

<To appear in *Selected proceedings of the 36th Annual Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages*>

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**ABSTRACT** Traditionally, parentheticals have been analyzed as syntactic units that are structurally independent of the surrounding sentence. In this paper we argue that at least some parenthetical clauses are structurally dependent. In particular, we explore the dependence between the resuming clitic in the parenthetical clauses of what we call "Parenthetical Null Topic" (PNT) constructions and the subject DP in the main clause. We propose that PNT has the structure of a CLLD construction with a null topic in TopicP (Rizzi 1997), which is an adverbial residing in the specifier of a functional projection (Cinque 1999). This analysis differs from Stowell (2005), where it is argued that the English counterparts to PNT are restrictive relative clauses. We show that a relative clause analysis is not feasible for the Romance data. In sum our analysis demonstrates that structural relations such as c-command and parametric distinctions such as verb movement interact with these PNT constructions. Consequently, we conclude that parenthetical constructions must be visible to syntax.

**KEY WORDS** parentheticals, adverbs, clitic-left-dislocation, topic, evidentials, Spanish, French

## PARENTHETICAL NULL TOPIC CONSTRUCTIONS IN ROMANCE

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### 1.0 Introduction

Traditionally, parentheticals have been analyzed as syntactic units that are structurally independent of the surrounding sentence. The aim of this paper is to argue that at least some parentheticals are structurally *dependent*. In particular, we explore the dependence between the subject DP in the main clauses of (1) & (2) and the resuming clitic in the parenthetical.<sup>1</sup> The core data in this paper is from Spanish and French.

- (1) *Juan<sub>i</sub> (Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A., supuestamente) se ha mudado al lado.*  
 John Bill CL met in L.A., supposedly CL has moved to.the side  
 “John (Bill met him in L.A., supposedly) has moved in next door.”
- (2) *Jean<sub>i</sub> (Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le L.A., apparemment) a emménagé à côté.*  
 John Bill CL.has met in the L.A., apparently has moved to.the side  
 “John (Bill met him in L.A., apparently) has moved in next door.”

We argue that (1) and (2) exemplify 'Parenthetical Null Topic' constructions (PNT) that resemble the overt topic constructions of 'Clitic Left Dislocation' (CLLD):

- (3) *Juan<sub>i</sub>, Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A., supuestamente.*  
 John, Bill CL met in L.A., supposedly  
 “As for John, Bill met him in L.A., supposedly.”
- (4) *Juan<sub>i</sub> (<TOP<sub>i</sub>> Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A., supuestamente) se ha mudado al lado.*  
 John Bill CL met in L.A., supposedly CL has moved to.the side  
 “John (Bill met him in L.A., supposedly) has moved in next door.”

We propose that PNT have the clausal structure of CLLD with a null topic in the specifier of TopicP (Rizzi 1997) and that these parenthetical clauses reside in an adverbial position, which we take to be the specifier of a functional projection in the sentence structure (Cinque 1999). This analysis differs from Stowell (2005), where it is argued that

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<sup>1</sup> The parenthetical clauses in (1) and (2) are separated from the surrounding string by intonational breaks; they are pronounced rapidly with a low tone.

English sentences similar to (1) and (2) are restrictive relative clauses. We show that a relative clause analysis is not feasible for the Romance data. Moreover, we argue that unlike CLLD, PNT exhibit additional locality and contextual restrictions: (i) the null topic must be local to the element it is dependent on and (ii) the null topic must occur in the context of an evidential or a particular speech/attitude report verb (e.g. "say", "think", etc.). We explore these restrictions in detail and argue that no DP can intervene between the null topic and the DP subject in the main clause. Furthermore, we propose that the null topic must be c-commanded by or be in the specifier of an EvidentialP projection. This generalization accounts for the fact that sentences like (1) and (2) are felicitous only when an evidential (or a particular speech/attitude report verb) occurs main-clause-initial, parenthetical-initial, or parenthetical-final.

## 2.0 *Similarities between CLLD and PNT*

In this section we show that well-known properties of CLLD are shared by PNT.<sup>2</sup> For example, as illustrated in (5) and (6), a resumptive clitic is (usually) obligatory in CLLD. And as illustrated in (7) and (8), PNT is subject to the same restriction.

- (5) *A Juan, Bill \*(lo) conoció en L.A.*  
 John, Bill CL met in L.A.  
 "As for John, Bill met him in L.A."
- (6) *Jean, Bill \*(l')a rencontré dans le L.A.*  
 John, Bill CL.has met in the L.A.  
 "As for John, Bill met him in L.A."
- (7) *Juan (Bill \*(lo) conoció en L.A., supuestamente) se ha mudado al lado.*  
 John Bill CL met in L.A., supposedly CL has moved to.the side  
 "John (Bill met him in L.A., supposedly) has moved in next door."
- (8) *Jean (Bill \*(l')a rencontré dans le L.A., apparemment) a emménagé à côté.*  
 John Bill CL.has met in the L.A., apparently has moved to.the side  
 "John (Bill met him in L.A., apparently) has moved in next door."

Note that CLLD in Spanish is possible without a resumptive clitic when the dislocated element is a bare plural or a mass noun (see (9)). And as the sentence in (10) illustrates, this generalization applies to PNT as well; there is no resumptive clitic in the parenthetical clause and the sentence is grammatical.

- (9) *Papas/carne, Pedro come.*  
 Potatoes/meat, Peter eats  
 "As for potatoes/meat, Peter eats them/it."

<sup>2</sup> See Cinque (1990), Sportiche (1993), Iatridou (1995), Anagnostopoulou (1997), Zubizarreta (1998), among many others for discussions of CLLD.

- (10) *Comer papas/carne (Pedro come, supuestamente) es bueno.*  
 Eating potatoes/meat Peter eats, supposedly is good  
 “As for eating potatoes/meat (Peter eats them/it, supposedly), it is good.”

The French sentence in (11) illustrates another well-known property of CLLD: there is no theoretical limit to the number of dislocated elements it permits. This property is also shared by PNT. For example, (12) illustrates two dislocated elements in the main clause, which are resumed in the parenthetical clause.

- (11) *Dans cette cave, ce vieil homme, Pierre l'y a rencontré.*  
 In the cave, this old man, Peter CL.CL has met  
 “In the cave, this old man, Peter met him there.”
- (12) *Dans cette cave, ce vieil homme (Pierre l'y a rencontré, apparemment) a tué sa femme hier soir.*  
 In the cave, this old man, Peter CL.CL has met apparently has killed his wife yesterday night  
 “In the cave, this old man (Peter met him there, apparently) has killed his wife yesterday night.”

Zubizarreta (1998) argues that sentence topics in CLLD are constrained by a specificity condition. In particular, she argues that these topics can be understood as definites (see (13a)), specific indefinites (see (13b)), but crucially not non-specific indefinites (see (13c), where the subjunctive mood forces such an interpretation).

- (13) a. *A la mujer que tiene pelo azul, Juan la busca.*  
 the woman who has hair blue, Juan CL looks.for  
 “As for the woman who has blue hair, Juan is looking for her.”
- b. *A una mujer que tiene pelo azul, Juan la busca.*  
 a woman who has hair blue, Juan CL look.for  
 “As for a woman who has blue hair, Juan is looking for her.”
- c. *\*A una mujer que tenga pelo azul, Juan la busca.*  
 a woman who has hair blue, Juan CL look.for  
 “As for a woman who would have blue hair, Juan is looking for her.”

In PNT, the parenthetical clause forces a specific interpretation of the sentence topic. For example, although the sentence topics in (14) can be understood as being non-specific indefinite, the parenthetical clause in (15) forces a specific interpretation.

- (14) *Un hombre viejo se ha mudado.*  
 An man old CL has moved  
 “An old man has moved.”

- (15) *Un hombre viejo (Bill lo conocerá en L.A., supuestamente) se ha mudado.*  
 An man old Bill CL will.meet in L.A., supposedly CL has moved  
 An old man (Bill will meet in L.A., supposedly), has moved.”

In summary, PNT exhibits a number of properties that are unique to CLLD. In particular, a resumptive clitic is obligatory in CLLD and PNT unless the dislocated element is a bare plural or a mass noun (in Spanish). Moreover, there is no limit to the number of dislocated elements and only specific interpretations of sentence topics are available in the two constructions. In the next section, we argue that PNT has the structure of CLLD with a null topic in TopicP and that these constructions reside in the specifier of a functional projection analogous to adverbs. Subsequently, we argue that a relative clause analysis fails to make the correct predictions for the PNT data.

### 3.0 *The structure of PNT: An argument for null topics*

As illustrated in (16), CLLD cannot apply to bare quantifier phrases in Spanish:

- (16) \**Algo, Juan lo leyó ayer.*  
 Something, John CL read yesterday.  
 “Something, John read it yesterday.”

Note that the ungrammaticality of (16) is not due to the fact that the bare quantifier must be understood as a non-specific indefinite. For example, as illustrated in (17) and (18), sentences with a bare quantifier which are not CLLD constructions are grammatical on both a specific and a non-specific interpretation respectively. That is, the bare quantifier allows a specific interpretation, yet it is not allowed as a sentence topic in CLLD.

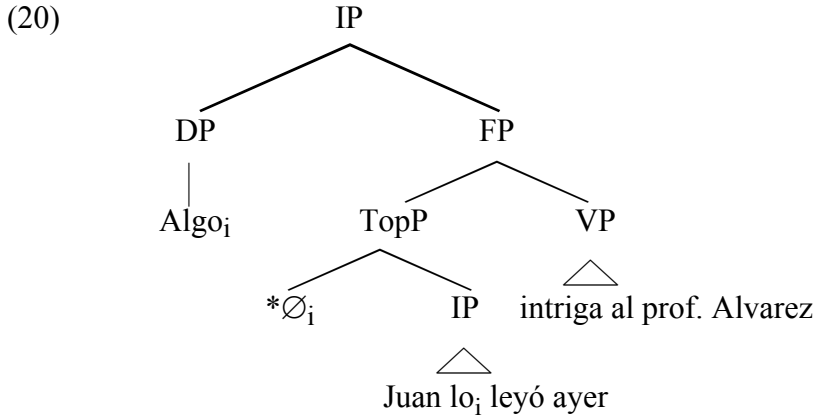
- (17) *Algo intriga al prof. Alvarez, pero no voy a decirte que es.*  
 Something intrigues the prof. Alvarez, but not will tell.CL what is  
 “Something intrigues Prof. Alvarez, but I won’t tell you what it is.”
- (18) *Algo intriga al prof. Alvarez.*  
 Something intrigues the prof. Alvarez  
 “Something intrigues Prof. Alvarez.”

It is not clear at this point why this restriction exists. However, a full characterization of *algo* (‘something’) and its properties is not the issue here. For the purposes of this paper, the crucial observation is that (19) differs from (18) only in that there is a parenthetical clause after the quantifier and (19) is ungrammatical as a result.

- (19) \**Algo (Juan lo leyó ayer, supuestamente) intriga al prof. Alvarez.*  
 Something John CL read yesterday, supposedly intrigues the prof. Alvarez.  
 “Something (John read yesterday, supposedly) intrigues Prof. Alvarez.”

The ungrammaticality of (19) suggests that the dependence between the bear quantifier phrase and the resuming clitic in PNT is analogous to CLLD in (16).<sup>3</sup>

In order to predict this parallel we propose that the parenthetical clause of (19) contains a null topic in its TopicP position, analogous to an overt topic in CLLD.<sup>4</sup> The proposed syntactic structure of (19) is illustrated in (20).



Assuming that the null topic inherits the semantic properties of its antecedent, it follows that (19) is ungrammatical for the same reasons as (16). In other words, the null topic in (19) cannot be a bare quantifier, just like the overt topic in (16).

#### 4.0 *Against a relative clause analysis*

As noted in the introduction, Stowell (2005: 5) argues that English sentences similar to PNT are restrictive relative clauses:

(21) ?An old man (Bill met in Kansas, reportedly), has moved in next door.

Stowell analyzes the parenthetical in (21) as being a ‘zero-relative’, i.e. a relative clause with a null complementizer. It is problematic to extend this analysis to PNT because zero-relatives are not found in (main) Romance:

<sup>3</sup> As noted by an anonymous reviewer, that (19) might be ungrammatical because non-restrictive relative clauses do not combine well with indefinites. However, as will be shown in section 4, the parenthetical clause in PNT is *not* a non-restrictive relative clause. Therefore, the ungrammaticality of (19) is independent of the contrast below.

- (i) *Algo que comí ayer no me cayó bien.*  
 Something that I ate yesterday not me fall well  
 “Something that I ate yesterday did not settle well.”
- (ii) *\*Algo, que comí ayer, no me cayó bien.*  
 Something that I ate yesterday not me fall well  
 “Something, that I ate yesterday, did not settle well.”

<sup>4</sup> For more discussion of null topics, see Poletto (2000), Benincà & Poletto (2002), De Crousaz & Shlonsky (2002), among many others.

- (22) a. \**Juan odia al hombre Lucía vió ayer.*  
 John hates the man Lucy saw yesterday  
 “John hates the man Lucy saw yesterday.”
- b. \**J'ai acheté le livre ma soeur a écrit.*  
 I bought the book my sister has written  
 “I bought the book my sister has written.”

Moreover, if PNT had zero-relatives, we would expect that an overt complementizer would be possible. However, (23) and (24) illustrates that this leads to ungrammaticality.

- (23) \**Un hombre (que Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A., supuestamente) se ha mudado.*  
 A man that Bill CL met in L.A., supposedly CL has moved  
 “A man (that Bill met in L.A., supposedly) has moved.”
- (24) \**Jean (que Bill l'a rencontré dans le L.A., apparemment) a emménagé*  
 John that Bill CL has met in the L.A., apparently has moved  
 “A man (that Bill met in L.A., apparently) has moved.”

Thus positing that PNT constructions in Romance have relative clauses raises two problems: an explanation must be given as to (i) why zero-relatives should be found only in PNT and never in other relative clause constructions, and (ii) why such constructions, if they are relative clauses, should be ungrammatical with an overt complementizer.

A further argument against a relative clause analysis comes from the distribution of bare quantifiers like *algo* (‘something’) and negative quantifier phrases like *aucun étudiant* (‘no student’). As illustrated in (25) and (26), these quantifiers can head restrictive relative clauses in Spanish and French, respectively.

- (25) *Algo que Juan leyó ayer intriga al prof. Alvarez.*  
 Something that John read yesterday intrigues the prof. Alvarez.  
 “Something that John read yesterday intrigues Prof. Alvarez.”
- (26) *Aucun étudiant que Jean connaît n'aime le papier de Felicia.*  
 No student that John knows likes the paper of Felicia  
 “No student that John knows likes Felisha’s paper.”

In contrast, (27) and (28) illustrate these quantifiers are not possible in PNT.

- (27) \**Algo (Juan lo leyó ayer, supuestamente) intriga al prof. Alvarez.*  
 Something John CL read yesterday, supposedly intrigues the prof. Alvarez.  
 “Something (John read yesterday, supposedly) intrigues Prof. Alvarez.”
- (28) \**Aucun étudiant (Jean le connaît, apparemment) n'aime le papier de Felicia*  
 No student John CL knows apparently likes the paper of Felicia  
 “No student (John knows, apparently) likes Felisha’s paper.”

Therefore, another heavy burden is placed on the analyst to explain the contrast between (25) & (27), and (26) & (28) if the parentheticals are assumed to be restrictive relative clauses. On our account, however, the ungrammaticality of (27) and (28) is expected since bare quantifiers are not possible in CLLD and negative quantifiers are never sentence topics (i.e. they too are impossible in CLLD).

A question that comes up is whether the parenthetical clauses in PNT could be appositive relatives. Note that if this were the case, then the analyst would be forced to the conclusion that there are appositive relatives with a null complementizer; to the best of our knowledge, there is no evidence from Romance that supports such a conclusion.

Finally, consider the sentences in (29) and (30), which show that extraposition of appositive relative clauses is impossible in Spanish and French respectively.

- (29) \**Juan se ha mudado al lado, que, supuestamente, Bill conoció en Kansas.*  
 John CL has moved to.the side who supposedly Bill met in Kansas.  
 “John has moved in next door, who supposedly, Bill met in Kansas.”
- (30) \**Jean a emménagé à côté, que, apparemment, Bill a rencontré dans le L.A.*  
 John has moved to.the side who apparently Bill has met in the L.A.  
 “John has moved in next door, who apparently, Bill met in L.A.”

If the parenthetical clauses in PNT were appositive relatives we would expect these clauses to be subject to the same adjacency restriction with the head DP as in (29) and (30). However, as illustrated in (31) and (32), the parenthetical clauses do not have to be adjacent to *John*, which presumably would be the head of the appositive relative.

- (31) *Juan se ha mudado al lado (supuestamente, Bill lo conoció en Kansas).*  
 John CL has moved to.the side supposedly Bill CL met in Kansas  
 “John has moved in next door (supposedly, Bill met him in Kansas).”
- (32) *Jean a emménagé à côté, (apparemment, Bill a rencontré dans le L.A.).*  
 John has moved to.the side apparently Bill has met in the L.A.  
 “John has moved in next door (apparently, Bill met him in L.A.).”

The contrast between (29)-(30) and (31)-(32) provides strong evidence against the view that the parenthetical clauses in PNT are appositive relatives. Moreover, given the evidence against the view that these clauses are restrictive relatives, we conclude that a relative clause analysis is not feasible altogether. In the next section, we explore the local dependence between the null topic and the element that it depends on. We argue that this dependence provides further evidence for the structure of PNT proposed in section 3.

## 5.0 Local dependence in PNT

As illustrated in (33) and (34), the null topic must be local to the element that it is dependent on. That is, in (33), the null topic is adjacent to *un hombre viejo* (‘an old man’), but in (34), *Maria* intervenes between the null topic and *un hombre viejo* rendering the sentence un-grammatical.



- (33) *Maria<sub>i</sub>, un hombre viejo<sub>k</sub> (<TOP<sub>k</sub>> Bill lo<sub>k</sub> conoció en L.A., supuestamente)*  
 Mary an old man Bill CL met in L.A. supposedly  
*la<sub>i</sub> odia con pasión.*  
 CL hates with passion  
 “As for Mary, an old man (Bill met in L.A., supposedly) hates her with passion.”
- (34) *\*Un hombre viejo<sub>k</sub>, Maria<sub>i</sub> (<TOP<sub>k</sub>> Bill lo<sub>k</sub> conoció en L.A., supuestamente)*  
 an old man Mary Bill CL met in L.A. supposedly  
*lo<sub>k</sub> odia con pasión.*  
 CL hates with passion  
 “As for an old man, Mary (Bill met in L.A., supposedly) hates him with passion.”

The contrast in (33) and (34) shows that no DP can intervene between the null topic and the subject DP. In other words, (33) and (34) demonstrate that PNT are subject to a locality restriction with respect to the relevant overt topic. Note that as shown in (35), such a restriction is not enforced in canonical CLLD constructions. The CLLD topic may be separated from its resuming clitic by any number of intervening DPs (Cinque 1990).

- (35) *Ce vieil homme<sub>i</sub>, Marie croit que Jean ne l<sub>i</sub>'aime pas.*  
 This old man, Mary believes that John not CL-like not  
 “As for this old man, Mary believes that John does not like him.”

We propose that the locality restriction observed with PNT stems from the fact that its topic is obligatorily null rather than overt. Null topics must be local to their overt antecedent and this is why sentences like (34) are ungrammatical. This restriction, on the other hand, is not observed with overt topics in sentences like (35).

A question that arises given the observed locality restriction above is whether elements other than DP could intervene. The French data below shows that strict locality is not required cross-categorically: a verb *can* intervene between the subject DP and the null topic that is dependent on it without affecting the grammaticality of the sentence.

- (36) *Un homme<sub>i</sub> a emménagé (<TOP<sub>i</sub>> Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> apparemment rencontré au*  
 A man has moved Bill CL.has apparently met in  
*L.A.) dans l'appartement vide du dessus.*  
 L.A. in CL-apartment free upstairs  
 “A man moved (Bill met in L.A., apparently) into the free apartment upstairs.”
- (37) *Un homme<sub>i</sub> a donné (<TOP<sub>i</sub>> Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> apparemment rencontré au*  
 A man has given Bill CL.has apparently met in  
*L.A.) une somme d'argent à Marie.*  
 L.A. a sum money to Mary  
 “A man gave (Bill met in L.A., apparently) a large sum of money to Mary.”

Verbs can also intervene between the DP subject and the null topic in Spanish:

- (38) *Un hombre viejo<sub>i</sub> se ha mudado (<TOP<sub>i</sub>> Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A.,*  
*A man old CL has moved Bill CL met in L.A.*  
*supuestamente) al apartamento vacío al lado.*  
*supposedly to.the apartment empty to.the side*  
 “An old man has moved (Bill met in L.A., supposedly) into the empty apartment upstairs.”

In English, however, although PNT observe a comparable locality restriction with respect to DPs (see (39)) they do not permit verbal intervention (see (40) and (41)).

- (39) \*A man<sub>k</sub>, Mary (<TOP<sub>k</sub>> Bill met t<sub>k</sub> in Tarifa, apparently) hates with passion.  
 (40) \*A man moved (Bill met in Tarifa, apparently) into the free apartment.  
 (41) \*A man gave (Bill met in Tarifa, apparently) a large sum of money to Mary.

The data in (40) and (41) point to an intriguing distinction in Romance and English with respect to verb intervention. This distinction is reminiscent of another well-known distinction between the positioning of adverbs in these languages: verb-adverb-noun sequences are common in French and other Romance languages but impossible in English. This characteristic surface order distinction has traditionally been interpreted as evidence for the parametric head-movement of a verb to the head of TP (or IP) in the functional architecture of the sentence; this movement is held to be possible in Romance but impossible in English (Pollock 1989). Assuming, as we have done so far, that PNT are adverbial in nature and are merged in the specifier position of an adverbial functional projection in the sentence structure analogously to other adverbs (Cinque 1999), the distinction observed above with respect to the possible versus impossible intervention of a verb can easily be explained. In French, V movement to T has taken place, which explains why the parenthetical construction is not sensitive to the intervention of the verb. In contrast, a sequence of verb-adverb-noun is not generally possible in English and is ruled out given that there is no V-to-T movement. Given this generalization and our proposal that PNT constructions are adverbials, we correctly predict that the English counterparts of (36)-(38) should be ungrammatical. Notably, we can further conclude that these data provide strong evidence that parenthetical constructions are structurally dependent on their surrounding sentence. Indeed, what we have observed here is a direct interaction between the positions of a parenthetical construction and the structural parameter of verb movement in particular languages.

To sum up, we argued in this section that no DP could intervene between the null topic and the subject DP. Moreover, we provided evidence that the parenthetical TopicP projection in which the null topic resides is placed in the specifier of an adverbial functional projection. As we demonstrated, the interesting verbal intervention effects can be interpreted as reflecting well-known parametric differences in verb movement in English versus Romance. In the next section, we explore the role of the parenthetical adverbs such as *supuestamente* (‘supposedly’) and *apparentment* (‘apparently’) in PNT.

## 6.0 Contextual restrictions and evidentiality in PNT

The data in (42)-(46) illustrate that PNT constructions are felicitous only if a parenthetical adverb such as *supuestamente* ('supposedly') and *apparemment* ('apparently') occurs main clause-initial, parenthetical-initial, or parenthetical-final. For example, (42) shows that without such adverbs, PNT in French and Spanish are no good.

- (42) a. \**Juan<sub>i</sub> (Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A) se ha mudado.*  
           John Bill CL met in L.A CL has moved  
           "John (Bill met him in L.A.) has moved."
- b. \**Jean<sub>i</sub> (Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le L.A.) a emménagé.*  
           John Bill CL.has met in the L.A., has moved  
           "John (Bill met him in L.A) has moved."

Moreover, the sentences in (43)-(45) illustrate that the parenthetical adverbs may occur main-clause-initial, parenthetical-initial, or parenthetical-final:

- (43) a. *Supuestamente, Juan<sub>i</sub> (Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A) se ha mudado.*  
           Supposedly John Bill CL met in L.A. CL has moved  
           "Supposedly, John (Bill met in L.A.) has moved."
- b. *Apparemment, Jean<sub>i</sub> (Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le L.A.) a emménagé.*  
           Apparently, John Bill CL.has met in the L.A. has moved  
           "Apparently, John (Bill met in L.A.) has moved."
- (44) a. *Juan<sub>i</sub> (supuestamente, Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A) se ha mudado.*  
           John supposedly Bill CL met in L.A. CL has moved  
           "John (supposedly, Bill met in L.A.) has moved."
- b. *Jean<sub>i</sub> (apparemment, Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le L.A.) a emménagé.*  
           John apparently, Bill CL.has met in the L.A. has moved  
           "John (apparently, Bill met in L.A.) has moved."
- (45) a. *Juan<sub>i</sub> (Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A, supuestamente) se ha mudado.*  
           John Bill CL met in L.A. supposedly CL has moved  
           "John (Bill met in L.A., supposedly) has moved."
- b. *Jean<sub>i</sub> (Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le L.A., apparemment) a emménagé.*  
           John Bill CL.has met in the L.A. apparently has moved  
           "John (Bill met in L.A., apparently) has moved."

Interestingly, if the parenthetical adverb is clause-final, i.e. placed at the end of the clause on which the parenthetical depends, the sentence is odd:

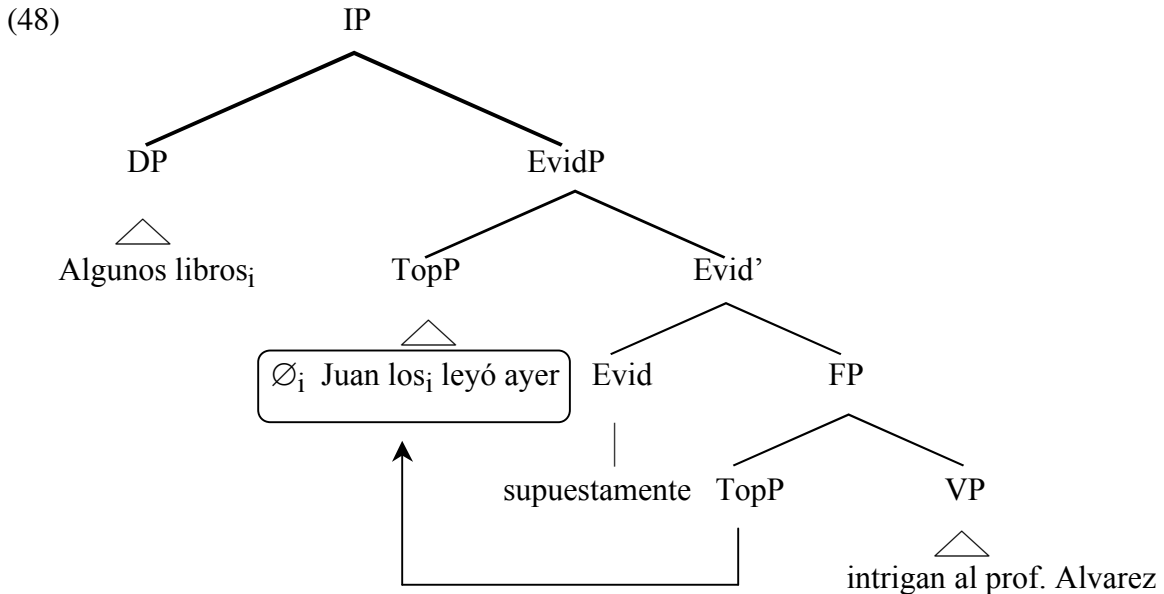
- (46) a. ??*Juan<sub>i</sub> (Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en L.A.) se ha mudado, supuestamente.*  
 John Bill CL met in L.A. CL has moved supposedly  
 “John (Bill met in L.A.) has moved, supposedly.”
- b. ??*Jean<sub>i</sub> (Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le L.A.) a emménagé, apparemment.*  
 John Bill CL.has met in the L.A. has moved apparently  
 “John (Bill met in L.A.) has moved, apparently.”

To correctly predict the distribution of the parenthetical adverbs in (42)-(46), we first follow Rooryck (2001) in assuming that these adverbs are evidentials. Moreover, we propose the syntactic condition in (47).

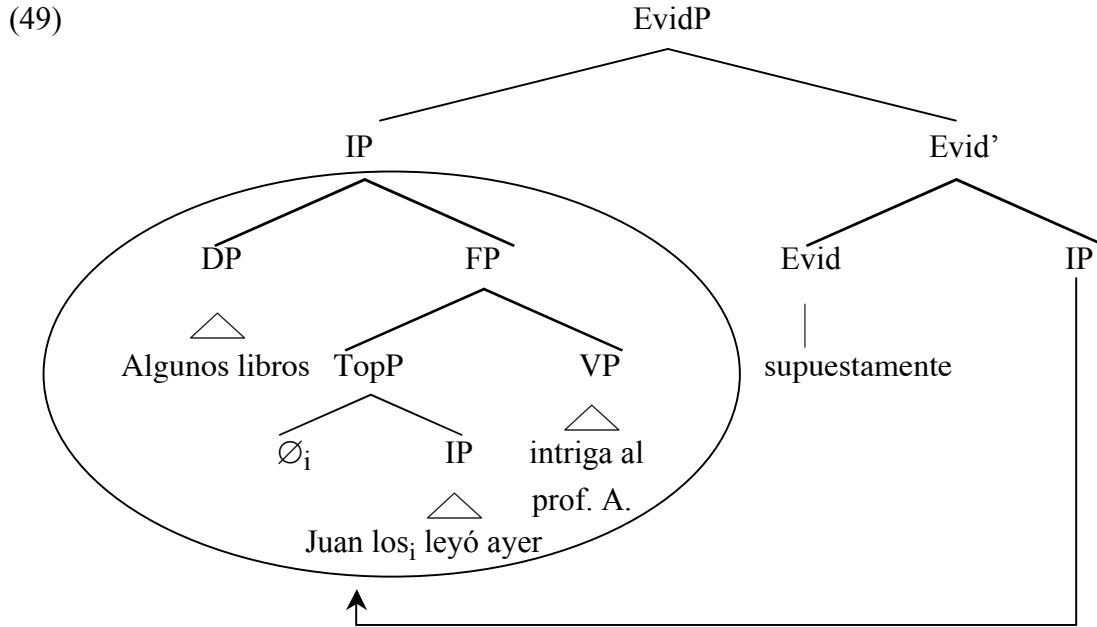
- (47) The null topic must be c-commanded by or be in the specifier of EvidentialP.

In the remainder of this section, we show how the condition in (47) makes the correct predictions for the data in this section. Subsequently, this condition is tested given an analysis of certain speech/attitude verbs in Simons (forthcoming).

The condition in (47) is satisfied when the evidential occurs parenthetical-initial and main clause initial because the null topic is c-commanded by the evidential in these contexts. Moreover, the condition in (47) is satisfied when the evidential occurs parenthetical final. The structure in (48) shows how, via phrasal movement, the entire TopicP projection in which the null topic resides can end up in the specifier of an EvidentialP projection, although in the surface order, the adverbial occurs at the end of the parenthetical clause.



However, to derive a construction where the evidential is sentence final the whole IP should move to the specifier of EvidP. The resulting structure, illustrated in (49), violates (47) since the null topic is neither c-commanded by the evidential nor is the TopicP projection (in which the null topic resides) in the specifier of EvidentialP.



In sum, the condition in (47) makes the correct predictions for the data in this section. In the next section this condition is tested given a proposal in Simons (forthcoming), where it is argued that certain speech/attitude verbs carry evidential force.

## 7.0 Testing the proposal

Following the insight in Urmson (1952) and Hooper (1975), Simons (forthcoming) argues that in (50b) the embedding verbs *say* and *think* carry evidential force: the agent's report and thoughts provide evidence as to what is the case and, therefore, constitute evidence on which answers to a factual question could be based. Simons claims that, in contrast, the oddity of responses in (50c) are due to the fact that Henry's hopes and dreams *do not* provide evidence as to what is the case, and so are not evidence on which answers to a factual question should be based.<sup>5</sup> That is, unlike *hope* and *dream*, *say* and *think* can be described as evidential verbs.

### (50) Why isn't Louise coming to our meetings these days?

- a. She's left town.
- b. Henry said/thinks that she's left town.
- c. #Henry hopes/dreamt that she's left town.

If Simons is correct, then given the observation made above that PNT must occur in the c-command domain (or the specifier) of an evidential, we predict that PNT embedded under *say* and *think* should be felicitous without the presence of *supuestamente* ('supposedly') and *apparentment* ('apparently'). Moreover, we predict that PNT embedded under *say* and *think* should contrast with *hopes* and *dreamt*.

<sup>5</sup> Note that if Henry has a reputation as a person whose hopes and dreams are always fulfilled, then responses in (50c) are felicitous.

These predictions are borne out in the French data below, where the parenthetical must be read from the perspective of the speaker, and not the agent (Reinhart 1983).

- (51) *Lucia a dit qu'un homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le L.A.) a emménagé.*  
 Lucy has said that.a man Bill CL.has met in the L.A. has moved  
 “Lucy said that a man (Bill met in L.A.) has moved.”
- (52) *Lucia croit qu'un homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le L.A.) a emménagé.*  
 Lucy thinks that.a man Bill CL.has met in the L.A. has moved  
 “Lucy thinks that a man (Bill met in L.A.) has moved.”
- (53) *#Lucia espère qu'un homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le L.A.) a emménagé.*  
 Lucy hopes that.a man Bill CL.has met in the L.A. has moved  
 “Lucy hopes that a man (Bill met in L.A.) has moved.”
- (54) *#Lucia a rêvé qu'un homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le L.A.) a emménagé.*  
 Lucy has dreamt that.a man Bill CL.has met in the L.A. has moved  
 “Lucy dreamt that a man (Bill met in L.A.) has moved.”

In (51) and (52), the speaker makes an independent assertion about the object of Lucia’s saying and thinking respectively. In contrast, (53) and (54) imply that the speaker’s assertion is dependent on his/her access to Lucia’s hope and dream worlds respectively; this is an odd implication rendering the sentence infelicitous.

In order to correctly predict the data above under the condition in (55), which is structural in nature and not merely contextual, we propose that attitude verbs of a certain type (e.g. *say/think* but not *hope/dream*) license a null evidential in the CP of their sentential complements.<sup>6</sup> On this view, (51) and (52) would satisfy (47) because the null topic would be c-commanded by the null evidential, which in turn would be licensed by the attitude verb such as *say* or *think*.

## 8.0 Conclusion

Traditionally, parentheticals have been analyzed as syntactic units that are structurally independent of the surrounding sentence. In this paper we argued that at least some parenthetical clauses are structurally *dependent*. In particular, we explored the dependence between the resuming clitic in the parenthetical clauses of PNT and the subject DP in the main clause.

We argued that PNT has the structure of a CLLD construction with a null topic in TopicP, which is an adverbial residing in the specifier of a functional projection. This analysis differs from that in Stowell (2005), where it is argued that English sentences similar to PNT are restrictive relative clauses. We showed that a relative clause analysis is not feasible for the Romance data.

Moreover, we argued that unlike CLLD, PNT manifest additional locality and contextual restrictions; it was shown that no DP can intervene between the null topic and

<sup>6</sup> See Laka (1990) for a similar proposal with negative verbs like *deny*.

the DP subject in the main clause, although the interaction of a verb is parametrically permitted in Romance. We also proposed that the null topic must be c-commanded by or be in the specifier of an EvidentialP projection. This generalization accounted for the fact that PNT are felicitous only if an evidential (or a particular speech/attitude report verb) occurs main clause-initial, parenthetical-initial, or parenthetical-final.

The various conditions on PNT explored in this paper provide strong arguments that at least certain types of parenthetical constructions are dependent on their surrounding sentence. Our analysis demonstrated that structural relations such as c-command and parametric distinctions such as verb movement interact with these PNT constructions. Consequently, we can conclude that parenthetical constructions must be visible to syntax.

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