

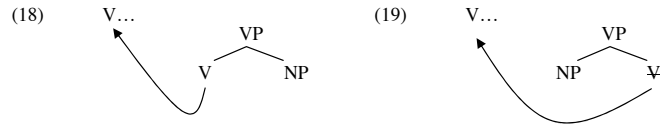
3. PREDICTION: MOVEMENT OF XP

We predict that deletion of the lower copy is always possible if it is an XP that moves, since it is trivially true that the right edge of an XP coincides with the right edge of an XP.

(17) which book did you read ~~which book~~

4. PREDICTION: SVO VS. SOV

We predict that there is a systematic difference in predicate fronting between languages with SVO and those with SOV underlying order.



(20) SVO: Hebrew

liknot Dan kiva **liknot** et ha-sefer
buy.INF Dan hoped buy.INF ACC the-book

(21) SVO: Vietnamese

đọc thì Sơn nên **đọc** sách
read TOP Sơn should read book

(22) SOV: German

geküsst dürfte er schon öfter [VP wen **geküsst**] haben
kissed might he already more often whom kissed have

(23) SOV: Dutch

gekust wil hij vaak [VP een vrouw **gekust**] hebben
kissed wil he often a woman kissed have

See Fanselow (2002), Landau (2006) and Trinh (2009) for arguments that (19) – (22) involve movement of V to the clause-initial topic position.

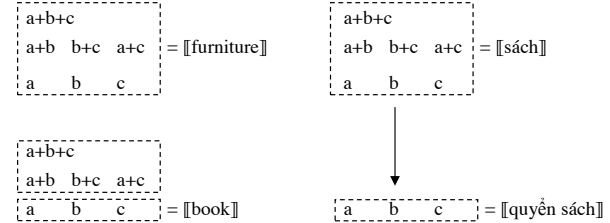
Double pronunciation of the fronted verb has been observed in many languages. See, for example, Aboh and Dyakonova (2009) for Gungbe, Cable (2004) for Yiddish, Cozier (2006) for Trinidad English, Kandybowicz (2008) for Nupe, Harbour (2008) for Haitian and Vicente (2007) for Spanish. To the best of my knowledge, these languages are SVO languages.

5. PREDICTION: NP-SPLIT IN VIETNAMESE

(24) Fronting of N ⇒ deletion of β is optional

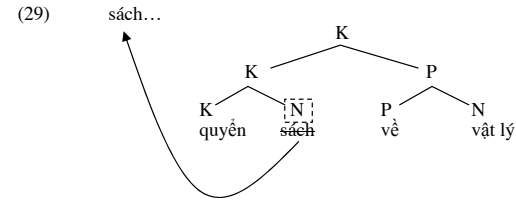
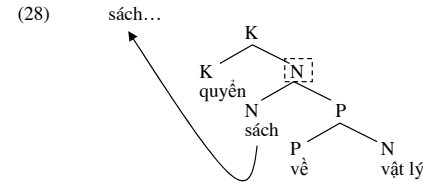
- a. **sách** thì tôi mua một quyển **sách** về vật lý
book TOP I buy one K book about physics
'As for books, I bought a one about physics'
- b. **sách** thì tôi mua một quyển ~~sách~~ về vật lý
book TOP I buy one K book about physics
'As for books, I bought a one about physics'

(25) Chierchia (1998)



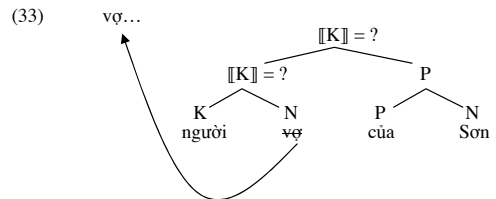
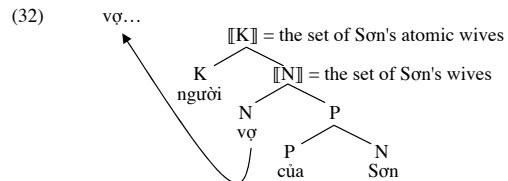
(26) $[[K]] = [\lambda P \in D_{\langle e,t \rangle} . \lambda x \in D_e . P(x) \wedge \text{atomic}(x)]$

(27) $[[K [\text{book about physics}]]] = [[[K \text{ book}] [\text{about physics}]]]$ = the set of atomic books about physics



- (30) a. vợ thì tôi đã gặp hai người vợ của Sơn
wife TOP I have met two K wife of Sơn
'I have met two of Son's wives'
- b. *vợ thì tôi đã gặp hai người ~~vợ~~ của Sơn
wife TOP I have met two K wife of Sơn
'I have met two of Son's wives'

(31) $[[vợ]] = [\lambda x . \lambda y . y \text{ is female and married to } x]$
⇒ a relation, not a predicate



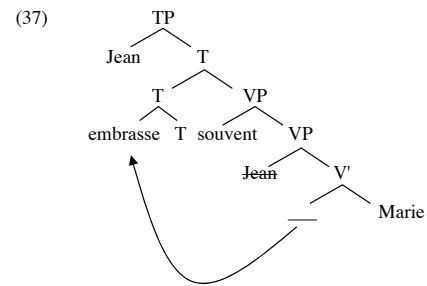
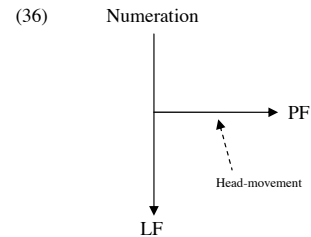
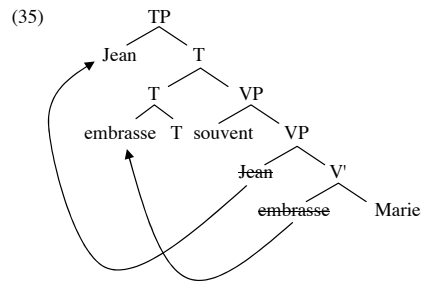
The syntactic configuration which allows deletion of the lower copy is not semantically interpretable
 ⇒ observation: deletion is not possible.

6. PREDICTION: SCANDINAVIAN LANGUAGES

Norwegian and Swedish are SVO languages. The CCD predicts that if V is fronted to [Spec,C] in these languages, double pronunciation will result, since the lower V copy is not at the right edge of an XP. To the best of my knowledge, predicate fronting in Norwegian and Swedish does not show double pronunciation. It follows that if the CCD is true, predicate fronting in Norwegian and Swedish cannot be V-topicalization, but must be remnant VP movement. I argue that Norwegian and Swedish are not counterexamples to the CCD, i.e. that these languages do not have V-topicalization.

7. HEAD-ADJUNCTION

(34) Jean embrasse souvent Marie



See Chomsky (1995), Grodzinsky and Finkel (1998), Chomsky (2000), Boeckx and Stjepanovich (2001) for arguments that head-adjunction is a PF operation. See Gergel (2005), Lechner (2005), Matushansky (2006), Vicente (2007) for argument that head-adjunction is part of narrow syntax.

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