

Predicate doubling in Spanish: an analysis based on informational structure

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1 Introduction

Predicate doubling is a construction in which two occurrences of the same lexical V/VP appear; the first one occupies a position in the left periphery, while the second one remains in its clause-internal base position.

- (1) **lī** à **lī-dā** zué sàkà
eat we eat-past yesterday rice
'We ATE rice yesterday.'

Vata (Koopman 1984, as cited in Nunes 2004)

- (2) **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)

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

Yoruba (Kobele 2006)

To simplify, I will refer to the leftmost and rightmost verbal projections in these constructions as PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2, respectively.

- (4) [PREDICATE 1 **VERB (XP)**] ... [Clause ... (AUX/MODAL) ... [PREDICATE 2 **VERB (XP)**]]

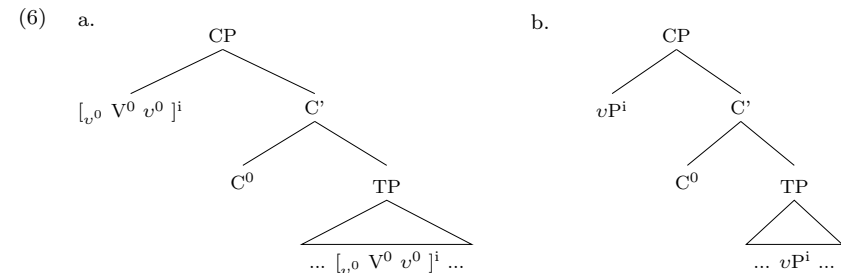
Replicative processes like these have been taken as evidence for the *Copy Theory of Movement* (e.g., Nunes 2004). In this framework, the examples in (1), (2) and (3) may be analysed as instances of **multiple copy spell-out**, i.e., PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 are assumed to be overt members of a single movement chain.

This presentation focuses on **predicate doubling in Spanish**.

- (5) Standard instances of predicate doubling in Spanish
- Comprar, compré** un auto.
to.buy bought.1SG a car
'As for buying, I bought a car.'
 - 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. According to him, the construction involves (i) copying either the complex head *v* or the entire *vP* in Spec,C, and (ii) pronouncing both the derived copy and its original counterpart.



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

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

As $[_{v0} V^0 v^0]$ 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.

- (8) 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 inside a relative clause (cf. 9a), an adjunct (cf. 9b), a subject (cf. 9c), a coordinate structure (cf. 9d), or a complex NP (cf. 9e).

- (9) Island effects
- ***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.'
 - ***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.'
 - ***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.'
 - ***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.’

In this presentation:

- 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.

2 Spanish predicate doubling is not about copying

I will present three simple reasons to maintain that PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 in Spanish predicate doubling are not copies nor 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 Predicate doubling without c-command

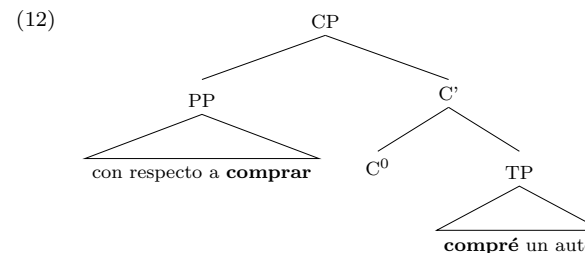
As Zubizarreta (1999) and others point out, *hanging topics* in Spanish may be introduced by prepositional markers such as *con respecto a* ‘with respect to’ or *en cuanto a* ‘as for’.¹

- (10) 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.

- (11) Predicate doubling with topic markers
- Con respecto a **comprar**, **compré** un auto.
 with respect to to.buy bought.1SG a car
 ‘As for buying, I bought a car.’
 - 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.’
 - 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 inside 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.



Just as in standard instances of predicate doubling, using prepositional expressions as *con respecto a* ‘with respect to’ allows locating PREDICATE 2 inside an embedded clause.

- (13) 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 (9) and (14) reveals.

- (14) 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.

¹I am thankful to an anonymous Going Romance reviewer for pointing me out that in Romanian and Piedmontese Italian the leftmost verb may be preceded by a preposition (e.g., *de caântat*, *cântă mereu*, or *per cantare*, *canta sempre*, respectively). The discussion in this section is an extension of this original observation.

2.2 Predicate doubling in Spanish is not restricted to infinitives

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

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

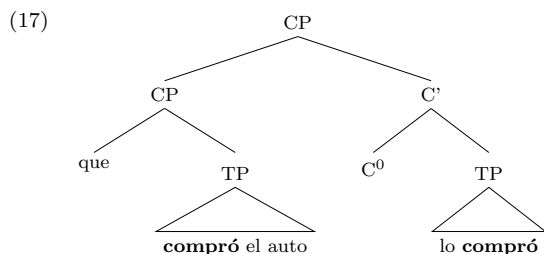
However, this observation must be qualified: finite verbs are banned from PREDICATE 1 **only if they are not accompanied by an overt complementizer**. This is shown in the examples in (16). Notice that the sentence in (16c) forms a minimal pair with (15).

- (16) Finite predicate doubling
- a. 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.’
- b. Que **llegué**, **llegué**
 that arrived.1SG arrived.1SG
 ‘As for me arriving, I arrived.’
- c. Que **leyó**, Juan **leyó** el libro.
 that read.3SG Juan read.3SG the book
 ‘As for reading, Juan read the book.’

The sentences in (16c) show, against Vicente, Vicente’s (2007, 2009) analysis, that the fronted verb cannot always be a complex head $[_{v^0} V^0 v^0]$ that receives infinitival morphology by default.

It could be argued that cases like (16) involve movement and multiple spell-out of a complex head $[_{T^0} [_{v^0} V^0 v^0] T^0]$. However such an analysis would incorrectly predict the acceptability of (15), and would also fail at capturing the obligatoriness of the overt complementizers in (16).

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. 17).



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’.

- (18) 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.’

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

- (19) 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.

- (20) 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 bought.3SG
 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 **compró**].
 that bought.3SG the book Eliana sold.3SG a magazine and it 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 **compró**].
 that bought.3SG the book heard.1SG the rumour of that Eliana it bought.3SG
 ‘As for buying the book, I heard the rumour that Eliana bought it.’

Therefore, finite predicate doubling constitutes **another instance of 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.

2.3 Predicates are related through anaphora, not identity

According to Copy Theory, if α and β are members of a single movement chain, then α and β **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**.

- (21) a. $[_{v^0}$ **Comprar**], pude $[_{v^0}$ **comprar**] un auto.
 to.buy could.1SG to.buy a car
 ‘As for buying, I was able to buy a car.’
- b. $[_{vP}$ **Comprar un auto**], pude $[_{vP}$ **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 (2016) 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 (22a), strong pronouns (22b), or epithets (22c).

- (22) 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**.

- (23) Finalmente compré el autoⁱ. Loⁱ 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.

- (24) A. Compraste cervezaⁱ?
 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.

- (25) Comprar cervezaⁱ, 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.

- (26) A. Preferís cervezaⁱ 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).’
 (27) A. Comés pescadoⁱ?
 eat.2SG fish
 ‘Do you eat fish?’
 B. Como poco \emptyset^i .
 eat.1SG few
 ‘I eat a little.’

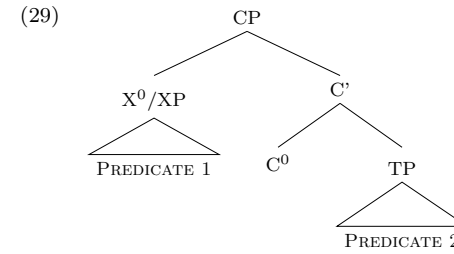
Once again, predicate doubling replicates the anaphoric pattern.

- (28) a. Tomar cervezaⁱ, 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 (2016) 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.**

3 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 φ -defective complex head $[_{T^0}[_{v^0} V^0 v^0] T^0]$ which is generated in Spec,C.
- XP stands for either an infinitival TP (cf. 5), a PP (cf. 11), or a finite CP (cf. 16) 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.

- (30) Predicate doubling requires lexical identity
- 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.’

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

- (31) **Proposal**
 PREDICATE 1 is a base-generated 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 real syntactic construction.**

3.1 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.

- (32) 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’.
- (33) **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.

- (34) 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, compré** 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**.

- (35) 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, compré 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 (36a). 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**.

- (36) 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.'

3.2 The analysis

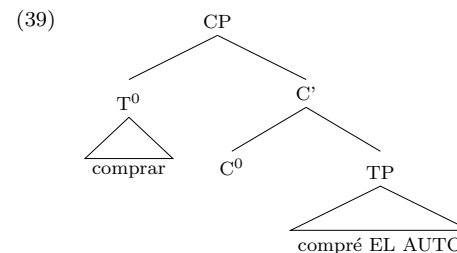
As known, given information and focus are mostly in a complementary distribution. The underlined constituents in (37) are given.

- (37) a. Cosmo compró el libro ayer y Jorge compró LA REVISTA
Cosmo bought.3SG the book yesterday and Jorge bought.3SG the magazine
ayer.
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.'

In Schwarzschild's (1999) system, the interpretation of the contrast in (37a) **depends on the fact that the underlined fragments find a salient antecedent in the previous sentence**.

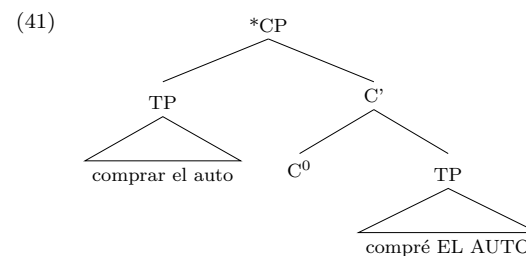
Now, take a sentence like (38). Here, the lexical verb *comprar* 'to buy' in PREDICATE 1 marks as given its clause-internal counterpart, so the DP *el auto* 'the car' might get focalized as sketched in (39).

- (38) **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 (40) cannot be focalized as it is given.

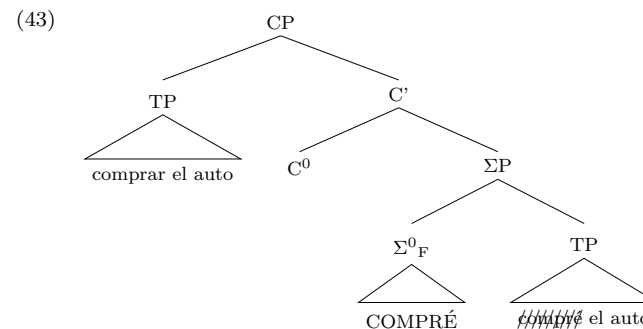
- (40) ***Comprar el auto, compré EL AUTO**.
to.buy the car bought.1sg the car
'As for buying, I bought THE CAR.'



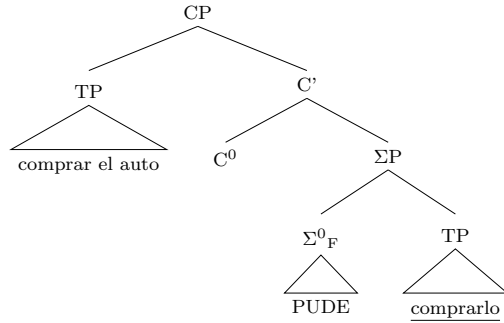
As discussed, when PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 coincide, only verum focus is possible.

- (42) 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 Σ (Laka 1990), so the pitch accent falls in the finite verb.



(44)

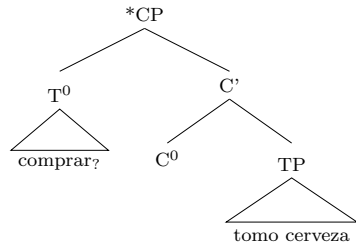


Finally, consider again the sentences in (30), repeated for convenience in (45). In these examples, distinct lexical items appear in PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2.

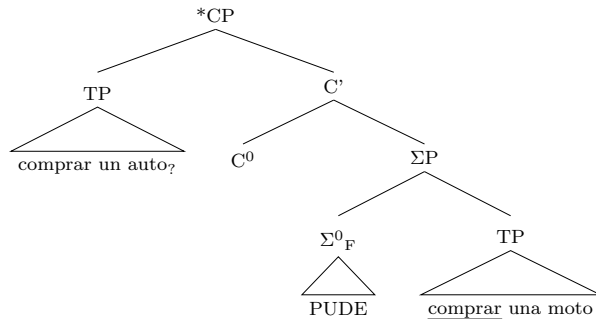
- (45) a. * **Comprar, tomó** cerveza.
to.buy drink.3SG beer
'As for buying, she/he drinks beer.'
- b. * **Comprar un auto, pude comprar una moto.**
to.buy a car could.1SG to.buy a motorcycle
'As for buying a car, I bought a motorcycle.'

In both sentences there is material in PREDICATE 1 that does not mark as given any constituent in PREDICATE 2. As shown in (46), 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 (47).

(46)



(47)



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

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

4 Predictions

The focus-based analysis of predicate doubling allows accounting (at least partially) for two peculiar properties of the construction: (i) the availability of genus-species effects, and (ii) the island effects observed in (9).

4.1 Genus-species effects

Take the following informal definition of givenness.

- (49) 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 (50a), The noun *pescado* 'fish' cannot be focalized as it is marked as given by the noun *atún* 'tuna'; in (50b), the verb *gusta* 'like' can be focalized as the noun *pescado* 'fish' is given.

- (50) 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:

- (51) a. $\text{HYPERONYM}_{\{+A, +B, +C, +D\}} \longrightarrow \text{HYPERONYM}_{\{+A, +B\}}$ given
b. $\text{HYPERONYM}_{\{+A, +B\}} \longrightarrow \text{HYPERONYM}_{\{+A, +B, +C, +D\}}$ 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.

- (52) 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 (52). In these cases, the acceptability of the sentences improves significantly when the focus particle *solo* 'only' is introduced.

- (53) 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.'

4.2 Islands

It remains to say something about the island restrictions in (9).

A similar type of constraint is attested regarding contrastive focus: **getting a contrastive reading on a constituent inside an island when its antecedent is at the matrix level is difficult**. As shown in (54), focalizing a constituent inside a complement clause is acceptable.

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

However, focalizing in the same conditions a constituent inside an adjunct (55a), a relative clause (55b), a coordinate structure (55c), a preverbal subject (55d), or a complex NP (55e leads to an unacceptable result.)

- (55) a. # Cosmo va a comprar el libro, y Jorgeⁱ se encontrará con Eliana
Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge SE will.meet.3SG with Eliana
cuando *pro*ⁱ vaya a comprar LA REVISTA.
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 va
Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge knows to a person that go.3SG
a comprar LA REVISTA,
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 guitarra y
Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge go.3SG to sell the guitar and
comprar LA REVISTA.
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. # Cosmoⁱ va a comprar el libro, y Jorge escuchó el rumor de que Eliana
Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge heard3SG the rumour of that Eliana
va a comprar LA REVISTA.
go.3SG to buy the magazine
'Cosmo will buy the book, but Jorge heard the rumour that Eliana will buy THE MAGAZINE.'

In these sentences the DP *la revista* the magazine cannot be interpreted as contrastive. Assume this is because **the antecedent *comprar el libro* 'buy the book' cannot mark as given the occurrence of *comprar* 'to buy' next to *la revista***. If this is the case, the unacceptability of (9) also follows: in these sentences, the verb in PREDICATE 1 fails at marking as given the clause-internal verb, so the former becomes vacuous and violates the Full Interpretation Principle.

While attractive, **this solution is far from being satisfying**. Judgments regarding the data in (55) are often weak and unstable, while the intuitions about the sentences in (9) are quite straightforward.

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