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6 On representing anchored parentheses in syntax

6.1 Introduction

Parentheses constitute a quirky class of constructions that are somehow interpolated in a regular sentence (the host or matrix clause). This ‘motley crew’ (Dehé and Kavalova 2007) ranges from unrelated utterances that are freely interjected in a sentence, to appositives, which clearly express information about a particular matrix constituent. We can more generally distinguish between ‘free’ (1) and ‘anchored’ (2) parenthesis:

(1) **Free parenthesis**

- a. Newton’s *Principia* – take a seat – was finally published in 1687.
[interjection]
- b. Einstein’s theory of special relativity – I think – was presented in his 1905 paper.
[comment clause]
- c. The professor made out with – and we all knew that – lots of students at the party.
[and-parenthetical]

(2) **Anchored parenthesis**

- a. Bea kissed Bob, who she has known since high school, at the party.
[nominal appositive relative clause/NARC]
- b. Bea kissed Bob, her high school sweetheart, at the party.
[nominal apposition/NA]
- c. Bea kissed someone, I think it was Bob, at the party
[sluiced parenthetical]
- d. Bea kissed [I think it was Bob] at the party.
[amalgam]

Intuitively, there is a clear parallel between these interpolations: they all add some non-restrictive, secondary content to what is expressed by their hosts. However, the parentheses in (1) are not related to anything specific in their hosts, whereas the ones in (2) all add information about a particular (understood) constituent in the host. That is, the parentheses in both (2a), (2b) and (2c) provide extra, more *specific* information about *Bob* and *someone*. The construction in (2d) is an example of so-called sentence amalgamation (Lakoff 1974), and closely resembles the parenthetical in (2c). In this case however, the interpolation consists of a reduced *it*-cleft, of which the cleft pivot is associated with an null matrix argument, namely the understood object of *kissed*. This paper focuses primarily on anchored parentheses and their representation.

A central hallmark of parentheticals is that they are structurally independent of their hosts. This can be illustrated, for example, by the absence of a condition C effect in (3), an example of free parenthesis:

(3) He_i has kissed, Casanova that Bob_i is, many women.

Notice that the truth-conditions of the host are not affected by the parenthetical: (3) is true regardless of whether Bob is a Casanova or not. Parentheses are thus structurally *and* semantically independent.

In addition, various scholars have suggested an interpretive asymmetry between a parenthetical and its host: the information expressed by parentheses is necessarily speaker-oriented. The notion ‘speaker-orientation’ was originally contrasted with ‘subject-orientation’ (Jackendoff 1972; Reinhart 1983), and can roughly be defined as revealing the speaker’s attitude (for instance *epistemic stance*) with respect to the matrix proposition. Speaker-oriented content thus implies a crucially different status of what is expressed in the matrix (an assertion) and what is expressed in a parenthetical. Potts (2005) formulates this as conventional implicatures, and distinguishes between *at-issue* and *non-at-issue* (conventional implicature, CI) content. I will represent the former by ‘→’ and the latter by ‘←’:

(4) Bob has kissed, Casanova that he is, many women.
 → Bob has kissed many women.
 ← Bob is a Casanova.

In other words, (4) asserts that Bob has kissed many women, and expresses additionally that Bob is a Casanova. For the anchored parentheses (2), we can make a similar distinction between assertive content and parenthetical content, but the latter is only expressed about a particular constituent in the host. This paper sets out to characterize this relation more precisely. Taking structural and interpretive independence to be the most important properties of parentheses, I focus on the question at which level anchored parentheses are represented in grammar, and how. I argue on both conceptual and empirical grounds that anchored parentheticals must be represented at the level of syntax. For this, I elaborate on the representation of parallel construal in a ‘colon phrase’ proposed in Koster (1999, 2000, 2012) and the idea that the inclusion of parenthetical objects is a primitive in grammar in De Vries (2007, 2012).

The paper is organised as follows. In order to establish which kinds of parentheses should be considered ‘anchored’, I present a global overview in §2. This is followed by a discussion of the core properties of anchored parentheses, focusing on the relation between anchor and parenthesis, and their ‘specificational’ interpretation. §3 discusses anchored parenthesis in the domain of parallel construal, and shows why the Kosterian colon phrase is not sufficient to account for them. In §4, I elaborate on the structural independence of parentheticals in the context of De Vries’ syntactic approach, suggesting a parenthetical version of the colon phrase to account for an-

chored parenthesis. §5 is a brief discussion of two implications (or: complications) of this analysis. §6 concludes the paper.

6.2 Parentheses: Kinds and properties

6.2.1 A rough typology of parentheses

It is clear from the range of examples above that more needs to be said about the distinguishing properties of anchored versus ‘free’ parenthesis. Within the latter type, we can make an (at least) tripartite distinction based on (1). That is, whereas (1a) does not relate to the content of the matrix at all (but rather to what happens in the domain of discourse), (1b) and (1c) do. In addition, the difference between the latter seems to be that (1b) modifies the speech act as a whole, whereas (1c) adds information to the propositional content of the matrix. More specifically, the parenthetical in this case contains an anaphoric pronoun (here *that*, in ***boldfaced italics***), which refers to the propositional content of the entire matrix (*italicized here*):

- (5) *The professor* – and we all knew ***that*** – *made out with lots of students at the party.*

Interestingly, such a semantic connection between host and parenthetical is not restricted to the level of the host CP, as can be witnessed in (6), where the parenthetical, containing the anaphoric pronoun *him*, adds information about *the professor*:

- (6) The professor_{*i*} – and I’ve heard more of these stories about him_{*i*} – made out with lots of students at the party.

This raises the question whether we should regard examples such as these as instances of ‘anchoring’. After all, I have formulated ‘adding information about a particular host constituent’ as a distinguishing property of anchored parentheses in the introduction of this paper. As it turns out, this is not a sufficient description of anchoring.

It has been observed in the literature that NAs may not be separated from their anchors by movement, and that they are opaque for structural operations. This is illustrated in (7):

- (7) a. Bill, Bea’s husband, I kissed _ in an alley.
b. *Bill I kissed _ , Bea’s husband, in an alley.

Similarly, the head of a NARC cannot move without moving the relative along (8).¹ Given the status of relative clauses as islands for movement (Ross 1967), it is not surprising that elements cannot move out of ARCs either (9):

- (8) a. Bill, who used to be Bea's husband, I kissed yesterday__.
 b. *Bill, I kissed __, who used to be Bea's husband, yesterday.
- (9) *Bea's husband, I kissed Bill, who used to be __.

Potts (2005) captures this under a more general 'adjacency' requirement, and illustrates this further by examples of right-dislocation of apposition and NARC:

- (10) a. *We spoke with Lance before the race, the famous cyclist, about the weather.
 b. *We spoke with Lance before the race, who is a famous cyclist, about the weather.

It thus seems that appositives form a constituent: their parts cannot be separated by some movement operation.

Turning back to (6), we can immediately see that such a requirement does not hold. After all, the parenthetical in such cases does not need to follow the constituent that it seems to relate to; it can occur freely in the host clause, as (11) illustrates:

- (11) a. The professor_i made out with – and I've heard more of these stories about him_i – lots of students at the party.
 b. The professor_i made out with lots of students – and I've heard more of these stories about him_i – at the party.

In other words: there is a distinction between parentheses that are semantically related to a constituent (or the matrix as a whole as in (5)) via some anaphoric relation, and true, structural 'anchoring', which entails constituency, and consequently adjacency of anchor and parenthesis.

1 A careful reader might object that NARCs can be extraposed, i.e. *I kissed Bill yesterday, who used to be Bea's husband*. There is an ongoing debate considering the status of extraposition as movement. After all, the conditions on extraposition differ significantly from those on leftward movement. For a recent overview of analyses and discussion, I refer to Webelhuth, Sailer and Walker (2013). In line with Koster (2000), De Vries (2009) and Kluck and De Vries (2013), I assume that extraposition does not involve movement. Instead, it involves base-generation and deletion. Although the issue of extraposition in anchored parenthesis is beyond the scope of the present work, it is expected that the proposal pursued here is suitable to capture these as well.

6.2.2 Anchoring in parentheses: Appositives, amalgams and sluiced parentheses

In what follows, I elaborate further on the three types of anchored parentheses introduced above, focusing in particular on the less well-known ‘amalgams’. This is introduced by a discussion of the relation between anchor and parenthetical material, which can generally be described as ‘specificational’, and underlies the syntactic representation of anchored parentheses laid out in §3 and §4.

Let me first establish an important empirical boundary. The discussion below is limited to anchored parentheses with *nominal* anchors. The literature about appositions (2b) distinguishes nominal appositions (NAs) from appositions of other categories and ‘unbalanced’ appositions (for discussion and overview, see Heringa 2012). For the present purposes, we will only be concerned with balanced NAs, i.e. appositions of which both anchor and apposition are nominal. Similarly, the generalizations about appositive relative clauses do not extend to ARCs with non-nominal anchors, i.e. so-called *which*-appositives (cf. Sells 1985; Del Gobbo 2003, 2007; Potts 2002; LaCara 2012). Consequently, I leave open the question to what extent the representation for anchored parenthesis pursued here applies to these cases.

Starting out with NAs and NARCs, we can observe that the examples sofar involve definite, referential anchors. Appositives are, however, by no means restricted to definite anchors:

- (12) a. Bob kissed an older woman, his former neighbor.
 b. Bob kissed an older woman, who used to be his neighbor.

For NARCs, it holds that indefinite anchors can only be understood as a *specific* indefinite: examples (12) can only mean that there is a particular older woman (who the speaker has in mind) to whom what is expressed in the appositive applies. It is generally agreed in the literature that specific indefinite DPs are used when the speaker has a particular person in mind, but that this does *not* imply that the DP is in fact a definite in disguise (Reinhart 1997; Von Heusinger 2002; Geurts 2011; a.o.). For the present purposes, I assume that anchors of NAs and NARCs denote individuals (type *e*). This is further corroborated by the observation that neither NAs nor NARCs allow for anchors with generalized quantifiers, as is illustrated in (13):²

- (13) a. *Bea kissed no/every professor, her hero.
 b. *Bea kissed no/every professor, who she admired.

² It should be noted here that NAs with *unspecific* indefinite anchors are not strictly excluded, i.e. *Bob would like to once own an elephant, such a huge inhabitant of Africa*. However, these seem to be quite exceptional (i.e. notably hard to construe). For a complete overview and discussion, see Heringa and De Vries (2008) and Heringa (2012, chapter 2).

For more discussion on the ban on quantificational anchors in NARCs and NAs, see Del Gobbo (2003, 2007), Constant (2012) and Nouwen (2014).

Let us then turn to a less familiar type of parenthesis, namely ‘sluiced parentheticals’ (SPs). These were mentioned in the introduction (cf. (2c)), and concern examples such as (14):

- (14) a. Bea kissed someone, you’ll never guess who, at the party.
 b. Bea kissed someone, I think it was Bob, at the party.

The parentheticals here are clearly clausal, but appear to be incomplete: they are subject to ellipsis. More specifically, (14a) involves a common *wh*-sluice, and (14b) a reduced *it*-cleft. In both cases, the anchor (*someone*) is the correlate of the pivot of the sluice (*who* and *Bob* respectively). I assume that they involve deletion of syntactically present material (see also Merchant 2001; Van Craenenbroeck 2010). That is, the clause (IP or CP) in which the pivot is base-generated and out of which it undergoes some type of A’-movement, is deleted at PF:

- (15) a. Bea kissed someone, you’ll never guess *who*_i ~~Bea kissed t_i at the party~~, at the party.
 b. Bea kissed someone, I think it was *Bob* ~~that Bea kissed t_i at the party~~, at the party.

SPs are clearly related to so-called ‘amalgams’ (Lakoff 1974; Guimarães 2004; Kluck 2011, 2013). Lakoff distinguishes between two variants: (16a) represents an ‘Andrews-amalgam’ (resembling the SP with a *wh*-sluice), and (16b) a ‘Horn-amalgam’ (involving a reduced *it*-cleft, see also (2d) in the introduction).

- (16) a. Bea kissed [you’ll never guess *who*_i ~~Bea kissed t_i at the party~~] at the party.
 [Andrews-amalgam]
 b. Bea kissed [I think it was *Bob*_i ~~Bea kissed t_i at the party~~] at the party.
 [Horn-amalgam]

The parenthetical part of amalgams (here indicated by brackets) is exactly the same as their counterparts in (14), but amalgams lack an overt anchor.³ However, as is argued at length in Kluck (2011, chapter 5), the evidence that amalgams are instances of sluicing and are therefore related to SPs, is abundant. For instance, amalgams display connectivity effects, pattern with regular sluicing constructions with respect to

³ Unlike NAs, NARCs and SPs, there are no prosodic boundaries that mark the parenthetical part in amalgams. That is, the ‘interrupting clause’ seems to be prosodically integrated in the host clause. Why this is so, lies outside the scope of the present work. It should be pointed out that ‘comma-intonation’ should by no means be taken as a general hallmark of parentheses, as is shown in Dehé (2007) and Döring (2007).

P-stranding effects, and the A'-movement of the pivot is island insensitive (see also Merchant 2001). It thus seems that sluicing in amalgams involves a null correlate, or, that anchoring in parentheses of this sort is to some phonologically empty (but semantically understood) constituent in the host. For convenience, I adopt the notation of Chung et al. (1995) for implicit arguments, where x stands for an individual variable (an empty element of type e).⁴

(17) Bea kissed e^x [you'll never guess who/I think it was Bob] at the party.

So, anchored parenthesis (2) can be subdivided into two classes: those with overt anchors (2a)–(2c), and those with null anchors (2d). This then explains why the grammaticality of the host in any case does not depend on the presence of the parenthetical, but it *does* in case of amalgams if the anchor is an argument in the host:

- (18) a. Bea kissed someone (her boss/you'll never guess who/I think it was Bob) at the party.
 b. Bea kissed e^x *(you'll never guess who/I think it was Bob) at the party.

This means that amalgams, too, must be seen as anchored parentheses, albeit with empty anchors. In what follows, I will focus on SPs, and assume that the null anchors of amalgams behave similarly.

It was observed above that the anchors of NAs and NARCs are subject to some restrictions: both allow for definite anchors, and if the anchor is indefinite, it is a specific indefinite. Neither allows for anchors with generalized quantifiers. Based on (19), we can observe a further restriction on anchors in SPs, as both universally quantified and definite anchors are disallowed:

- (19) a. *Bea kissed the professor, you'll never guess who/I think it was Bob, at the party.
 b. *Bea kissed every/no professor, you'll never guess who/I think it was Bob, at the party.

This is straightforwardly related to a general restriction on correlates that has been noticed in sluicing (Chung et al. 1995; Reinhart 1997; Romero 1998, 2000, 2003): correlates of sluicing must be *indefinite*. Furthermore, this indefinite must be *specific* (or: take wide scope). This has been related to a requirement of scope parallelism, i.e.

⁴ This is merely to avoid confusion between denotations of semantic types (i.e. type e , $\langle e, t \rangle$ et cetera) and empty syntactic elements (' e '). It should however be stressed that Chung et al. (1995) and Romero (2000) employ the term 'implicit argument'. Contrary to the null XP employed here for amalgams, this is strictly to account for instances of 'sprouting'. Although amalgams *may* involve sprouting, they are not generally instances of this special variety of sluices. For a detailed explanation, see Kluck (2011, chapter 7) and Kluck (2013).

the indefinite correlate must have wide scope because the *wh*-phrase in the sluice has (Chung et al. 1995; Romero 2000). This is illustrated in examples such as (20) (for more examples of the indefinite outscoping of other scope-bearing elements in sluicing, see the literature cited above):

- (20) a. Everyone wanted to hit someone at that party.
 $\exists > \forall, \forall > \exists$
 b. Everyone wanted to hit someone at that party, but it was unclear who.
 $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$

The same holds for SPs:

- (21) Everyone wanted to hit someone, I think it was Bob/you'll never guess who, at that party.
 $\exists > \forall, * \forall > \exists$

Abstracting away from the exact mechanics of scope parallelism, the relevant observation here is that NAs, NARCs and SPs share the restriction that indefinite anchors must be *specific*.

A final remark should be made about the categories of anchors in SPs and amalgams. I explicitly restricted the discussion of appositives to those with nominal anchors. For the present purposes, I will do the same for SPs and amalgams. This is not to say that non-nominal anchors do not occur in these constructions. For instance, SPs and Andrews-amalgams can have AP pivots, which in the present analysis implies that they have (null) anchors that denote properties ('P'):⁵

- (22) a. Bea got herself an expensive, you'll never guess how expensive car.
 b. Bea got herself a e^P [you'll never guess how expensive] car.

Merchant (2001:§5.1) discusses similar regular sluices in the context of the Left Branch Condition (LBC), and assumes an extended adjectival projection in which AP is the complement of a degree-head Deg (cf. Abney 1987; Corver 1990, 1997). This explains the presence of the predicate in both the parenthetical and the anchor in (22a). After all, movement of *how* (= Deg°) would be an illicit type of head movement, which gives rise to the ungrammaticality of (23a). Thus, pied-piping of the AP is obligatory, in *wh*-questions (23b) as well as in *wh*-sluices (22)/(24):

- (23) a. *How is this car expensive?
 b. How expensive is this car?

⁵ However, similar variants of Horn-amalgams do not exist. This is most likely related to the traditional observation that *it*-clefts cannot have predicative (i.e. type $\langle e, t \rangle$) pivots (cf. Emonds 1976; Hedberg 1990). For examples and discussion, see Kluck (2011: 130ff).

(24) Bea got herself an expensive car, but I don't know how *(expensive).

Although the proposal for anchored parentheses captures these cases as well (see Kluck 2011, §7.3 in particular), the rest of the discussion will be restricted to those with nominal anchors.

Before we discuss these observations in relation to the kind of information that the parenthetical adds to its anchor, Table 6.1 provides an overview of the restrictions on anchored parentheses with nominal anchors:

Table 6.1. Anchors in parentheses.

<i>nominal anchor</i>	apposition	NARC	SP/amalgam
quantificational	–	–	–
unspecific indefinite	+	–	–
specific indefinite	+	+	+
definite	+	+	–

6.2.3 Attribution, identification and speaker-orientation in anchored parentheses

It is generally assumed in the literature that parentheses express additional, non-restrictive information to their host sentences. More specifically, the truth conditions of the host are independent of the parenthetical (Potts 2005). The question is then, what kind of information do anchored parentheses add to their anchors? As will be shown in this section, we should distinguish ‘attributive’ from ‘identificational’ anchored parentheses, and not all types correlate with both types of meaning.

Let us again start out with NAs. Perhaps the most salient way to connect the meanings of nominals to each other in natural language, is via a copular construction, i.e. DP_1 is DP_2 . In the vast literature about copular clauses, a basic distinction is made between the following types:⁶

- (25) a. [DP_1 Ingrid Bergman] is [DP_2 the lead actress in that movie].
[PREDICATIONAL]
b. [DP_1 The lead actress in that movie] is [DP_2 Ingrid Bergman].
[SPECIFICATIONAL]

The difference is that predicational clauses (25a) say something *about* the referent of the subject of the clause, whereas specificational clauses (25b) tell us *who* or *what* the

⁶ For reasons of space, this discussion does not include ‘equative’ copular clauses such as *She is Ingrid Bergman*. Instead, these are taken together with specificational clauses. This is in line with Heringa (2012), who takes only this basic distinction to be relevant in his analysis of appositions. For discussion, see Heringa (2012: 87ff) and the references cited therein.

referent of the subject is (Mikkelsen 2005: 1). This insight goes back to Higgins (1979) and Akmajian (1979), who argue that in case of the latter, the subject introduces a variable for which the post-copular expression (here DP_2) provides a value. I assume something similar for SPs and amalgams, which are all identificational.

Heringa (2012) argues convincingly that appositions correlate with copular clauses, such that a distinction can be made between ‘attributive’ (predicational) and ‘identificational’ (specificational) appositions:⁷

- (26) a. [DP Ingrid Bergman], [NA the lead actress in that movie], was born in 1915.
[ATTRIBUTIVE]
b. [DP The lead actress in that movie], [NA Ingrid Bergman], was born in 1915.
[IDENTIFICATIONAL]

Notice that often *both* readings are available, as most (if not all) DPs allow for both predicational (attributive) and referential (identificational) readings:

- (27) Bob, Bea’s former husband, loves Stravinsky.

Interestingly, only attributive appositions correlate with appositive relative clauses, as is observed in O’Connor (2008) and Cardoso and De Vries (2010). That is, NARCs do not have the identificational reading:⁸

- (28) a. [DP Ingrid Bergman], [$NARC$ who is the lead actress in that movie], was born in 1915.
[ATTRIBUTIVE]
b. * [DP The lead actress in that movie], who is Ingrid Bergman, was born in 1915.
[IDENTIFICATIONAL]

Heringa (2012) assumes a predicational copular structure (a small clause with a subject of type e and a predicate of type $\langle e, t \rangle$) to underlie attributive NAs and an ‘equative’ copular structure (a small clause with two expressions of type e) for identificational ones. Contrary to regular copular clauses, where DP_1 (subject) and DP_2 (predicate)

⁷ I refrain from discussing so-called ‘inclusive’ appositions here, where the apposition describes only a part of the anchor, such as in exemplification: *A monarchy, such as Holland, usually spends a lot of tax money on the royal family*. For discussion of those in a semantic classification of appositions, I refer to Heringa and De Vries (2008) and Heringa (2012).

⁸ A reviewer of this paper brings up an example from English that seems to counter this claim: *I switch on my iPod to my favorite artist, who happens to be Amon Tobin*. For reasons of space, this note is limited to some preliminary observations. First, this example deteriorates considerably when we use a regular copula, i.e. *is* instead of *happens to be*. Second, there is no way to construe a similar example in Dutch. Although the present work is limited to English examples, the facts described here extend to Dutch as well. Clearly, the English case needs more careful examination.

have the same information-structural status (25), the anchor and NA/NARC express different kinds of information. That is, the parenthetical material in (26)–(28) is *speaker-oriented* (‘←’), which is an important hallmark of parenthesis (cf. Jackendoff 1972; Reinhart 1983; Potts 2002, 2005). We can thus discern the asserted from the speaker-oriented content in these constructions:

- (29) Ingrid Bergman, (who is) the lead actress in that movie, was born in 1915.
 → Ingrid Bergman was born in 1915.
 ← Ingrid Bergman is the lead actress in that movie.

The question is now, if what is expressed by SPs and amalgams can be described in a similar fashion. In the remainder of this section, I argue 1. that amalgams and SPs are always identificational (even if their anchor is an attributive AP), and 2. that we need to adopt a somewhat liberal view of what identification means in the case of Andrews-amalgams and their SP variants. First, consider (30):

- (30) a. Bob hit someone, I think it was the Dean, in the face.
 b. Bob hit e^x [I think it was the Dean] in his face.

These cases clearly involve identificational meaning. This seems directly related to the *it*-cleft, as *it*-clefts are traditionally associated with specificational meaning (cf. Akmajian 1970, 1979; Higgins 1979; Hedberg 2000; Reeve 2012 and many others). Concretely, the parenthetical expresses who, in the eyes of the speaker, the x such that Bob hit x is, namely the Dean. Let us assume for simplicity’s sake that the relevant variable is here provided by the indefinite anchor.⁹ The pivot of the *it*-cleft in the parenthetical thus identifies the indefinite anchor in the matrix in a similar speaker-oriented fashion as we saw above:

- (31) Bob hit someone/ e^x [I think it was the Dean] in the face.
 → Bob hit someone in the face.
 ← The person that Bob hit in the face was the Dean.

Andrews-amalgams and SPs of that type present an interesting case in relation to identificational meaning, as it is hard to see how a *wh*-element can really identify the indefinite anchor:

⁹ A careful reader may notice that Horn-cases appear to have a double layer of specificational (or identificational) meaning. After all, this relation does not only hold between anchor and parenthesis, but also between the pivot and *it*. For the present purposes, I will simply assume that *it* and the cleft-pivot are part of a small clause, and that *it* is coreferential with the anchor. For specificational/identificational meaning in (*it*-)clefts, I refer to Heycock and Kroch (1999), Heycock (2012), Den Dikken (2006, 2009), Reeve (2012), *inter alia*.

- (32) a. Bob hit someone, you'll never guess who, in the face.
 b. Bob hit [you'll never guess who] in the face.

Still, these examples add information about the variable that is introduced by the indefinite anchor. Informally put, it reflects an opinion of the speaker that the identity of the x such that Bob hit x in the face lies outside some contextual standard or expectation. Kluck (2011: §6.3) refers to this meaning aspect of Andrews-amalgams as DIVERGE, and relates it to the complex predicates that embed the sluices (i.e. complexes like *will never guess* and *won't/can believe*). This is informally paraphrased in (33):¹⁰

- (33) Bob married someone/ e^x [you'll never guess who] last year.
 → Bob married someone last year.
 ← The person x such that Bob married x is not conform to our expectations given what we know about Bob.

So, although the parenthetical in Andrews-amalgams and Andrews-SPs does not pick out a value for the variable x introduced by the anchor like it does in the Horn-cases above (30)–(31), it does reveal some speaker-oriented information about it: the identity of the (null) anchor is such that it diverges from a contextual standard.

Although the present paper is restricted to *nominal* anchored parentheses, the last bit of this section is devoted to the claim that amalgams and SPs cannot be attributive, not even when the anchor is an adjective in attributive position. The relevant examples resemble the following regular sluice:

- (34) Bea got herself an expensive car. You'll never guess how expensive.

Here, the sluiced *wh*-phrase *how expensive* questions the degree to which the car that Bea got is expensive. Recall that I have assumed an extended adjectival projection (in line with Kennedy and Merchant 2000; Merchant 2001, who adopt Abney 1987; Corver 1990 and Svenonius 1992): *expensive* is the complement AP of a degree head Deg. The assumptions about the extended adjectival projection imply that the anchors in (35) and (36) are DegPs, the latter involving an empty AP (here represented as e^P because it denotes a property variable):

- (35) Bea got herself an [_{DegP} [_{AP} expensive]], you'll never guess how expensive, car.
 (36) Bea got herself a [_{DegP} [_{AP} e^P]] you'll never guess how expensive car.

¹⁰ More specifically, Kluck (2011) argues that the meaning of Andrews-amalgams should not be analysed on a par with *wh*-exclamatives (Lakoff 1974), but as embedded interrogatives instead. The 'exclamative' feel that they have arises from the embedding predicates, which has been observed by other scholars in regular contexts as well (cf. d'Avis 2002 and Sæbø 2010).

Turning back to the distinction between attributive and identificational anchored parentheses above, we can now make an interesting observation: the parentheses here can only be seen as *identificational*. The adjectives in (35) and (36) denote properties, but these properties are not attributes of the anchor. This cannot be, because the anchor denotes a property itself. Instead, they specify (the degree of) the property that is expressed explicitly (35) or implicitly (36) by their anchors. That is, the parentheses in (35)–(36) provide speaker-oriented information about the degree to which the car that Bea got is expensive, namely that this degree diverges from a contextually given standard (similar to what we observed above).

In §2.2 it was shown that anchored parentheticals specify the meaning of their anchors. Consequently, anchors are restricted to non-quantificational XPs (see Table 6.1). We can now further distinguish between two kinds of specifying information in anchored parentheticals: they express either attributive or identificational information about their anchors, or both (as is the case in appositions). This is summarized in Table 6.2:

Table 6.2. Types of relation between anchor and parenthesis.

<i>type</i>	apposition	NARC	SP/amalgam
attributive	+	+	–
identificational	+	–	+

The general picture is clear: there is an asymmetrical relation between the anchor and the parenthetical XP. That is, the parenthetical XP adds more specific (i.e. attributive or identifying), speaker-oriented information about the anchor. The following sections discuss a general proposal of how this relation can be established in syntax.

6.3 Anchored parentheticals in the domain of parallel construal

6.3.1 Specification, (asyndetic) coordination and Koster's colon phrase

Koster (1999, 2000, 2012) discusses a range of constructions that can be analysed in terms of 'parallel construal', which includes regular coordination. For the latter, it is generally assumed (since Kayne 1994) that coordinators head their own projections, taking the second (or: final) conjunct as their complement and the first (and other non-final) conjunct(s) as their specifier(s), as in (37):

(37) [_{CoP} [_{DP} Bob] [_{Co'} [_{Co} and] [_{DP} Bea]]]

Koster argues that phrase structures come in two forms: primary structure and parallel construal. In the first, lexical elements are directly licensed by a functional head.

In parallel structure, elements are not licensed in this manner, but rather linked to other elements of primary phrase structure. The idea of ‘parallel structure’ for coordination goes back to Williams (1978). Although regular coordination is perhaps the most canonical example, parallel construal is argued to include extraposition,¹¹ (appositive) relative clauses (to be discussed in §6.4.2), and so-called ‘equatives’ (first described in Ross 1969). For expository reasons, I illustrate the general idea of the colon phrase for equatives, because they *prima facie* resemble NAs. Consider (38):

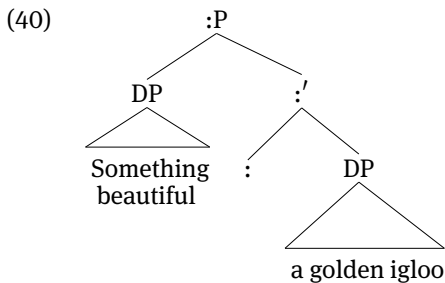
(38) John saw something beautiful: a golden igloo.

Coordination in this case is asyndetic, and the second conjunct (the ‘extension’) specifies the first (the ‘anchor’). Parallel structures always consist of an anchor-extension pair. So far, this is very similar to what we witnessed above for NAs in particular, and anchored parenthesis in general. Koster (2000: 21) proposes that parallel construal has a structure similar to coordination (37), with the more general Boolean operator (the colon or :) as its head:

(39) **Colon Phrase**

[_P XP [_{XP} [_· : XP]]

Something beautiful: a golden igloo in (38) is thus an :P (similar to a coordinated structure), which is used as the complement of *saw*:



Koster (2012) extends this analysis to both restrictive and appositive relative clauses, appositions, right dislocations and more.

The question is if the basic parallel configuration in (39) suffices as an analysis for NAs, NARCs, SPs and amalgams. The short answer to this is ‘no’. The reason for this was already alluded to in the introduction to this paper: parentheticals (in general) are structurally and semantically independent from their hosts. That is, their elements cannot interact with elements of their hosts in terms of c-command-based relations,

¹¹ As mentioned in footnote 1 to this paper, discussion of extraposition in terms of specifying coordination/parallel construal lies outside the scope of the present paper. The reader is referred to Koster (2000, 2012), De Vries (2002, 2006, 2009) and Kluck and De Vries (2013) for extensive discussion.

and they express non-restrictive information. As is argued and shown below, this is not a general property of parallel construal: we therefore need to distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive parallel construal.

6.3.2 Restrictive *versus* non-restrictive parallel construal

The notion ‘colon’ and its presumed status as some kind of general *coordinative* operator thus require some more refinement. More specifically, we want to be able to derive the distinction between NARCs and regular RRCs. After all, without further assumptions, *both* would be instances of parallel construal for Koster (2000, 2012).

Obviously, the crucial difference between NARCs and RRCs is how they modify the meaning of the relative head. Consider (41a) with NARCs (41b):

- (41) a. Bea kissed the professor [_{RRC} that could be her grandfather] at that party.
 b. Bea kissed the professor, [_{NARC} who could be her grandfather], at that party.

In (41a), the relative restricts the possible set of professors in the relevant domain of discourse to the one that could be Bea’s grandfather, while in (41b), the relative only adds a (speaker-oriented) property to the professor that Bea kissed.

In addition, NARCs are opaque for structural relations like quantifier binding (42) and condition C (43), unlike RRCs:

- (42) a. No student_i wants to work on the puzzle that he_i brought up in class.
 b. *No student_i wants to work on the puzzle, which he_i brought up in class.
 (43) a. *He_i wrote a paper that the professor_i ended up rejecting later on.
 b. He_i wrote a paper, which the professor_i ended up rejecting later on.

This is consistent with the well-known generalization that NARCs are opaque for structural relations, but complicates the unified Kosterian approach.¹²

Turning to NAs, these appear to pattern with NARCs. For instance, Heringa (2012: 137) notes that referential appositions fare well in contexts where they are preceded by coreferential material:

¹² It seems that the extension in a regular equative (38) must be accessible for the matrix that contains its anchor as well, as they are sensitive to condition C effects: *He_i/the professor_i cited someone interesting: the professor_i. Similarly, a matrix element may bind a pronominal equative: he_i cited someone interesting: himself_i. Interestingly, Ott and De Vries (2012, 2013) discuss a range of reconstruction effects in right dislocations in general. This includes equatives (which they more appropriately term ‘specifying afterthoughts’). They analyse these as instances of parallel construal (not parenthesis), with internal topicalization and sluicing in the extension, which adds an interesting empirical domain to the data discussed here.

(44) John_i first met Mary, now John_i's wife, in the linguistic cafe.

In addition, quantifier binding cannot be established between matrix and apposition. The example is from Potts (2005: 82):

(45) *No reporter_i believes that Ames, often the subject of his_i columns, is a spy.

However, the anchor of an NA *can* bind a reflexive in the apposition (46):

(46) Bob_i, merely a shadow of himself_i, presented his work after a sleepless night.

As I show briefly below, the clausal analysis of Heringa (2012) assumes a silent E-type pronoun subject in NAs, which can establish this binding relation, while the otherwise opaque behavior of the apposition is preserved.

Furthermore, it has been observed by various scholars that both NARCs and NAs are outside the scope of matrix negation. This is illustrated in (47), which entails that Bach is a famous composer despite of matrix negation (for similar and further discussion of appositives and scope, see Nouwen (2014) in particular):

(47) It is not the case that Bach, (who is) a famous composer, died in 1850.

This further corroborates the idea that NAs and NARCs are opaque.

It thus seems that parallel construal comes in two different shapes: restrictive parallel construal, which includes RRCs, and *non*-restrictive parallel construal, including anchored parentheticals. Although Koster (2012: 14) acknowledges that parallel construal includes both non-restrictive and restrictive constructions, it is only speculated how the structural differences would follow, namely by some 'restrictiveness' operator in C in case of relative clauses. In the section below, I adopt a more radical solution, namely by assuming a distinction between regular (restrictive) inclusion and parenthetical (non-restrictive) inclusion, based on De Vries (2007, 2012).

6.4 A syntax for anchored parentheses

6.4.1 Parenthetical inclusion as a primitive in syntax: *par*-Merge

The structural independence (or: opacity) witnessed above is widely accepted as one of the central hallmarks of parentheses in general: parentheticals do not interact with elements of their hosts in terms of c-command-based relations. This has been observed for NAs and NARCs in the earlier literature (Emonds 1979; Safir 1986) as well as in more recent scholarship (Potts 2002; Heringa 2012; see also (41)–(45) above), and for less familiar 'parenthetical' constructions in Espinal (1991), Haegeman (1991), Ackema and Neeleman (2004), De Vries (2007) and others. (48)–(49) illustrate this for NPI licensing

(and lack of PPI-effect) and quantifier binding in free parenthesis (I return to SPs and amalgams in §6.4.3):

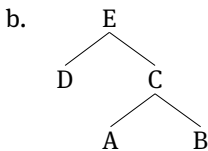
(48) Bob never wanted – like someone/*anyone assumed – to kiss the professor.

(49) *Everyone_i would love – he_i told me so – to kiss the president.

The facts have led to opposing views in the literature. Basically, there are two types of theory: those that put parentheticals outside the domain of syntax, i.e. ‘orphan’ approaches found most prominently in Safir (1986), Haegeman (1991) and Burton-Roberts (1999), and those that invoke some kind of special way of integrating parentheticals in syntax, such as Espinal (1991), Ackema and Neeleman (2004) and De Vries (2007, 2012). As will be clear below, I adhere to the latter type of approach for anchored parenthesis. The reason for this is twofold: 1. since parentheticals in general are somehow linearized in their hosts, and interpreted relative to their hosts, as we saw in §6.2.1 of this paper, they must be part of syntax under the common assumptions about the model of grammar, and 2. since anchored parentheses in particular are related to a specific constituent in their host (the anchor), their integration cannot possibly take place at some post-syntactic level. Elaborating on the Kosterian colon phrase, I will adopt De Vries’ (2007, 2012) idea that parenthetical inclusion is a primitive in syntax, in addition to the familiar inclusion that gives rise to dominance.

To get an idea of the distinction between dominance-inclusion (via regular Merge) and parenthetical-inclusion (via ‘*par-Merge*’), consider first (50):

(50) a. Merge(A, B) → C
Merge(C, D) → E

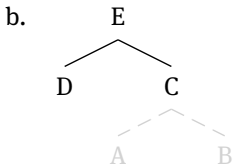


Here, D c-commands its sister C and everything dominated by C (A and B). The presence of c-command enables dependencies between elements in a single representation, such as binding (depending on the type of pronoun, binder and domain), NPI licensing, *et cetera*. If parentheticals are generally opaque for these relations, this could mean that parenthetical inclusion should be set apart from regular (or: restrictive) inclusion. This is the rationale behind De Vries’ ‘*par-Merge*’ (De Vries 2007, 2012).¹³ Basically, if two elements are included in a derivation via *par-Merge*, the output of that

¹³ It should be noted that De Vries (2007) refers to this as ‘b-Merge’ or ‘behindance’ instead of *par-Merge*. This is related to the idea that representations of parentheticals are multidimensional (De Vries 2003, 2008). For related discussion, see also Espinal (1991).

merger does not dominate the input. So in (51), C does not dominate A and B. Consequently, D c-commands C, but not A and B:

- (51) a. *par*-Merge (A, B) → C
Merge (C, D) → E



The traditional understanding of c-command can be maintained for this and can be formulated such that it explicitly refers to the type of inclusion, such as in (52):

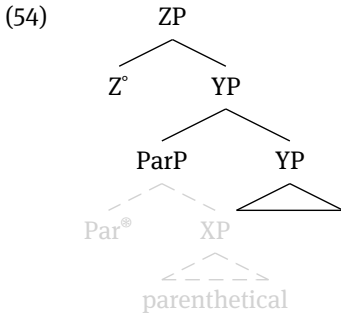
- (52) A c-commands B iff there is an X such that
- i. A and X are merge-mates, and
 - ii. B = X, or B is dominance-included in X.

The question then arises when *par*-Merge can be applied. Suppose we just apply *par*-Merge to a given XP that is used as a free parenthetical in its host derivation. The moment XP is *par*-merged with the root (the host derivation), what was merged before becomes inaccessible to what is merged after the *par*-merger of XP. This is undesirable, obviously elements of the host itself must be able to interact with each other. This is why De Vries (2012) ascribes *par*-Merge to a specialized parenthetical head Par° , which can be thought of as a ‘discourse connector’. The first merger of Par° with XP then invokes the application of *par*-Merge (this is what the ‘ \circ ’ stands for in my notation).

This has the welcome consequence that the status of a given XP as a parenthetical is due to a syntactic operation rather than an intrinsic property of this XP. Concretely, the possible uses of the AdvP *honestly* (53) can now simply be explained by the use of regular Merge that adjoins it to the VP in (53a), and the merger with Par° triggering *par*-Merge in (53b) (the latter is possible in various positions in the host in addition to the VP, I illustrate just two positions here):

- (53) a. I am (honestly) interested (*honestly) in what you’re up to.
b. I am (, honestly,) interested (, honestly,) in what you’re up to.

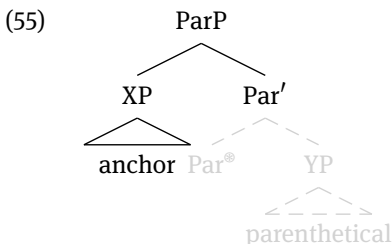
Free parentheses such as these are thus no more than regular adjuncts that are included via *par*-Merge rather than regular Merge. In the case of free parentheses, Par° can be seen as monovalent, i.e. it takes a complement but not a specifier, and the ParP itself is a (regularly included) adjunct in the matrix sentence:



Notice that the dashed lines do not reflect the application of *par*-Merge, but represent the inaccessibility of the *par*-Merged material as a result of *par*-Merge.

6.4.2 Non-restrictive parallel construal: Bivalent Par[®]

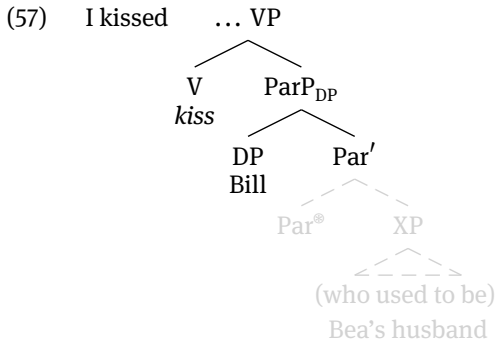
We are now just one step away from an analysis for anchored parentheses. In these cases, the parentheticals are not free adjuncts in the sentence, but added at the constituent level. After all, they modify their anchor in the ways described in §6.2. I propose that we analyse these as a parallel construal in Koster's sense, with a 'bivalent Par[®]'. This is thus not headed by :, but by a parenthetical head:



Like coordination phrases, ParP is categorially underspecified. Given that the bivalent ParP is no more than a non-restrictive version of the Kosterian colon phrase, I assume that it inherits its category in a way similar to coordination phrases. It has been argued on various empirical grounds that these inherit their categorial features from their specifier (Munn 1993; Johannessen 1998). Concretely, this means that an anchored parenthetical with a DP anchor functions as a DP in its host, that it behaves as an AP if its anchor is an AP, *et cetera* (this is particularly important for SPs and amalgams with non-nominal anchors, which lie outside the scope of this paper, cf. Kluck 2011). The position of an anchored parenthetical in its host therefore depends on the category of its anchor.

The tree in (57) is then a simplified global representation for the NA/NARC in (56), as is proposed in Heringa (2012) and De Vries (2009, 2012).

(56) I kissed Bill, (who used to be) Bea's husband



It should be pointed out straight away that the respective proposals in Heringa (2012) and De Vries (2009, 2012) involve some specific steps that are not represented here. For instance, Heringa (2012) argues that (attributive) NAs are in fact clausal. This is corroborated by the fact that they can be introduced by complementizers and may contain speaker-oriented adverbs and adverbs of tense (for data, see O'Connor 2008 and Heringa 2012). So, XP in (57) is a CP with a silent copula and a *pro* subject in Heringa's analysis, which may bind a reflexive in the apposition and corefer with a matrix constituent (explaining the striking grammaticality of (46) above). In case of NARCs, the parenthetical XP is in fact a DP, which involves a light (null) head and a regular, restrictive relative. This is related to the intuition that the NARC in (56) is in fact interpreted as *Bill, someone who used to be Bea's husband*.

The facts illustrated above are consistent with this analysis: the opacity of the parenthetical XP is the consequence of the merger of XP with Par*. In addition, the adjacency of anchor and parenthetical shown in (7)-(10) follows automatically from the proposed structure. After all, they are part of the same phrase. This is discussed in detail in Griffiths and De Vries (2013) for NARCs that are used as fragment answers. These involve fronting of the fragment answer and subsequent sluicing of the rest of the clause (similar to SPs and amalgams below). This then derives contrast between (58) and (59) under the assumption that the appositive relative and its anchor form a constituent, as ellipsis targets a non-constituent in the impossible case (59):

- (58) A: What did John steal?
 B: Mary's computer, which crashes all the time ~~John stole t_i~~.
- (59) A: Who stole Mary's computer?
 B: *John, ~~stole Mary's computer~~ which crashes all the time.

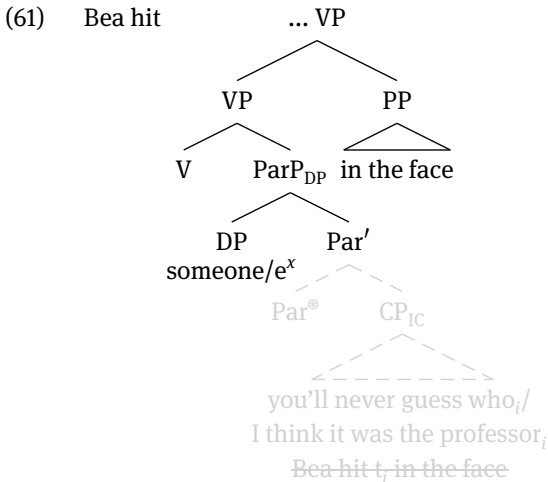
It should be noted that (7)-(8), where anchor and parenthetical are separated by some A'-movement of the parenthetical XP, are in addition excluded because movement is from a position that is not c-commanded by the destination position in the matrix as a result of XP being *par*-merged.

A desirable consequence of this analysis is that NARCs and NAs, which are intuitively two instances of the same species, are approached in a similar fashion. The section below discusses how this analysis works for SPs and amalgams.

6.4.3 Applying the ParP approach to SPs and amalgams

The ParP approach to SPs and amalgams involves two additional factors: 1. in both cases the parenthetical XP (a CP) contains an ellipsis site, and 2. in case of amalgams, the anchor is null. (61) is a basic representation for these constructions:

(60) Bea hit someone/ e^x [you'll never guess who_{*i*}/I think it was the professor_{*i*} ~~Bea hit t_i in the face~~] in the face.



Similar to what Heringa (2012) suggests for NAs, the complement of Par° is clausal. This CP includes an embedded CP out of which there is A' -movement, i.e. *wh*- or focus-movement, and the remnant (a layer of CP in the Horn-cases, see Kluck 2011) is the target of sluicing.

The presence of an ellipsis site explains an intriguing set of facts in amalgams that for expository reasons were not discussed above. This concerns an accessibility paradox that is illustrated by (62): the referential remnant of sluicing in the parenthetical appears to give rise to a condition C effect with a coreferring expression in the matrix (62a), while an R-expression elsewhere in the parenthetical CP does not (62b). Under the present assumptions, the latter is expected, on a par with (3) and (44). However, (62a) can be explained as a common reconstruction effect: the remnant of sluicing is not c-commanded by the coreferring pronoun in the matrix, but in the ellipsis site (for ease of representation, I use a gray copy to denote the trace of the A' -moved constituent):

- (62) a. *He_i cited, [I think it was the **professor**, he_i cited ~~the professor~~].
 b. He_i cited [the professor_i thought it was **the most famous physician in the world**, that he_i cited ~~the most famous physician in the world~~].

Reconstruction then explains a variety of connectivity effects in amalgams (amongst which quantifier/anaphor binding, case connectivity and condition B effects). More specifically, Horn-amalgams pattern exactly with regular *it*-clefts in this regard (see Reeve 2012 for extensive discussion):

- (63) The story about himself_i/*him_i/*Bill_i that he_i denied was suspicious.

These are thus not the result of interaction with the matrix: the parenthetical itself is opaque. This explains the absence of condition C effects illustrated in (62b), but also the impossibility to bind a subject pronoun inside the parenthetical by a matrix quantifier, or NPI subjects by matrix negation (for a complete dataset, see Kluck 2011).

There is another property of amalgams that follows straightforwardly from the parenthetical approach, namely that the interrupting clause exhibits root phenomena. (64)–(66) illustrate the most notorious amongst these: independent illocutionary force, topicalization and V2 in Dutch amalgams (Dutch main clauses are strictly V2, embedded clauses are V-final, and embedded V2 is excluded):

- (64) a. Bob found – [did you say it was a Stradivarius?] – in his attic.
 b. Bob found – [guess what!] – in his attic.
- (65) a. Bea kissed, [*Bob*_i I think it was t_i that Bea kissed t_i], at the party.
 b. Bob kissed, [*how many women*_i you can't even begin to imagine t_i ~~Bob~~ kissed t_i], at the party.
- (66) a. *Bob heeft [je raadt nooit hoeveel koekjes] gestolen.*
 Bob has you guess never how.many cookies stolen
 'Bob has stolen you'll never guess how many cookies.'
 b. **Bob heeft [je nooit hoeveel koekjes raadt] gestolen.*
 Bob has you never how.many cookies guess stolen

Unsurprisingly, NARCs and NAs can express independent illocutionary force as well, which fits the traditional impression that they constitute independent phrases/clauses:¹⁴

- (67) Bob, (who is) a doctor, right?, is kind of stupid.

¹⁴ However, NARCs pattern syntactically with RRCs, as they do not allow for internal topicalization, and Dutch NARCs are V-final. This seems consistent with the idea that NARCs are in fact appositions consisting of a null head and a regular restrictive relative clause, i.e. as briefly explained above. For more discussion, see Cardoso and De Vries (2010), De Vries (2009, 2012).

Root phenomena constitute the major motivation for orphan approaches to parentheses, for which anchored parentheses constitute a particularly difficult class. A great merit of the non-restrictive parallel configuration for anchored parentheses is thus that it allows us to account for their independent (i.e. root) status while analysing them as part of the same syntactic unit as their anchor.

6.5 Two points of consideration

This last section discusses two points of consideration which should be taken as directions of future research. First, non-nominal appositions appear to be able to float around in their hosts. On a more theoretical level, the parallel between parenthetical inclusion and coordination raises some new questions.

This paper was purposely restricted to *nominal* appositions. One of the reasons for this is that non-nominal appositions do not seem to be subject to the adjacency requirement illustrated by (7)–(10), as is illustrated in (68) for adjectival appositions:

- (68) a. Bob, completely drunk/my neighbor, knocked on my door in the middle of the night.
 b. Bob knocked on my door, completely drunk/*my neighbor, in the middle of the night.

It seems that adjectival appositions can ‘float’ around in their hosts, whereas nominal appositions are connected to their anchor.¹⁵ This implies that the present proposal is not suitable for adjectival appositions.

It has been noted that except for the comma-intonation, adjectival appositions are highly reminiscent of depictives (69):

- (69) Bob knocked on the door completely drunk.

Traditionally, depictives have been analysed as small clauses with a PRO subject (Stowell 1981, 1983; Legendre 1997). However, as has been pointed out by various scholars, there is a clear difference between regular (restrictive) depictives and appositive adjectives (see Schultze-Berndt and Himmelmann 2004; O’Connor 2008; Heringa 2009). (70) illustrates this for the scope of negation:

¹⁵ A careful reader might however object that the adjacency requirement does not hold for NAs either, as they may appear in the right periphery, i.e. *My neighbor knocked on my door in the middle of the night, Bob*. However, the resemblance between appositions and such cases is deceptive: right-dislocated appositions are in fact ‘specificational afterthoughts’. As was mentioned before, Ott and De Vries (2012) analyse these in terms of specifying coordination (i.e. coordination at the sentence level, employing the Kosterian colon phrase), with sluicing in the second conjunct. This explains a variety of connectivity effects (in many respects similar to what was shown above for amalgams and SPs).

- (70) a. He didn't leave outraged.
 b. He didn't leave, outraged.

The fact that the predicate is outside the scope of negation in (70b), suggests that adjectival appositions belong to the parenthetical domain. Other important differences pointing in this direction concern the types of antecedents that are allowed, (im)possibility of modification of high adverbs, and the level of modification of the predicate. The parallels and differences between depictives and adjective appositions can perhaps be captured if we integrate the ParP approach with the traditional small clause/PRO analysis for depictives, as is speculated in Heringa (2009).

This paper draws a parallel between coordination and parenthesis: bivalent Par[®] is a non-restrictive variant of Koster's colon phrase, where the colon stands for a coordinator in the broadest sense. Anchor and parenthetical are thus analysed in terms of parallel construal, whereas free parentheses are merely adjuncts. As is emphasized in Koster (2000: 20) '*it is very important to realize that parallel construal is not the same as coordination. Parallel construal is a more encompassing notion, with coordination only as a subcase. All parallel construals have certain properties in common (. . .). However, there are also certain differences, depending on the nature of the connecting head (. . .)*'. Nevertheless, if the colon is a coordinator in the broadest sense, we expect a correspondence between anchored parentheses and the occurrence of coordinators, and perhaps the absence of such correspondence between coordination and free parenthesis. Neither appears to be the case: not all anchored parentheses can be introduced by a coordinator (a lexicalization of Par[®]), and coordinators may also occur in what I have classified as free parentheticals. The latter is already clear from (5) and (6), i.e. the presence of *and* is the unsurprising distinctive property of so-called *and*-parentheticals (see Blakemore 2005; Kavalova 2007; a.o.). NAs can easily occur with 'apposition markers': elements that express the relation between anchor and apposition. These markers may be the ordinary coordinators *and* and *or* (examples from Quirk et al. 1985: 1311–1312):¹⁶

- (71) a. The United States of America, or America for short . . .
 b. You could cut the atmosphere with a knife, and a blunt knife at that.

By contrast, the parentheticals in NARCs, SPs and amalgams cannot be introduced by coordinators at all:

- (72) a. Bea kissed the professor, (*and/or) who is a genius, at the party.

¹⁶ Other well-known markers for English NAs are *namely* and *that is*. Since the latter may co-occur with coordinators in NAs, Heringa (2012) argues that they are adverbial rather than lexicalizations of Par[®]. It should be noted that attributive appositions are usually asyndetic. They do not occur with regular coordinators, but can be introduced by markers such as *as you know*. For extensive overviews of markers and types of relations in appositions, see Heringa and De Vries (2008) and Heringa (2012).

- b. Bea kissed (someone), (*and/or) I think it was Bob/you'll never guess who, at the party.

This raises the question to what extent a parallel between coordination and parenthesis really holds, and if the (im)possibility of an overt Par[®] should be taken as indicative of such a parallel. Another question in this context relates to the traditional Law of Coordination of Likes (LCL, going back to Williams 1981). With the exception of the ParP analysis of NARCs, where both anchor and relative are DPs, the other constructions discussed in this paper do not obey the LCL. That is, the parentheticals in NAs, SPs and amalgams are CPs, while their anchors are not. This suggests that parallel construal involves heads with varying properties, an interesting direction for further research.

6.6 Conclusion

This paper brings together a range of constructions I have labelled ‘anchored parentheses’: parentheses that are not freely attached somewhere in their host, but are attached at the constituent-level, namely to an anchor. It was argued that nominal appositions (NAs), nominal appositive relative clauses (NARCs), amalgams and sluiced parentheticals belong to this category, based on the observation that they all add non-restrictive, speaker-oriented and more specific content to their anchors. Taking into account that the position of anchored parentheses is restricted and not arbitrary within the host sentence, I argue for a syntactic approach (i.e. contra so-called orphan approaches).

The proposed analysis of anchored parentheses in terms of a bivalent ParP configuration, the non-restrictive variant of Koster’s colon phrase, seems promising: a linear connection between anchor and parenthetical is guaranteed because they are part of the same phrase, the structural independency of the parenthetical is the consequence of *par*-Merge. Finally, apparent exceptions to the independent status of an anchored parenthetical are explained by the assumptions about their internal syntax, such as a *pro* subject in NAs and the presence of elided structure in SPs and amalgams as is standard in regular sluicing.

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