

# Copies and impostors: on the properties of verbal doubling in Spanish

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## 1 Introduction

Syntactic displacement is commonly understood as involving a copying procedure (Chomsky 1993, Nunes 2004). This is known as the *Copy Theory of Movement*.

- (1) a. K = [TP was [VP arrested [DP Cosmo]]]  
b. Copy  
K = [TP was [VP arrested Cosmo]]  
L = [DP Cosmo]  
c. Merge  
K = [TP [DP Cosmo] [T' was [VP arrested [DP ~~Cosmo~~]]]]

Copy Theory is supported reduplication patterns that have been analysed as *multiple copy spell-out*, i.e., cases in which more than one copy receives pronunciation.

- (2) **Wen** glaubt Hans **wen** Jakob gesehen hat  
who thinks Hans who Jakob seen has  
'Who does Hans think Jakob saw?'

German (McDaniel 1986)

- (3) **Lirkod** Gil lo **yirkod** ba-xayim  
to.dance Gil not will.dance in.the.life  
'As for dancing, Gil will never dance.'

Hebrew (Landau 2006)

- (4) **Rira adie** ti Jimo o **ra adie**  
buying chicken ti Jimo hts buy chicken  
'The fact that Jimo bought chicken.'

Yoruba (Kobele 2006)

In this talk, I will discuss the properties of two verbal doubling constructions in Spanish: *predicate doubling* (5), and *emphatic doubling* (6).

- (5) **Comprar, compré** un auto.  
to.buy bought.1SG a car  
'As for buying, I bought a car.'

General Spanish

- (6) **Compré** el auto, **compré**.  
bought.1SG the car bought.1SG  
'I DID buy the car!'

Rioplatense Spanish

For ease of reference, I will henceforth refer to the leftmost and rightmost verbal projections in these constructions as PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2, respectively.

- (7) PREDICATE 1 ... (other constituents) ... PREDICATE 2  
Leftmost V or VP Rightmost V or VP

Main claims of this presentation:

- In predicate doubling (5), PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 **are not copies**.
- In emphatic doubling (6), PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 **are copies**.

## 2 Part I: the syntax of Spanish predicate doubling

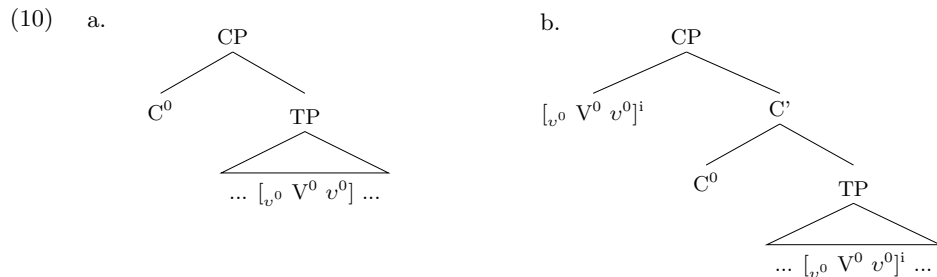
Predicate doubling is a construction in which two occurrences of the same lexical V or VP appear; PREDICATE 1 occupies a position in the left periphery, while PREDICATE 2 remains in a clause-internal position.

- (8) VERB (XP) ... [CLAUSe ... (AUX/MODAL) ... VERB (XP) ]  
PREDICATE 1 PREDICATE 2

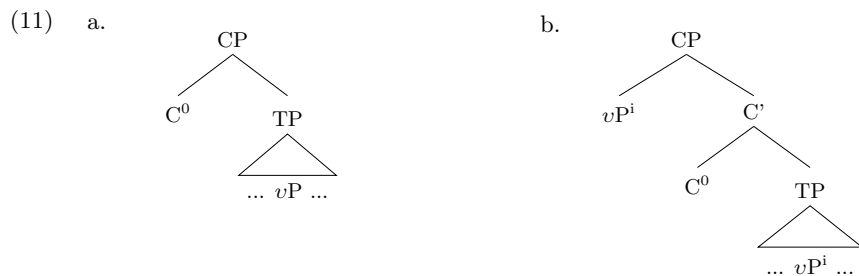
The most common type of predicate doubling in Spanish (and the only one that has been studied, as far as I know) is the one in which PREDICATE 1 contains an infinitive.

- (9) "Standard" predicate doubling
- a. **Comprar, compré** un auto.  
to.buy bought.1SG a car  
'As for buying, I bought a car.'
- b. **Comprar el auto**, ya lo **compré**  
to.buy the car already it bought.1SG  
'As for buying the car, I bought it already.'
- c. **Comprar el auto**, efectivamente pude **comprar el auto**  
to.buy the car effectively could.1SG to.buy the car  
'As for buying the car, I was indeed able to buy the car.'

Vicente (2007, 2009) offers an analysis of Spanish predicate doubling in terms of multiple copy spell-out. The following is the derivation for a sentence like (9a), in which PREDICATE 1 is only an infinitive.



While the following is the analysis for a case like (9b), in which PREDICATE 1 contains a verb and some other constituent.



To account for the distinct morphology in both verbs, Vicente assumes that an infinitival suffix appears by default on bare verbal roots.

(12) **Infinitive by default (adapted from Vicente 2009:170)**

As  $[_{v^0} V^0 v^0]$  lacks any agreement projection, it ought to be spelled out as a bare uninflected root. However, it is not possible to spell out a bare root in Spanish. Therefore, as a Last Resort mechanism, the morphological component spells out this category as an infinitive by default.

As evidence for a copy-based analysis, Vicente notices that PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 are subject to locality constraints that are reminiscent of those observed in A'-movement. To begin with, predicate doubling is attested with subordinate clauses.

- (13) a. **Comprar**, Cosmo dice que Eliana **compró** el libro.  
to.buy Cosmo says that Eliana bought.3SG the book  
'As for buying, Cosmo says that Eliana bought the book.'
- b. **Comer**, quiero **comer** una pizza.  
to.eat want.1SG to.eat a pizza  
'As for eating, I want to eat a pizza.'

However, the construction seems to be sensitive to island restrictions: predicate doubling is impossible if PREDICATE 2 is within a relative clause (14a), an adjunct (14b), a preverbal subject (14c), a coordinate structure (14d), or a complex NP (14e).

(14) Island effects

- a. \***Comprar**, conozco a una mujer [que **compró** un libro].  
to.buy know.1SG to a woman that bought.3SG the book  
'As for buying, I know a woman who bought the book.'
- b. \***Comprar**, fui al cine [después de **comprar** un libro].  
to.buy went.1SG to.the cinema after of to.buy the book  
'As for buying, I went to the cinema after buying the book.'
- c. \***Comprar**, [que Cosmo **compre** un libro] sorprendió a todos.  
to.buy that Cosmo bought.3SG a book surprised.3SG to everybody  
'As for buying, Cosmo buying a book surprised everybody.'
- d. \***Comprar**, Eliana [vendió una revista y **compró** un libro].  
to.buy Eliana sold.3SG a magazine and bought.3SG a book  
'As for buying, Eliana sold a magazine and bought a book.'
- e. ??**Comprar**, escuché [el rumor de que Eliana **compró** un libro].  
to.buy heard.1SG the rumour of that Eliana bought.3SG a book  
'As for buying, I heard the rumour that Eliana bought a book.'

While Vicente's analysis is elegant and accounts for these island effects, we will see that a movement-based analysis is empirically untenable.

## 2.1 Spanish predicate doubling is not about copying

I will present three simple reasons to reject the idea that PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 in Spanish predicate doubling are copies and form a chain in the sense of Copy Theory: (i) PREDICATE 1 not necessarily c-commands PREDICATE 2; (ii) the verb in PREDICATE 1 may be inflected, which shows that it is not a copy of a verbal projection below T; (iii) both PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 are not necessarily isomorphic and maintain an anaphoric relation.

### 2.1.1 Predicate doubling without c-command

As Zubizarreta (1999) and others point out, *hanging topics* in Spanish may be introduced by prepositional markers such as *con respecto a* 'with respect to' or *en cuanto a* 'as for'.

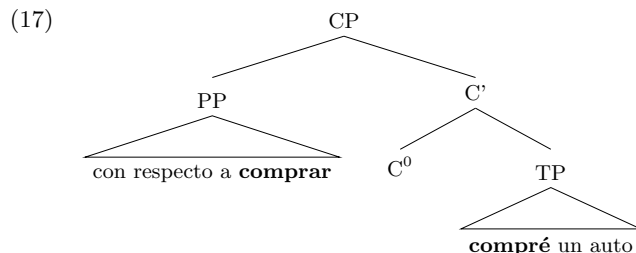
- (15) Con respecto a la cena, voy a preparar-la temprano.  
with respect to the dinner go.1SG to prepare-it early  
'As for dinner, I'll prepare it early.'

PREDICATE 1 in predicate doubling constructions may also be introduced by these prepositional expressions.

- (16) Predicate doubling with topic markers
- a. Con respecto a **comprar**, **compré** un auto.  
with respect to to.buy bought.1SG a car  
'As for buying, I bought a car.'
- b. Con respecto a **comprar el auto**, ya lo **compré**.  
with respect to to.buy the car already it bought.1SG  
'As for buying the car, I bought it already.'

- c. Con respecto a **comprar el auto**, efectivamente pude **comprar el auto**  
 with respect to to.buy the car effectively could.1SG to.buy the car  
 ‘As for buying the car, I was indeed able to buy the car.’

For this to be possible, PREDICATE 1 must occupy a position within the left-peripheral PP. Since **there is no c-command relation between both predicates** in this configuration, maintaining that both elements form a chain becomes quite difficult.



Using prepositional expressions as *con respecto a* ‘with respect to’ allows locating PREDICATE 2 inside an embedded clause.

- (18) a. Con respecto a **comprar**, Cosmo dice que Eliana **compró** un libro.  
 with respect to to.buy Cosmo says that Eliana bought.3SG the book  
 ‘As for buying, Cosmo says that Eliana bought a book.’  
 b. Con respecto a **comer**, quiero **comer** pizza.  
 with respect to to.eat want.1SG to.eat a pizza  
 ‘As for eating, I want to eat a pizza.’

However, **the construction is still sensitive to island effects** as a comparison between (14) and (19) reveals.

- (19) a. \*Con respecto a **comprar**, conozco a una mujer [que **compró** un libro].  
 with respect to to.buy know.1SG to the woman that bought.3SG the book  
 ‘As for buying, I know the woman who bought the book.’  
 b. \*Con respecto a **comprar**, fui al cine [después de **comprar** un libro].  
 with respect to to.buy went.1SG to.the cinema after of to.buy the book  
 ‘As for buying, I went to the cinema after buying the book.’  
 c. \*Con respecto a **comprar**, [que Cosmo **compre** un libro] sorprendió a todos.  
 with respect to to.buy that Cosmo bought.3SG a book surprised.3SG to everybody  
 ‘As for buying, Cosmo buying a book surprised everybody.’

- d. \*Con respecto a **comprar**, Eliana [vendió una revista y **compró** un libro].  
 with respect to to.buy Eliana sold.3SG a magazine and bought.3SG a book  
 ‘As for buying, Eliana sold a magazine and bought a book.’  
 e. ??Con respecto a **comprar**, escuché [el rumor de que Eliana **compró** un libro].  
 with respect to to.buy heard.1SG the rumour of that Eliana bought.3SG a book  
 ‘As for buying, I heard the rumour that Eliana bought a book.’

The conclusion is quite evident:

- **Observation A:** Instances of predicate doubling introducing prepositional topic markers do not seem to involve syntactic movement.
- **Observation B:** These constructions are subject to the same locality conditions as ‘standard’ predicate doubling.
- **Therefore:** Locality restrictions in predicate doubling constructions are independent from syntactic movement.

## 2.1.2 Predicate doubling in Spanish is not restricted to infinitives

Vicente (2009:165) points out that the verb in PREDICATE 1 cannot surface as finite.

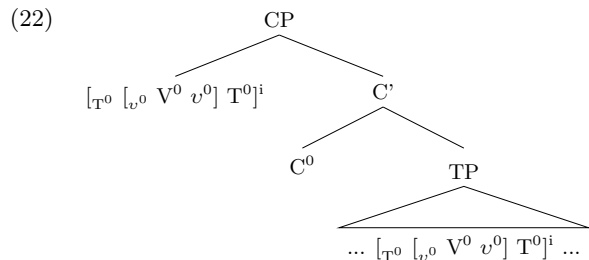
- (20) \***Leyó**, Juan **leyó** el libro.  
 read.3SG Juan read.3SG the book  
 ‘As for reading, Juan read the book.’

However, this observation must be qualified: finite verbs are banned from PREDICATE 1 **only if they are not accompanied by an overt complementizer**. This is shown in the examples in (21). Notice that the sentence in (21c) forms a minimal pair with (20).

- (21) Finite predicate doubling
- Que **compró** el auto, lo **compró**.  
 that bought.3SG the car it bought.3SG  
 ‘As for her/him buying the car, she/he bought it.’
  - Que **llegué**, **llegué**  
 that arrived.1SG arrived.1SG  
 ‘As for me arriving, I arrived.’
  - Que **leyó**, Juan **leyó** el libro.  
 that read.3SG Juan read.3SG the book  
 ‘As for reading, Juan read the book.’

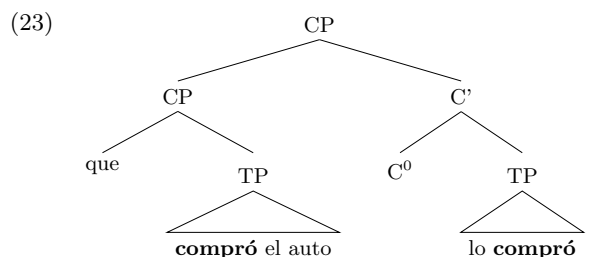
The sentences in (21) show, against Vicente’s (2007, 2009) analysis, that the fronted verb cannot always be a complex head [<sub>v,0</sub> V<sup>0</sup> v<sup>0</sup>] that receives infinitival morphology by default.

It could be argued, however, that these sentences involve movement and multiple spell-out of a complex head [<sub>T<sup>0</sup></sub> [<sub>v,0</sub> V<sup>0</sup> v<sup>0</sup>] T<sup>0</sup>], as sketched in (22).



However such an analysis would incorrectly predict the acceptability of (20), and would also fail at capturing the obligatoriness of the overt complementizers in (21).

To capture this pattern, I propose that PREDICATE 1 is part of an independent CP projection that is merged in the left periphery of the matrix structure (cf. 23).



This analysis is supported by the fact that the fronted CP may appear as a complement of a prepositional expression like *con respecto a* ‘with respect to’.

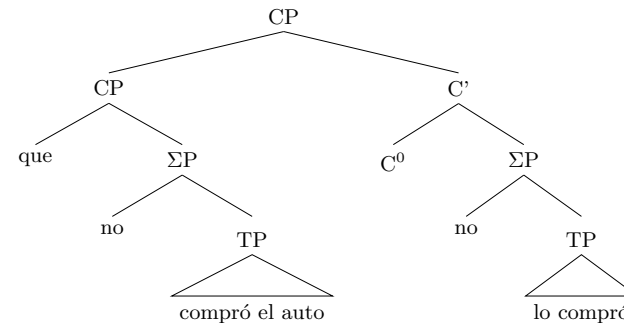
- (24) Con respecto a (que) si **compró** el auto, lo **compró**.  
 with respect to that if bought.1SG the car it bought.1SG  
 ‘As for whether she/he bought the car, I bought it.’

Moreover, the analysis in (23) allows capturing another property of finite predicate doubling. Contrary to “standard” non-finite predicate doubling, negation may appear together with finite verbs in PREDICATE 1.

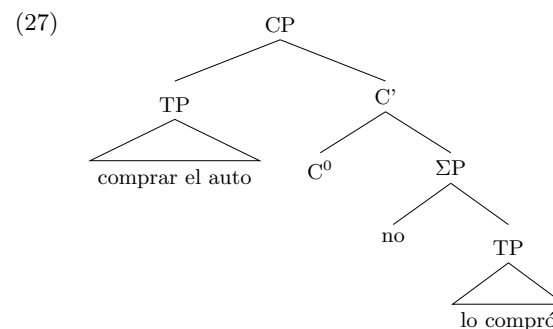
- (25) a. \*No comprar el auto, no lo compró.  
 not to.buy the car not it bought.3SG  
 ‘As for not buying the car, he didn’t buy it.’  
 b. Que no compró el auto, no lo compró.  
 that not bought.3SG the car not it bought.3SG  
 ‘As for not buying the car, he didn’t buy it.’

This follows if, as Laka (1990) proposes, the polarity head  $\Sigma^0$  in Spanish is generated in a position between the CP and TP projections.

(26)



If “standard” non-finite predicate doubling involves a  $\varphi$ -defective TP projection in PREDICATE 1, the lack of negation is accounted for, as shown in (27).



As with standard instances of predicate doubling, PREDICATE 2 may appear inside an embedded clause in cases of finite predicate doubling.

- (28) Que **compró** el auto, sé que lo **compró**.  
 that bought.3SG the car know.1SG that it bought.3SG  
 ‘As for her/him buying the car, she/he bought it.’

However, finite predicate doubling is also sensitive to island effects.

- (29) a. \*Que **compró** el libro, conozco a una mujer [ que lo **compró**].  
 that bought.3SG the book know.1SG to a woman that it bought.3SG  
 ‘As for buying the book, I know a woman who bought it.’  
 b. \*Que **compró** el libro, fui al cine [ después de que ella lo **compró**].  
 that bought.3SG the book went.1SG to.the cinema after of that she it **compró**.  
 bought.3SG  
 ‘As for buying the book, I went to the cinema after she bought it.’  
 c. \*Que **compró** el libro, [ que Cosmo lo **compró**] es un hecho.  
 that bought.3SG the book that Cosmo it bought.3SG is a fact  
 ‘As for buying the book, that Cosmo bought it is a fact.’

- d. \*Que **compró** el libro, Eliana [ vendió una revista y lo that bought.3SG the book Eliana sold.3SG a magazine and it **compró**].  
bought.3SG  
'As for buying the book, Eliana sold a magazine and bought it.'
- e. ??Que **compró** el libro, escuché [ el rumor de que Eliana lo that bought.3SG the book heard.1SG the rumour of that Eliana it **compró**].  
bought.3SG  
'As for buying the book, I heard the rumour that Eliana bought it.'

Therefore, finite predicate doubling constitutes **another instance of predicate doubling for which a movement account does not seem to be tenable**, despite the fact the construction exhibits constraints that are reminiscent of those attested in A'-movement.

### 2.1.3 Predicates are related through anaphora, not identity

According to Copy Theory, if  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are members of a single movement chain, then  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  must be isomorphic. Since Vicente (2007, 2009) proposes that predicate doubling involves pronouncing two elements of the same chain, he predicts that **both predicates must be identical**.

- (30) a. [<sub>v</sub><sup>o</sup> **Comprar** ], pude [<sub>v</sub><sup>o</sup> **comprar** ] un auto.  
to.buy could.1SG to.buy a car  
'As for buying, I was able to buy a car.'
- b. [<sub>v</sub><sup>P</sup> **Comprar un auto** ], pude [<sub>v</sub><sup>P</sup> **comprar un auto** ].  
to.buy a car could.1SG to.buy a car  
'As for buying a car, I was able to buy a car.'

However, as Saab (2017) points out, **both predicates are not required to be isomorphic**. In particular, DPs in PREDICATE 1 are usually doubled by anaphoric elements in PREDICATE 2, e.g., clitics (31a), strong pronouns (31b), or epithets (31c).

- (31) a. [ **Comprar el auto** ], puedo [ **comprar-lo** ]  
to.buy the car could.1sg to.buy-it  
'As for buying a car, I can buy it.'
- b. [ **Hablar con Cosmo** ], puedo [ **hablar con él** ]  
to.talk with Cosmo could.1sg to.talk with he  
'As for talking to Cosmo, I can talk to him.'
- c. [ **Hablar con Cosmo** ], puedo [ **hablar con ese idiota** ]  
to.talk with Cosmo could.1sg to.talk with that idiot  
'As for talking to Cosmo, I can talk to that idiot.'

Moreover, Saab observes that **these anaphoric expressions behave exactly as if they were referring to a previously mentioned definitive DP in a different sentence**.

- (32) Finalmente compré el auto<sup>i</sup>. Lo<sup>i</sup> compré ayer.  
finally bought.1SG the car it bought.1SG yesterday  
'I finally bought the car. I bought it yesterday.'

For instance, Spanish allows null pronominal objects when their antecedent is indefinite.

- (33) A. Compraste cerveza<sup>i</sup>?  
bought.2SG beer  
'Did you buy beer?'
- B. Si, compré  $\emptyset^i$  ayer.  
yes bought.1SG yesterday  
'Yes, I bought (beer) yesterday.'

The same pattern is attested in predicate doubling constructions.

- (34) Comprar cerveza<sup>i</sup>, compré  $\emptyset^i$  ayer  
to.buy beer bought.1SG yesterday  
'As for buying beer, I bought (beer) yesterday.'

Indefinite null objects may have certain modifiers, e.g., adjectives, quantification.

- (35) A. Preferís cerveza<sup>i</sup> belga o irlandesa?  
prefer.2SG beer Belgian or Irish  
'Would you prefer Belgian or Irish beer?'
- B. Prefiero  $\emptyset^i$  belga.  
prefer.1SG Belgian  
'I prefer Belgian (beer).'
- (36) A. Comés pescado<sup>i</sup>?  
eat.2SG fish  
'Do you eat fish?'
- B. Como poco  $\emptyset^i$ .  
eat.1SG few  
'I eat a little.'

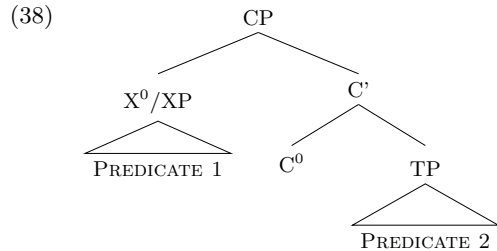
Once again, predicate doubling replicates the anaphoric pattern.

- (37) a. Tomar cerveza<sup>i</sup>, tomo  $\emptyset^i$  belga  
to.drink beer drink.1SG Belgian  
'As for drinking beer, I drink Belgian (beer).'
- b. Comer pescado, como poco  $\emptyset^i$   
to.eat fish eat.1SG few  
'As for eating fish, I eat a little.'

The relation between members of a chain under Copy Theory involves a formal criterion of *identity* or *non-distinctiveness* (cf. Chomsky 1995, Nunes 1995, i.a.). As Saab (2017) points out, verbal constituents in predicate doubling constructions (i) are related through anaphora, and (ii) are not required to be formally identical. Therefore, **the facts presented in this section undermine the claim that predicate doubling in Spanish involves multiple copy spell-out**.

## 2.2 A non-transformational analysis of predicate doubling

The data discussed in the previous section leads to an analysis in which there is no transformational relation between PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2, i.e., **the verbs in the construction are not copies but are independently generated.**



- $X^0$  stands for an infinitive, i.e., a  $\varphi$ -defective complex head  $[_{T^0}[_{v^0} V^0 v^0] T^0]$  which is generated in Spec,C.<sup>1</sup>
- XP stands for either an infinitival TP (cf. 9), a PP (cf. 16), or a finite CP (cf. 21) that contains a predicate.

If there is no transformational relation between PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2, there must be an independent explanation for the unacceptability of the following examples.

- (39) Predicate doubling requires lexical identity
- \*Comprar, tomó cerveza.  
to.buy drink.3SG beer  
'As for buying, she/he drinks beer.'
  - \*Comprar un auto, pude comprar una moto.  
to.buy a car could.1SG to.buy a motorcycle  
'As for buying a car, I bought a motorcycle.'

I propose that such a requirement follows from the general function that predicate doubling serves in Spanish.

- (40) **Proposal**  
PREDICATE 1 is a base-generated contrastive topic that has the function of marking as given the lexical verb and other elements in PREDICATE 2, in order to facilitate the assignment of narrow focus.

According to this hypothesis, **predicate doubling is more a discourse strategy than a construction based on narrow syntactic mechanisms.**

### 2.2.1 The relation between predicate doubling and narrow focus

According to Vicente (2007), predicate doubling constructions have a *verum focus* interpretation, i.e., they emphasize the positive polarity of a proposition in contrast to a different proposition.

<sup>1</sup>It could also be assumed that these are complex  $v^0$  heads that receive infinitival morphology by default, as proposed by Vicente. I adopt an analysis of infinitives as defective  $T^0$  for the sake of simplicity.

- (41) Cosmo **SÍ** compró el auto, pero perdió el registro.  
Cosmo yes bought.3SG the car, but lost.3SG the license  
'Cosmo did buy the car, but he lost his license'.
- (42) **Comprar el auto, lo COMPRÓ**, pero perdió el registro.  
to.buy the car, it bought.3SG, but lost.3SG the license  
'As for buying the car, she/he DID buy it, but she/he lost his license'.

The verum focus interpretation, however, is not a defining property of the construction. Predicate doubling also allows focalizing elements other than the polarity of the proposition.

- (43) a. **Comprar, compré** EL AUTO, no la moto.  
to.buy bought.1sg the car, not the motorcycle  
'As for buying, I bought THE CAR, not the motorcycle.'
- b. **Hablar, hablé** con COSMO, no con Eliana.  
to.talk talked.1sg with Cosmo, not with Eliana  
'As for talking, I talked to COSMO, not to Eliana.'
- c. **Comprar, compró** COSMO el asado, no yo.  
to.buy bought.3sg Cosmo the meat, not I  
'As for buying, COSMO bought the meat, not me.'

Clause internal constituents may be focalized **only if they are not doubled in the left periphery.**

- (44) a. \***Comprar el auto, compré** EL AUTO, no la moto.  
to.buy the car bought.1sg the car, not the motorcycle  
'As for buying the car, I bought THE CAR, not the motorcycle.'
- b. \***Hablar con Cosmo, hablé** con COSMO, no con Eliana.  
to.talk with Cosmo talked.1sg with Cosmo, not with Eliana  
'As for talking with Cosmo, I talked to COSMO, not to Eliana.'
- c. \***Comprar Cosmo, compró** COSMO el asado, no yo.  
to.buy Cosmo bought.3sg Cosmo the meat, not I  
'As for Cosmo buying, COSMO bought the meat, not me.'

The only exception to this condition involves verbs in cases of verum focus interpretation as in (45a). If PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 coincide (i.e., they are either isomorphic, or there is an anaphoric element in PREDICATE 2 for every DP in PREDICATE 1), **the only interpretation that is available is that of verum focus.**

- (45) a. **Comprar el auto, COMPRÉ** el auto, pero perdí el registro.  
to.buy the car bought.1sg the car, but lost.1SG the license  
'As for buying the car, I DID buy the car, but I lost my license.'
- b. **Comprar el auto, PUDE comprar-lo**, pero perdí el registro.  
to.buy the car could.1SG to.buy-it, but lost.1SG the license  
'As for buying the car, I COULD have bought it, but I lost my license.'

### 2.2.2 The analysis

Given information and focus are in a complementary distribution (Halliday 1967, Schwarzschild 1999). For concreteness, I will adopt the following informal mechanism.

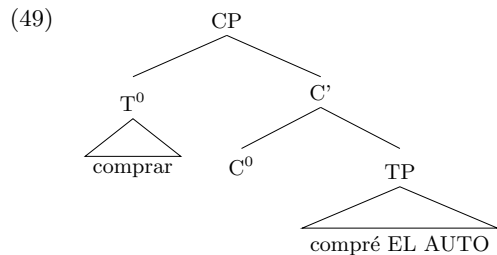
- (46) A constituent  $\alpha$  in  $[XP \dots \alpha \dots]$  is focused if:
- The constituents in XP, except for  $\alpha$ , are marked as given by some contextually salient antecedent XP'.
  - $\alpha$  introduces a contrast with respect to XP'.

In the following examples, the underlined constituents are marked as given by their antecedents in the previous clause; the focused elements introduce a contrast with respect to the previous clause.

- (47) a. Cosmo compró el libro ayer y Jorge compró LA REVISTA ayer.  
Cosmo bought.3SG the book yesterday and Jorge bought.3SG the magazine yesterday.  
'Cosmo bought the book yesterday and Jorge bought THE MAGAZINE yesterday.'
- b. # Cosmo compró el libro ayer y Jorge compró EL LIBRO ayer.  
Cosmo bought.3SG the book yesterday and Jorge bought.3SG the book yesterday.  
'Cosmo bought the book yesterday and Jorge bought THE BOOK yesterday.'
- c. Cosmo compró el libro pero Jorge compró EL LIBRO ayer.  
Cosmo bought.3SG the book but Jorge bought.3SG the book yesterday.  
'Cosmo bought the book but Jorge bought the book YESTERDAY.'

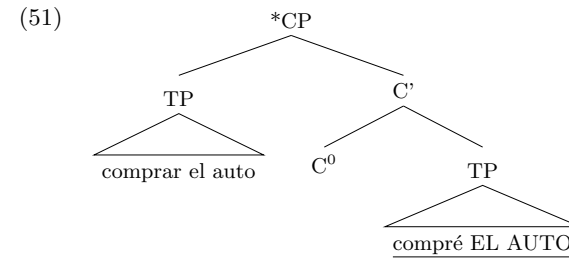
The basic idea is that PREDICATE 1 is an antecedent for PREDICATE 2 in the sense of (46). Take a sentence like (48). Here, the lexical verb *comprar* 'to buy' in PREDICATE 1 marks as given its clause-internal counterpart, and the DP *el auto* 'the car' gets focalized as sketched in (49).

- (48) Comprar, compré EL AUTO.  
to.buy bought.1SG the car  
'As for buying, I bought THE CAR.'



On the contrary, the DP *el auto* 'the car' in (50) cannot be focalized as it is given.

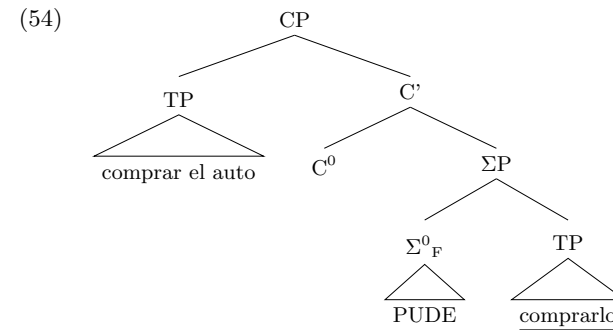
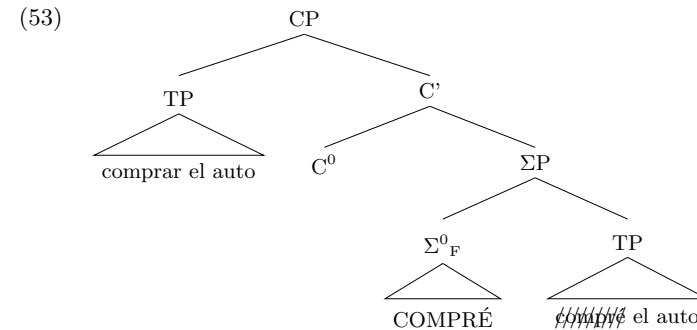
- (50) \*Comprar el auto, compré EL AUTO.  
to.buy the car bought.1SG the car  
'As for buying, I bought THE CAR.'



As discussed, when PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 coincide, only verum focus is possible.

- (52) a. Comprar el auto, COMPRÉ el auto.  
to.buy the car bought.1SG the car  
'As for buying, I DID buy the car.'
- b. Comprar el auto, PUDE comprar-lo.  
to.buy the car could.1SG to.buy-it the car  
'As for buying the car, I COULD have bought it.'

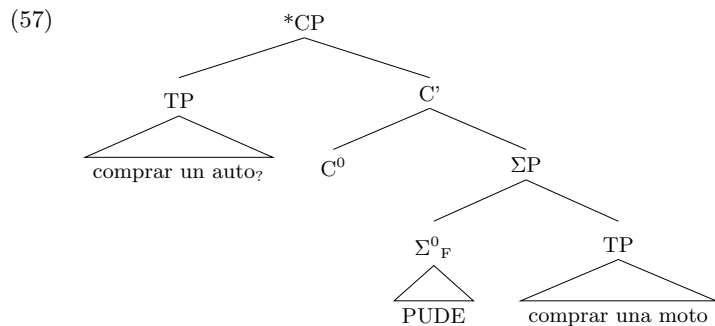
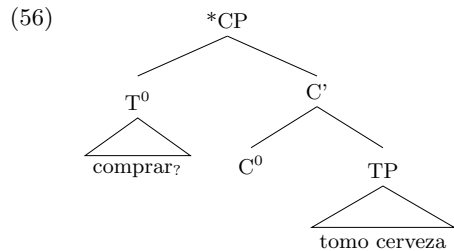
I take that verum focus involves movement of T to a focalized polarity head  $\Sigma$  (Laka 1990), so the pitch accent falls in the finite verb.



Finally, consider again the sentences in (39), repeated for convenience in (55). In these examples, distinct lexical items appear in PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2.

- (55) a. \***Comprar, tomó** cerveza.  
to.buy drink.3SG beer  
'As for buying, she/he drinks beer.'
- b. \***Comprar un auto, pude comprar una moto.**  
to.buy a car could.1SG to.buy a motorcycle  
'As for buying a car, I bought a motorcycle.'

In both sentences there is material in PREDICATE 1 that does not mark as given any constituent in PREDICATE 2. As shown in (56), the lexical verb *comprar* 'to buy' does not mark as given the verb *tomo* 'I drink'. Similarly, the DP *un auto* 'a car' does not mark as given the DP *una moto* 'a motorcycle' in (57).



Since these elements comply no function, they are ruled out due to the *Full Interpretation Principle*.

- (58) Full Interpretation  
All elements should be licensed, i.e., they must receive an interpretation at the interfaces.

## 2.3 Predictions

The focus-based analysis of predicate doubling allows accounting for two peculiar properties of the construction: (i) the availability of genus-species effects, and (ii) the island effects observed in (14).

### 2.3.1 Genus-species splits

Take the following informal definition of givenness.

- (59) Givenness (Büring 2013:875)  
An expression E is given in a context C if there is a synonym or hyponym A to E such that the meaning of A is salient in C.

In (60a), The noun *pescado* 'fish' cannot be focalized as it is marked as given by the noun *atún* 'tuna'; in (60b), the verb *gusta* 'like' can be focalized as the noun *pescado* 'fish' is given.

- (60) a. # Quiero comer atún porque siempre como PESCADO  
want.1SG to.eat tuna because always eat.1SG fish  
'I want to eat tuna because I always eat FISH.'
- b. Quiero comer atún porque me GUSTA el pescado.  
want.1SG to eat tuna because 1SG.DAT like the fish  
'I want to eat tuna because I LIKE fish.'

An schematic explanation for this facts:

- (61) a.  $\text{HYPERONYM}_{\{+A, +B, +C, +D\}} \rightarrow \text{HYPERONYM}_{\{+A, +B\}}$  *given*  
b.  $\text{HYPERONYM}_{\{+A, +B\}} \rightarrow \text{HYPERONYM}_{\{+A, +B, +C, +D\}}$  *just "partially" given*

An hyperonym in PREDICATE 1 does not violates Full Interpretation as it "partially" marks as given the hyponym in PREDICATE 2. Conversely, the hyponym in PREDICATE 2 may be focalized as it is not "totally" given. Therefore, *genus-species* configurations are expected in the construction.

- (62) Genus-species interpretation
- a. Comer pescado, como **ATÚN**.  
to.eat fish eat.1SG tuna  
'As for eating fish, I eat TUNA.'
- b. Leer libros, leo **novelas**  
to.read books read.1SG novels  
'As for reading books, I read NOVELS.'

Certain speakers do not accept easily the kind of doubling exemplified in (62). In these cases, the acceptability of the sentences improves significantly when the focus particle *solo* 'only' is introduced.

- (63) a. Comer pescado, como **solo** ATÚN.  
to.eat fish eat.1SG only tuna  
'As for eating fish, I eat only TUNA.'
- b. Leer libros, leo **solo** novelas  
to.read books read.1SG only novels  
'As for reading books, I read only NOVELS.'

### 2.3.2 Islands

It remains to say something about the island restrictions in (14). Can we explain these patterns as derived from focus structure?

There is a long tradition of researchers that attempted to connect informational structure and restriction on syntactic movement, e.g., Erteschik-Shir (1973), Van Valin (1993),



1995), Ambridge & Goldberg (2008). In the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 1993), island effects are derived from the notion of *potential focus domain*, i.e. the portion of the sentence in which a focused constituent can be placed.

- (64) General restriction on question formation (adapted from Van Valin (1993, 1995))  
The gap of a wh-element must be in the potential focus domain of the sentence.

I am going to take this restriction merely as a descriptive generalization. Consider the following pair of sentences.

- (65) A. Cosmo believes that George hid the sculpture.  
B. No, the painting.
- (66) What does Cosmo believe that George hid?

However, you cannot establish a contrast with something that is within an island, showing that there is a correlation between focus and islands.

- (67) A. Elaine interviewed the artist who made the sculpture.  
B. # No, the painting.
- (68) \* Who did Elaine interview the artist who made?

The problem is that arguments like this one showing the focus-islands connection are never conclusive as they can be restated as involving movement. Under maybe the most standard approach to fragment answers (Merchant 2004), the answer in (67) involves fronting and ellipsis.

- (69) \* No, [CP [DP the painting]<sup>i</sup> [C' ~~did Elaine interview the artist~~ [R.C. ~~who made t<sup>i</sup>]]]~~

Therefore, the focus-island connection should be discussed by appealing to phenomena that does not involve movement. Consider the following: focusing a constituent within a complement clause is acceptable even if the antecedent appears in a matrix clause.

- (70) Cosmo va a comprar el libro, y Jorge<sup>i</sup> dijo que *pro*<sup>i</sup> va a comprar LA REVISTA.  
Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge said.3SG that go.3SG to buy the magazine  
'Cosmo will buy the book, and Jorge said he will buy THE MAGAZINE'.

However, focusing under the same conditions a constituent inside an adjunct (71a), a relative clause (71b), a coordinate structure (71c), a preverbal subject (71d), or a complex NP (71e) leads to an unacceptable result.

- (71) a. # Cosmo va a comprar el libro, y Jorge<sup>i</sup> se encontrará con Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge SE will.meet.3SG with Eliana cuando *pro*<sup>i</sup> vaya a comprar LA REVISTA.  
Eliana when go.3SG to buy the magazine  
'Cosmo will buy the book, and Jorge will meet Eliana when he buys THE MAGAZINE'.

- b. # Cosmo va a comprar el libro, y Jorge conoce a una persona que Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge knows to a person that va a comprar LA REVISTA,  
go.3SG to buy the magazine  
'Cosmo will buy the book, and Jorge knows a person who will buy THE MAGAZINE.'
- c. # Cosmo va a comprar el libro, y Jorge va a vender la Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge go.3SG to sell the guitarra y comprar LA REVISTA.  
guitar and buy the magazine  
'Cosmo will buy the book, but Jorge will sell the guitar and buy THE MAGAZINE.'
- d. # Cosmo va a comprar el libro, y que Eliana vaya a comprar LA Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and that Eliana go.3SG to buy the REVISTA sorprende a todos.  
magazine surprises to everybody  
'Cosmo bought a black shirt, but Eliana buying a black T-SHIRT would surprise everybody.'
- e. # Cosmo<sup>i</sup> va a comprar el libro, y Jorge escuchó el rumor de Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge heard3SG the rumour of que Eliana va a comprar LA REVISTA.  
that Eliana go.3SG to buy the magazine  
'Cosmo will buy the book, but Jorge heard the rumour that Eliana will buy THE MAGAZINE.'

Based on these examples, I propose that **island-like effects in Spanish predicate doubling do not follow from restriction on movement, but from the impossibility of focusing constituents within islands if the relevant antecedent is in a matrix environment**. Further research is necessary to explain the nature of this constraint.<sup>2</sup>

## 2.4 Conclusions to part I

- Predicate doubling constructions in Spanish are not derived through transformational means, i.e., PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 are not copies pertaining to the same movement chain.
- Predicate doubling in Spanish is better understood as an “strategy” to focalize clause-internal constituents.
- The focus-based explanation allows accounting for important properties of the construction.

## 3 Part II: emphatic doubling in Rioplatense Spanish

This is a construction that typically exhibits a V-XP-V pattern. At a pragmatic level, it introduces a mirative interpretation, i.e., the clause expresses the speaker’s surprise or excitement.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Although see Ambridge & Goldberg (2008) for some discussion.

<sup>3</sup>See Jokilehto (2016) for discussion of similar data in Roman Italian.

- (77) a. Compré el auto, compré.  
bought.1SG the car bought.1SG  
'I bought the car!'

- b. \*Compré el auto, comprar.  
bought.1SG the car to.buy  
'I bought the car!'
- c. \*¡Comprá el auto, comprás!  
buy.2SG.IMP the car buy.2SG.DECL  
'Buy the car!'

This identity condition also extends to clitics; if a clitic-like element is associated to the first verb, it must also appear in the second one, and vice versa. This follows straightforwardly from Saab's derivation under the assumption that clitics are incorporated to verbs (e.g., Roberts 2010).

- (78) a. **Se** **lo** compré a Juan, **se** **lo**  
CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC bought.1SG to Juan CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC  
compré.  
bought.1SG  
'I bought it for Juan!'
- b. \*Compré **el auto**, **lo** compré.  
bought.1SG the car CL.3SG.ACC bought.1SG  
'I bought the car!'
- c. \***Se** lo compré a Juan, lo compré.  
CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC bought.1SG to Juan CL.3SG.ACC bought.1SG  
'I bought it for Juan!'

Notice that **these identity conditions are much stricter than in *predicate doubling***.

- (79) Predicate doubling
- a. Comprar, compré el auto  
to.buy bought.1SG the car  
'As for buying, I bought the car'.
- b. Comprar el auto, lo compré  
to.buy the car CL.3SG.ACC bought.1SG  
'As for buying the car, I bought it'.

Coming back to emphatic doubling, since both verbs occupy positions as high as  $\Sigma^0$ , it is predicted that **negation must appear in both verbal forms**, as shown in (80).

- (80) a. ¡No vas a la fiesta, no vas!  
not go.2SG to the party not go.2SG  
'You are not going to the party!'
- b. No tengo ganas, no tengo.  
not have.1SG desire not have.1SG  
'I'm not in the mood!'
- c. \*No vino Ernesto, vino.  
not came.3SG Ernesto came.3SG  
'Ernesto didn't come!'

### 3.1.2 No XPs around Predicate 2

The rightmost verb cannot be accompanied by non-clitic arguments nor adjuncts.

- (81) a. Compré el auto, compré.  
bought.1SG the car bought.1SG  
'I bought the car!'
- b. \*Compré el auto, compré **el auto**.  
bought.1SG the car bought.1SG the car  
'I bought the car!'
- c. \*Compré el auto, compré **ayer**.  
bought.1SG the car bought.1SG yesterday  
'I bought the car yesterday!'

These facts follow straightforwardly if the rightmost verb is a stranded head left behind after remnant movement of  $\Sigma P$ .

### 3.1.3 Constituent order around Predicate 1

**All non-clitic constituents must appear around the leftmost verb.** There is an asymmetry, however, depending on whether these elements are in preverbal or postverbal positions. **Postverbally, constituents must be in their basic unmarked order**, e.g., the direct object must precede the indirect object.

- (82) a. Le compré el auto a María, le compré.  
CL.3SG.DAT bought.1SG the car to María CL.3SG.DAT bought.1SG  
'I bought the car for Mary!'
- b. ??Le compré a María el auto, le compré.  
CL.3SG.DAT bought.1SG to María the car CL.3SG.DAT bought.1SG  
'I bought the car!'

Postverbal subjects are acceptable only with intransitive verbs, or in case other constituents in the VP moved to the left periphery.

- (83) a. Vino Ernesto, vino.  
came.3SG Ernesto came.1SG  
'Ernesto came!'
- b. ??Compró Juan el auto, compró.  
bought.3SG Juan the car bought.3SG  
'Juan bought the car!'
- c. El auto lo compró Juan, lo compró.  
the car CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG Juan CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG  
'Juan bought the car!'

**The order of preverbal constituents is much more flexible.** For instance, the subject may precede the indirect object, and the indirect object may precede the subject.

- (84) a. María, a Juan le compró el auto, le compró.  
María to Juan CL.3SG.DAT bought.3SG the car CL.3SG.DAT bought.3SG  
'María bought the car for Juan!'

- b. A Juan, María le compró el auto, le compró.  
 to Juan María CL.3SG.DAT bought.3SG the car CL.3SG.DAT bought.3SG  
 ‘María bought the car for Juan!’

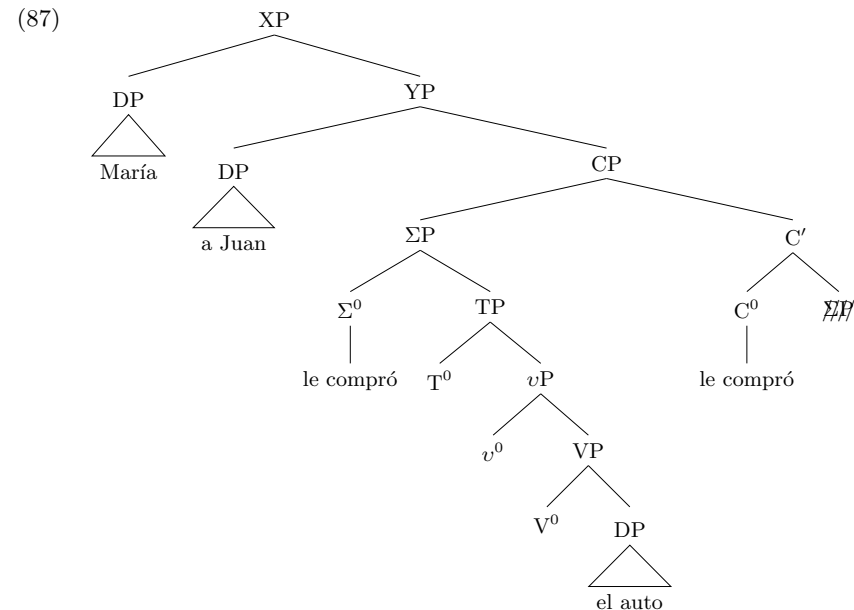
Subject and direct object may both precede the other.

- (85) a. María, el auto se lo compró a Juan, se  
 María the car CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG to Juan CL.3SG.DAT  
 lo compró.  
 CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG  
 ‘María bought the car for Juan!’
- b. El auto, María se lo compró a Juan, se  
 the car María CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG to Juan CL.3SG.DAT  
 lo compró.  
 CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG  
 ‘María bought the car for Juan!’

The same applies for direct and indirect objects.

- (86) a. El auto, a Juan se lo compró María, se  
 the car to Juan CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG María CL.3SG.DAT  
 lo compró.  
 CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG  
 ‘María bought the car for Juan!’
- b. A Juan, el auto se lo compró María, se  
 to Juan the car CL.3SG.DAT CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG Marí CL.3SG.DAT  
 lo compró.  
 CL.3SG.ACC bought.3SG  
 ‘María bought the car for Juan!’

I take that the asymmetry between the preverbal and postverbal fields regarding order flexibility follows from preverbal constituents being dislocated in the left periphery of the sentence, in positions higher than  $\Sigma P$ .



### 3.2 Introducing Match Theory

To explain the doubling pattern in the emphatic doubling construction, I assume that syntactic structure is mirrored in the phonological representation as proposed within *Match Theory*.

- (88) Match Theory (Selkirk 2011)

a. MATCH CLAUSE

A clause in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding prosodic constituent, call it  $\iota$ , in phonological representation.

b. MATCH PHRASE

A phrase in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding prosodic constituent, call it  $\varphi$ , in phonological representation.

c. MATCH WORD

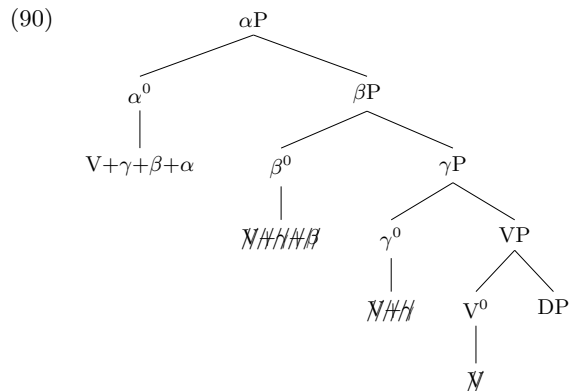
A word in syntactic constituent structure must be matched by a corresponding prosodic constituent, call it  $\omega$ , in phonological representation.

The definition in (88a) basically states that **the edges of a syntactic clause must coincide with the edges of an intonational phrase at PF**. Following Hamlaoui & Szendrői (2015, 2017), I take that what counts as a clause for the Match Clause constraint is the highest position in the extended projection of a verb V to which V moves.

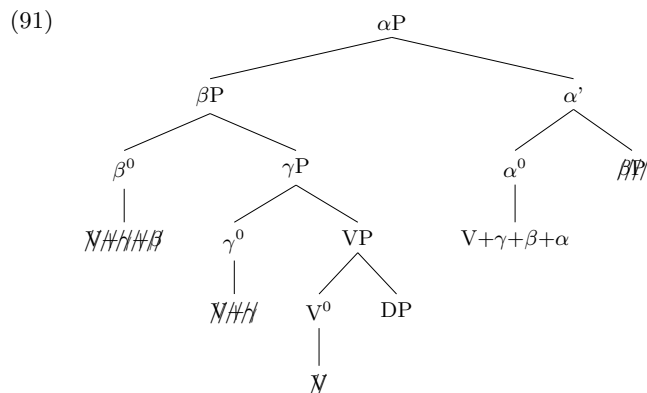
- (89) Clause

A clause is the projection of the highest head  $\alpha$  to which verbal material (i.e., the verb itself, the inflection, an auxiliary) has been moved or inserted.

Take a derivation in which a verb V moves to  $\alpha$  passing through the heads  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$ . Struck-out elements represent material that is not supposed to be pronounced at PF.



Now suppose that the remnant  $\beta P$  moves over  $\alpha$ , as sketched in (91)



In this representation,  $\alpha^0$  is the highest head to which the verb has moved **in the main command unit**.<sup>4</sup> However,  $\beta^0$  is the highest head to which V moved in the domain of the specifier. Therefore,  $\beta P$  is supposed to count as a clause, and should match an intonational phrase  $\iota$  at PF.

Notice that all the heads to which V attached in the domain of  $\beta P$  are supposed to remain silent because of the *Uniqueness* condition on chain pronunciation.

- (92) **UNIQUENESS**  
Given a chain  $C = \{\alpha^1, \dots, \alpha^n\}$ , pronounce only one copy of  $\alpha$ .

Since the DP is the only overt element in  $\beta P$ , the edges of this clausal domain will end up matching those of the phonological phrase  $\varphi$  corresponding to the DP.

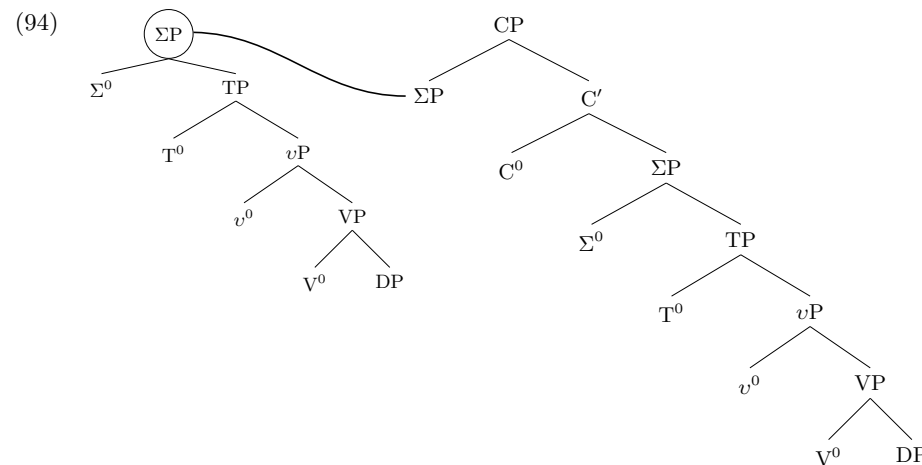
- (93) **Match Clause violation**  
[ $\beta P$   ~~$\beta^0$~~  ... [DP D NP]]  $\rightarrow \varphi(\text{D NP})_\varphi$

In other words, these assumptions predict that **certain headless XP-movements produce mismatches between syntactic and prosodic representations**.

There are, in principle, three ways in which PF may deal with these mismatches.

- **Possibility A:** PF rejects the phrase marker as non-convergent, deriving this way the unacceptability of cases of Headless XP-movement in many languages.<sup>5</sup>
- **Possibility B:** PF tolerates the mismatch, and spells-out  $\beta P$  as if it were a phonological phrase  $\varphi$ . This would derive the exceptions to the previously mentioned constraint on Headless XP-movement.
- **Possibility C:** PF pronounces the head  $\beta^0$ , which satisfies **MATCH CLAUSE** at the expense of violating the **UNIQUENESS** condition on chain pronunciation (cf. 92).

I take that Rioplatense Spanish exploits the third alternative in order to generate emphatic doubling constructions. That is, (i)  $\Sigma P$  undergoes headless movement over  $C_0$  (cf. 75), and (ii)  $\Sigma P$  is identified as a clausal domain.



Assume this derivation corresponds to the sentence in (73d). Since there are no overt elements in the domain of  $\Sigma P$  other than the object DP, a syntax-prosody mismatch arises.

- (95) **Match Clause violation**  
[ $\Sigma P$   ~~$\Sigma^0$~~  ... [DP el auto gris]]  $\rightarrow \varphi(\text{el auto gris})_\varphi$

However, Rioplatense Spanish applies a repair strategy to rescue the derivation. It consists in violating the Uniqueness condition in order to comply with Match Clause.

[ $\Sigma P$ $\Sigma^0$ [ ... DP ]]	*MATCH( $\Sigma P, \iota$ )	UNIQUENESS
a. $\varphi(\text{el auto gris})_\varphi$	*!	
b. $\iota(\text{ compré } \varphi(\text{el auto gris})_\varphi)_\iota$		*

There are two main properties of emphatic doubling that seem to show that this explanation is on the right track. First, **emphatic doubling is only possible when at least one overt XP appears to the right of the first verb, i.e. when there is a constituent in the domain of  $\Sigma P$  causing a syntax-prosody mismatch**.

<sup>4</sup>Following Uriagereka (1999), a command unit emerges in a derivation through the continuous application of Merge to the same object.

<sup>5</sup>See Takano (2000) and Funakoshi (2012) for discussion.

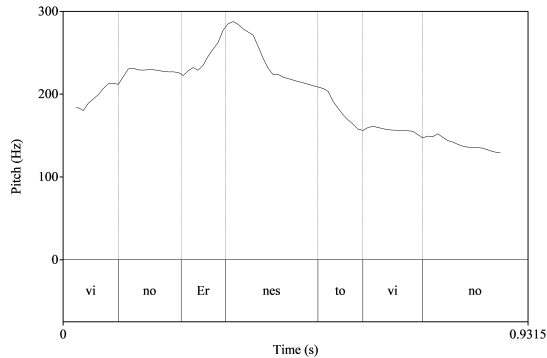
- (96) a. Llovió \*( una barbaridad ), llovió.  
 rained a barbarity rained  
 ‘It rained a lot!’
- b. Compré \*( el auto ), compré.  
 bought.1SG the car bought.1SG  
 ‘I bought (the car)!’
- c. Vino \*( Ernesto ), vino.  
 came.3SG Ernesto came.3SG  
 ‘(Ernesto) came!’

In case there are no constituents in the domain of  $\Sigma P$ , violating the Uniqueness condition becomes unnecessary and, therefore, there is no doubling pattern.

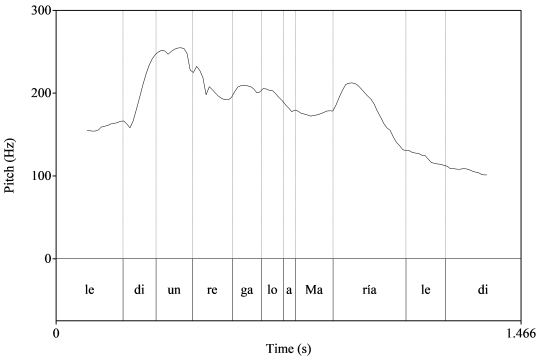
$[\Sigma P \Sigma^0 [ \dots ]]$	*MATCH( $\Sigma P, \iota$ )	UNIQUENESS
a. $\emptyset$		
b. $\iota( \text{llovió} )_\iota$		*!

As a second important property, emphatic doubling displays a characteristic prosodic contour. The last accented syllable in the domain of what has been called  $\Sigma P$  exhibits an abrupt pitch fall (H+L\*) that ends up when the second verb starts. I take this pitch lowering to signal a low boundary tone (L%) in the right edge of an intonational phrase  $\iota$ , as predicted by the analysis.

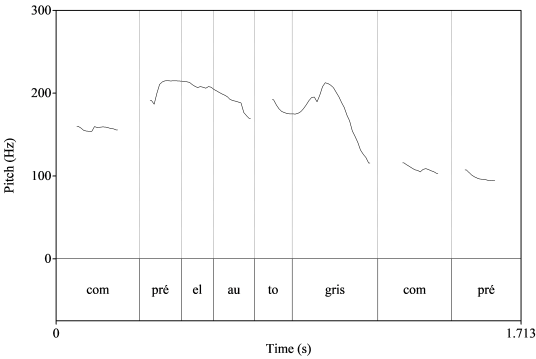
- (97)  $[\Sigma P \text{Vino Ernesto}]$ ,  $[C' \text{vino}]$   
 came.3.SG Ernesto **L%** came.3.SG



- (98)  $[\Sigma P \text{Le di un regalo a María}]$ ,  $[C' \text{le di}]$   
 CL.3SG.DAT gave.1SG a gift to María **L%** CL.3SG.DAT gave.1SG



- (99)  $[\Sigma P \text{Compré el auto gris}]$ ,  $[C' \text{compré}]$   
 bought.1SG the car grey **L%** bought.1SG



Therefore, the claim that  $\Sigma P$  constitutes an intonational phrase  $\iota$  seems to be correct.

### 3.3 Conclusions to part II

- PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 in emphatic doubling are copies.
- The derivation requires Headless XP-movement, an operation that some authors (Takano 2000, Funakoshi 2012) have argued to be unattested.
- Headless XP-movement produces a mismatch in the syntax-prosody mapping.
- PF may apply a repair operation to solve this mismatch.

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