

Those are not copies: A focus-based analysis of Spanish predicate doubling

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Abstract

This paper argues that predicate doubling in Spanish is a construction for which an analysis based on multiple copy spell-out cannot be empirically substantiated. Such an approach to the phenomenon cannot account for (i) cases in which the duplicates are not in a c-command relation, (ii) instances of finite predicate doubling, and (iii) the anaphoric nature of the duplicates within the clause. It is argued that these patterns are better explained by taking the dislocated verbal duplicate to be a contrastive topic that marks as given the verb and (optionally) other constituents within the clause to facilitate the assignment of narrow focus. This analysis accounts for the distribution of focus in the construction, at the time that allows to explain why Spanish predicate doubling displays genus-species splits and islands restrictions.

Keywords— Spanish, Predicate doubling, Focus, Copy theory, Syntactic islands

1 Introduction

The term *predicate doubling* refers to a family of constructions in which two occurrences of the same lexical verb appear.¹ The first verb occupies a dislocated position in the left periphery of the sentence, while the second one remains in its clause-internal base position. The examples in (1) to (3) illustrate the phenomenon.

- (1) $\bar{l}\bar{i}$ à $\bar{l}\bar{i}$ -dā zué sàkà
 eat we eat-past yesterday rice
 ‘We ATE rice yesterday.’

Vata (Koopman 1984, as cited in Nunes 2004)

¹This type of construction has received many names over the years, e.g., *Predicate Cleft*, *VP-Cleft*, *vP-Topicalization*, etc. I refer to it as *predicate doubling* simply because I find that this terminology describes the phenomenon in a more transparent way.

- (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 (Kobebe 2006)

As these sentences show, the “size” of the left-peripheral verbal duplicate may vary. For instance, in (1) only the bare verb $\bar{l}i$ ‘eat’ is doubled at the left, while in (3) the left-peripheral duplicate seems to be the VP *rira adie* ‘buying chicken’. For ease of reference, I will henceforth refer to the leftmost and rightmost verbal constituents in these constructions, whatever their size, as PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2, respectively.

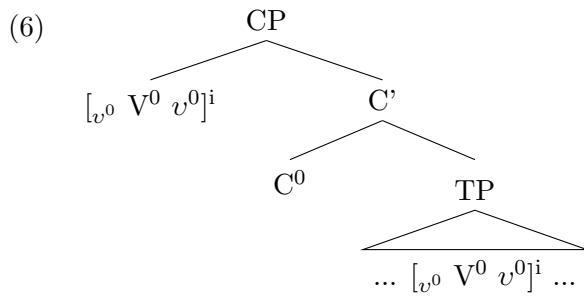
- (4) $\underbrace{\text{VERB (XP)}}_{\text{PREDICATE 1}} \dots [\text{CLAUSE} \dots (\text{AUX/MODAL}) \dots \underbrace{\text{VERB (XP)}}_{\text{PREDICATE 2}}]$

Predicate doubling constructions have been used as evidence to support the *Copy Theory of Movement* (e.g., Nunes 2004). In this framework, doubling patterns like (1), (2) and (3) are analysed as instances of multiple copy spell-out, i.e., PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 are taken to be overt members of a single movement chain $C = \{\text{PREDICATE 1}, \text{PREDICATE 2}\}$; see Cho & Nishiyama (2000), Abels (2001), Nunes (2004), Kobebe (2006), Landau (2006), Trinh (2009), among many others.

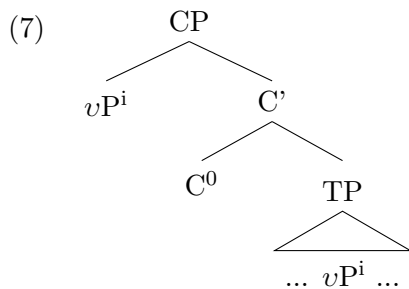
This paper focuses on the Spanish variety of the phenomenon. In this language, the “standard” case of predicate doubling may involve a bare infinitive (5a) or an infinitival phrase (5b, 5c) in the left periphery of the sentence. As I discuss later, there are some other forms of the phenomenon that, as far as I know, have been neglected so far in previous literature.

- (5) Spanish 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 a movement-based analysis of Spanish predicate doubling. According to him, the derivation of a sentence like (5a), in which PREDICATE 1 is a bare infinitive, involves merging a copy of the complex head v^0 in Spec,C.



While a sentence like (5c), in which PREDICATE 1 is an infinitival phrase, involves merging in Spec,C a copy of the full vP .



In both cases, the two members of the movement chain $C=\{v^0, v^0\}$ or $C=\{vP^0, vP^0\}$ receive pronunciation. To account for the distinct morphology in the doubled verbs (e.g., *comprar* ‘to buy’ vs. *compré* ‘I bought’ in (5a)), Vicente assumes that an infinitival suffix appears by default on bare verbal roots.

(8) 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 movement-based analysis, Vicente notices that PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 are subject to locality constraints that are reminiscent of those holding between filler and gap in A'-movement dependencies. To begin with, predicate doubling is acceptable if PREDICATE 2 is located in a complement clause.

- (9) 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 doubling pattern becomes unacceptable if PREDICATE 2 is inside of a syntactic island. This is shown in the examples in (10) regarding relative clauses (10a), adjuncts (10b),

subjects (10c), coordinate structures (10d), and complex NPs (10e).

(10) Island effects in standard predicate doubling

- 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 the data in (10) seem to offer a quite strong empirical argument for a movement-based analysis, I contend that 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. Instead, I argue that predicate doubling phenomena in (5) are better understood as a “discourse strategy” to focus clause-internal constituents other than the lexical verb. I maintain that this focus-based explanation allows accounting for important properties of the construction.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I discuss three arguments for rejecting the hypothesis that PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 are syntactic copies that form a chain. Moreover, the data presented there extends the empirical domain of what is standardly taken to be predicate doubling in Spanish. Section 3 introduces a non-transformational analysis for Spanish predicate doubling. Its basic intuition is that PREDICATE 1 marks as *given* the lexical verb and some other constituents inside the clause to facilitate the assignment of narrow focus to a different element. Section 4 explores some additional consequences of adopting a focus-based analysis, including a conjecture on the island restrictions attested in (10). Finally, section 5 contains some concluding remarks.

2 Spanish predicate doubling is not about copying

I discuss 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 the Copy Theory of movement: (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 an uninflected verbal projection below T; (iii) both PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 are not necessarily isomorphic, and maintain an anaphoric relation rather than a formal identity-based one.

2.1 Predicate doubling without c-command

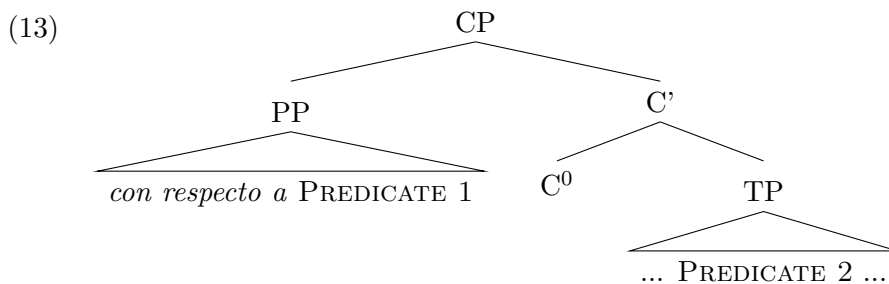
As Zubizarreta (1999) and others point out, *hanging topics* in Spanish may be introduced by prepositional markers such as *con respecto a* ‘with respect to’ or *en cuanto a* ‘as for’.²

- (11) 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.’

The same type of prepositional elements may be used to introduce PREDICATE 1 in predicate doubling constructions. For the sake of explicitness, I will refer to these constructions as *predicate doubling with topic markers*.

- (12) 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.’

In these examples, PREDICATE 1 occupies a position inside a left-peripheral PP, as it forms a constituent together with the prepositional expression. Therefore, the relevant syntactic structure for the examples in (12) is the one in (13).



²I 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 cântat, cântă mereu* in Romanian; *per cantare, canta sempre* in Piedmontese Italian). The discussion in this section is an extension of this original observation.

Given that there is no c-command between PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 in this type of configuration, it may be concluded that these elements are not related through movement and, therefore, that predicate doubling with topic markers does not involve pronouncing two members of the same movement chain.³

Even when a movement-based analysis does not seem to account for predicate doubling with topic markers, the construction displays the same locality restrictions attested with “standard” instances of predicate doubling. That is, just as in the sentences in (9), introducing PREDICATE 1 together with a prepositional expression allows locating PREDICATE 2 in an embedded clause.

- (14) 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 pizza
‘As for eating, I want to eat a pizza.’

However, predicate doubling with topic markers is as sensitive to island effects as the examples in (10); namely, it is impossible to place PREDICATE 2 in a relative clause (15a), an adjunct (15b), a preverbal subject (15c), a coordinate structure (15d), or a complex NP (15e).

- (15) Island effects in predicate doubling with topic markers
- 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 a 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 a book
‘As for buying, I went to the cinema after buying a 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.’

³Even assuming that the predicates are related by transformational means, e.g., through operations like *sideward movement* (Nunes 2001), the lack of c-command would prevent them to form a single chain.

In sum, instances of predicate doubling using prepositional topic markers do not seem to involve syntactic movement and, nevertheless, they are subject to the same locality conditions than “standard” cases of predicate doubling. Therefore, it seems fair to conclude that locality restrictions in predicate doubling constructions are independent from syntactic movement.

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.

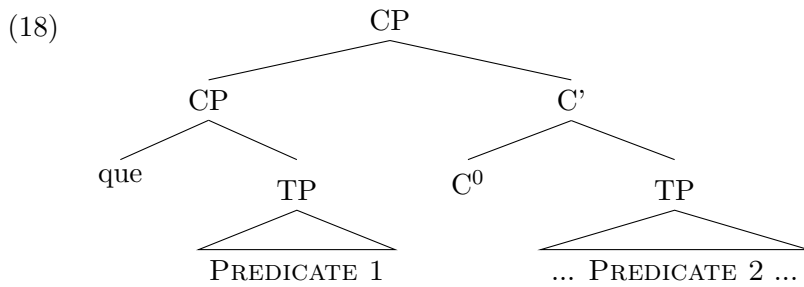
- (16) *Leyó, Juan leyó el libro.
 read.3SG Juan read.3SG the book
 ‘As for reading, Juan read the book.’

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 (17). For the sake of clarity, I will refer to these constructions as *finite predicate doubling*. Notice that the sentence in (17c) forms a minimal pair with (16).

- (17) 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.’

These sentences show, against Vicente’s (2007, 2009) analysis, that the fronted verb in predicate doubling constructions cannot always be a complex head $[_{v^0} V^0 v^0]$ that receives infinitival morphology by default. Against this observation, it could be argued that cases like (17) involve movement and multiple spell-out of a complex head T^0 , i.e., $[_{T^0} [_{v^0} V^0 v^0] T^0]$. However such an analysis would incorrectly predict the acceptability of (16), and would also fail at capturing the obligatoriness of the overt complementizers in (17).

To capture these patterns, I propose that PREDICATE 1 is part of a CP projection that is base generated in the left periphery of the matrix structure. This is shown in (18).



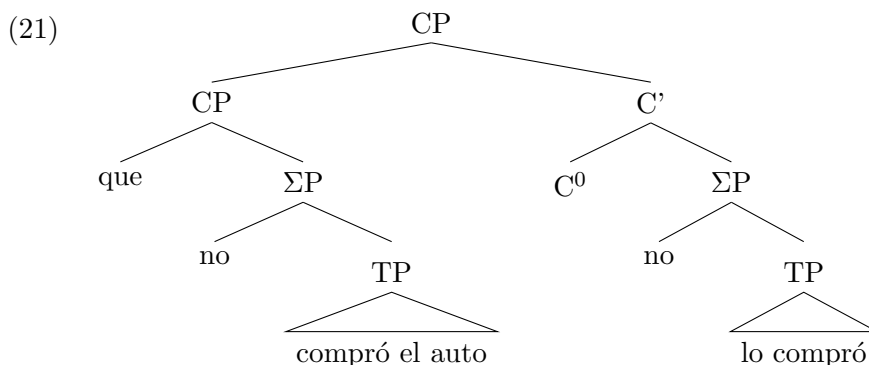
The analysis according to which both CPs are transformationally independent from each other is further supported by the fact that the fronted CP may appear as the complement of a prepositional expression like *con respecto a* ‘with respect to’. As discussed in the previous section, this possibility strongly suggests that both predicates are not part of the same chain.

- (19) 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.’

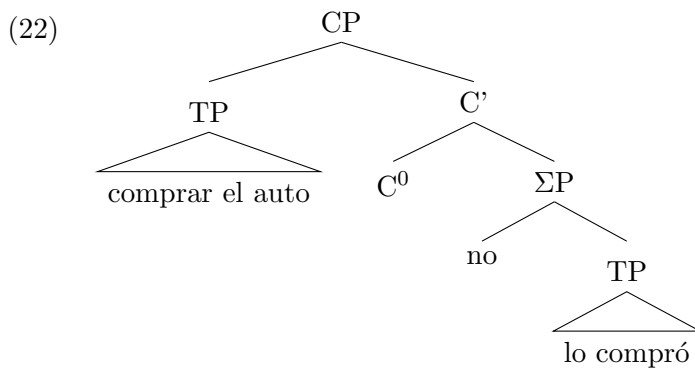
The syntactic structure sketched in (18) allows capturing another property of finite predicate doubling. Contrary to “standard” non-finite predicate doubling, negation may appear together with finite verbs in PREDICATE 1. The basic contrast is exemplified by the pair of sentences in (20), where the infinitive *comprar* ‘to buy’ rejects negation (20a), while the inflected form *compró* ‘she/he bought’ accepts it.

- (20) 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 Σ^0 in Spanish is generated in a position between the CP and TP projections. Since finite predicate doubling involves a full CP in the left periphery, negation is predicted to be acceptable in PREDICATE 1.



On the contrary, if “standard” non-finite predicate doubling involves a φ -defective TP projection in the left periphery of the matrix sentence, the lack of negation in the dislocated infinitival phrase is accounted for, as shown in (22).



Despite the fact that a movement-based analysis seems to be untenable for finite predicate doubling, the construction displays exactly the same locality restrictions as previously discussed instances of non-finite predicate doubling. Thus, just as in the examples in (9) and (14), PREDICATE 2 may appear inside a complement clause in cases of finite predicate doubling.

- (23) 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, placing the rightmost verb inside a syntactic island leads to unacceptability, replicating the patterns in (10) and (15). The sentences in (24) show that PREDICATE 2 cannot appear in a relative clause (24a), an adjunct (24b), a preverbal subject (24c), a coordinate structure (24d), or a complex NP (24e).

(24) Island effects in finite predicate doubling

- 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 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.’

Once again, a doubling construction for which a movement account does not seem to be tenable exhibits restrictions that are reminiscent of those attested in A'-movement. This tendency suggests that there must be an explanation for island-like phenomena that is independent from syntactic movement. While this topic is far beyond the scope of this paper, I present a brief conjecture with respect to it in section 4.2. For the moment, it seems necessary to conclude that island effects like those exemplified in (10) cannot be taken as evidence for a movement-based approach to Spanish predicate doubling unless such an account can also capture the data in (15) and (24).

2.3 Predicates are related through anaphora, not identity

According to most versions of Copy Theory, if two constituents α and β pertain to the same movement chain, then α and β must be structurally isomorphic, i.e., *non-distinct* (Chomsky 1995, Nunes 1995, i.a.). Since a movement-based analysis of predicate doubling is based on the idea that PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 are overt members of a single chain, it follows that both predicates must be strictly identical. This is true for certain cases of predicate doubling, as exemplified in (25). The v^0 and vP labels on PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 correspond to Vicente's analysis in (6) and (7).

- (25) a. [_{v⁰} Comprar], pude [_{v⁰} 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, data discussed by Saab (2017) show that the predicates in the construction are not required to be identical constituents. In particular, Saab observes that DPs in PREDICATE 1 are usually doubled by anaphoric elements in PREDICATE 2, e.g., clitics (26a), strong pronouns (26b), or epithets (26c).⁴ The reader must take into consideration that other constructions that have been analyzed as multiple copy spell-out, e.g., *wh-copying* (Fanselow & Mahajan 2000, Nunes 2004) or *emphatic doubling* (Saab 2011, 2017), do not tolerate this kind of mismatch.

- (26) a. [_{vP} Comprar el auto], puedo [_{vP} comprar-lo]
 to.buy the car could.1sg to.buy-it
 ‘As for buying a car, I can buy it.’

⁴Even under an approach to syntactic movement in which chain members may be structurally distinct (e.g., Takahashi & Hulsey 2009, Muñoz Pérez 2017), constituents containing distinct lexical items are supposed to form independent chains.

- b. [_{vP} Hablar con Cosmo], puedo [_{vP} hablar con él]
to.talk with Cosmo could.1sg to.talk with he
‘As for talking to Cosmo, I can talk to him.’
- c. [_{vP} Hablar con Cosmo], puedo [_{vP} 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.’

Furthermore, these anaphoric expressions behave *exactly* as if they were referring to a previously mentioned definitive DP in a different sentence (cf. (27)). Since this type of dependency is not mediated by any narrow syntactic operation, the claim that the predicates in (26) are related through movement is severely weakened.

- (27) a. 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.’
- b. Finalmente hablé con Cosmoⁱ. Hablé con élⁱ ayer.
finally talked.1SG with Cosmo talked.1SG with he yesterday
‘I finally talked to Cosmo. I talked to him yesterday.’
- c. Finalmente hablé con Cosmoⁱ. Hablé con ese idiotaⁱ ayer.
finally talked.1SG with Cosmo talked.1SG with that idiot yesterday
‘I finally talked to Cosmo. I talked to that idiot yesterday.’

Saab (2017) offers an enlightening discussion on how pronominalization patterns in predicate doubling mimic intersentential anaphora based on the behaviour of null objects. Spanish allows null pronominal objects when their antecedent is indefinite. For instance, using the null pronoun \emptyset as part of the answer in (28B) is a good way to refer to the indefinite *cerveza* ‘beer’ in (28A).

- (28) 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 anaphoric pattern may be attested in predicate doubling constructions, i.e., the indefinite in PREDICATE 1 behaves as an antecedent for the null pronominal inside the clause.

- (29) Comprar cervezaⁱ, compré \emptyset^i ayer
to.buy beer bought.1SG yesterday
‘As for buying beer, I bought (beer) yesterday.’

It has been observed that indefinite null objects may receive certain modifiers, e.g., adjectives (30B), quantification (31B).

- (30) 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).’
- (31) A. *Comés pescadoⁱ?*
 eat.2SG fish
 ‘Do you eat fish?’
- B. *Como poco \emptyset^i .*
 eat.1SG few
 ‘I eat a little.’

These patterns are also replicated in the predicate doubling construction.

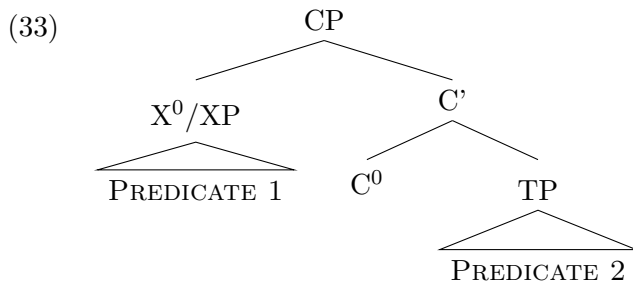
- (32) a. *Tomar cervezaⁱ, tomo \emptyset^i belga*
 to.drink beer drink.1SG Belgian
 ‘As for drinking beer, I drink Belgian (beer).’
- b. *Comer pescado, como poco \emptyset^i*
 to.eat fish eat.1SG few
 ‘As for eating fish, I eat a little.’

In sum, the examples in this section show that PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 (i) are related through anaphora, and (ii) are not required to be formally identical. As discussed, these results go against what would be expected under an analysis based on multiple copy pronunciation.

3 A focus-based analysis of predicate doubling

The patterns discussed in the previous section lead 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. I propose that the basic syntactic schema for the predicate doubling construction follows the lines sketched in (33), in which X^0 represents a bare infinitive, i.e., a φ -defective complex head $[_{T^0}[_{v^0} V^0 v^0] T^0]$ (cf. (5a)), while XP stands for either an infinitival TP (cf. (5b)), a PP (cf. (12)), or a finite CP (cf. (17)) that contain a predicate.⁵ In any of these cases, the constituent in Spec,C is base generated.

⁵Alternatively, the bare infinitive may be taken to be a complex v^0 that receives morphology by default, as proposed by Vicente (2007, 2009).



An analysis of predicate doubling that rejects treating PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 as copies must be able to account for the most basic property of the construction: the lexical-identity requirement between both verbal projections. As shown in the examples in (34), the lexical items in PREDICATE 1 must be the same as those in PREDICATE 2. For instance, if PREDICATE 1 consists of the infinitive *comprar* ‘to buy’ while PREDICATE 2 contains the verb *tomó* ‘she/he drank’, the outcome is an unacceptable sentence (34a); if the direct object in PREDICATE 1 is the DP *un auto* ‘a car’ while the same function is fulfilled in PREDICATE 2 by the DP *la moto* ‘the motorcycle’, unacceptability follows (34b).

- (34) 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 contend that this lexical-identity requirement does not follow from narrow syntactic mechanisms, but from the discourse function that predicate doubling serves in Spanish. The basic proposal is that PREDICATE 1 is a base-generated contrastive topic that marks 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 grammatical construction. The following subsections develop the empirical motivations for such an analysis.

3.1 The link between predicate doubling and narrow focus

According to Vicente (2007), predicate doubling involves a *verum focus* type of interpretation, i.e., the construction emphasizes the positive polarity of a proposition in contrast to a previous sentence. In Spanish, *verum focus* is usually expressed by the positive particle *sí* ‘yes’.⁶ This is illustrated in the dialog example in (35), in which the answer in (35B) expresses contrastive focus as it rectifies the information encoded in (35A); as shown, the particle *sí* ‘yes’ receives the pitch accent in the sentence.

⁶See Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti (2009) for relevant discussion.

- (35) A. Pero entonces Cosmo no compró el auto.
 but then Cosmo not bought.3SG the car
 ‘But then Cosmo didn’t buy the car’.
- B. 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’.

As noticed by Vicente, the type of contrastive meaning in (35B) may be expressed through predicate doubling, as in (36B). Notice that the inflected verb receives the pitch accent in this case.

- (36) A. Pero entonces Cosmo no compró el auto.
 but then Cosmo not bought.3SG the car
 ‘But then Cosmo didn’t buy the car’.
- B. 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, he **DID** buy it, but he lost his license’.

While Vicente is right at pointing the connection between focus and predicate doubling, it should be noticed that verum focus is not a defining characteristic of the construction; elements other than the polarity of the proposition may be alternatively focussed. The examples in (37) show that direct objects (37a), complements of prepositions (37b), subjects (37c), and adverbs (37d) may also be focussed.

- (37) 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.’
- d. Comprar, compré el auto **HOY**, no ayer.
 to.buy bought.1sg the car today, not yesterday
 ‘As for buying, I bought the car **TODAY**, not yesterday.’

However, there is a strong restriction on the clause internal constituents that may be focussed and receive pitch accent: they cannot be doubled in the left periphery of the sentence.

- (38) 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.’
- d. * *Comprar hoy, compré el auto HOY, no ayer.*
to.buy today bought.1sg the car today, not yesterday
‘As for buying, I bought the car TODAY, not yesterday.’

The only apparent exception to this condition involves examples like the one already discussed in (36B): the verb in PREDICATE 2 may receive the pitch accent even when there is a lexically identical verb in PREDICATE 1. Nevertheless, the interpretation in these cases is always that of *verum focus*; the inflected verb cannot be interpreted as contrastive, despite being accented.

The assignment of pitch accent in cases of *verum focus* is linked to finite inflection. The lexical verb will receive pitch accent only if there is no auxiliary verb or modal that carries the inflection, e.g., (36B); otherwise, any of these elements will be accented.

- (39) a. *Comprar el auto, HE comprado el auto, pero perdí el registro.*
to.buy the car have.1sg bought 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.’

As seen in these examples, the connection between narrow focus and predicate doubling in Spanish is undeniable. These patterns require an explanation that, in principle, a movement-based analysis does not provide.

3.2 Accounting for the distribution of focus

Focused constituents are in a complementary distribution with given information (Halliday 1967, Schwarzschild 1999). For concreteness, I will adopt the following informal mechanism to account for this relation.⁷

- (40) A constituent α in $[_{XP} \dots \alpha \dots]$ is focused if:
- a. There is a salient antecedent XP' which is parallel in meaning to XP (modulo α).
 - b. The constituents within XP' mark as given those in XP (modulo α).
 - c. α introduces a contrast with respect to XP' .

⁷Here, I rely on a rather traditional characterization of *givenness* as previously mentioned or recoverable information. This type of definition has proven to be insufficient to account for phenomena in which given elements are focused; for some classic examples, see Büring (2013:876). While this issue could be solved by adopting more elaborate theoretical notions, e.g., Schwarzschild’s (1999) *Givenness*, I stick to a more classic understanding of given information for the sake of clarity and simplicity. As far as I can tell, this decision does not affect in an important way the predictions of my proposal.

For ease of reference, I will call *focus domain* any constituent XP that complies with (40), and *F-antecedents* the ones that satisfy the characterization of XP'. Consider the example in (41). Each double-underlined element in the focus domain XP is given as it has an identical counterpart within the F-antecedent XP'. As given, these elements remain unaccented.

- (41) Cosmo [_{XP} compró el libro ayer] y Jorge [_{XP} compró el libro
 Cosmo bought.3SG the book yesterday and Jorge bought.3SG the book
ayer].
 yesterday
 'Cosmo bought the book yesterday and Jorge bought the book yesterday.'

According to (40), focused elements introduce a contrastive interpretation. In (42), the DP *la revista* 'the magazine' is not given and contrasts with respect to the DP *el libro* 'the book' that occupies a parallel position in XP'. Therefore, *la revista* must be focused.

- (42) Cosmo [_{XP} compró el libro ayer] y Jorge [_{XP} compró LA
 Cosmo bought.3SG the book yesterday and Jorge bought.3SG the
 REVISTA ayer].
 magazine yesterday
 'Cosmo bought the book yesterday and Jorge bought THE MAGAZINE yesterday.'

Conversely, elements that are given cannot be interpreted as focus. For instance, the occurrence of the DP *el libro* 'the book' within the focus domain XP in (43) cannot be focused as it is given and does not introduce a contrast with respect to the constituent that occupies the same position in the F-antecedent XP' (i.e., the first occurrence of *el libro*).

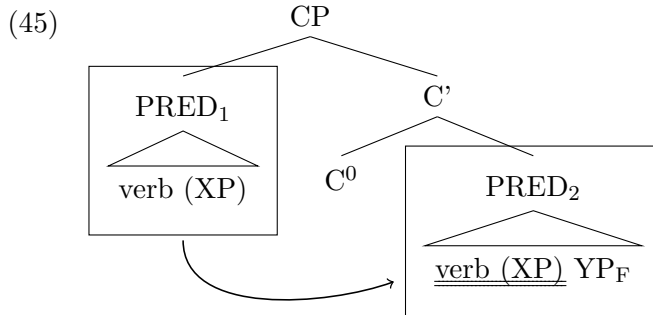
- (43) # Cosmo [_{XP} compró el libro ayer] y Jorge [_{XP} compró EL LIBRO
 Cosmo bought.3SG the book yesterday and Jorge bought.3SG the book
ayer].
 yesterday
 'Cosmo bought the book yesterday and Jorge bought THE BOOK yesterday.'

A constituent can be focused even if it has no explicit contrastive counterpart in a previous sentence. For instance, the comitative *con Eliana* 'with Eliana' in (44) complies with (40) as it is not given and introduces a contrast with respect to XP' merely by not being there.

- (44) Cosmo [_{XP} fue al cine ayer] y Jorge [_{XP} fue al cine
 Cosmo went.3SG to.the cinema yesterday and Jorge went.3SG to.the cinema
 CON ELIANA ayer].
 with Eliana yesterday
 'Cosmo went to the cinema yesterday and Jorge went to the cinema WITH ELIANA
 yesterday.'

The core idea to link predicate doubling and focus is that PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 hold the same type of relation that has been attested between XP' and XP in (41) to (44), i.e., PREDICATE 2 is a focus domain, while PREDICATE 1 is its F-antecedent. The function

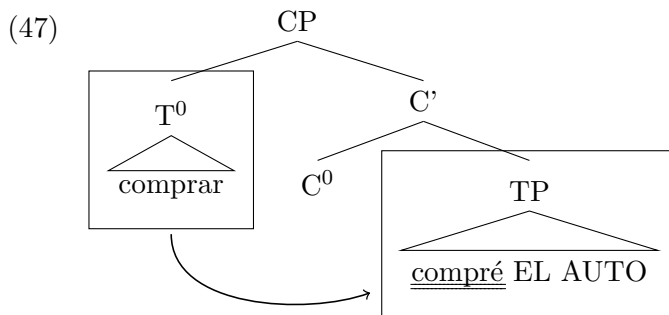
of PREDICATE 1 is to mark as given the verb (and some other elements) in PREDICATE 2 in order to focus a clause-internal constituent. The intuition is informally schematized in (45), in which the boxes signal the focus domain and its antecedent, and the arrow indicates that the constituents in PREDICATE 1 mark as given the double-underlined elements in PREDICATE 2 so that YP can be focused.



Take (46) as a first example of how this works. In this sentence, the object DP *el auto* ‘the car’ is focused.

- (46) *Comprar, compré EL AUTO.*
 to.buy bought.1SG the car
 ‘As for buying, I bought THE CAR.’

According to the scheme in (45), the left-peripheral infinitive *comprar* ‘to buy’ marks as given the lexical verb *compré* ‘I bought’ within the TP. As it complies with (40), the DP *el auto* ‘the car’ can be focused, in a similar way as it happens in (44).

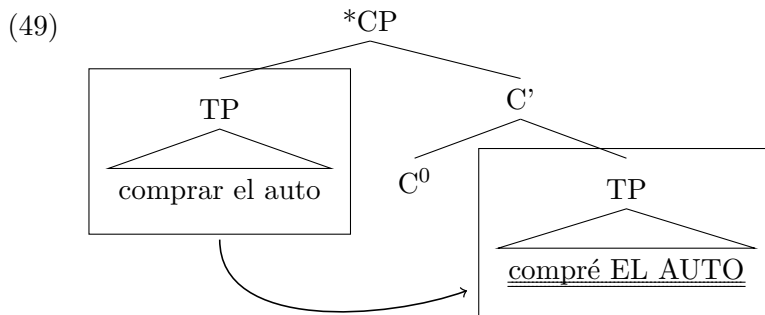


As already pointed out, if a constituent other than the verb appears both in PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2, it cannot be focused. This is attested in (48) for the DP *el auto*.

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

This restriction follows straightforwardly if, as proposed, PREDICATE 1 functions as an antecedent of PREDICATE 2 for the purposes of narrow focus assignment. Since the infinitival phrase in the left periphery marks as given both the lexical verb and its object DP, the latter cannot

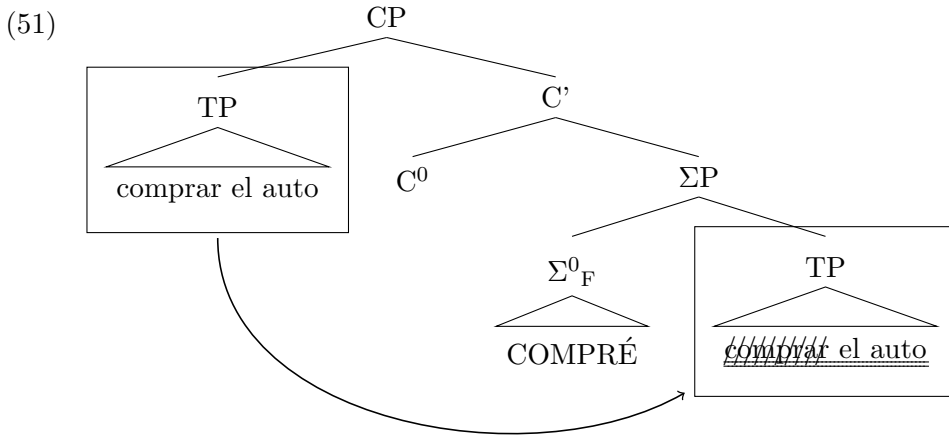
be interpreted as focus. Therefore, the unacceptability of (48) may be considered analogous to that of (43).



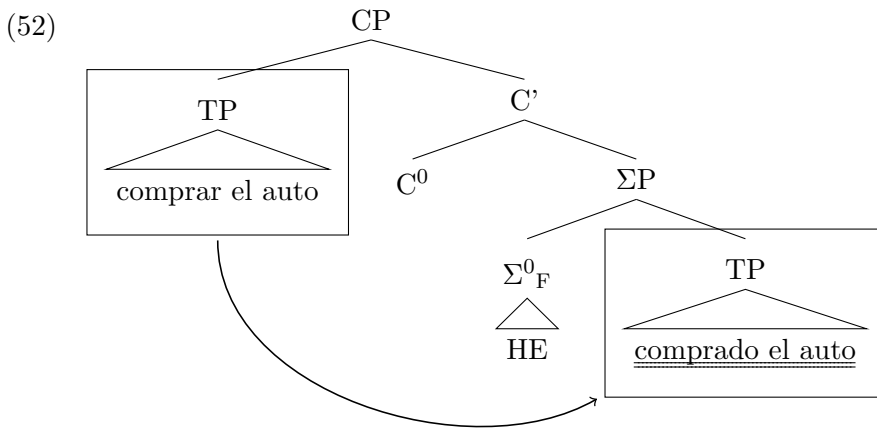
As seen, this simple system allows to account for those cases of predicate doubling in which a single constituent is both accented and interpreted as focus. There are cases that depart from this pattern. As already pointed out, when PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 fully coincide, only the verum focus interpretation is available; in cases like these, the pitch accent must fall on the finite verb, no matter it is a lexical verb (50a), an auxiliary (50b), or a modal (50c).

- (50) 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, HE comprado el auto.
to.buy the car have.1SG bought the car
‘As for buying, I DID buy the car.’
- c. Comprar el auto, PUDE comprar-lo
to.buy the car could.1SG to.buy-it
‘As for buying the car, I COULD have bought it.’

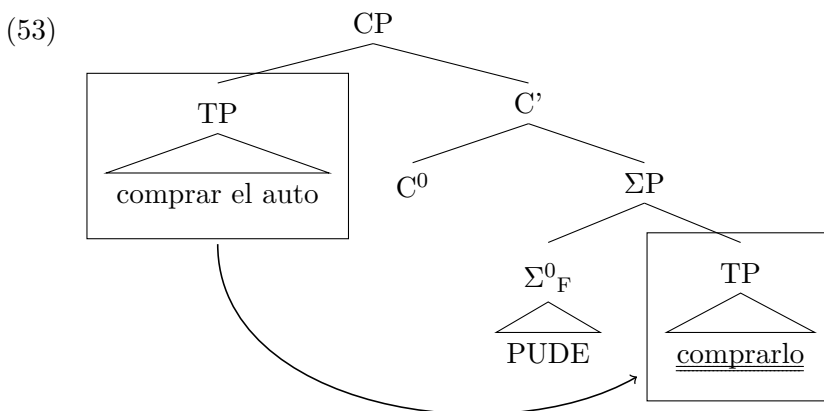
To account for this, I take that verum focus in Spanish involves head movement of T^0 to a focused polarity head Σ^0 . In a sentence like (50a), for example, there is an instance of V-T- Σ movement that allows to explain why the lexical verb is accented. The analysis is sketched in (51). This representation shows that both the lexical verb and the object DP are marked as given within the TP; however, the finite verb incorporates to the focused head Σ^0 and, as a consequence, it ends up carrying the pitch accent.



This analysis extends straightforwardly to the examples in (50b) and (50c). The former involves an auxiliary in T^0 that moves to Σ^0 , and ends up being accented. The lexical verb and the object DP remain given just as in the previous example.



As for (50c), the only relevant difference is that in this case a modal moves from T^0 to Σ^0 .

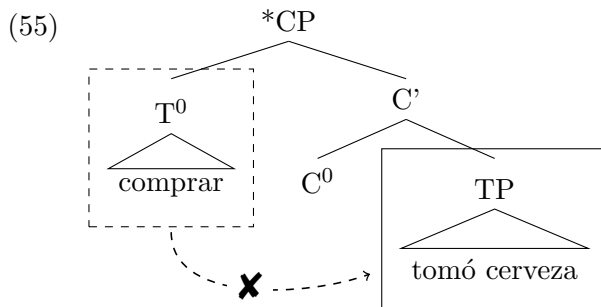


Finally, consider again the sentences in (34), repeated for convenience in (54). The problem with these examples is that they do not comply with the lexical identity requirement on predicate

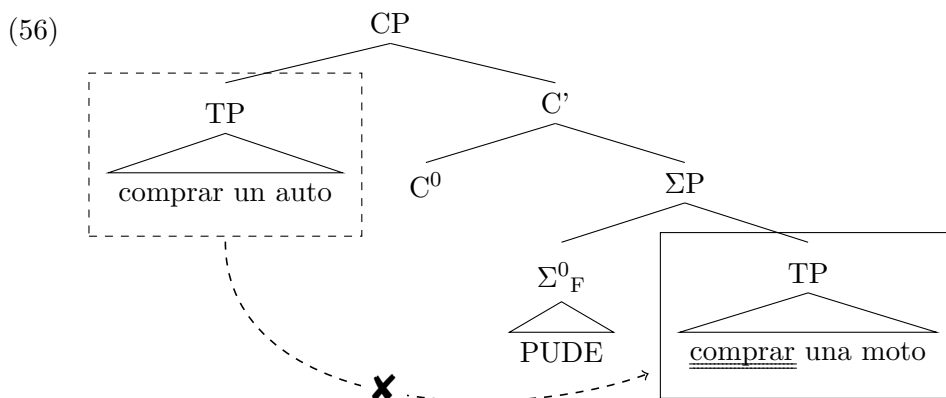
doubling.

- (54) 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 could have bought a motorcycle.’

The unacceptability of these sentences follows from the characterization of predicate doubling that has been advanced so far. If the function of PREDICATE 1 is, as proposed, marking as given constituents in PREDICATE 2 to allow narrow focus assignment, then the lexico-syntactic structure of PREDICATE 1 must be aimed to comply with this purpose. However, both sentences in (54) contain material in PREDICATE 1 that does not mark as given any constituent within PREDICATE 2. The infinitive *comprar* ‘to buy’ in (54a) is not a proper F-antecedent for *tomó cerveza* ‘she/he drank beer’ for the purposes of givenness marking.



While *un auto* ‘a car’ cannot mark as given the DP *una moto* ‘a motorcycle’ in (54b).



Thus, *comprar* ‘to buy’ in (54a) and *una moto* ‘a motorcycle’ in (54b) appear in PREDICATE 1 but serve no function at all with respect to givenness marking. In other words, they are simply vacuous elements that could be not there, as they do not affect the interpretation of the clause. Consequently, they may be ruled out by appealing to the *Full Interpretation Principle*.

- (57) Full Interpretation

All elements should be licensed, i.e., they must receive an interpretation at the interfaces.

In this way, the focus-based analysis allows to account for the lexical identity requirement in predicate doubling without resorting to narrow syntactic means.

4 Further predictions

The proposed analysis can be extended to capture (at least partially) two peculiar properties of the predicate doubling construction in Spanish: the availability of genus-species doubling, and the island restrictions attested in (10), (15) and (24).

4.1 Genus-species doubling

While the examples of givenness marking discussed so far involve lexical identity between the focus domain and its F-antecedent, there are cases in which this identity relation does not hold. Consider first the sentence in (58). Here, the noun *pescado* ‘fish’ cannot be focused, presumably because it is marked as given by its hyponym *atún* ‘tuna’ in the matrix clause.

- (58) # 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.’

Conversely, the verb *gusta* ‘like’ in (59a) can be focused despite the fact its syntactic context is not identical to the one corresponding to its contrasting antecedent *comer* ‘to eat’. This lack of lexical identity is allowed as, once more, the noun *atún* ‘tuna’ marks as given the DP *el pescado* ‘the fish’. Notice that if *el pescado* does not have a lexically related antecedent, focusing the verb *gusta* becomes impossible (59b).

- (59) a. 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.’
 b. # Quiero comer queso porque me GUSTA el pescado.
 want.1SG to.eat cheese because 1SG.DAT like the fish
 ‘I want to eat tuna because I LIKE fish.’

To capture these phenomena, the definition of givenness must make use of the notion of hyponymy (or an equivalent relation). Take as an instance the definition offered by Büring (2013).

- (60) 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.

At a very schematic level, this definition expresses the idea that a lexical item consisting on a set of semantic properties marks as given another lexical item that is a subset of those properties.

$$(61) \text{ HYPONYM}_{\{+A, +B, +C, +D\}} \longrightarrow \text{HYPERONYM}_{\{\underline{\pm A}, \underline{\pm B}\}}$$

Suppose now a case in which a lexical item has a hyperonym as antecedent for the purposes of givenness marking. In this case, the property overlap is just partial, so only “part” of the meaning of the lexical item is given.

$$(62) \text{ HYPERONYM}_{\{+A, +B\}} \longrightarrow \text{HYPONYM}_{\{\underline{\pm A}, \underline{\pm B}, +C, +D\}}$$

Scenarios like the one described in (62) are attested in Spanish predicate doubling. That is, a hyperonym noun appears in PREDICATE 1 and functions as antecedent for a focused hyponym within PREDICATE 2. Following and adapting Ott & Nicolae’s (2014) terminology, I will refer to this phenomenon as *genus-species doubling*.

(63) Genus-species doubling

- 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.’

While this phenomenon is rather unexpected under a movement-based approach to predicate doubling, a focus-based explanation can account for it straightforwardly. Basically, what is focused in (63) are those semantic properties that allow distinguishing *atún* ‘tuna’ and *novelas* ‘novels’ from *pescado* ‘fish’ and *libros* ‘books’, respectively. The hyperonyms appearing in PREDICATE 1 mark as given “part” of the meaning of the hyponyms in PREDICATE 2 (cf. (62)); since the remaining semantic properties in the hyponyms are not given and introduce a contrast, the hyponyms end up being focused.

As Vicente (2007, 2009) notices, certain speakers tend to find odd cases of genus-species duplication as those in (63). However, my own experience is that the acceptability of these sentences improves significantly when the focus particle *solo* ‘only’ is introduced. This amelioration effect further shows that the doubling phenomenon is intrinsically related to focus.

- (64) 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.’

It should be noticed that verbs do not seem to participate in this type of doubling. That is, while DPs in PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 may be in a hyperonym-hyponym relation, verbs must be lexically identical.

- (65) *Cocinar, asé un pollo.
 to.cook roasted.1SG a chicken
 ‘As for cooking, I roasted a chicken.’

This restriction follows if, as Fellbaum & Miller (1990) and Fellbaum (2002) point out, verbs are not related through hyponymy or hyperonymy, but through *troponymy*, a “manner” relation between lexemes. The distinction is based on the observation that nouns can be related through predicates as *is a type of*, while this does not apply to verbs, e.g., *a tuna is a type of fish* is a fine expression while *to roast is a type of to cook* is not. The right way to relate two verbal lexemes is through a predicate like *is a manner of*, e.g., *to roast is to cook in a certain manner*; this is troponymy. If givenness marking requires hyponymy or synonymy as stated in (60), it follows that the infinitive in (65) cannot mark as given the troponym verb within the clause, so the verb in PREDICATE 1 is vacuous and must be ruled out due to a violation of Full Interpretation.⁸

4.2 Islands

As discussed in the introduction, the main empirical support for a movement-based analysis of predicate doubling comes from islands effects like those exemplified in (10). I have argued, however, that the same kind of effect is attested in contexts in which a movement relation between PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 is untenable due to a lack of c-command (cf. (15) and (24)). The problem now is accounting for all these patterns in a unified way.

Given the analysis of predicate doubling advanced so far, the first hypothesis to explore is whether these movement-like restrictions can be derived from some particular interaction between focus-assignment and syntactic islands. This kind of explanation may be on the right track, as these interactions do occur. Consider the sentences in (66), taken from Krifka (2006:134). They show that assigning focus inside syntactic islands in contexts of comparatives is impossible if the alternatives are restricted by an *of*-phrase.

- (66) a. Of these three towns, the most interesting is AUSTIN.
 b. *Of these three towns, it is most rarely that AUSTIN is snowed in.

A similar type of contrast can be constructed in Spanish and used to explain the island restrictions in predicate doubling. The relevant observation is that obtaining a contrastive reading on a constituent within an island is almost impossible when its antecedent is at the matrix level in a previous sentence. This is perfectly doable if the focused constituent appears inside a complement clause: in (67), *comprar el libro* ‘to buy the book’ functions as an antecedent for *comprar la revista* ‘to buy the magazine’ so that the DP *la revista* ‘the magazine’ is focused.

⁸There are alternative ways of explaining why verbs cannot form hyperonym-hyponym patterns. As Alejo Alcaraz (p.c.) pointed out to me, more or less the same predictions than in the main text could be obtained by assuming that givenness marking between PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 is subject to the kind of parallelism requirements attested in the domain of VP-ellipsis; see Fox (1999) for discussion on the relation between ellipsis and deaccenting.

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

However, focusing under the same conditions a constituent within an adjunct (68a), a relative clause (68b), a coordinate structure (68c), a preverbal subject (68d), or a complex NP (68e) leads to unacceptable or marginal results.

- (68) 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
 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 guitarra
 Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge go.3SG to sell the guitar
 y comprar LA REVISTA.
 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 the book, but Eliana buying THE MAGAZINE surprises every-
 body.’
- e. ?Cosmoⁱ va a comprar el libro, y Jorge escuchó el rumor de que
 Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge heard3SG the rumour of that
 Eliana va a comprar LA REVISTA.
 Eliana go.3SG to buy the magazine
 ‘Cosmo will buy the book, but Jorge heard the rumour that Eliana will buy THE
 MAGAZINE.’

These sentences show that there are restrictions concerning the distribution of focused constituents and their (explicit) F-antecedents. The nature of such a restriction is further revealed by the data in (69). In each of the following examples, the focus domain phrase and its F-antecedent appear in identical syntactic contexts, i.e., they are both contained in islands. As a consequence, contrastive interpretation becomes fully acceptable.

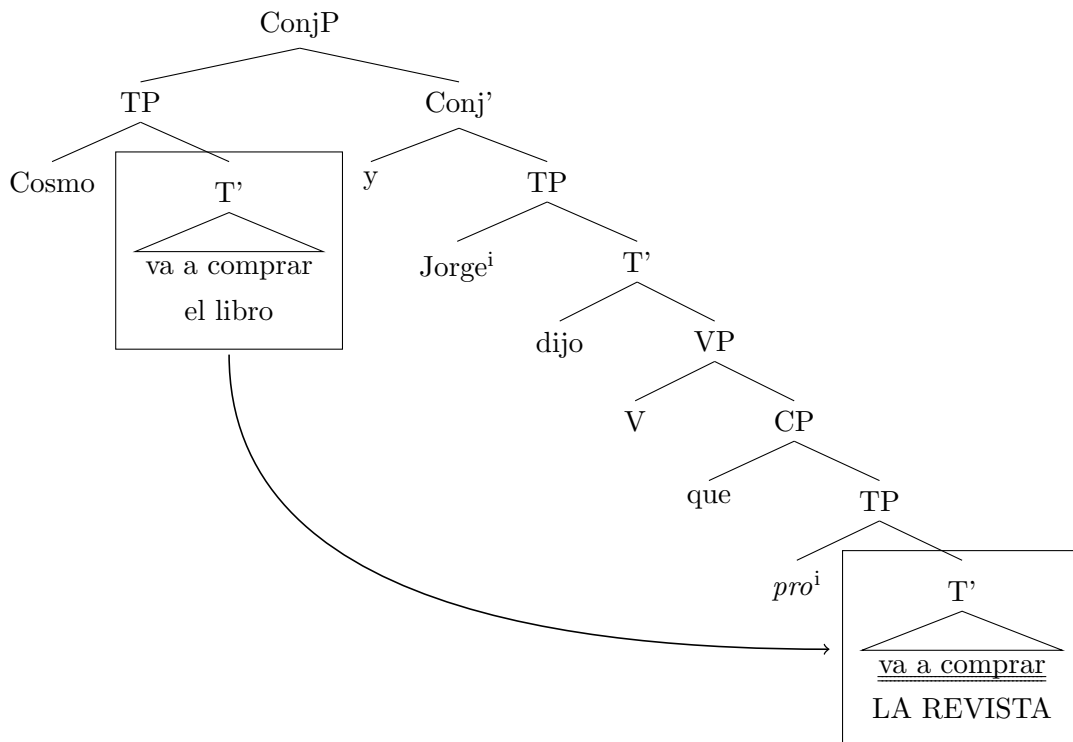
- (69) a. Cosmoⁱ se encontrará con Eliana cuando *pro*ⁱ vaya a comprar el libro,
 Cosmo SE will.meet.3SG with Eliana when go.3SG to buy the book
 y Jorge^j se encontrará con Eliana cuando *pro*^j vaya a comprar LA
 and Jorge SE will.meet.3SG with Eliana when go.3SG to buy the
 REVISTA.
 magazine
 ‘Cosmo will meet Eliana when he buys the book, and Jorge will meet Eliana when
 he buys THE MAGAZINE’.
- b. Cosmo conoce a una persona que va a comprar el libro, y Jorge
 Cosmo knows to a person that go.3SG to buy the book and Jorge
 conoce a una persona que va a comprar LA REVISTA.
 knows to a person that go.3SG to buy the magazine
 ‘Cosmo knows a person who will buy the book, and Jorge knows a person who
 will buy THE MAGAZINE.’
- c. Cosmo va a vender la guitarra y comprar el libro, y Jorge va
 Cosmo go.3SG to sell the guitar and buy the book and Jorge go.3SG
 a vender la guitarra y comprar LA REVISTA.
 to sell the guitar and buy the magazine
 ‘Cosmo will sell the guitar and buy the book, but Jorge will sell the guitar and
 buy THE MAGAZINE.’
- d. Que Cosmo vaya a comprar el libro sorprende a todos, y que
 That Cosmo go.3SG to buy the book surprises to everybody and that
 Eliana vaya a comprar LA REVISTA sorprende a todos.
 Eliana go.3SG to buy the magazine surprises to everybody
 ‘Cosmo buying the book surprises everybody, and Eliana buying THE MAGAZINE
 surprises everybody.’
- e. Cosmo escuchó el rumor de que Eliana va a comprar el libro, y
 Cosmo heard3SG the rumour of that Eliana go.3SG to buy the book and
 Jorge escuchó el rumor de que Eliana va a comprar LA REVISTA.
 Jorge heard3SG the rumour of that Eliana go.3SG to buy the magazine
 ‘Cosmo heard the rumour that Eliana will buy the book, but Jorge heard the
 rumour that Eliana will buy THE MAGAZINE.’

I contend that the patterns in (67), (68) and (69) can be accounted for by appealing to a single constraint in interaction with the focus-assignment mechanism in (40).

- (70) A focus domain XP cannot be contained in a syntactic island.

The explanation goes as follows. Take first the sentence in (67), represented for convenience in (71). In this case there are no islands, so the restriction in (70) does not play any role. The relevant focus domain is the phrase *va a comprar la revista* ‘will buy the magazine’, which finds a proper F-antecedent at the matrix level in the previous sentence. The DP *la revista* ‘the magazine’ is focused as it complies with the definition in (40).

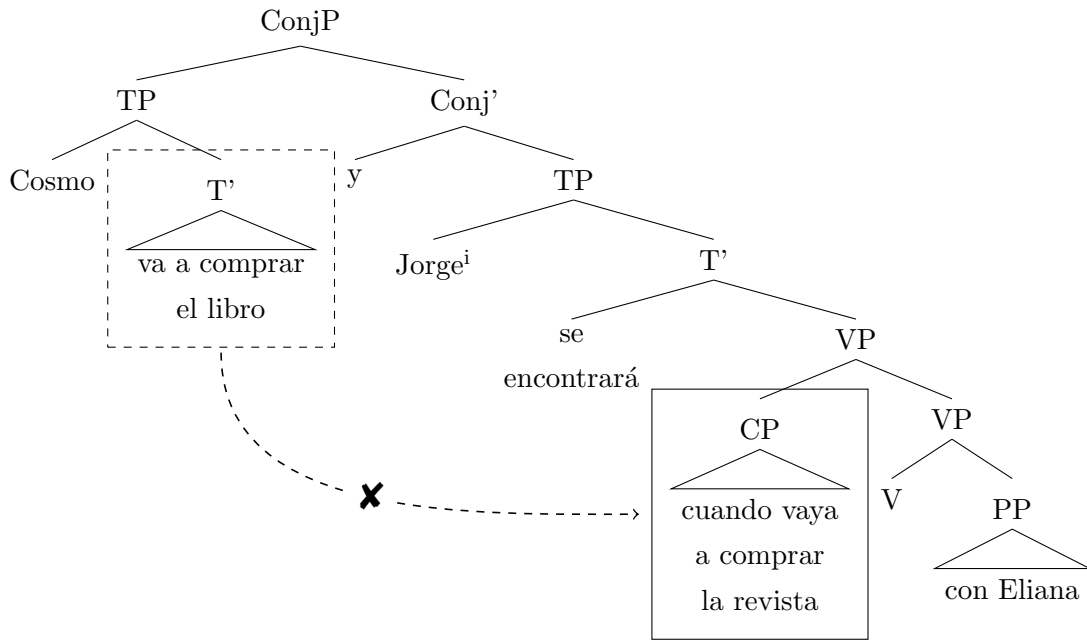
(71)



Consider now what happens in the unacceptable examples in (68), in which the focused element is in an island and the F-antecedent is at the matrix level in a previous sentence. Take (68a) as a representative case, the one involving an adjunct island. In order to focus the DP *la revista*, this constituent must be within a focus domain. However, the restriction in (70) forbids focus domains appearing inside islands. The smallest projection that (i) contains the DP *la revista* and (ii) is not contained in an island is the adjunct island itself. Thus, the full adjunct CP must function as a focus domain containing the DP *la revista*.⁹ The problem with this is that there is no proper F-antecedent for the full CP, i.e., the meaning of the predicate *va a comprar el libro* ‘will buy the book’ in the previous sentence is not parallel to that of the temporal adjunct *cuando vaya a comprar la revista* ‘when he buys the magazine’. Consequently, the constituents within the predicate *va a comprar el libro* cannot mark as given any element in the CP, and the DP *la revista* cannot be interpreted as focus; a sketchy representation of these issues is offered in (72).

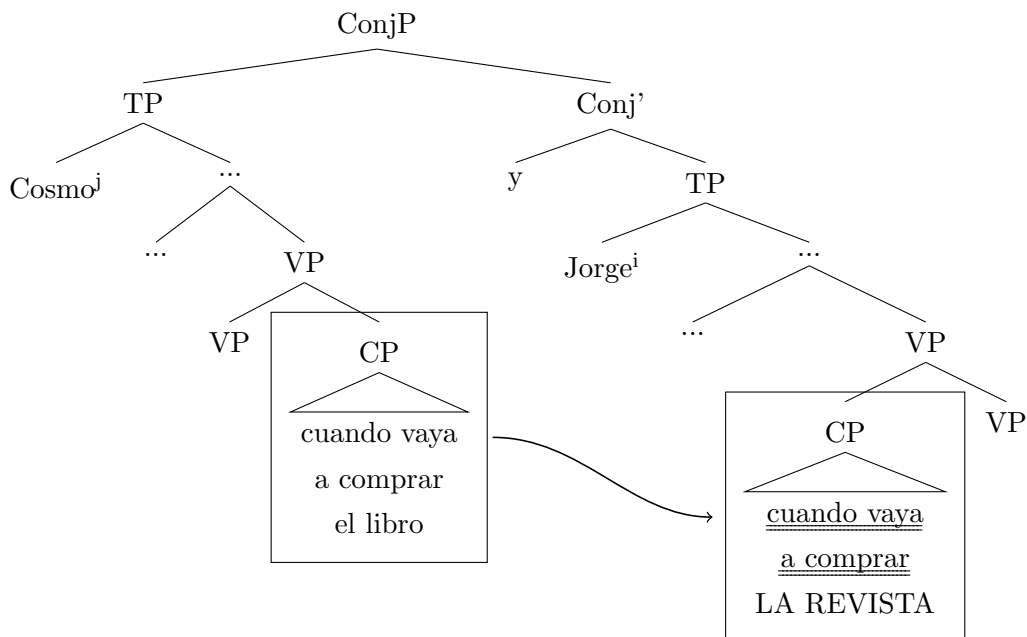
⁹*Cuando*-clauses in Spanish have been analysed both as PPs and relative clauses; see Gallego (2011) for discussion and references. In the tree in (72), I remain agnostic regarding these alternatives and focus on the fact that the clause introduced by *cuando* is finite, i.e. a CP.

(72)



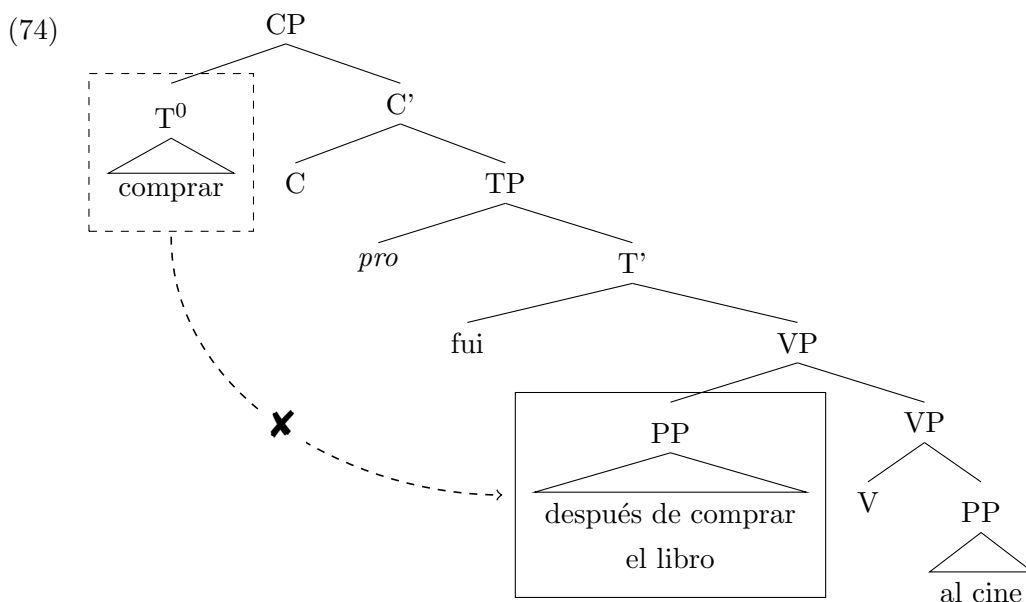
As the data in (69) show, a very different result is obtained if the island that functions as a focus domain finds an analogous F-antecedent in the previous sentence. Take the example in (69a), which involves two coordinated sentences containing each a temporal adjunct. Once again, focusing the DP *la revista* requires that the full adjunct CP containing it functions as a focus domain. However, in this case there is a proper F-antecedent for this focus domain, namely the temporal adjunct *cuando vaya a comprar el libro* ‘when he buys the book’ in the previous sentence. Therefore, the constituents within the focus domain can be marked as given and the DP *la revista* is interpreted as focus.

(73)



The island effects attested in predicate doubling constructions, i.e., (10), (15) and (24), can be accounted for roughly in the same terms: in all these cases, PREDICATE 1 is a constituent at the matrix level of the sentence, while PREDICATE 2 is embedded in a syntactic island. Consider

the predicate doubling sentence in (10b) as an example. From the restriction in (70) it follows that PREDICATE 2 cannot be a focus domain, but the adjunct PP should. However, PREDICATE 1 is not a proper F-antecedent for this constituent.



Since PREDICATE 1 does not fulfil the function of marking as given any clause-internal element, its presence in this sentence becomes vacuous and, therefore, violates the Full Interpretation Principle, just as the examples in (54).

While this solution offers an attractive alternative to account for what looks like a movement constraint, it should be taken as a promising conjecture and nothing more. Particularly, a deeper understanding of the restriction in (70) seems to be necessary.

5 Concluding remarks

It has been shown that a focus-based account of predicate doubling in Spanish offers important analytical advantages over a movement-based analysis. As discussed, the latter alternative (i) seems to be untenable for cases in which there is no c-command between the verbal duplicates, (ii) does not predict the availability of finite predicate doubling with complementizers, and (iii) does not account for the anaphoric behaviour of the elements within PREDICATE 2. An analysis based on givenness and focus not only derives these possibilities, but predicts the behaviour of narrow focus in the construction. Moreover, it allows offering an explanation for the phenomenon of genus-species doubling and for the islands restrictions attested in all varieties of predicate doubling.

An important consequence of the argument developed in this paper is that Spanish predicate doubling cannot be taken as evidence for the Copy Theory of movement, as there are alternative accounts of the phenomenon. It remains to be seen whether this argument can be extended to instances of the phenomenon in other languages.

At a more general level, the proposal allows to account for the identity-like relation between PREDICATE 1 and PREDICATE 2 without appealing to transformational devices, i.e., the Copy operation typically adopted within the Copy Theory framework. In other words, this paper supports the idea that there is more than a single grammatical mechanism responsible for duplicative patterns in language.

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