

# Paranthenetical Null Topic constructions in Romance<sup>\*</sup>

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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 parenthetical clauses 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 Kansas, supuestamente) se ha mudado al lado.  
John (Bill CL met in Kansas, reportedly) CL has moved next door.

(2) Jean<sub>i</sub> (Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le Kansas, apparemment) a emménagé à côté  
John (Bill CL-has met in Kansas, apparently) has moved next door.

We argue that (1) and (2) exemplify *Paranthenetical Null Topic* constructions (PNT) that resemble the overt topic constructions of *Clitic Left Dislocation* (CLLD) (see (3)-(4)).

(3) **Juan<sub>i</sub>, Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en Kansas, supuestamente.**  
John, Bill CL met in Kansas, reportedly.

(4) Juan<sub>i</sub> (<TOP<sub>i</sub>> **Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en Kansas, supuestamente**) se ha mudado al lado.  
John (Bill CL met in Kansas, reportedly) CL has moved 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 the English counterparts to the parentheticals in (1) and (2) are restrictive relative clauses. We show that a relative clause analysis is not feasible for the Romance data.

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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.

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), a resumptive clitic is (usually) obligatory in CLLD. And as illustrated in (6), PNT is subject to the same restriction.

- (5) a. A Juan, Bill **\*(lo)** conoció en Kansas.  
John, Bill CL met in Kansas
- b. Jean, Bill **\*(l'a)** rencontré dans le Kansas.  
John, Bill CL met in Kansas
- (6) a. Juan (Bill **\*(lo)** conoció en Kansas, supuestamente) se ha mudado al lado.  
John (Bill CL met in Kansas, reportedly) CL has moved next door.
- b. Jean (Bill **\*(l'a)** rencontré dans le Kansas, apparemment) a emménagé à côté  
John (Bill CL-has met in Kansas, apparently) has moved next door.

However, as is well known, CLLD in Spanish is possible without a resumptive clitic in two cases: when the dislocated element is a bare plural or a mass noun. These cases are illustrated in (7). Moreover, as the sentence in (8) illustrates, this generalization applies to PNT as well; there is no clitic resuming *papas/carne* in the parenthetical clause and the sentence is grammatical.

- (7) Papas/ carne, Pedro come.  
Potatoes/meat, Peter eats
- (8) Comer papas/carne (Pedro come, supuestamente) es bueno.  
Eat potatoes/meat (Peter eats, reportedly) is good

Another well-known property of CLLD is that there is no theoretical limit to the number of dislocated elements it permits (see (9)). This property is also shared by PNT. For example, (10) illustrates the two dislocated elements in the main clause, which are resumed in the parenthetical clause<sup>3</sup>.

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

<sup>3</sup> In the Spanish sentences (9b) & (10b), we make a standard assumption that there are two resuming clitics, one of which is covert. Thanks to José Camacho for a helpful discussion.

- (9) a. Dans cette cave, ce vieil homme, Pierre l'y a rencontré.  
In the cave, this old man, Peter CL-CL met.  
“In the cave, this old man, Peter met him there.”
- b. En esta cueva, las manzanas, Lucía las escondió  
In the cave, many apples, Lucy CL <CL> hid  
“In the cave, many apples, Lucy hid them there.”
- (10) a. 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 met, apparently) has killed his wife yesterday night
- b. En esta cueva, las manzanas (Lucía las escondió, supuestamente) fueron encontradas por los fugitivos.  
In the cave, many apples (Lucy CL <CL> hid, reportedly) were found by the fugitives

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 (11a)), specific indefinites (see (11b)), but crucially not non-specific indefinites (see (11c), where the subjunctive mood forces such an interpretation).

- (11) a. A la mujer que tiene pelo azul, Juan la busca.  
A the woman who has.indic hair blue, Juan CL look 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.indic hair blue, Juan CL look 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.subj hair blue, Juan CL look for  
“A woman who would have blue hair, Juan is looking for her.”

In PNT constructions, the parenthetical clause forces a specific interpretation of the sentence topic. For example, although the sentence topics in (12) can be understood as being non-specific indefinite, the parenthetical clause in (13) forces a specific interpretation.

- (12) a. Un hombre viejo se ha mudado al lado.  
An old man CL has moved next door.
- b. Un vieil homme a emménagé à côté.  
An old man has moved next door.
- (13) a. Un hombre viejo (Bill lo conocerá en Kansas, supuestamente) se ha mudado al lado.  
An old man (Bill CL will met in Kansas, reportedly) CL has moved next door.

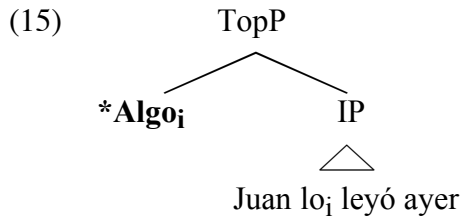
- b. Un vieil homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le Kansas, apparemment) a emménagé à côté.  
An old man (Bill CL-has met in Kansas, apparently) has moved next door.

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 propose a structure for PNT constructions. 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 data at hand.

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

It is well known in the literature that CLLD cannot apply to bare quantifier phrases in Spanish. For example, the sentence in (14) is ungrammatical; the syntactic structure of this sentence is illustrated in (15).

- (14) \*Algo<sub>i</sub>, Juan lo<sub>i</sub> leyó ayer.  
Something, John CL read yesterday.



It is important to note that the ungrammaticality of (14) is not due to the fact that the bare quantifier *algo* must be understood as a non-specific indefinite. As illustrated in (16) and (17), sentences with *algo* that are not CLLD constructions are grammatical on both a specific and a non-specific interpretation respectively. In other words, *algo* does, in fact, allow a specific interpretation, yet it is not allowed as a sentence topic in CLLD.

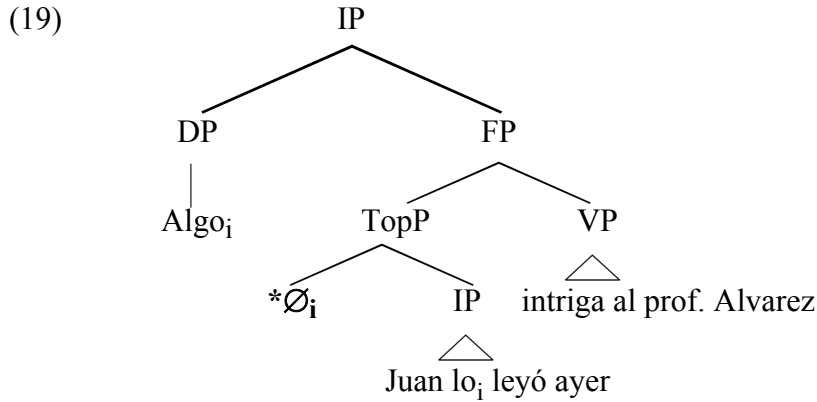
- (16) Algo intriga al prof. Alvarez, pero no voy a decirte que es.  
Something intrigues prof. Alvarez, but not tell-CL what is.  
“Something intrigues prof. Alvarez, but I won’t tell you what it is.”
- (17) Algo intriga al prof. Alvarez.  
Something intrigues prof. Alvarez.

It is not clear at this point why this restriction exists. However, a full characterization of *algo* and its properties is not the issue here. For the purposes of this paper, the crucial observation is that (18) differs from (17) only in that there is a parenthetical clause after *algo* and (18) is ungrammatical as a result.

- (18) \*Algo<sub>i</sub> (Juan lo<sub>i</sub> leyó ayer, supuestamente) intriga al prof. Alvarez.  
Something (John CL read yesterday, reportedly) intrigues prof. Alvarez.

The ungrammaticality of (18) suggests that the dependence between the bear quantifier phrase and the resuming clitic in PNT is analogous to CLLD in (14).

In order to predict this parallel we propose that the parenthetical clause of (18) contains a null topic in its TopicP position, analogous to an overt topic in CLLD. The proposed syntactic structure of (18) is illustrated in (19) (see (15) for a comparison)<sup>4</sup>.



Assuming that the null topic inherits the semantic properties of its antecedent, it follows that (18) is ungrammatical for the same reasons as (14). In other words, the null topic in (19) cannot be a bare quantifier, just like the overt topic in (15).

#### 4.0 Against a relative clause analysis

As noted in the introduction, Stowell (2005) argues that the English counterparts to the parentheticals in (1) and (2), repeated below in (20) and (21), are restrictive relative clauses. In this section, we argue that such an analysis is not feasible for the PNT data in Romance.

- (20) Juan<sub>i</sub> (Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en Kansas, supuestamente) se ha mudado al lado.  
 John (Bill CL met in Kansas, reportedly) CL has moved next door.

- (21) Jean<sub>i</sub> (Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le Kansas, apparemment) a emménagé à côté  
 John (Bill CL-has met in Kansas, apparently) has moved next door.

It is important to note that Stowell analyzes the English counterparts to the parentheticals in (20) and (21) as *zero-relatives*, i.e. relative clauses with a null complementizer. It is problematic to extend this analysis to (20) and (21) because zero-relatives are not found in (main) Romance (see (22)).

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

<sup>4</sup> Note that the parenthetical adverb *supuestamente* is not included in (19). See section 6 for details.

Moreover, to the best of our knowledge, no language allows zero-relatives while at the same time disallowing relative clauses with an overt complementizer. With this generalization in mind, consider the sentences in (23) and (24). As their ungrammaticality shows, an overt complementizer is impossible in PNT.

- (23) \*Algunos libros (**que** Juan los leyó ayer, supuestamente) al prof. Alvarez lo intigue.  
Some books (that John CL read yesterday, reportedly) prof. Alvarez CL intigue.
- (24) \*Jean (**que** Bill l'a rencontré dans le Kansas, apparemment) a emménagé à côté John (Bill CL-has met in Kansas, apparently) has moved next door.

Thus positing that PNT constructions in Romance are relative clauses raises two problems: (i) an explanation must be given as to 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* 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 prof. Alvarez.
- (26) Aucun étudiant que Jean connaît n'aime le papier de Felicia.  
No student that John knows likes Felicia's paper.

In contrast to the sentences above, (27) and (28) illustrate that *algo* and *aucun étudiant* are not possible in PNT.

- (27) \*Algo (Juan lo leyó ayer, supuestamente) intriga al prof. Alvarez.  
Something (John CL read yesterday, reportedly) intrigues prof. Alvarez.
- (28) \*Aucun étudiant (Jean le connaît, apparemment) n'aime le papier de Felicia  
No student (John knows him, apparently) likes Felicia'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, in fact, 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 not possible 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 cross-linguistic evidence that supports such a conclusion.

Moreover, 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 has moved next door, who, reportedly, Bill met in Kansas.
- (30) \*Jean a emménagé à côté, que, apparemment, Bill a rencontré dans le Kansas.  
John has moved next door, who, apparently, Bill met in Kansas.

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.

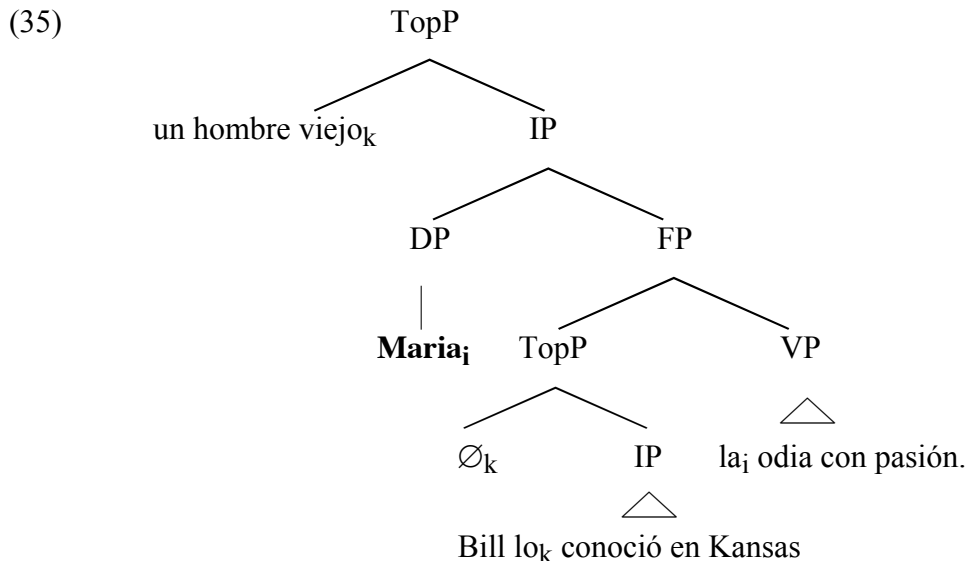
- (31) Juan se ha mudado al lado (supuestamente, Bill lo conoció en Kansas).  
 John has moved next door (reportedly, Bill CL met in Kansas)
- (32) Jean a emménagé à côté (apparemment, Bill l'a rencontré dans le Kansas).  
 John has moved next door (apparently, Bill CL met in Kansas)

The contrast between (29) & (31) and (30) & (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*, but in (34), *Maria* intervenes between the null topic and *un hombre viejo* rendering the sentence ungrammatical. The syntactic structure of (34) is illustrated in (35), where the local dependence between the null topic and the subject DP is violated.

- (33) **Maria<sub>i</sub>**, un hombre viejo<sub>k</sub> (<TOP<sub>k</sub>> Bill lo<sub>k</sub> conoció en Kansas, supuestamente)  
 la<sub>i</sub> odia con pasión.  
 Mary, an old man (Bill CL met in Kansas, reportedly) CL hates with passion.
- (34) \*Un hombre viejo<sub>k</sub>, **Maria<sub>i</sub>** (<TOP<sub>k</sub>> Bill lo<sub>k</sub> conoció en Kansas,  
 supuestamente) la<sub>i</sub> odia con pasión.  
 An old man, Mary (Bill CL met in Kansas, reportedly) CL hates 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 (36), such a restriction is not enforced in cononical CLLD constructions. The CLLD topic may be separated from its resuming clitic by any number of intervening DPs (Cinque 1990).

- (36) **Ce vieil homme<sub>i</sub>**, Marie croit que Jean ne **l<sub>i</sub>**'aime pas.  
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 not grammatical. This restriction, on the other hand, is not observed with overt topics.

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.

- (37) Hier, un vieil homme<sub>i</sub> **a emmenagé** (<TOP<sub>i</sub>> Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> apparemment rencontré au Kansas) dans l'appartement vide du dessus.  
Yesterday, an old man moved (Bill met in Kansas, apparently) into the free apartment.
- (38) Hier un vieil homme<sub>i</sub> **a donné** (<TOP<sub>i</sub>> Bill l'a<sub>i</sub> apparemment rencontré au Kansas) une large somme d'argent à Marie.  
Yesterday, an old man gave (Bill met in Kansas, apparently) a large sum of money to Mary.

As shown in (39) verbs can also intervene between the DP subject and the null topic in Spanish:

- (39) Ayer, un hombre viejo<sub>i</sub> **se instalo** (<TOP<sub>i</sub>> Bill lo<sub>i</sub> conocio en Kansas, aparentemente), en el apartamento de abajo.  
Yesterday, an old man moved (Bill met in Kansas, apparently) into the apartment upstairs.

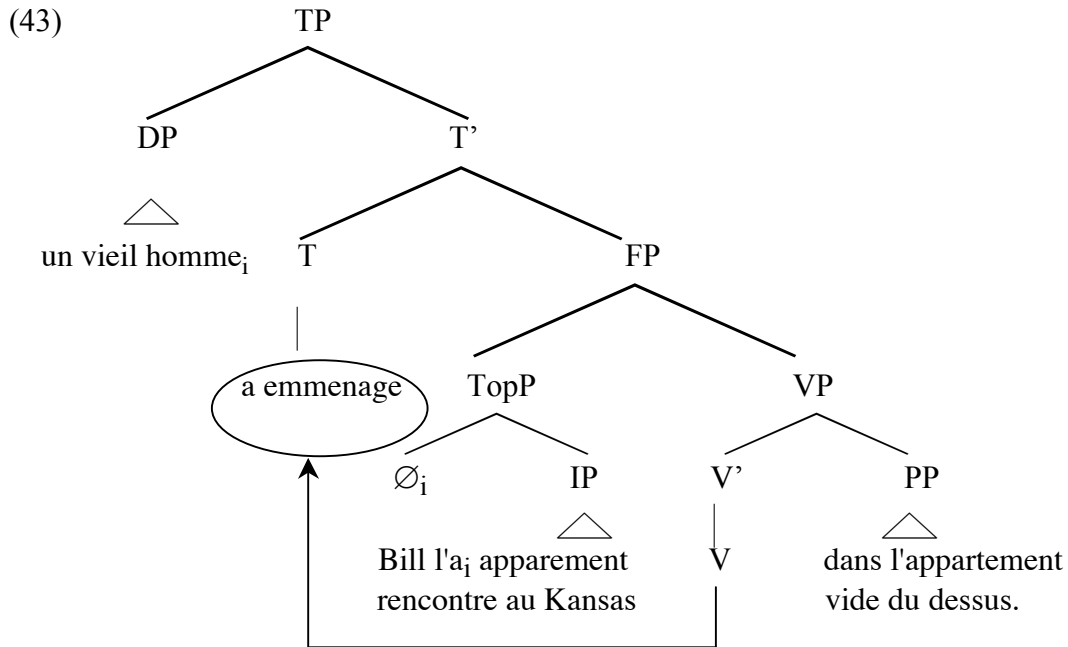
In English, however, although PNT observe a comparable locality restriction with respect to DPs (see (40)) they do not permit verbal intervention (see (41) and (42)).

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

The data in (41) and (42) point to an intriguing distinction in Romance and English with respect to verb intervention. This distinction is reminiscent of another well-known distinction in these languages between the positioning of adverbs: verb-adverb-noun sequence is common in French and other Romance languages but is 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 (see 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 (see 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. The syntactic structure of (37) is illustrated below:



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 merged in the specifier of an adverbial projection, we correctly predict that the English counterparts of (37) and (38) should be no good. Notably, we can now conclude that these data provide strong evidence that parenthetical constructions are structurally dependent on their surrounding sentence. Indeed, we have observed 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 can 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, in fact, 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* and *apparemment* in PNT.

## 6.0 Contextual restrictions and evidentiality in PNT

The data in (44)-(48) illustrate that PNT constructions are felicitous only if a parenthetical adverb such as *supuestamente* and *apparentement* occurs main clause-initial, parenthetical-initial, or parenthetical-final. For example, (44) shows that without a parenthetical adverb, the Spanish and French sentences are no good.

- (44) a. \*Un hombre viejo<sub>i</sub> (Juan lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en Kansas) se ha mudado al lado.  
b. \*Un vieil homme<sub>i</sub> (Jean l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le Kansas) a emménagé à côté.  
An old man (John CL met in Kansas) has moved next door.

Moreover, the sentences in (45)-(47) illustrate that parenthetical adverb such as *supuestamente* and *apparentement* may occur main-clause-initial, parenthetical-initial, or parenthetical-final.

- (45) a. Supuestamente, un hombre viejo<sub>i</sub> (Juan lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en Kansas) se ha mudado al lado.  
b. Apparentement, un vieil homme<sub>i</sub> (Jean l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le Kansas) a emménagé à côté.  
Reportedly, an old man (John CL met in Kansas) has moved next door.
- (46) a. Un hombre viejo<sub>i</sub> (supuestamente, Juan lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en Kansas) se ha mudado al lado.  
b. Un vieil homme<sub>i</sub> (apparentement, Jean l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le Kansas) a emménagé à côté.  
An old man (reportedly, John CL met in Kansas) has moved next door.
- (47) a. Un hombre viejo<sub>i</sub> (Juan lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en Kansas, supuestamente) se ha mudado al lado.  
b. Un vieil homme<sub>i</sub> (Jean l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le Kansas, apparentement) a emménagé à côté.  
An old man (John CL met in Kansas, reportedly) has moved next door.

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

- (48) a. ??Un hombre viejo<sub>i</sub> (Juan lo<sub>i</sub> conoció en Kansas) se ha mudado al lado, supuestamente.  
b. ??Un vieil homme<sub>i</sub> (Jean l'a<sub>i</sub> rencontré dans le Kansas) a emménagé à côté, apparentement.  
An old man (John CL met in Kansas) has moved next door, reportedly.

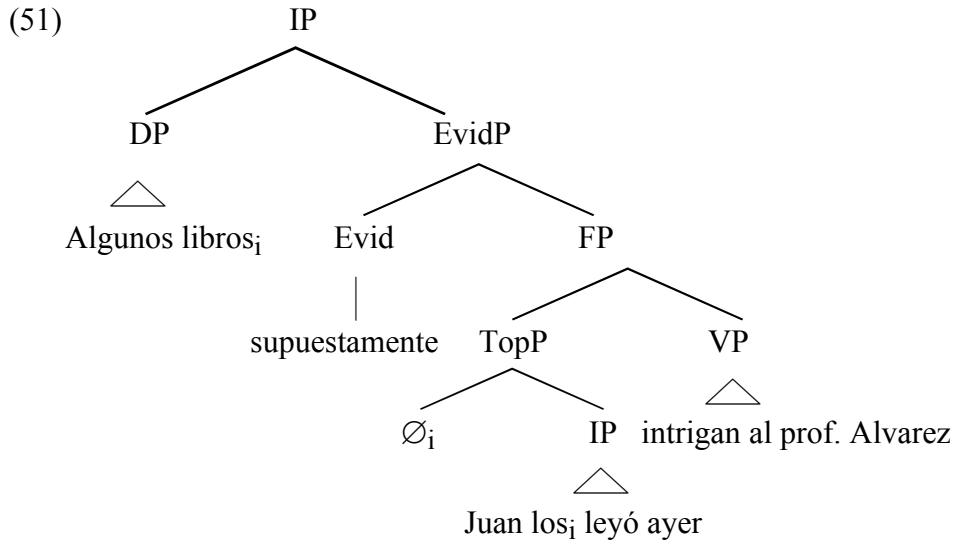
To correctly predict the distribution of the parenthetical adverbs in (44)-(48), we first follow Rooryck (2001) in assuming that parenthetical adverbials such as *supuestamente* are evidentials. Moreover, we propose the syntactic condition in (49).

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

In the remainder of this section, we show how the condition in (49) 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 (2005).

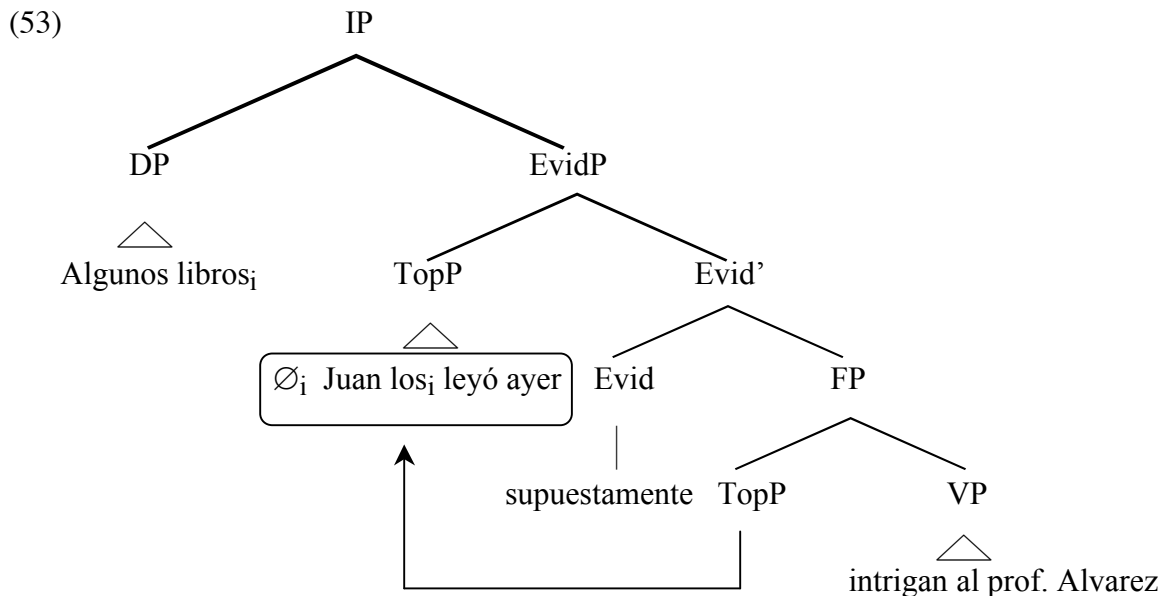
The condition in (49) is satisfied by the sentence in (50), where the evidential *supuestamente* occurs parenthetical-initial. As illustrated in (51), the null topic is c-commanded by *supuestamente*.

(50) Algunos libros<sub>i</sub> (supuestamente, Juan los<sub>i</sub> leyó ayer) intrigan al prof. Alvarez.



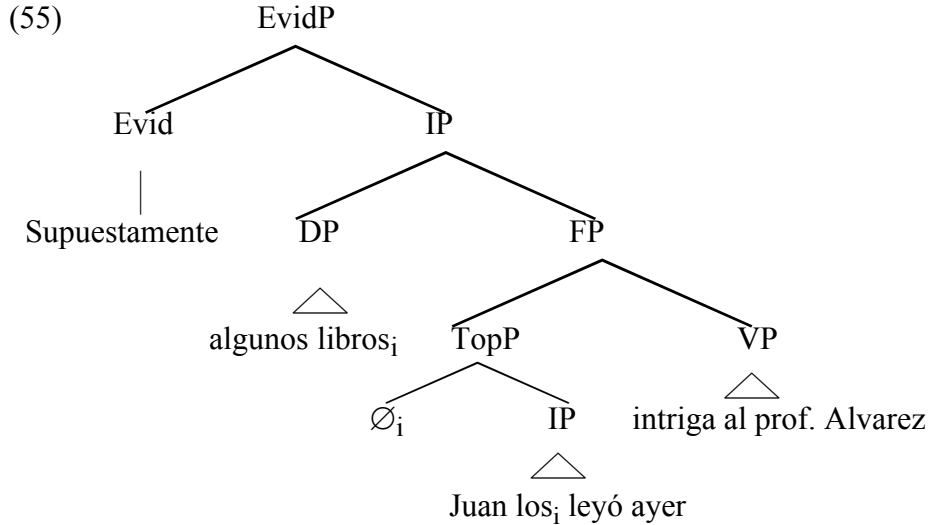
The condition in (49) is satisfied by the sentence in (52) as well, where the evidential *supuestamente* occurs parenthetical final. The structure in (53) shows how, via phrasal movement, the entire TopicP projection in which the null topic resides can end up in the specifier of an EvidentialP projection, although in the surface order, the adverbial occurs at the end of the parenthetical clause.

(52) Algunos libros<sub>i</sub> (Juan los<sub>i</sub> leyó ayer, supuestamente) intrigan al prof. Alvarez.



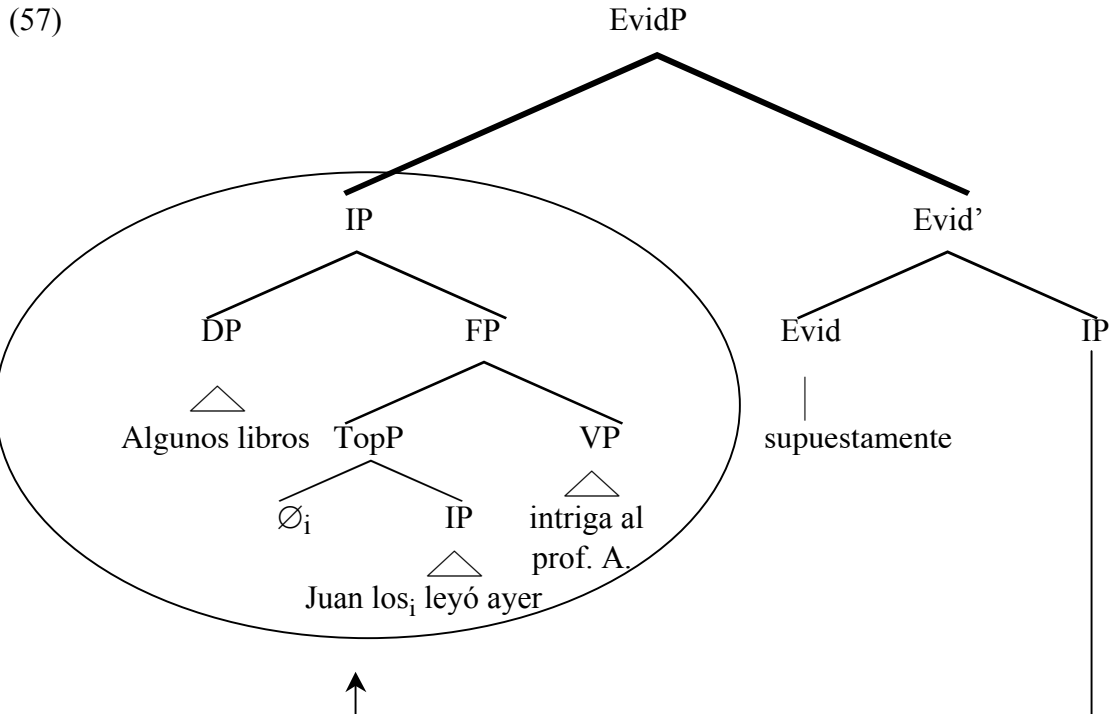
The condition in (49) is satisfied by the sentence in (54) as well, where the evidential *supuestamente* occurs main clause initial. As illustrated in (55), the null topic is c-commanded by *supuestamente*.

(54) Supuestamente, algunos libros<sub>i</sub> (Juan los<sub>i</sub> leyó ayer) intrigan al prof. Alvarez.



However, to derive a construction where the evidential is sentence final as in (57), the whole IP should move to the specifier of EvidP. The resulting structure, illustrated in (58), violates (49) since the null topic is neither c-commanded by *supuestamente*, nor is the TopicP projection (in which the null topic resides) in the specifier of an EvidentialP projection.

(56) ??Algunos libros (Juan los leyó ayer) intrigan al prof. Alvarez, supuestamente.



In sum, the condition in (49) makes the correct predictions for the data in this section. In the next section this condition is tested given a proposal in Simons (2005), 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 2005 argues that in (58b,c) the embedding verbs *said* 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 (58d,e) 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*, *said* and *think* can be described as evidential verbs.

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

- a. She's left town.
- b. Henry said said that she's left town.
- c. Henry thinks think that she's left town.
- d. #Henry hopes that she's left town.
- e. #Henry 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 *said* and *think* should be felicitous without the presence of *supuestamente* and *apparentement*. Moreover, we predict that PNT embedded under *said* and *think* should contrast with *hopes* and *dreamt*.

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, i.e. Lucia (see Reinhart 1983).

- (59) a. Lucia a dit qu'un vieil homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le Kansas) a  
emménagé à côté.  
Lucy said that an old man (Bill CL-has met in Kansas) has moved next  
door.
- b. Lucia croit qu'un vieil homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le Kansas) a  
emménagé à côté.  
Lucy thinks that an old man (Bill CL-has met in Kansas) has moved next  
door.
- c. # Lucia espère qu'un vieil homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le Kansas) a  
emménagé à côté.  
Lucy hopes that an old man (Bill CL-has met in Kansas) has moved next  
door.

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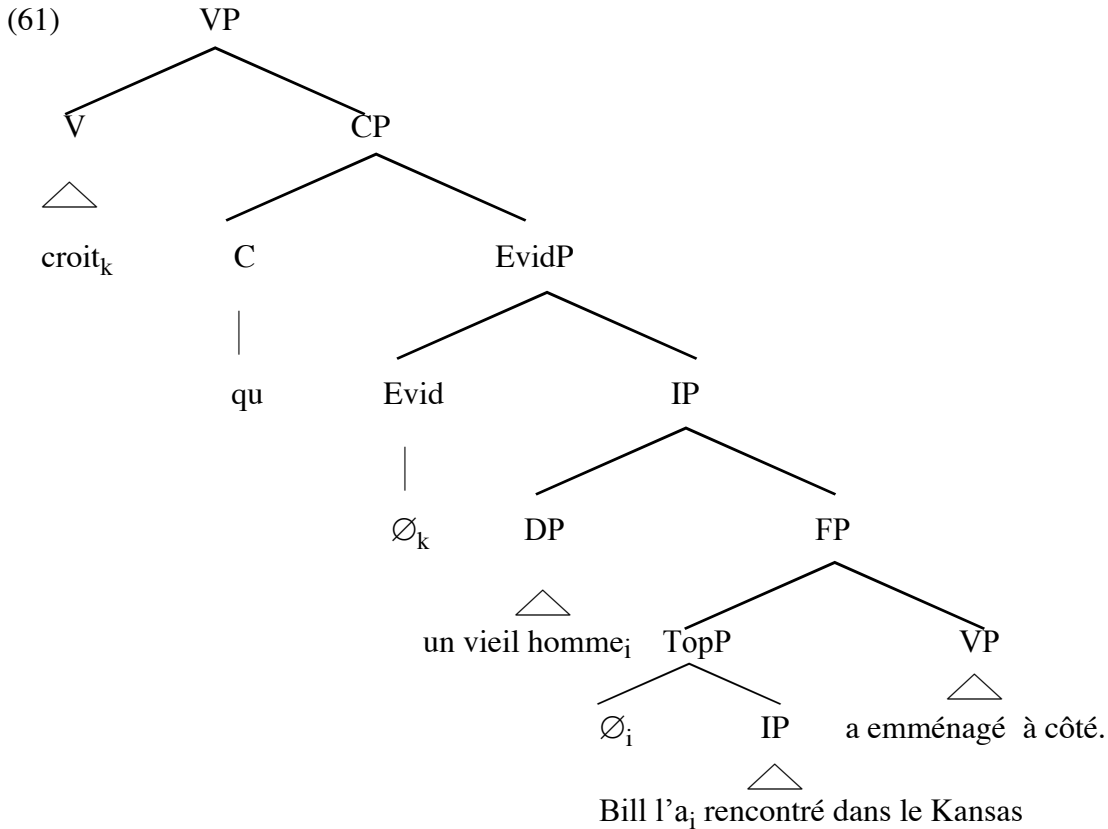
<sup>5</sup> Note that if Henry has a reputation as a person whose hopes and dreams are always fulfilled, then responses in (58d,e) are felicitous.

- d. # Lucia a rêvé qu'un vieil homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le Kansas) a emménagé à côté.  
 Lucy dreamt that an old man (Bill CL-has met in Kansas) has moved next door.

In (59a,b) the speaker makes an independent assertion about the object of Lucia's saying and thinking. In contrast, (59c,d) imply that the speaker's assertion is dependent on his/her access to Lucia's hope and dream worlds; this is an odd implication rendering the sentence infelicitous.

In order to correctly predict the data in (59) under the condition in (49) 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, the structure of the VP in (60) is illustrated in (61). Here (49) is satisfied because the null topic is c-commanded by the null evidential, which in turn is licensed by the attitude verb *croit*.

- (60) Lucia [<sub>VP</sub> *croit* qu'un vieil homme (Bill l'a rencontré dans le Kansas) a emménagé à côté].



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

## 7.0 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 the English counterparts 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 the DP subject in the main clause. 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 a strong argument that at least certain types of parenthetical constructions are dependent on their surrounding sentence. Our analysis has also demonstrated that structural relations such as c-command and parametric distinctions such as verb movement interact with these PNT constructions. As a result, we conclude that parenthetical constructions must be visible to syntax.

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