

ON VERB FOCALIZATION IN CENTRAL AND WESTERN BASQUE¹

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Central and Western Basque dialects have a verb focalization strategy involving the dummy verb *egin*, which as a lexical verb is akin to English ‘make’ or ‘do.’ (Rebuschi 1984, Ortiz de Urbina 1989, Zuazo 1998, Etxepare and Ortiz de Urbina 2003). An example of this construction is given in (1) which Ortiz de Urbina (1989) gives as a felicitous answer to the question, “What happened to your father?”

- (1) Hil egin da gure aita
die do AUX our father
‘Our father has DIED.’

This paper makes the following two main claims about focalized verbs in sentences such as (1). First, this paper develops in greater empirical detail Rebuschi’s (1984) proposal that the focalized verb in constructions such as (1) moves (as an XP) to the same left-peripheral focus position —Spec, FocP— targeted by other kinds of foci. Intonation data presented in connection with this claim, moreover, lends support to Ortiz de Urbina’s (2002) remnant-movement approach to right-peripheral focalizations in Basque. Second, the focalized main verb is argued to be an infinitival, on a par with verbs under modals. These constructions, moreover, are argued to be monoclausal (Cinque 2000, Wurmbrand 2001, 2004). Evidence supporting this claim comes the behavior of the negative morpheme, *ez* and from transparency in agreement marking on the auxiliary reminiscent of clitic-climbing with Romance restructuring verbs. The Basque data presented here, then, lend support to recent work treating restructuring as a monoclausal phenomenon. These two proposals are developed in turn below.

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1. On the position of the main verb in *egin* focalization constructions

The first half of this paper develops in greater empirical detail Rebuschi's (1984) suggestion that focalized verbs in constructions such as (1) target the same left-peripheral focus position as focalized arguments and adjuncts. Evidence in favor of this claim comes from the fact that focalized main verbs behave like other kinds of foci in terms of word order, extraction from complement clauses, clausal pied-piping and intonation, which are discussed in turn below.

1.1. Word order

1.1.1. *Left-peripheral foci*

The positioning of arguments in Basque is discourse-sensitive. Foci and *wh*-phrases canonically must appear left-adjacent to the negative morpheme *ez* in negative sentences, and left adjacent to the main (aspect-bearing) verb in affirmative constructions.

- (2) a. Nor-k/JON-EK (*Miren) ikus-i du (√Miren)
 Who-ERG/JON-ERG (Mary) see-Asp(perfect) AUX (Mary)
 'Who/JOHN saw Mary.'
- b. Nor-k/JON-EK (*Miren) ez du ikus-i (√Miren)
 Who-ERG/JON-ERG (Mary) NEG AUX see-Asp(perfect) (Mary)
 'Who/JOHN didn't see Mary.'

Focalized main verbs must also be left-adjacent to the main (aspect-bearing) verb in affirmatives.

- (3) Hil (*aurten/*gure aita) egin-Ø da aurten gure aita
 die egin-Asp(perfect) AUX this year our father
 'Our father has DIED this year.'

Similarly, in negative sentences focalized verbs behave like other kinds of foci in requiring left-adjacency to the negative morpheme, *ez*.

- (4) etorri (*Jon) ez da egin (Jon).²
 come NEG AUX egin (Jon).
 'Jon didn't COME.'

In such constructions, the focalized verb must scope over negation as shown by the infelicity of continuations with concessive 'but' (*baizik*) in (5b).

- (5) a. etorri ez da egin, eta ez joan.
 come NEG AUX egin and NEG go
 'It was to come that she didn't do and not to go'
- b. etorri ez da egin, # joan baizik.
 come NEG AUX egin go but
 'It was to come that she didn't do #but to go'

² In affirmative contexts, focalized verbs are interpretable as both contrastive/corrective foci and information foci (i.e. as an answer to a *wh*-question, questioning the focalized element). For foci in negative sentences, however, a contrastive/corrective interpretation is preferred.

In this respect as well, focalized main verbs behave like other kinds of foci: left-peripheral, focalized arguments and adjuncts also obligatorily scope above negation (Etxepare and Ortiz de Urbina 2003).

- (6) (Etxepare and Ortiz de Urbina 2003)
 HORREGATIK ez nien lagun-ei arrapostu, #beste arrazoi bategatik baizik.
 That.because NEG AUX friends-DAT reply other reason one.because but
 ‘THAT is why I did not reply to my friends, #but because of another reason.’

1.1.2. Right-peripheral foci

A more marked and less-well studied focalization strategy is also available for some speakers in which focalized constituents appear right-peripherally,³ as in (7).

- (7) A. Elordieta (2001)
 Ardoa ekarri diot (#) ANDONI-RI
 wine brought AUX Andoni-to
 ‘I brought the wine to ANDONI.’

There appears to be significant cross-dialectal variation in the availability of this phenomenon (Etxepare and Ortiz de Urbina 2003). In some dialects this construction is marginal and requires a heavy intonational break between the right-peripheral focalized constituent and the rest of the sentence. Hualde Elordieta and Elordieta (1994) and Elordieta (2001), for example, report that in the Bizkaian dialect of Lekeitio right-peripheral focalization is extremely marked except with copulative verbs and requires a significant intonational break. In Oiartzun and in neighboring central dialects, however, this phenomenon seems to be more robust. It is not restricted to copulative environments and need not always include a heavy intonational break. (Intonation is discussed in detail below).

(8) shows that in Oiartzun Basque and neighboring dialects, main verbs in *egin*-constructions may also appear right-peripherally.

- (8) (From interview data, A1)
 Horrek egi-ten du ZUZENDU.
 That egin-IMP AUX correct
 ‘The latter corrects it.’

Crucially, this strategy seems to be most marked precisely in those dialects in which other kinds of right-peripheral foci are marked. In the dialect of Lekeitio, for example, which is otherwise conservative with respect to post-verbal foci, right-peripheral verb focalizations such as that in (8) are also marginal (A. Elordieta, p.c.).

³ In fact, for some speakers, right-peripheral foci need not be strictly right peripheral (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 2001). In particular the “right-peripheral” focalized constituent can be followed by a topic if it is set off by a pause as in (i), below.

- (i) Jonek eman dio BIZIKLETA BAT # Miren-i.
 jon give AUX bicycle one Miren-to.
 ‘Jon has given a BICYCLE to Miren.’

The most thorough generative treatment of postverbal foci in Basque is by Ortiz de Urbina (2002), who argues that in both preverbal and postverbal focus constructions, the focalized constituent moves to the same position—spec, FocP.^{4,5} The two constructions differ minimally in that postverbal focalization constructions involve an additional movement step in which the remnant constituent below FocP raises to the left of FocP, leaving the focalized constituent as the most deeply embedded material in the tree. This movement step is illustrated in (9). (See also Uribe-Etxebarria 2003).

- (9) (Ortiz de Urbina, 2002)
- $$\text{TopP}[\text{CP}_i [\text{Top}_{\text{FocP}} [\text{XP} [\text{Foc } t_i]]]]$$
-

The present proposal that the verb in *egin*-focalization constructions is an XP (in spec, FocP) seems to predict that other VP material should be able to raise with the verb. From the perspective of Ortiz de Urbina's remnant movement proposal, this predicts the availability of focalized VPs right-peripherally in those dialects with the *egin*-construction, and which are tolerant of right-peripheral focalization. Indeed, the following examples in which verbal complements may appear to the right of *egin* (but to the left of the main verb) as in (10)-(12) seem to bear out this prediction. In these examples, the most natural reading is one in which the entire VP (in brackets) or a verbal complement receives focus interpretation.

- (10) (Interview data, P1)
 Monjak egin zigun [barruan utzi.]
 Nuns egin AUX inside leave
 'The nuns LEFT US INSIDE.'
- (11) (Interview data, P1)
 Berak egin behar zituen [bi txiki jarri.]
 He/she egin need AUX two small put
 'He/she had to PUT TWO SMALL ONES.'
- (12) (Interview data, P1)
 Egin behar duzu hurrengo egun-ean [dena enboteilatu.]
 egin need AUX next day-on all bottle
 'The next day you have to BOTTLE IT ALL.'

1.2. Extraction from complement clauses and clausal pied-piping

Another well-documented property of *wh*-phrases and foci in Basque is that they may extract from complement clauses, especially under verbs of saying (Ortiz de Urbina 1989).

⁴ Ortiz de Urbina limits his proposal to corrective focalization: "In this article, I will concentrate on the 'corrective' type of contrastive focus, which finds its way more easily onto monitored registers than other types of final emphasis" (2002: 514). In this paper, I will extend Ortiz de Urbina's proposal to focus in the sense of "answer to a *wh*-question."

⁵ Ortiz de Urbina does not discuss verb focalization in this paper.

- (13) Etxepare and Ortiz de Urbina (2003)
 Nola esan du Jon-ek uste du-ela Peru-k egin behar-ko litzatekeela?
 how say AUX Jon-ERG think AUX-COMP Peru-ERG make need-FUT AUX
 'How did Jon say Peru thinks it should be made?'
- (14) Etxepare and Ortiz de Urbina (2003)
 HORRELA uste dut egin behar-ko litzatekeela aukerarena.
 this way think AUX make need-FUT AUX COMP choice
 'IN THIS WAY do I think the choice should be made.'

Predictably, at least for some speaker, focalized verbs in *egin* constructions may also extract from complement clauses, as shown in (15). The availability of extraction in such cases is further evidence that verb raising in *egin*-constructions is A'-movement.

- (15) ? ETORRI_i esan didate [t_i egin zinela].
 come say AUX egin AUX-COMP
 'They have told me that you CAME.'

Wh-phrases and foci may also pied-pipe entire clauses to the front of the matrix clause as in (16) and (17) (Ortiz de Urbina 1993).

- (16) Ortiz de Urbina (1993)
 [Nor etorri-ko d-ela bihar] esan diozu Miren-i?
 Who come-FUT AUX.COMP tomorrow say AUX Miren-DAT.
 'That who will come tomorrow have you told Mary?'
- (17) Ortiz de Urbina (1993)
 [JON etorri-ko d-ela bihar] esan diot Miren-i.
 Jon come-FUT AUX-COMP tomorrow say AUX Miren-DAT.
 'That it is Jon that will come tomorrow I have told Mary.'

Again, as expected from the standpoint of the present proposal, clausal pied-piping is also available with verb focalizations with *egin*.⁶

- (18) [Etorri egin zine-la] esan didate.
 come egin AUX.COMP say AUX
 'They say you CAME.'

⁶ Strikingly, clausal pied-piping is not available with right-peripheral foci in the lower clause.

- (i) Jonek esan dit [atzo erosi zuela BIZIKLETA BAT].
 Jon.ERG say AUX yesterday buy AUX.COMP bicycle one
 'Jon has told me that yesterday he bought a bicycle.'
- (ii) *[atzo erosi zuela BIZIKLETA BAT] esan dit Jonek.
 yesterday buy AUX bicycle one say AUX Jon.
 'Jon has told me that yesterday he bought a bicycle.'
 The same holds true for focalized verbs in *egin*-constructions.
- (iii) Esan didate [egin zin-ela han-dik etorri].
 say AUX egin AUX.COMP there.ABL come
 'They say that you CAME FROM THERE.'
- (iv) ?? [Egin zin-ela han-dik etorri] esan didate.
 egin AUX.comp there.ABL come say AUX
 'They say that you CAME FROM THERE.'

No account of these facts can be offered here.

1.3. Intonation

The following discussion presents data showing that the intonational properties of focalized verbs (and VPs) are similar to those for focalized arguments and adjuncts in both preverbal and postverbal position. These data, then, provide additional evidence that the main verb in *egin* focalization constructions occupies the same position as other kinds of foci.

1.3.1. Argument and adjunct focalization

Sentence stress in Oiartzun is similar to that described by Elordieta (2003) for the dialect of Tolosa (four towns away to the southwest).⁷ Main prominence canonically falls on a word in the syntactic phrase immediately preceding the main verb. This prominence is characterized by: (i) a pitch (F_0) peak, followed by (ii) a sharp fall in pitch, and (iii) a reduced pitch range for clausal material following the pitch peak (Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta 1994, Elordieta 2003). An example of this pattern is given in Figure (1), the gloss for which appears in (19).⁸

(19) (Interview data, P1)

Ne(re) aurre-ku-k geio izango dute, baino bai
 my before-of-PL more have-FUT AUX but yes
 ‘Those older than me must have more, but yes.’

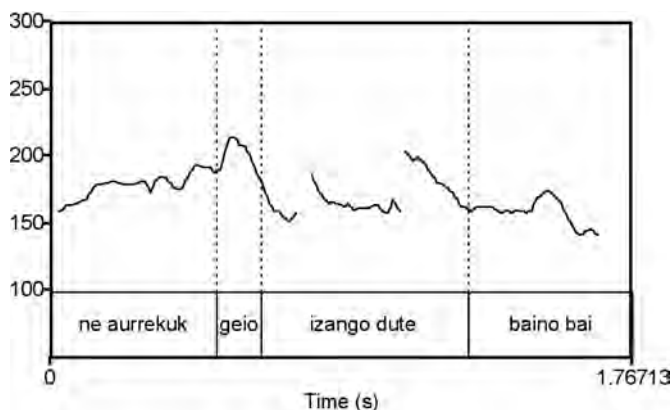


FIGURE 1

⁷ Word stress in Oiartzun Basque is similar to that in the neighboring dialect of Bortziria as described by Hualde (1991). Unlike in western, Bizkaian varieties, Oiartzun Basque has stress accent rather than pitch accent. Stress typically falls on the peninitial syllable.

(i) baséria 'farm(house)'
 Astígarraga place name
 ardóa 'wine'

There are two kinds of exceptions to this pattern: monosyllabic items, in which stress is realized on the root, and lexically marked exceptions in which stress typically falls on the initial syllable, e.g. *tálua*, 'corn tortilla'.

⁸ The following intonational data were analyzed using PRAAT (Boersma and Weenink 2003). The data were collected in sociolinguistic interviews by the author (a non-native speaker) and a native-speaking assistant in the Fall of 2003 and by the author in the Summer of 2001. The examples are given in standard Basque orthography, adjusted to reflect local phonological features.

The intonational contour in Figure 1 shows the principal properties observed by Hualde, Elordieta and Elordieta (1994) and Elordieta (2003) for foci in other Basque dialects. In particular, the focalized element in Figure 1, *geio* ‘more’ is marked by: (i) a pitch peak; (ii) followed by a sharp fall in pitch; and (iii) a reduced pitch range for the material following the focus. Note, also that the pre-focal topic phrase, *ne aurrekuk*, ‘those before me’ has a rising pitch contour. This intonational property of topics —also described by Elordieta (2003) in data from the dialect of Tolosa— will bear crucially on subsequent discussion of right-peripheral foci.

Figure 2 shows that the pitch contour of postverbal focus phrases is very similar to that for preverbal focus phrases (cf. Ortiz de Urbina 2002, Elordieta 2001). (The gloss and discourse context for the sentence is given in (20)).

(20) (Participant data, P1, describing school desks)

ta ordun genun maia # bikuak, ez? #zaten zien # eta mahai bat zegon HAUTSIYA.

and so have table of two no be ALX and table one was break-ABS.

‘And so we had tables for two, no?...they were, and one of the tables was broken.’

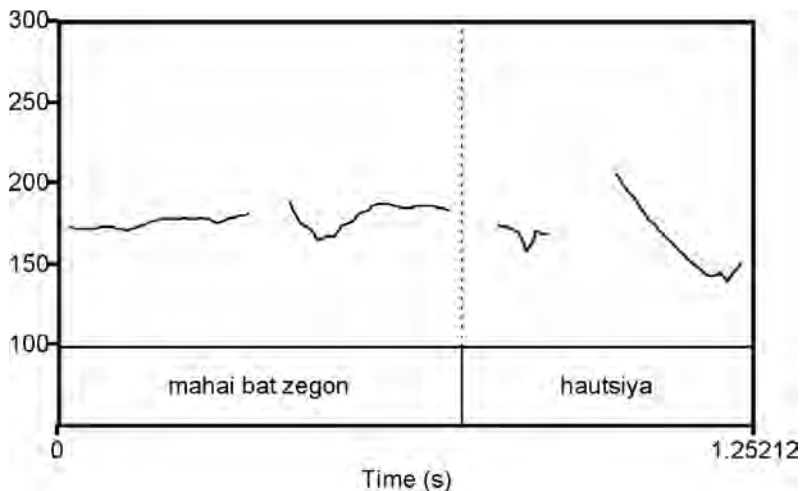


FIGURE 2

In Figure 2, the focalized element *hautsiya* ‘broken’ is marked by (i) a pitch peak followed by (ii) a fall in pitch and (iii) a greater overall pitch range than the rest of the sentence. Note also that the non-focalized material in the first part of the sentence, *mahai bat zegon*, ‘a table was’ has a slightly rising pitch contour, reminiscent of that for topic phrases (as in Figure 1). This pattern suggests additional evidence in favor of Ortiz de Urbina’s (2002) proposal that right-peripheral focus constructions are derived by moving the remnant material below the focalized constituent (in FocP) to a higher, topic position. In particular, the remnant-moved material to the left of the focus seems to have precisely the same pitch properties

otherwise evidenced by pre-focal topics. In addition, Ortiz de Urbina (2002) points out that the material preceding right-peripheral foci has another key intonational property of topics. As discussed in 2.1.2, some speakers require an intonational break between the postverbal focalized phrase and the preceding material. This break is similar to the pause often required between topics and the focus phrase (Ortiz de Urbina 1989). From the perspective of Ortiz de Urbina's proposal, then, these topic-like intonational properties of the material to the left of the focalized constituent in Figure 2 are accounted for straightforwardly, since by this approach, they *are* in fact topics.

1.3.2. Verb focalization

In discussing the Bizkaian dialect of Lekeitio, Elordieta (2003) reports that in left-peripheral verb focalization constructions with *egin*, main prominence is assigned to the main verb. Again, from the standpoint of the present proposal in which the main verb moves to the same position as other kinds of foci, this is precisely the pattern expected.

In the dialect of Oiartzun, the verb also receives main prosodic prominence. Figure 3, shows the F_0 contour for an *egin*-focalization construction in Oiartzun Basque. The gloss for this example is given in (21).

(21) (Interview data F1)

Ordun ya, gerra ondo-an hori itxi (eg)in zen.
 so then, war after-LOC that close egin AUX.
 'So then, after the war the latter closed.'

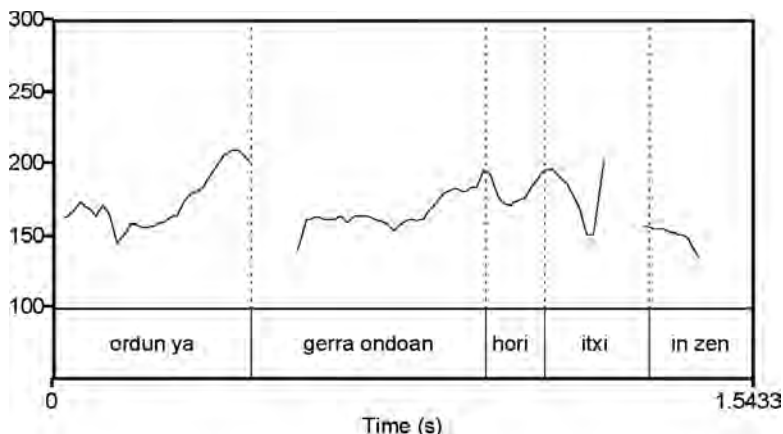


FIGURE 3

Figure 3 shows that the main pitch peak is realized on the main verb, *itxi*, 'close' (setting aside the pre-sentential tag) followed by a sharp fall in pitch, characteristic of focalized constituents. Figure 3 also shows that the preverbal topic phrases have a

rising intonation, each higher than the previous one, as described by Elordieta (2003) for the dialect of Tolosa.

Figure 4 shows a pitch contour for a right-peripheral verb focalization with *egin*. The corresponding context and gloss is given in (22).

- (22) (Interview data, P1)
 ordun altxa zen-in **nik (eg)in nion sila kendu #** eta lurr-e(r)a
 so get up AUX-COMP I-ERG *egin* AUX chair take away and floor.ABL
 ‘So when he got up I pulled out the chair, and he fell down.’

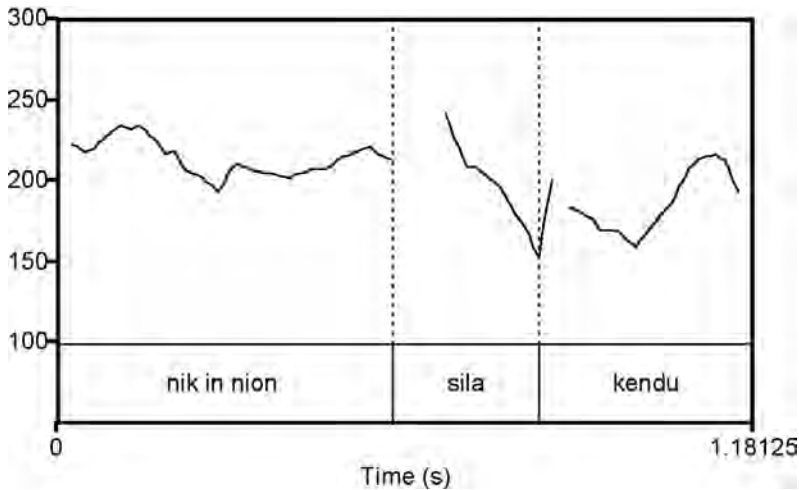


FIGURE 4

In Figure 4, the main pitch peak is realized on the object *sila*, ‘chair’ followed by a sharp fall in pitch. The focalized VP is also marked by a greater pitch range than the rest of the sentence.

Figure 5 —corresponding to the gloss in (23)— shows a slightly different intonational pattern for right-peripheral, focalized VPs.

- (23) (Interview data, P1)
 Monjak egin zigun [barruan utzi.]
 Nuns egin AUX inside leave
 ‘The nuns left us inside.’

The pitch contour in Figure 5 is similar to that in Figure 4 in certain respects. The right-peripheral VP has a pitch peak on the stressed syllable of the locative complement *barrúan*, ‘inside,’ followed by a sharp pitch fall. The pitch range for the focalized VP is also greater than the preceding non-focalized material. In Figure 5, however, the pitch peak on the stressed syllable in *barrúan* is lower than the preceding peak marking the right edge of the topicalized remnant material, *monjak in zigun*. It appears then, that in such cases, it is primarily the pitch fall and overall pitch range that does the work of marking prominence.

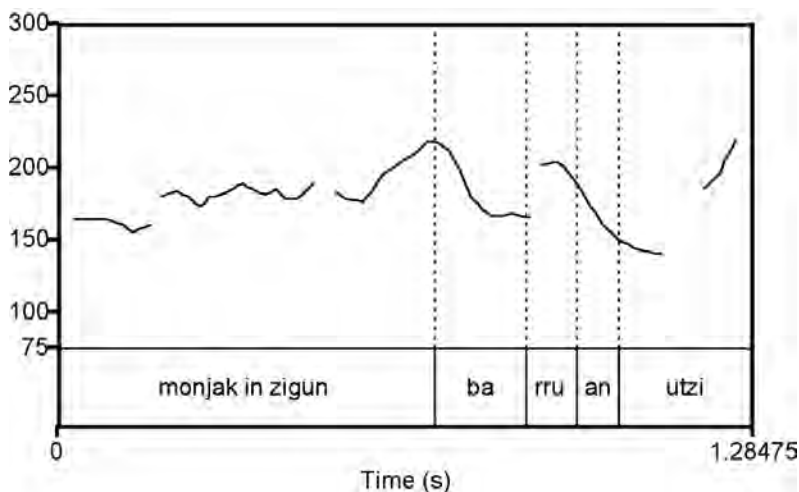


FIGURE 5

To review, the foregoing data on word order, intonation, extraction and clausal pied-piping strongly recommend a unified analysis for focalized main verbs in *egin*-constructions, on one hand, and focalized arguments and adjuncts on the other. In particular, I follow Ortiz de Urbina (1998, 2002) in assuming movement of both types of foci to a left-peripheral focus position, FocP. This approach allows for a unified analysis of right-peripheral and left-peripheral focalizations in Basque (Ortiz de Urbina 2002): in both cases, the focalized constituent moves to FocP, however right-peripheral constructions involve an extra movement step in which the remnant material below FocP raises to a higher topic position. An additional virtue of this analysis is that it also accounts for the topic-like intonational properties of remnant-moved constituents to the left of right-peripheral foci.

2. The focalized main verb as an infinitive

The second main claim to be made in this paper concerning verb focalization constructions with *egin* is that the focalized verb is an infinitival, on a par with verbs under modals. These infinitivals, moreover, are argued to be merged in the same extended functional sequence as the main verb (Cinque 2000, Wurmbrand 2001, 2004). Evidence supporting this claim comes from transparency in agreement marking on the auxiliary and the behavior of the negative morpheme, *ez*. The Basque data presented here, then support recent work treating restructuring as a monoclausal phenomenon.

2.1. Modals and infinitivals

The dummy verb, *egin*, in verb focalization constructions such as (1) bears one of three aspectual markers —perfect $-\emptyset$, imperfect $-t(z)en$ or future $-ko$ — normally realized on the main verb as shown in (24) and (25).

(24) **verb focalization**

erori (egin-go/egi-ten) du etxea.
 fall egin.FUT/egin.IMP AUX house
 'The house is going to fall.'/'The house falls.'

(25) **non-verb focalization**

etxe-a (erori-ko/eror-tzen) da
 house-the fall.FUT/fall.IMP AUX
 'The house will fall down.'/'The house has fallen down.'

In verb focalization environments, the main verb bears one of three affixes, *-tu*, *-i* or $-\emptyset$, depending on the verb class.⁹ These affixes are standardly analyzed as perfective markers, in view of the fact that they co-occur with perfective interpretations in non-focalization environments like (26)-(28) and are in complementary distribution with the imperfect marker *-t(z)en*, as shown in (29) (Laka 1989, Zabala and Odriozola 1996). The verb root + *-tul-il- \emptyset* is also the citation form of the verb.

(26) opera-tu didate
 operate-PERF. AUX
 'They operated on me.'

(27) etor(r)-i da
 come-PERF. AUX
 'She has come.'

(28) eman- \emptyset didate
 give-PERF. AUX
 'They gave it to me.'

(29) funtziona-tzen du.
 function-IMP. AUX
 'It works.'

In view of these facts, Laka (1989, 1990) proposes that perfective *-tul-il- \emptyset* and imperfective *-tzen* are alternate values of a single aspectual head, Asp⁰ (cf. Zabala and Odriozola 1996). Nevertheless, two aspects of the behavior of these affixes in *egin*-focalization constructions are surprising from the perspective of this analysis. First, as discussed above, other aspectual markers such as imperfective affix *-t(z)en* and future *-ko* are realized on the dummy verb, *egin*, as shown in (30) repeated below.

(30) eror-i (egin-go/egi-ten) du etxea.
 fall egin.FUT/egin.IMP AUX house
 'The house will fall.'/'The house falls.'

The main (focalized) verb however obligatorily bears *-tul-il- \emptyset* as in (30) and (31).

(31) (From interview data, A1)
 Horrek egi-ten du zuzen-du.
 That egin-IMP AUX correct
 'The latter corrects it.'

From the standpoint of Laka's AspP proposal and the assumption that *-tul-il- \emptyset* are always perfective markers, the data in (31) are perplexing since they seem to require the realization of different values of a single aspectual head — *-t(z)en* and *-tu* — on different items in a single clause. (Evidence is provided below that these

⁹ The open class affix is *-tu* as shown in (26). A smaller, older class of verbs takes *-i* as shown in (27), and an even smaller class of verbs ending in /n/ takes $-\emptyset$ as shown in (28).

constructions are in fact monoclausal rather than biclausal.) Second, this analysis seems to predict conflicting aspectual interpretations for examples like (30) and (31). In these cases, however, the aspectual reading is invariably determined by the affix on the dummy verb, as reflected in the glosses.

The behavior of *-tul-il-Ø* on verbs selected by modals provides additional reason for skepticism with regard to the traditional analysis of these elements. In particular, verbs under *behar* ‘need’, *nahi* ‘want’, and *ahal* ‘can’ all obligatorily take *-tul-il-Ø* regardless of the perfectiveness of the action, as shown in (32). In other words, when suffixed to verbs selected by modals, *-i*, *-Ø* and *-tu* do not always mark perfective aspect (Ortiz de Urbina 1992, cited in Zabala and Odriozola 1996: 238, fn.2).

- (32) Maiz etorri nahi dute
 often come-I want AUX-3PLE
 ‘They want to come often.’ (want>often)

I would like to propose that these problems with the standard analysis of *-tul-il-Ø* can be solved by positing a dual identity for these morphemes. In examples such as (26)-(28), these morphemes are true perfective markers. With modals, and in *egin*-focalization constructions however, these morphemes do not mark perfective aspect but rather are infinitival markers. This approach explains: (i) the fact that *-tul-il-Ø*, unlike other aspectual affixes may appear on the main verb in these environments; (ii) their compatibility with other aspectual heads in *egin*-focalization constructions; and (iii) the availability of imperfective aspectual readings with modals. Moreover, the fact that the verb root + *-tul-il-Ø* is also the citation form of the verb suggests additional support for this analysis over the competing, standard approach to these elements as (always and everywhere) aspectual heads. That is, as citation forms, verbs with infinitival markers are commonplace while verbs with perfective morphology as citation forms are more marked.

2.2. Evidence for a monoclausal approach to infinitivals

It might be objected that both *egin*-focalization constructions and modal constructions are plausibly biclausal. From this perspective, *-tul-il-Ø* on the main verb might be understood as the realization of *Asp⁰* in the lower, non-finite clause. Evidence against this approach, however, comes from the fact that both *egin* and modals participate in agreement phenomena reminiscent of clitic-climbing with Romance “restructuring” verbs (Rizzi 1978). On the assumption that restructuring is not possible across CP boundaries (Cinque 2000, Wurmbbrand 2001, 2004), then such facts suggest that these infinitival constructions are monoclausal.

Like other transitive verbs, *egin* as a lexical verb requires that person and number agreement with the object(s) be marked on the auxiliary.

- (33) etxe-ko lanak egin ditut
 house-of work-PL-A do AUX-3Pl.Abs.-1Erg.
 ‘I’ve done my homework.’

In *egin*-focalization constructions, however, the agreement marking is determined by the argument structure of the focalized main verb: unaccusative verbs require intransitive agreement and transitive verbs require transitive agreement.

- (34) a. Joan egin naiz (unaccusative)
 go do AUX-1Abs.
 'I have GONE.'
- b. Torrea ikusi egin dut (monotransitive)
 tower see do AUX-3Abs.-1Erg.
 'I've SEEN THE TOWER.'
- c. Jon-i liburua eman egin diot (ditransitive)
 Jon-D. book give do AUX-3Abs.-3Dat.-1Erg.
 'I've GIVEN Jon the book.'

Similar facts obtain for verbs under the modal *ahal* 'can'. (35a)-(35c), for example, show that agreement marking on the auxiliary is a function of the argument structure of the main verb.

- (35) a. Joan ahal naiz (unaccusative)
 go MOD AUX-1Abs.
 'I can go.'
- b. Torrea ikusi ahal dut (monotransitive)
 tower see MOD AUX-3Abs.-1Erg.
 'I can see the tower.'
- c. Jon-i liburua eman ahal diot (ditransitive)
 Jon-D. book give MOD AUX-3Abs.-3Dat.-1Erg.
 'I can give Jon the book.'

The modals *behar* 'need' and *nahi* 'want' behave somewhat differently. These verbs require ergative agreement morphology on the auxiliary, even with unaccusative main verbs. The difference between these two classes of modals is illustrated by the contrast between (35a) and (36a).

- (36) a. Joan nahi dut (unaccusative)
 go MOD AUX-1Erg.-1Abs.
 'I want to go.'
- b. Torrea ikusi nahi dut (monotransitive)
 tower see MOD AUX-3Abs.-1Erg.
 'I want to see the tower.'
- c. Jon-i liburua eman nahi diot (ditransitive)
 Jon-D. book give MOD AUX-3Abs.-3Dat.-1Erg.
 'I want to give Jon the book.'

These three modals (and *egin* as a dummy verb) differ from other subject control verbs such as *saiatu*, 'try' in two key respects. First, verbs under subject control verbs like *saiatu*, 'try,' do not bear *-tul-il-Ø* but rather *-t(z)en* as shown in (37)-(40) below.¹⁰ Second, other kinds of subject control verbs, do not exhibit transparency in agreement marking. Rather, agreement marking is exhaustively determined by argument structure of the higher verb.

¹⁰ See Zabala and Odriozola (1996) for a discussion of this affix including an argument that they are the same affix as the imperfective morpheme.

(37)
 Joa-ten saia-tu naiz
 go-*t(z)en* try-PERF AUX-1Abs.
 'I have tried to go.'

(38)
 Torrea ikus-ten saia-tu naiz
 Tower see-*ten* try-PERF AUX-1Abs.
 'I have tried to see the tower.'

(39)
 Ona iza-ten ikas-i dut
 good be- *t(z)en* learn-PERF AUX-3Erg-
 1Abs.
 'I have learned to be good.'

(40)
 Gitarra jo-tzen ikas-i dut
 guitar play-*t(z)en* learn-PERF AUX-
 3Erg-1Abs.
 'I have learned to play guitar.'

The transparency in agreement marking with verbs under *egin* and modals *ahal*, *behar* and *nahi* as in (34)-(36) suggest that these constructions are monoclausal (Cinque 1999, 2000, Wurmbrand 2001, 2004). Verbs such as *saiatu*, 'try' and *ikasi*, 'learn,' on the other hand, are presumably main verbs, which optionally select for non-finite clauses in a familiar way.

Additional evidence that modal constructions are monoclausal, unlike constructions with *saiatu*, 'try' and *ikasi*, 'learn,' comes from the behavior of negation. With the latter class of verbs, the negative morpheme, *ez*, can appear before the lower verb. The interpretation of these examples is one in which negation scopes between the lower verb and the upper verb as reflected in the glosses.

(41) Saiatuko naiz ez pentsatzen hor-(r)etan
 try-FUT AUX NEG think-*tzen* that-in
 'I'm going to try not to think about that.'

(42) Ikas-i behar duzu ez iza-ten hor-(r)ela
 learn-INF need AUX NEG be-*tzen* that-like
 'You have to learn not to be like that.'

However, negation is not possible with verbs under the modals *ahal*, *nahi* and *behar*.

(43) *Nahi dut ez jun
 want AUX NEG go
 'I want not to go.'

(44) *Behar duzu ez izan hor-(r)ela
 need AUX NEG be that-like
 'You need not to do that.'

These facts follow readily from the monoclausal approach adopted here. The negative morpheme *ez*, in (41) and (42) is plausibly merged in the lower, non-finite CP. In contrast, no negation is possible in (43) and (44) because such constructions are monoclausal and no NEG position is available that low in the functional sequence in which to merge these elements.

Finally, this monoclausal vs. biclausal distinction suggests an explanation of the differences in morphology on the lower verb in these two environments. Main verbs below subject control, non-modals such as *saiatu* obligatorily bear a *-tzen* affix, (which is standardly described as an imperfect aspectual marker.) In contrast, main verbs under modals take a different morpheme, *-il/-tu/-Ø*, plausibly akin to infinitival markers like *-ar/-er/-ir* in Spanish. From this monoclausal perspective, then, the *-tzen* affix in (41) and (42) might plausibly be taken to reflect a non-finite CP boundary.

3. Conclusions

This paper discusses verb focalization constructions in Central and Western Basque dialects. Some specific theoretical consequences of this proposal are summarized below.

1. This paper provides support for Rebuschi's (1984) proposal that the main verb in verb focalization constructions targets the same position as other kinds of foci. Evidence for this claim comes from the behavior of these elements in terms of word order, extraction from complement clauses, clausal pied-piping and intonation.
2. The intonational data presented here support Ortiz de Urbina's (2002) remnant movement approach to right-peripheral foci in Basque. The latter proposes that right-peripheral focus constructions are derived by (leftward) remnant movement of non-focalized material to a topic position above the focalized constituent in FocP.
3. The data presented here support recent approaches to "restructuring" as a monoclausal phenomenon (Cinque 2000, Wurmbrand 2001, 2004). In particular, restructuring in Basque is available in precisely the same class of non-finite constructions in which sentential negation above a lower, non-finite verb is unavailable. The Basque data are striking in that "restructuring" constructions exhibit different morphological properties from other kinds of subject control constructions. This difference plausibly reflects the existence of a non-finite CP boundary in one case but not the other.

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