

- (5) [Lavar o carro] o João lavou t_{VP} .
 wash.INF the car, the João wash.PST.3SG
 ‘Wash the car, João did.’

Portuguese

Just as in VPE, Scandinavian does not show verb-stranding in VPF contexts.

- (6) [Vaskede bilen] gjorde / *vaskede Jasper t_{VP} .
 wash.PST car.DEF do.PST / wash.PST Jasper
 ‘Wash the car, Jasper did.’

Danish

VPF is topicalization, and so vP initially fronts to [Spec, TopP] when Top° merges. $Force^\circ$ merges after this, attracting the verb; however, once the vP fronts, it is impossible to move out of it since movement out of a moved phrase is impossible (Ross 1967). Consequently, Voi° is the closest thing that can satisfy the requirement on $Force^\circ$ and so this undergoes head movement with *gøre*. vP then moves from [Spec, TopP] to [Spec, ForceP]:

- (7) [$ForceP$ [$Vaskede\ bilen$] $_{vP}$ gjorde [$TopP$ t_{vP} [$FinP$ [TP Jasper [$VoiP$ t_{Voi° t_{vP}]]]]]]

In Romance T° triggers verb movement. T° merges before Top° , and so verb movement happens before topicalization: The verb moves out of vP before vP moves. The verb is pronounced in both locations due to conditions on pronunciation of chains (Landau 2006).

- (8) [$ForceP$ [$TopP$ [Lavar o carro] $_{vP}$ [$FinP$ [TP o João lavou [$VoiP$ t_{vP}]]]]]]

Other analyses: There are other approaches to this problem. Houser et al. (2011) argue that *gøre* is an auxiliary that selects pronominal complements, so there are no verbs in complement of *gøre* to strand, and *gøre* is the only thing that can move. However, they must stipulate that VPE and VPF involve null pronouns. For VPF, they argue that the fronted vP adjoins to the clause and that a null operator moves from the complement of *gøre*. Facts about verbal morphology make this untenable, since the fronted vP may bear tense morphology (Mikkelsen 2011). This, I argue, is a connectivity effect and shows that the vP must originate as the complement to *gøre*. VPE, on the other hand, shows traits of deletion in Scandinavian. It is possible to A'-extract out of missing vPs (Bentzen et al. 2013). This is not compatible with a pronominal account:

- (9) Hvilke kaker vil du bake, og [hvilke kaker] $_i$ vil du ikke ~~bake~~ t_i ?
 which cakes will you bake, and which cakes will you not bake
 ‘Which cakes do you want to bake, and which cakes don’t you?’

Norwegian

Other arguments for *gøre* being a special auxiliary are thin, and I argue that Platzack’s (2012) approach is more adequate, only that Voi° receives support rather than v° . A possible objection to the theory I outline above is that separate approaches to VPE and VPF are necessary. If VPE were licensed by VPF (Johnson 2001), it might be possible to collapse both analyses. However, it has been shown that VPE and VPF are only related insofar as they target similar, though slightly different, pieces of structure; VPE cannot be derived from VPF (Aelbrecht and Haegeman 2012).

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