

Talk of SFB632(Information Structure): Project B2

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ZAS-Syntaxzirkel. R.522

PRONOMINAL DOUBLING UNDER VP FRONTING

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In this talk we will look at VP fronting in Hungarian and Spanish, where the VP is resumed by a demonstrative pronominal *double*, like in the sentences in (1):

- 1) a. Annát meglátogatni, **azt** szokta Mari [Hungarian]
A.ACC PV.visit.INF that.ACC HABIT M
lit. “To visit Anna, Mari usually does that.”
b. Visitar a Ana, María suele hacer **eso** [Spanish]
visit.INF P A M HABIT do that
lit. “To visit Ana, María usually does that.”

Our major claim is that this is *not* a unified construction. In Hungarian the double is simply the spellout of a trace of the fronted VP, motivated by anti-locality considerations (cf. Grohmann 2003), as shown in (2). In Spanish on the other hand, the VP attaches as an apposition to the double in its base position. Later movement of the VP strands the double, giving the appearance of resumption (3) (cf. Boeckx 2003).

- 2) [VP]_i[_{TopP} [VP]_i ... [IP ... [~~VP~~]_i]] [Hungarian]
↓
double
3) [VP]_i [[IP[_{DP} **double** [~~VP~~]_i]]] [Spanish]

We show that a series of asymmetries between Hungarian (1a) and Spanish (1b) follow straightforwardly from this important underlying difference. Asymmetries will involve, among other things, the placement, type and agreement properties of the pronominal double and the type of the predicate that selects the topicalized VP.

Time permitting, we will also consider the implications our hypothesis for the theory of *wh*-resumption, especially in the light of recent proposals in this domain (Aoun et al 2001).

REFERENCES.

- Aoun et al 2001** “Resumption, movement, and derivational economy”, *LI* 32, 371-403
Boeckx 2003 *Islands and chains: resumption and stranding*, John Benjamins
Grohmann 2003 *Prolific domains*, John Benjamins