
Not under (re-)construction: Proposition integration of inclusory appositions

Madeleine Butschety
University of Graz
madeleine.butschety@uni-graz.at

Appositions are commonly either assumed to contain elided material (cf. Ott 2016), or to involve some sort of coordination with their anchor or host (cf. Heringa 2011, Griffiths 2015). In German sentences like (1), what looks like an appositive headed by the additive particle *auch* ('too, also') is puzzling with regard to its syntactic status as well as its semantic derivation.

- (1) Viele Kinder, auch Hans, haben nicht geschlafen.
many children too Hans have NEG slept
≈ Many children didn't sleep. This includes Hans.

On the one hand, additive particles are generally treated as operating on a propositional level (cf. Heim 1992 and subsequent research); wherefore we would have to assume that the apposition in (1) contains an elided copy of the antecedent VP. But given that negation from an antecedent usually reflects in the respective ellipsis' remnant, the absence of negation in *auch Hans* would then be left unexplained. On the other hand, this problem disappears if we assume that the anchor *viele Kinder* and the apposition share syntactic material qua coordination. But then, the propositional part of the story remains unclear.

The situation is further complicated by sentences with multiple instances of such appositives headed by *auch*, since they give rise to weak interpretations. I claim that what is at stake in (1) and more complex examples is actually not proposition reconstruction via elided or coordinatively shared material, but rather integration of the appositive's content into the host's proposition. Syntactically speaking, that is to say that *auch*-headed appositives are indeed fragmental. Semantically speaking, I assume that *auch* is not additive in the commonsense understanding of additivity, but rather establishes a subset relation between its direct argument (e.g. *Hans* in (1)) and an antecedent expression (e.g. *viele Kinder*); or, more precisely, a pronominal discourse referent derived in the spirit of Schmitt et al. (2017).

- (2) a. (1): [[QNP many children]_i [[t₁ [*auch* Hans]] [NEG [slept]]]]
b. (1) ≈ There is a sum individual_i (with a cardinality greater *k*) of children which Hans is a part of. They_i did not sleep.

References: • Griffiths, J. (2015). *On appositives*. U of Groningen dissertation • Heim, I. (1992). Presupposition Projection and the Semantics of Attitude Verbs. *J of Sem* 9: 183-221 • Heringa, H. (2011). *Appositional constructions*. U of Groningen dissertation • Ott, D. (2016). Ellipsis in appositives. *Glossa* 1(1)/34: 1-46 • Schmitt, V., E. Onea & F. Buch (2017). Restrictions on complement anaphora. *Proceedings of SALT 27*: 212-229.