Friedewald, Katja

The Addressee as Syntactic Antecedent in French Presentatives

The French lexeme *voilà* is usually classified as "presentational particle" although it has long been observed that with regard to its syntactic properties, it does behave like a regular verb (cf. amongst others Morin 1985; Bergen/Plauché 2005; similarly, the Italian *ecco* has been analyzed as originated in v by Zanuttini 2017). In particular, it takes complements and introduces sub-ordinate clauses like in (1), it assigns accusative case (which becomes visible when replacing a following DP by a pronoun that also comes in its clitic version), and it can even constitute the only element (besides the complementizer) of a relative sentence.

Considering the sentence in (1a), where *voilà* is introducing a non-finite CP that in turn contains an actor-oriented intensifier that normally has to be adjoined to an animate NP (Gast/Siemund 2006, 350), the question therefore arises as to which antecedent the intensifier is referring in this case.

- (1) a. Voilà comment le faire toi-même. PART how it do INTS.2SG 'Here is how to do it yourself'
 - b. Voilà [comment PRO_i le faire toi-même_i]
 - c. Ø_i Voilà [comment PRO_i le faire toi-même_i]

We can assume that, like it is usually the case in those kinds of French infinite clauses, the CP contains the phonologically empty pronoun PRO (cf. Mensching 2017, 378f.), visualized in (1b). However, this still leaves open the following crucial issue: Since there is no overt subject in the matrix clause, which element is controlling PRO? As a working hypothesis, we are assuming an additional null subject visualized in (1c), and the central aim of this paper will be to investigate its nature. The main interest will be to determine the role that the pragmatic context and, in particular, the addressee plays in the interpretation of the subject and for the configuration of its syntactic properties.

References

- Bergen, Benjamin K./Plauché, Madelaine C. (2005): "The convergent evolution of radial constructions: French and English deictics and existentials", in: *Cognitive Linguistics* 16, 1–42.
- Gast, Volker/Siemund, Peter (2006): "Rethinking the relationship between SELF-intensifiers and reflexives", in: *Linguistics* 44, 343–381.
- Mensching, Guido (2017): "Infinitival Clauses", in: A. Dufter/E. Stark (ed.), *Manual of Romance Morphosyntax and Syntax*, Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 369–396.
- Morin, Yves-Charles (1985): "On the two French subjectless verbs voici and voilà", in: Language 61, 777-820.
- Zanuttini, Raffaella (2017): "Presentatives and the syntactic encoding of contextual information", in: E. O. Aboh et al. (ed.), *Ele- ments of comparative syntax: theory and description*, Boston/Berlin: De Gruyter, 221–256.