in (44) below, unless they have an attributive interpretation. After all, under the attributive interpretation, proper names do not entertain reference to specific individuals.

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

As demonstrated below, the two units cannot take indefiniteness markers either.

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

In light of these syntactic-semantic behaviors, we argue that each unit in Type I appositions does not agree in definiteness, but only in case. We therefore assume that the two elements in Type I appositions are semantically definite, regardless of the markings they bear. In fact, the adjunction structure in (35) allows each DP to take a separate (in)definiteness marker according to the Arabic (in)definiteness rules stipulated for nouns and proper nouns (see Alqarni, 2015: 233 for a justified account). If we assume that the anchor is DP and the appositive is NP agreeing with it in definiteness, we will expect the proper name in (43a) to take the definite article. If it depends on the definiteness of the anchor, the proper name, as NP, will not be able to generate its own definiteness markers (*–n*). Thus, structure (35) receives further support, allowing the two DPs to take definiteness markers on their own.

From the above discussion, we find that the adjunction structure in (35) is the most plausible account for Type I appositions in MSA. This proposal can account for all the properties arising from Type I appositions such as free ordering, NP deletion, iterativity, case agreement and definiteness markers.

Before closing this section, we will now 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 supposed to be null.

(46)

```
                    ConjP
                   /      \
                 DP        Conj'
                 /\        /    \
               anchor    Conj    DP
                          ∅      /\
                              appositive
```
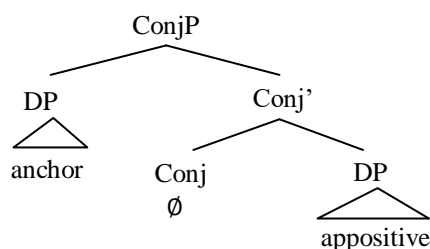
Unlike the adjunction analysis, the coordination proposal cannot account for all the characteristics of Type I appositions. First, under the coordination analysis, we predict that the two conjuncts, as common in regular coordinated constructions, refer to totally different persons. For instance, in (47), 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 behavior is contra the behavior of the two units in Type I appositions where the two units 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 appositions.

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. This subject-verb agreement does not either hold for Type I appositions which require only singular verb agreement as shown in (48) below. Therefore, we can argue that the singular subject-verb agreement in Type I appositions 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 proposal of the coordination structure will not account for the optional occurrences of the two units in the Type I apposition in (39) above. In canonical coordinated structures, we know that the deletion of either conjunct, as demonstrated in (49), is disallowed.

(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.'

Given that this behavior is not in line with the facts in (39), no element in Type I appositions should be deleted. To implement the deletion of the appositive within the coordination analysis, we may need to propose that the deletion of the appositive in (39) is based on the complement selection of the null head Conj in (46), which sometimes selects the appositive and at other times does not. However, even with this solution, the encoding of complement selection is superfluous and should not be given the priority over the minimalist spirit of the adjunction analysis.

Another drawback of the coordination proposal follows from the fact that typical coordination allows two definite NPs as in (50a), two indefinite NPs as in (50b), or even a definite conjunct and an indefinite one as in (50c).

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

The free occurrence of (in)definite NPs in the coordination structure cannot capture the fact that Type I appositions do not allow two indefinite units as in (45) above. Although proper names bear the indefinite marker -n, it does not mean that either unit can be indefinite and the other is definite. As discussed above, proper names take the indefinite suffix –n, but they are 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) where the underlined 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 observations, we conclude that Type I appositions are not compatible with the coordination structure in (46). The two elements in Type I appositions are better treated as adjuncts.

B. The Syntax of Type II Appositions

Type II appositions, like the one repeated in (52) below, consist of two common nouns. We have earlier pointed out that these appositions do not allow the two NPs to be freely ordered (e.g. 20), neither do they allow the deletion of the first NP (e.g. 26). As regards case, the two NPs display case agreement (e.g. 15).

(52) qarrar-ati   <u>d-duwal-**u**</u>   *l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-**u***   l-muɣaːdarat-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 appositions, let us show how the adjunction structure that we proposed for Type I appositions cannot be motivated. If we adopt an adjunction analysis, Type II appositions will be drawn as in (53).

(53)
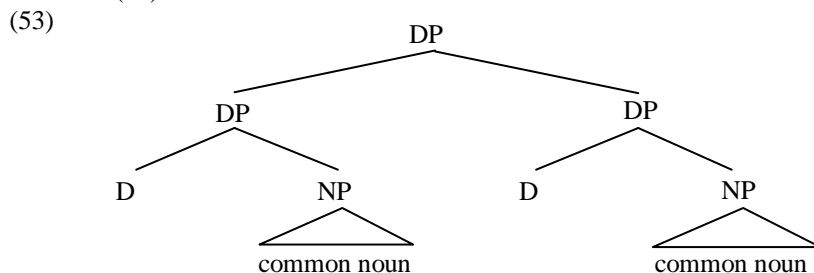
It is crucial to note that the adjunction analysis in (53) is given to Greek polydefinitess as well as Greek appositions (Lekakou & Szendrői, 2011). Greek polydefinites are different from Greek appositions in that they involve a noun and an adjective which are both definite, and which can switch positions as shown 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 & Szendrői, 2011, p. 108: ex. 1)

Lekakou and Szendrői (2011) propose that the two units in (54) are two adjuncts-DPs, 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 (54a)   b. Representation of (54b)
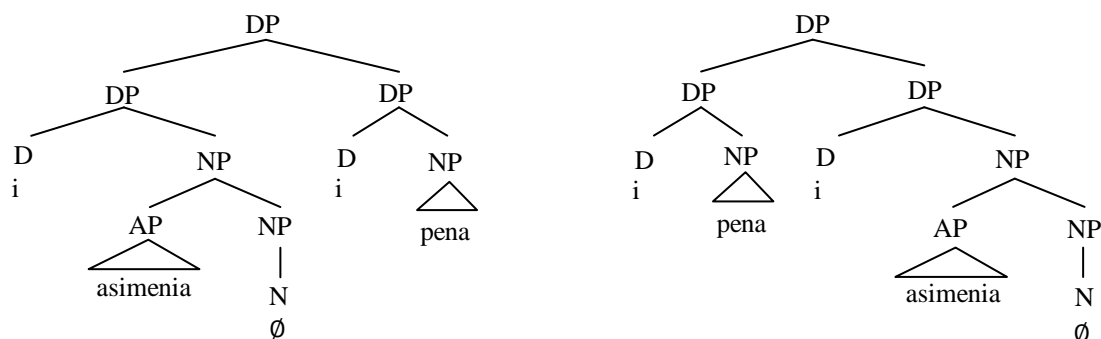
Based on these observations, one might extend the analysis given to Greek polydefinites to Arabic Type II appositions. This move can be justified following the fact that Greek polydefiniteness have a 'characterization' semantic class where the second noun modifies the first one (Lekakou & Szendrői, 2011), and Arabic Type II appositions have the same semantic class, i.e. characterization as discussed in section (E), where the appositive noun modifies the anchor. Although the adjunction analysis will be desirable for minimalist purposes and it will account for both Type I and II appositions in MSA, two problems arise. First, as shown in (54), the two units of Greek polydefinites can exchange positions. However, this free ordering is not allowed in Type II appositions as exemplified in (56). In (56), the first noun *ʔadduwalu* 'the states' must come first, and the reverse is not allowed, irrespective of the subject-verb agreement.

(56) a. (qarrar-ati)   <u>d-duwal-u</u>   *l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-u*   …
       (decided-3.F)   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   …

'The states, the members (decided that ….)'

b. (qarrar-a/ati)	*l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-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, p. 121) show that more adjectives can be added to Greek polydefinites. Being adjuncts, these multiplied adjectives can be freely ordered as shown 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 & Szendrői, 2011, p. 121, ex. 21)

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

(58)	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. ?qarrar-ati	d-duwal-u	l-kubra	l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-u	
decide.PERF-3.F	the-states-NOM	the-big.NOM	the-members-NOM	…

'The major member-states decided to ….'

In (58a), the adjective *alkubra* 'the big' must follow the modifying noun *alʔaʕdˤa:ʔu* 'the members'. Otherwise, the sentence will be marginal as indicated by (?) in (58b). In light of these distinctions, i.e. the rigid word order of the two units and the modifiers, we conclude that Type II appositions cannot adopt an adjunction structure.

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

(59)
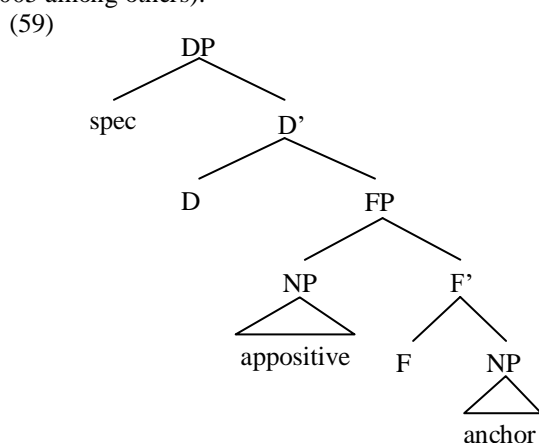
By this account, we follow the generative scholars who propose that an attributive element, be it an adjective or a noun, can occupy one of the left-branching specifiers of the multiple functional projections (FP), sandwiched between the highest functional DP and the lowest lexical NP (Cinque, 1999; Julien, 2002; Laenzlinger, 2005). Since the appositive is structurally higher than the anchor in structure (59), we now have an illicit word order (appositive+anchor), which is ungrammatical as shown in examples (56) where the anchor must precede the appositive. Therefore, and to capture this strict word order in Type II appositions, we propose that the head N undergoes a successive head-to-head movement through the functional heads until it lands on the head D as sketched in (60b) representing the Type II apposition in (60a).

(60)	a. qarrar-ati	d-duwal-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.'   (Type II)

b.
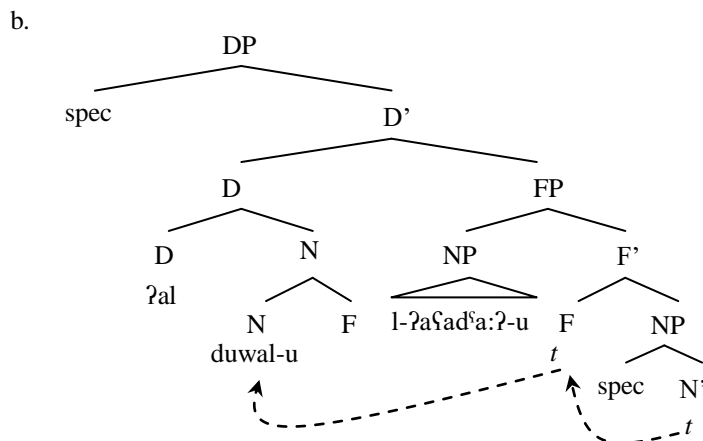
In fact, the N-to-D movement is a very common operation in MSA and many other languages (see e.g. Fassi Fehri, 1999; Sichel, 2000; Alexiadou, 2001; Longobardi, 2001; Shlonsky, 2004) and it captures the rigid word order where nouns always precede typical adjectives. According to the Case Filter, the N-to-D movement can be motivated by the requirement of the noun to receive Case (Chomsky, 2015) and by the requirement of the noun to be morphologically attached to the definite article *ʔal* 'the' on the D, which is pronounced as *d-* at the PF branch. Given that the anchor in (60b) now appears higher in the structure (i.e. first in linear ordering), the appositive remains in a fixed specifier position, appearing postnominally. In light of this discussion, we conclude that the spec-head structure can account for the first property of Type II appositions, i.e. the rigid word order of the two units.

Note that the appositive-NP in (60a) above behaves like the typical adjectival modifier 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 leave.'

Like the adjective *alfaq:iratu* 'the poor' in (61) which agrees in case, gender, number and definiteness with the preceding noun *addawlatu* 'the state', the appositive-NP *alʔaʕd̪a:ʔu* 'the members' can also agree in case, number and definiteness with the anchor *adduwalu* 'the states' in Type II appositions in (60a). However, as a noun, the appositive *alʔaʕda:ʔu* 'the members' in (60a) maintains its lexical gender, namely masculine.

Because agreement is assumed to take place in a spec-head relation (Fassi Fehri, 1999; Julien, 2002; Laenzlinger, 2005), structure (60b) now becomes more advantageous in that it can account for the definiteness, case, and number agreement between the two units of Type II appositions. In this paper, we assume that the agreement established between the two units of Type II appositions is no different from the noun-adjective concord heavily discussed in the literature (see e.g. Albarrag, 2013; Alqarni, 2015; Alanazi, 2019). In other words, we argue that 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. Thus, following Pesetsky and Torrego's (2007) view of Agree as a feature sharing, we propose that the anchor first links its [uCase] feature with that of the appositive. Being higher in the structure, the anchor becomes the only element that can receive the nominative from the head T. After the anchor receives the nominative, it immediately passes it to the appositive. The same feature sharing applies to definiteness and number, excluding gender which is inherent on both units. In sum, agreement provides further evidence that structure (59) is more plausible for Type II appositions.

As a third advantage, structure (59) can also explain an important behavior in Type II appositions, where 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-ʔaʕd̪a:ʔ-u   ….
      decide.PERF-3.**F**   the-states.**F**-NOM   the-members.**M**-NOM   ….
      'The states, the members, decided to …..'
    b. *qarrara   d-duwal-u   l-ʔaʕd̪a: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 agrees in feminine gender with the anchor (i.e. the singular form is *dawlah* 'a state', feminine) but not with the masculine gender of the appositive-NP (i.e. the singular form is *ʕud̪ʕu* 'member', masculine). We assume that this is the case because the anchor is the only element on D, which is the closest head to the verb. However, the appositive being buried in the structure is not accessible to the verb, yielding the ill-formed sentence (62b). If the appositive-NP is treated as an adjunct-DP as proposed early in this section, such a masculine gender agreement with the

verb is possible. Under that proposal, the appositive-DP will be as high and close as the DP-anchor to the verb and both will be possible goals for the verb[5].

As a fourth advantage, spec-head structure (59) can account for the non-deletion of the first unit (i.e. the anchor) and for the deletion of the second one (i.e. the appositive). Spec-head structure can attribute this behavior to the fact that the first unit in Type II appositions is the head of the whole construction with which the verb establishes agreement in (62). Being the head of the whole constructions, the head noun cannot be removed without affecting the grammaticality of the apposition (see section D, example 26c). As for the appositive, it is base-generated in a specifier of FP, meaning that it is like typical adjectives in being structurally dispensable (Cinque, 1999; Julien, 2002; Laenzlinger, 2005)[6].

Another important fact that structure (59) can capture the strict word order between the appositive-NP and other adjectival modifiers in (58), repeated in (63a) below. Many scholars argue that Arabic adjectives follow a strict ordering following the rigid arrangement of the FPs between DP and NP in Cinque's (1999) 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-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-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 *alʔaʕdˤaːʔu* 'the members' is structurally higher than the adjective *alkubra* 'the big', hence the inflexible word order of these modifiers. This is the fifth advantage of spec-head analysis for Type II appositions. The ordering of the modifiers, be they adjectives or nouns, in Type II appositions can be motivated by the strict ordering of FPs within the whole DP skeleton. In light of these observations, we conclude that Type II apposition is best situated within a specifier-head structure. The N-to-D movement can capture the strict order of the two units, and the rigid arrangement of FPs within the nominal hierarchy can account for the fixed ordering of the modifiers. Being on the head D and in agreement with the verb in person, the anchor is always maintained. Being in a specifier of FP, the

---

[5] In fact, Lekakou and Szendrői (2011) show that the adjunction analysis accounts for the gender agreement between the verb and both units of Greek appositions. In Greek appositions, 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, p. 114, ex. 12).
   As is clear from (62) above, this variation is disallowed in Type II appositions. Only the anchor appears in gender agreement with the verb because it is higher and closer than the appositive to the verb from a structural perspective. This is further evidence that the adjunction analysis is incompatible with Type II appositions.
[6] One may wonder whether noun ellipsis is possible in Type II appositions. In fact, it is not. Otherwise, we predict that Type II appositions can allow the absence of the anchor, and that the verb can agree in gender with an elliptical anchor. These predictions are not borne out as shown in (i).
   i. qarrarati   d-duwal-u   l-mutaħaːlifat-u   l-muɣaːdarat-a   wa   qarrara(*ti)
       decide.PERF.3.**F** the-states.**F**-NOM   the-ally.F-NOM   the-departure-ACC   and   decide.PERF.3.M(*F)
       ~~d-duwal-u~~   l-ʔaʕdˤaːʔ-u   l-baqaːʔ-a
       ~~the-states.F-NOM~~ the-members.M-NOM   the-stay-ACC
       'The ally states decided to leave but the members (~~the states~~) decided to stay'
   The second verb in (i) only agrees in gender with the masculine noun *alʔaʕdˤaʔu* 'the members'. The verb cannot agree in gender with the elliptical feminine anchor *adduwalu* 'the states' if it exists after all. In other words, even with the masculine verb agreement, example (i) cannot allow the interpretation that the member states are the ones which decided to stay.

appositive becomes optional in accordance with the optionality of FPs themselves. 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, because each unit in Type II appositions is a noun, having an inherent gender.

C. The Syntax of Type III Appositions

Type III appositions, like the one reproduced in (64), consist of a pronoun followed by a common noun. As discussed in section (II), 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 as apparent from (64) below. The pronoun in a subject position is marked with the nominative whereas the appositive takes the accusative.

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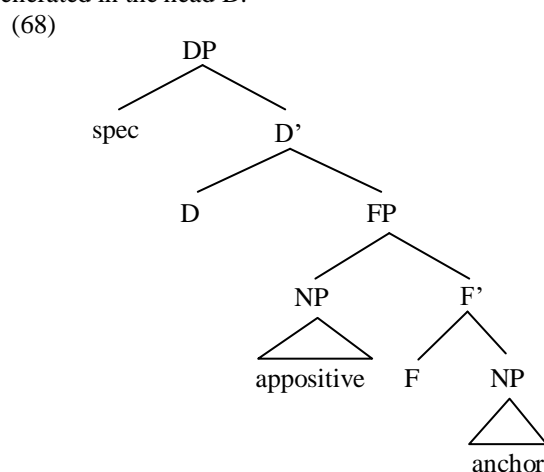'We, the Arabs, say that.'

In this section, we will show that Type III appositions require a separate analysis. In other words, the above-mentioned adjunction and specifier-head structures cannot be motivated for these appositions. Let us start with the problems arising from the adjunction analysis proposed for Type I appositions. Unlike Type I appositions that allow the two units to be freely ordered, thus requiring an adjunction structure, the two units of Type III appositions follow a strict order as in (65) below. The pronoun must always come first as in (65a), and cannot follow the common noun as in (65b), regardless of the case marker the common noun takes: the nominative or the accusative.

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

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

(66) dʒaːʔa   n-nabiyy-u,   l-muʕallim-u,   l-ha:di,   Muħammad-un
come.PERF.3.M   the-prophet-NOM   the-educator-NOM   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 argue that the adjunction account is not appropriate for Type III appositions. The spec-head structure proposed for Type II appositions in (68) below is also problematic for Type III appositions for two reasons. First, pronouns, i.e. anchors, are unlikely to occupy the head of the lexical NP in (68) because they are functional categories, i.e. determiners. Following Abney's (1987) DP-hypothesis, pronouns should be directly base-generated in the head D.

(68)

```
                    DP
                   /  \
                spec   D'
                      /  \
                     D    FP
                         /  \
                       NP    F'
                       /\    /\
                      /  \  F  NP
               appositive      /\
                              /  \
                           anchor
```

Second, the appositive in Type II appositions 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 the Type III apposition in (70), where the appositive always takes the accusative.

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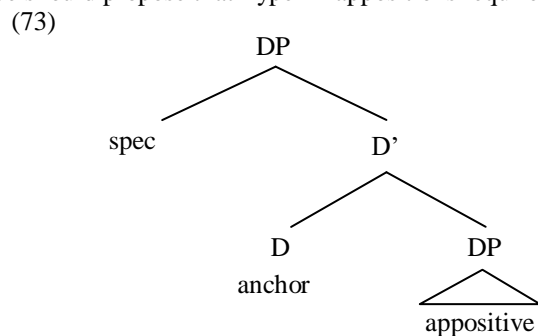decide.PERF.3.F   the-states-NOM   the-members-NOM   the-departure-ACC
'The states, the members, decided to leave.'   (Type II)
(70) naħn**u**   l-ʕarab-**a/*u**   naqu:lu   ðaːlika

We.NOM	the-arab.PL-ACC/*NOM	say.IMPERF.1.PL	that	
'We, the Arabs, say that.'				(Type III)

The case disagreement in Type III appositions is predictable because pronouns cannot be modified by adjectives in the first place as in (71) from English (cf. Abney, 1987, p. 178). The same applies to Arabic in the ungrammatical example in (72), where *alʔafdˤalu* 'the best' undesirably behaves as an adjective agreeing in case with the pronoun. Example (72) can be rescued only if we assume that there is an elliptical NP with which the adjective *alʔafdˤalu* 'the best' agrees.

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

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

For these two reasons, we should not consider the spec-head structure for Type III appositions either. Alternatively, we should propose that Type III appositions require a head-complement structure as the one in (73).

(73)

```
                        DP
                       /  \
                    spec   D'
                          /  \
                         D    DP
                       anchor  /\
                             appositive
```

It is worth noting that the structure in (73) is relatively similar to the structure in (75) proposed by Abney (1987, p. 180, ex. 307a) for English Pronoun-Noun-Constructions (PNCs) in (74) where the pronoun is followed by NP.

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

(75)

```
         DP
        /  \
       D    NP
       we   /\
          linguists
```
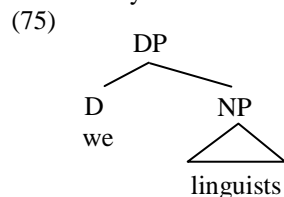
Obviously, structure (75) is different from our structure in (73) in that the head D in the former structure selects NP rather than DP. We assume that this is the case because English PNCs differ from Arabic Type III appositions in a few respects. First, unlike the English PNCs where the second noun can be indefinite (see e.g. 74b), the second unit of Type III appositions must always be definite, thus bearing the definite article *(ʔa)l* 'the' as in (76a). Indefinite appositives are not allowed in Type III appositions as in (76b).

(76) 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. *naħn**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 appositions must select another full DP as proposed in (73). Given that the appositive in Type III appositions is DP, we predict that the appositive can be modified by an adjective. This prediction is borne out as shown in (77).

(77) naħnu	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 …'			

Furthermore, given that Type I and II appositions are DPs in themselves, we predict that they can also appear after the pronoun in Type III appositions. This prediction is borne out in (78) for Type I appositions and (79) for Type II ones.

(78) ʔaʕtarifu	ʔana,	l-muwa:tˤin-a	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,   d-duwal-a   l-ʔaʕdˤa:ʔ-a,   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)

As shown in (74) above, English PNCs follow certain restrictions, one of which is that they disallow the use of third person pronouns in their constructions, see e.g. (74e,f). However, all the pronouns, regardless of their person (first, second or third), are allowed in Arabic Type III appositions as shown below.

(80) a. humu   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. 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.'   (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 should, however, be 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, p. 21, ex. 6)

Several proposals have been put forward to account for Greek PNCs in (81), and they are too complex to be addressed here (see Choi, 2014; Höhn, 2017 for a detailed discussion). What is important to us here is that neither of these analyses can immediately relate to our proposed structure in (73). 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). After the deletion of the pronoun in (81), the verb can still show person agreement with the deleted pronoun.

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

By contrast, Type III appositions do not allow the deletion of the pronoun as shown in (83) below. The verb agreement with the deleted pronoun in person is not enough for the sentence to be grammatical, either.

(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 consider (73) 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 accounts for many aspects of Type III appositions. 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 against it. The appositive, being a buried complement, cannot be accessed by the verb. Thus, the head D in turn assigns the accusative to it (see a discussion of case assignment for these appositions below).

Second, the 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 in (85). It is because the verb cannot access the third person feature found on the buried complement, i.e. *alʕaraba* 'the Arabs'. As an intervening head category, the head D blocks the verb-appositive agreement.

(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. As discussed above, only one appositive is allowed in Type III appositions, see (86a). Two appositives are not allowed as in (86b).

(86) a. na<u>ħn</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. *na<u>ħ</u>nu   *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 behave similarly like pronouns in taking only one complement).

As a fourth advantage, 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 sometimes not. Furthermore, structure (84) also explains why the pronoun is non-removable. This is because it occupies the head of the whole DP. In light of these advantages, the head-complement structure in (84) is the most plausible analysis as it captures all of the attested properties of Type III appositions such as case disparity, word order restrictions, subject-verb agreement in person, the non-iterativity of the appositive and the non-removability of the anchor.

Let us now turn to the accusative case that appears on the appositive. Although we do not have a preferable answer to this behavior, we will put forward two plausible proposals that explain why the appositive takes the accusative. The first proposal argues that the pronoun directly assigns the accusative to the complement. This is not uncommon in MSA because we find that other heads (like Arabic pre-nominal adjectives, numerals, and wh-words) also assign the accusative to their complements as in (87).

(87) a. Muħammad-un   ʔakθar-**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. <u>kam</u>   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 to them. We argue that pronouns are not an exception, and can also head-govern their complements.

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 nominative from reaching the embedded complements. Thus, the complement as NP (requiring Case) retreats to take the accusative as the default case (see Schütze, 2001 for more discussion of the default case). This proposal might, however, be problematic because Mohammad (2000), Soltan (2007) and Al-Balushi (2011) among many others assume that the nominative is the default case in Arabic. For example, the nominative is assigned to the NP 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 structures follows from the fact that the former requires a pronominal clitic associated with the initial nominative NP whereas the latter does not.

(88) a. ʔal-madʒallat-**u**ᵢ   qaraʔa-**ha**ᵢ   l-mudi:r-u
   the-magazine-NOM   read.IMPERF.3.M   the-manager-NOM
   'The magazine, the manager read it.'   (Clitic Left Dislocation)
  b. ʔal-madʒallat-**u**   qaraʔa   l-mudi:r-u
   the-magazine-NOM   read.IMPERF.3.M   the-manager-NOM
   'The magazine, the manager read'   (Focus)

Although this is true, the proposal put forward by Mohammad (2000), Soltan (2007) and Al-Balushi (2011) is not problem-free because the nominative cannot appear as the default case on the complements of adjectives, numerals, wh-word, and pronouns as shown in (87) repeated below.

(89) a. Muħammad-un   ʔakθar-**u**   fahm-**a/*u**-n
   Muhammad-NOM   more-NOM   understanding- ACC /*NOM-INDEF
   'Muhammad is the best in understanding.'
  b. wasˤala   θala:θ-**una**   kita:b-**a/*u**-n
   arrived.PERF.3.M   thirty-NOM   book- ACC/*NOM-INDEF
   'Thirty books arrived.'

    c. <u>kam</u>   <u>radʒul-**a/*u** -n</u>   hadˤra   l-ħaflat-a

       how-many.NOM   man-ACC/*NOM-INDEF   attend.PERF.3.M   the-party-ACC

       'How many men did they attend the party?'

    d. <u>naħn**u**</u>   <u>l-ʕarab-**a/*u**</u>   naqu:lu   ða:lika

       We.NOM   the-arab.PL-ACC/*NOM   say.IMPERF.1.PL   that

       'We, the Arabs, say that.'

Note from the examples above that the nominative is not allowed. Given that the nominative is the default case in the clausal domain (for clitic left dislocation and focus), and given that all the examples in (89) are nominal constructions, we can simply assume that the accusative is the default case in the nominal domain.

In short, we consider the two proposals above as plausible accounts for the accusative marking on the appositive in Type III appositions. Given that there is no clear indication to favor one over the other, both proposals should be studied in a more comprehensive work on Case in MSA. The main contribution of this section is that Type III appositions are better treated within a head-complement structure.

IV. CONCLUSION

In this article, we explore the phenomenon of nominal appositions in MSA. Although nominal appositions include phrases that involve two nominal elements that refer to the same individuals or entities, they show several properties in terms of the nominal categories of their two units, the deletion of the NP, word order, case agreement, semantic relation as well as. We argue that these distinctions suggest that nominal appositions in MSA cannot receive a uniform syntactic account. Rather, Arabic nominal appositions appear in different types, each of which requires a special structural position within the nominal hierarchy. Type I appositions (which involve a common noun followed by a proper name) should be handled by an adjunction analysis, whereas Type II appositions (which involve two common nouns) should appear in a spec-head relation. As far as Type III appositions are concerned, they consist of a pronoun followed by a common noun and they better take a head-complement structure.

The treatment of the appositive in this study as an adjunct, a specifier or a complement supports the mainstream proposals 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). Because nominal appositions in MSA require different structures, we predict that no uniform analysis is warranted for all appositions across the world languages.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

REFERENCES

[1] Alanazi, M. (2019). *The Use of Computer-Assisted Translation Tools for Arabic Translation: User Evaluation, Issues and Improvement* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Kent State University.

[2] Al-Balushi, R. (2011). *Case in Standard Arabic: The Untraveled Paths* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Toronto.

[3] Acuña-Fariña, J. (1996). *The Puzzle of Apposition: On So-Called Appositive Structures in English*. Universidade de Santiago de Compostela.

[4] Acuña-Fariña, J. (2006). A constructional network in appositive space. *Cognitive Linguistics, 17*(1), 1–37.

[5] Albarrag, T. (2013). *Noun Phrases in Urban Hijazi Arabic: A Distributed Morphology Approach* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Queensland.

[6] Alexiadou, A. (2001). Adjective syntax and noun raising: Word order asymmetries in the DP as the result of adjective distribution. *Studia Linguistica, 55*(3), 217–248.

[7] Ali, H. (2012). English and Arabic appositions: A contrastive study. *Journal of Basic Education College, 9*(1), 439–450.

[8] Alqarni, M. (2015). *The Morphosyntax of Numeral-Noun Constructions in Modern Standard Arabic* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Florida.

[9] Aoun, J., Benmamoun E., & Choueiri L. (2010). *The syntax of Arabic*. Cambridge University Press.

[10] Bresnan, J. (1982). *The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations*. MIT Press.

[11] Burton-Roberts, N. (1975). Nominal apposition. *Foundations of Language, 13*(3), 391–419.

[12] Cardoso, A., & de Vries, M. (2010). *Internal and external heads in appositive constructions*. University of Lisbon and University of Groningen.

[13] Chomsky, N. (2015). *The Minimalist program*. MIT Press.

[14] Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and functional heads: A Cross-linguistic perspective*. Oxford University Press.

[15] Choi, J. (2014). *Pronoun-noun constructions and the syntax of DP* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Arizona.

[16] Dalrymple, M. (2001). *Lexical functional grammar*. Academic Press.

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

[18] Del Gobbo, F. (2003). *Appositives at the interface* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of California.

[19] Rubio, D. (2003). *An analysis of English discourse markers of reformulation* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Universidad de Valencia.

[20] Doron, E. (1994). The discourse function of appositives. In R. Buchalla, & A. Mitwoch (Eds.), *Proceedings of the ninth annual conference and the workshop on discourse of the Israel association for theoretical linguistics*, (pp. 53-65). Academon.

[21] Ernst, T. (2002). *The Syntax of adjuncts*. Cambridge University Press.

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

[23] Fischer, W. (2002). *A grammar of classical Arabic*. Yale University Press.

[24] Francis, N W. (1958). *The structure of American English*. Ronald Press.

[25] Fries, C. (1952). *The structure of English*. Harcourt.

[26] Grosu, A. (2000). Type-resolution in relative constructions. In A. Alexiadou, P. Law, A. Meinunger, & C. Wilder (eds.), *The syntax of relative clauses* (pp. 83-119). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

[27] Hannay, M., & Keizer, E. (2005). A discourse treatment of English non-restrictive nominal appositions in functional discourse grammar. In J. Mackenzie, & M. Á. Gómez-González (Eds.), *Studies in functional discourse grammar* (pp. 159-194). Peter Lang.

[28] Heringa, H. (2007). Appositional constructions: coordination and predication. In M. Kluck, & E. Smits (Eds). *Proceedings of the fifth semantics in the Netherlands day* (pp. 67-82). University of Groningen.

[29] Heringa, H. (2011). *Appositional constructions*. LOT Publication.

[30] Howell, M. (1986). *A grammar of the Classical Arabic language*. Gian Publishing.

[31] Höhn, G. (2017). *Non-possessive person in the nominal domain* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Cambridge.

[32] Huddleston, R., & Pullum, G. (2002). *The cambridge grammar of the English language*. Cambridge University Press.

[33] Jasinskaja, E. (2007). Nominal restatement. In E. Puig-Waldmüller (Ed.), *Proceedings of sinn und bedeutung 11* (pp. 346-360). Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

[34] Julien, M. (2002). Determiners and word order in Scandinavian DPs. *Studia Linguistica, 56*(3), 265–315.

[35] Klein, M. (1977). *Appositionele constructies in het Nederlands* [Appositional constructions in Dutch] [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Nijmegen.

[36] Koktová, E. (1986). *Apposition as a pragmatic phenomenon in a functional description*. Linguistic Agency.

[37] Laenzlinger, C. (2005). French adjective ordering: Perspectives on DP-internal movement types. *Lingua, 115*(5), 645–689.

[38] Lehmann, C. (1984). Der relativsatz [The relative clauses]. Gunter Narr Verlag.

[39] Lekakou, M. & Szendrői, K. (2011). Polydefinites in Greek: Ellipsis, close apposition and expletive determiners. *Journal of Linguistics, 48*(1), 107–149.

[40] Longobardi, G. (2001). The structure of DPs: Some principles, parameters, and problems. In M. Baltin, & C. Collins (Eds.), *Handbook of contemporary syntactic theory* (pp. 562–603). Blackwell.

[41] McCawley, J. (1998). *The syntactic phenomena of English*. University of Chicago Press.

[42] Meyer, C. (1992). *Apposition in contemporary English*. Cambridge University Press.

[43] Mohammad, M. (2000). Word order, agreement, and pronominalization in standard and Palestinian Arabic. John Benjamins Publishing Company.

[44] Molitor, F. (1979). *Zur apposition im heutigen Deutsch: Eine Vorstudie* [To apposition in today's German: A preliminary study] [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Cologne.

[45] O'Connor, K. (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] [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. Université Charles de Gaulle, France.

[46] Ortner, H. (1985). Hervorgehobene korrektur- und bestätigungssignale in texten geschriebener sprache [Highlighted correction and acknowledgment signals in texts of written language]. In E. Koller, & H. 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*] (pp. 239-254). Institut für Germanistik.

[47] Pesetsky, D., & Torrego, E.. (2007). The syntax of valuation and the interpretability of features. In S. Karimi, V. Samiian, & W. K. Wilkins (Eds.), *Phrasal and clausal architecture* (pp. 262-294). John Benjamins Publishing Company.

[48] Postal, P. (1969). On so-called 'pronouns' in English. In D. Reibel & S. Schane (Eds.), *Modern studies in English: Readings in transformational grammar* (pp. 125-154). Prentice Hall.

[49] Potts, C. 2005. *The Logic of conventional implicatures*. Oxford University Press.

[50] Pyse, A. (2006). The structural location of adnominal adjectives: Prospects for Old English. *SKASE Journal of Theoretical Linguistics, 3*(3), 59–85.

[51] Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. Longman.

[52] Rath, R. (1995). Korrektur und anakoluth im gesprochenen Deutsch [Correction and anacoluth in spoken German]. *Linguistische Berichte*, *37*(1), 1–12.

[53] Ryding, K. (2005). *A reference grammar of modern standard Arabic*. Cambridge University Press.

[54] Sadler, L., & Arnold, D. (1994). Prenominal adjectives and the phrasal/lexical distinction. *Journal of Linguistics, 30*(1), 187–226.

[55] Sadler, L., & Nordlinger, R. (2006). Apposition as coordination: evidence from Australian languages. In: M. Butt, & T. King (Eds.), *Proceedings of the lexical functional grammar 2006 conference* (pp. 437-454). CSLI Publications.

[56] Sawaie, M. (2014). *Fundamentals of Arabic grammar*. Routledge.

[57] Schindler, W. (1990). *Untersuchungen zur Grammatik appositionsverdächtiger Einheiten im Deutschen* [Studies on the grammar of apposition suspicious units in German]. Niemeyer.

[58] Shlonsky, U. (2004). The form of Semitic noun phrases. *Lingua, 114*(12), 1465–1526.

[59] Sichel, I. (2000). Evidence for DP-internal remnant movement. In: M. Hirotani, A. Coetzee, N. Hall, & J. Kim (Eds.), *Proceedings of the north east linguistic society 30* (pp. 568-581). Rutgers University.

[60] Soltan, U. (2007). *On formal feature licensing in minimalism: Aspects of Standard Arabic morphosyntax* [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Maryland.

[61] Sopher, H. (1971). Apposition. *English Studies, 52*(1-6), 401–412.

[62] Stroik, T., & Putnam, M. (2013). *The structural design of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

[63] Sturm, A. (1986). *Primaire syntactische structuren in het Nederlands* [Primary syntactic structures in Dutch] [Unpublished doctoral dissertation]. University of Nijmegen.

[64] Suleiman, Y. (1999). *Arabic grammar and linguistics*. Curzon.

[65] Svenonius, P. (1994). The structural location of the attributive adjective. In: E. Duncan, D. Farkas, & P. Spaelti (Eds.), *The proceeding of the twelfth west coast conference on formal linguistics* (pp. 439-454). CSLI Publications.

[66] Travis, L. (1988). The syntax of adverbs. In T. Grüter, & T. Takehisa (Eds.), *McGill working papers in linguistics, proceedings of the IVth workshop on comparative germanic syntax* (pp. 280-310). McGill University.

[67] Wright, W. (1967). *A grammar of the Arabic language*. Cambridge University Press.

Muteb A. Alqarni is an associate professor of Linguistics at King Khalid University, Abha, Saudi Arabia. He got his MA from Ball State University (phonetics & phonology) and his PhD from University of Florida (syntax and morphology). His research interests include syntax, morphology, sociolinguistics, discourse analysis, and pragmatics.

Mohammad S. Alanazi is an assistant professor of translation studies at Imam Mohammad Ibn Saud Islamic University. He got his MA from University of Florida (syntax & morphology) and his PhD from Kent State University (translation and interpretation studies). He is currently serving as the Director General of King Abdullah Institute for Translation and Arabization.