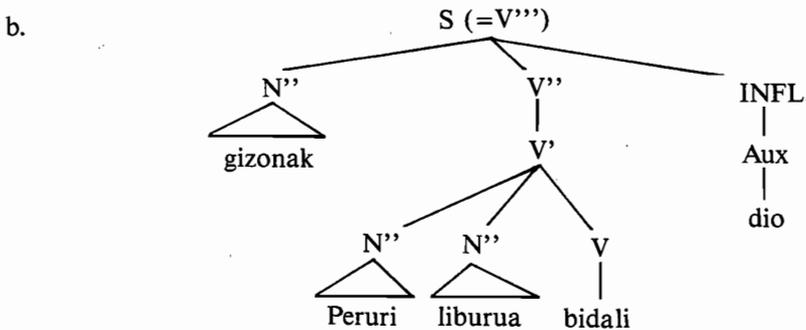
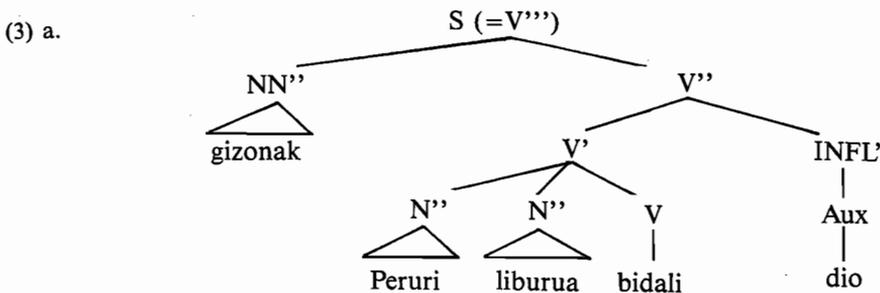


In the second hypothesis, i.e., when V is the head of S , we also have two possibilities:



If we make a narrow interpretation of X-bar-Theory and postulate that there is only one level of specifier, it seems to me that the hypothesis labelled (3a) can be readily discarded. The argument works the following way. If V is the head of S , as (3a) proposes, then $INFL$ can only appear as a specifier, because first it is not a complement of V , and second because there is no possibility to consider it either a modifier of V or of any of its complements. This amounts to saying that it has to come from the maximal projection of V . But this means,

in turn, that if INFL comes from the maximal projection of V as in (3a), the maximal projection of V is not S but V'. Hence, the only possible representation for the V-head hypothesis is (3b). Thus, is there any way that could help us decide between (2), both (a) and (b), and (3b)? It is obvious that the choice between both hypotheses is an empirical question. Nonetheless, it ought to be pointed out that according to Chomsky's 1980 definition of government (Aoun and Sportiche, 1981):

- (4) x governs y iff
 a. x c-commands y
 b. No major category or category boundary intervenes between x and y.

(3b) and (2b) are the only possible structures, for V governs its complements and INFL governs the subject. In (2a), on the contrary, INFL would not be able to govern the subject position, for it does not fulfill the *c-command* requirement of that definition (Reinhart's simplified definition [cf. Reinhart 1983: 23]). Thus, the alternative, as Huang (1982) puts it, could be to accept the definition by Aoun and Sportiche (1981):

- (5) A governs B if and only if $A = X^0$ and every maximal projection dominating A also dominates B and viceversa.

According to this definition, then, INFL would be able to govern up to INFL', namely, up to the subject position without any further specification.

The empirical argument in favor of (2a) is provided by the movements involved with focalization. Thus, let us hypothesize that in sentence (1) above we want to focalize the N' *liburua* 'the book' and give it a special prominence within the sentence. Then, we move the string formed by the focused element, *liburua* 'the book', the verb, *bidali* 'sent', and INFL, *dio*, to the front of the sentence. It could also be argued that instead of the fronting of the mentioned string, the moved elements are the subject, *gizonak* 'the man', and the indirect object, *Peruri* 'to Peter'. Without trying to decide between both alternatives for the time being, the very important fact is that the mentioned string, i.e., (6), cannot be broken neither by moving only part of it to the front, nor by inserting the subject, *gizonak* 'the man', and/or the indirect object, *Peruri* 'to Peter', between them¹, as shown in (7):

- (6) a. *liburua bidali dio*
 b. *Focus + V + INFL*
- (7) a. **liburua bidali gizonak Peruri dio*
 book-det/sg-abs sent man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat has
 it to him
- b. **liburua bidali gizonak dio Peruri*
 book-det/sg-abs sent man-det/sg-erg has it to him Peter-dat
- c. **liburua bidali Peruri dio gizonak*
 book-det/sg-abs sent Peter-dat has it to him man-det/sg-erg

1. As argued in previous work (cf. Eguzkitza 1986), this does not mean that we cannot move INFL alone, for such a movement is perfectly feasible. INFL by itself has the behavior of an independent constituent. Now, whatever is in focus position has to move along with V, for on the one hand that position, right in front of V, is the focalization site, and on the other because, as we have seen before, nothing but some verbal complements of V can intervene between V and INFL. This, in fact, is a clear mark of the degree of structural dependency between V and INFL.

This means that INFL is tightly connected to V. In fact, nothing can appear between V° and INFL with the exception of modals and iterative *izan*, as it was shown in Eguzkitza 1986, Chapter II.

- (8) a.

liburua	irakurtzen	ahal	dut
book-det/sg-abs	reading	can	I have it
	[V°]	[modal]	[INFL]

'I can read the book'

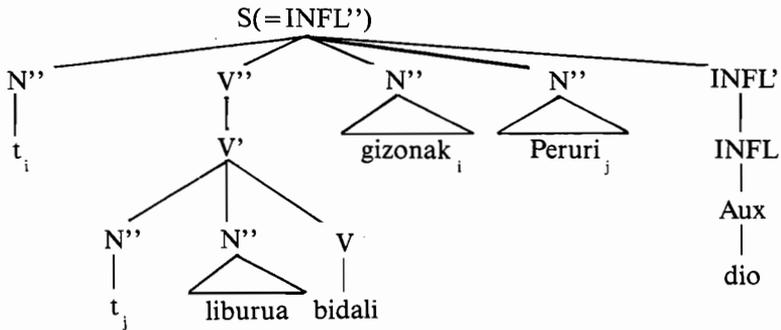
- b.

liburua	irakurri	izan	dut
book-det/sg-abs	read	have	I have it
	[V°]	[iterative]	[INFL]

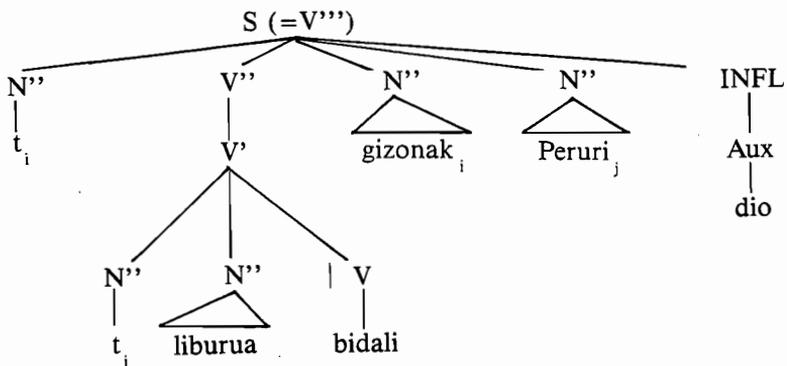
'I have often read the book'

In other words, between the two hypotheses we are looking at, (2) with INFL as the head of S, and (3) V as the head of S, both (3b) and (2b) ought to be discarded for they do not capture the abovementioned fact, i.e., that V and INFL are tightly connected. If this were not the case, we would not be able to explain why the examples in (9), derived from (2b), where INFL is the head of S, and (3b), where V is the head of S, respectively, are ungrammatical. Observe that both are cases where some element other than modals and iteratives intervenes between V° and INFL:

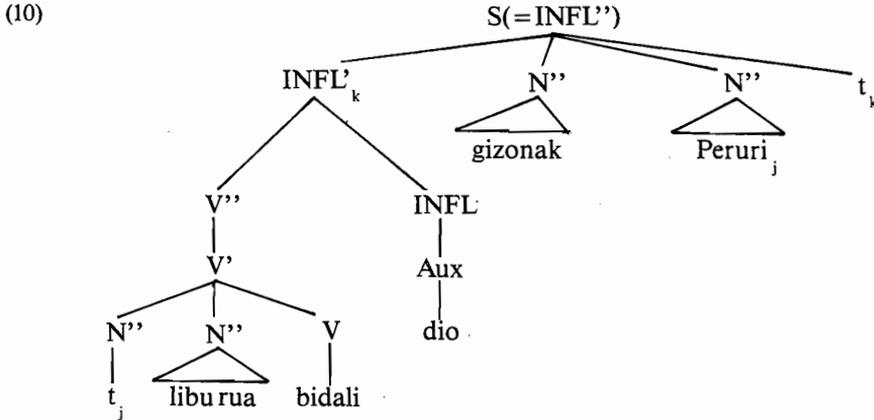
- (9) a.



- b.

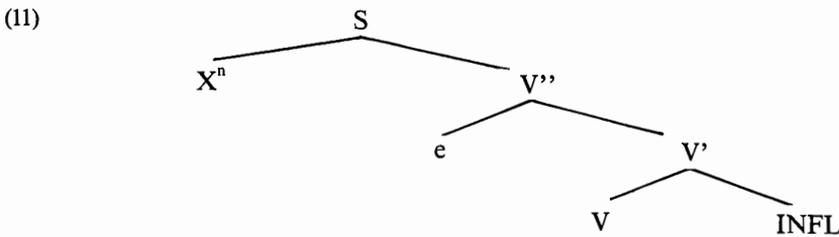


Thus, we therefore tentatively conclude that (2a) is the structure with the highest explanatory power, which in the example at hand has the form in (10).



1.2. Focalization Strategies.

1.2.1. **Sentential Adverbials.** The structure proposed by Azkarate *et al.* (1981), namely, V'' (=VP) is not one with all its possible subcategorized complements (as in the one I have proposed in Eguzkitza 1986, Chapter II, following the most common tradition), but just a VP (=V'') with the complement *e* on its left branch, where *e* stands for *focus* (= *galdegaia* in Basque)²:



This, in turn, implies that structures like (2a), represented as in (12) here, that is, structures with at least two NP's as the complements of V, are not possible, for in principle only one constituent should be focused each time³:

2. This proposal could have some problems with the basic rule-schema of X-bar-Theory:
 (i) $X^n \rightarrow \dots X^{n-1} \dots$

since INFL, as shown in (11), appears as a branch of V', i.e., as a modifier or as a complement of V', and it does not seem to be either of the two.
 3. De Rijk, however, states the following: "So far, the focus in our examples has been one single constituent. As a matter of fact, Basque grammarians generally conceive of focus in that strain. Yet, it may happen that the implicit question associated with a utterance contains more than an interrogative word. If so, the utterance will have a focus consisting of more than one constituent [...]. It thus turns out that multiple focus is possible, even though it may be somewhat rare in practice". (De Rijk 1978; 103-4).

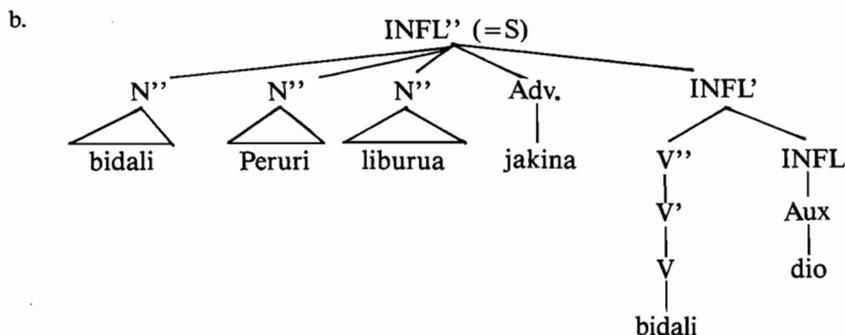
- (12) (=2a) gizonak Peruri liburua bidali dio
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
 'the man has sent Peter the book'

This sentence, if not orally uttered, is ambiguous with respect to the presence or absence of focus on the only element that can function as such, *liburua* 'the book', for this N'' is the most immediate element to the left of V, precisely the only available position for focus in the grammar of Basque (Altube 1929, De Rijk 1978). Thus, sentence (12) may be either a neutral statement⁴ or else the N'' *liburua* 'the book' in it can be the focus of the sentence.

In the first case, i.e., when there is a neutral statement, we can have the following situation:

- (13) a gizonak Peruri liburua noski ('of course') bidali dio
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs jakina ('of course') sent has it to him
 behintzat ('at least')
- ...
- 'the man, of course/at least/..., has sent the book to Peter'

that can provisionally be represented as in (13b), as we are going to discuss later in this paper:



In this case the elements in brackets in (13a), *behintzat* 'at least', *noski/jakina* 'of course' and others, all of them sentential adverbials,⁵ can appear be

4. We could also say with De Rijk (1978:102) that "in that case, the sentence modality (its truth-value, so to speak) is focused on, and no special word order is required".

Also, as T. Wilbur proposed (p.c.), we could consider that direct objects are 'naturally' in focus. Any deviation from 'natural' order would then produce non-neutral statements.

5. The reason to call these elements *sentential adverbials* is due to the fact that they are not subcategorized by any other element, and in addition they have the distribution of parentheticals. Thus, sentence (13) could have appeared as:

- (i) a. gizonak *behintzat* Peruri liburua bidali dio
 b. gizonak Peruri *behintzat* liburua bidali dio
 c. gizonak Peruri liburua bidali dio *behintzat*

exactly as in the case in which the parenthetical had been the following sentence:

- (ii) a. espero zitekeenaren kontra
 hope one could-rel suf-gen against
 'against what one could hope (= unexpectedly)'

tween the potential focus and V, so that we are able to say that no element was focalized in (13). If, on the contrary, we had been answering the question in (14):

- (14) *nori bidali dio gizonak liburua?*
 who-dat sent has it to him man-det/sg-erg book-det/sg-abs
 'who has the man sent the book to?'

we would never have (15) as a possible answer:

- (15) **gizonak liburua Peruri noski bidali dio*
 man-det/sg-erg book-det/sg-abs Peter-dat of course sent has it to him

- but (16) *gizonak liburua Peruri bidali dio (noski)*
 man-det/sg-erg book-det/sg-abs Peter-dat sent has it to him of course
 'the man has sent the book to Peter, of course'

where the focus *Peruri* 'to Peter' is immediately to the left of V, the only position where it may appear, for —as we are going to see— wh-words in Basque do not move to COMP, but just to focus position. Thus, (15) is ungrammatical because the focus *Peruri* 'to Peter' has been separated from V by means of the sentential adverbial *noski* 'of course'. Such a move is not possible in the grammar of Basque. Thus, so far we have encountered two situations: a) sentences without focus at SS in which sentential adverbials can therefore appear immediately to the left of V, and b) sentences with some element in focus position or where wh-movement has taken place. In these sentences the focused element or the wh-word have to appear immediately to the left of V for the sentence to be grammatical.

- as in (iii) a. *gizonak Peruri liburua espero zitekeenaren kontra bidali dio*
 b. *gizonak espero zitekeenaren kontra Peruri liburua bidali dio*
 c. *gizonak Peruri espero zitekeenaren kontra liburua bidali dio*
 d. *gizonak Peruri liburua bidali dio espero zitekeenaren kontra*
 'the man has unexpectedly sent the book to Peter'

At the same time a clear intonation break exists between the parenthetical and the item in front of it. Thus, the possibility of making the focus position come from S is out of question, for no element can intervene between focus and V:

- (iv) a. **nik liburua irakurri dut*
 I-erg book-det/sg-abs read I have it
 'I have read the book' (*liburua*: [+ focus])
 b. *liburua irakurri dut nik*
 book-det/sg-abs read I have it I-erg
 'I have read the book' (*liburua*: [+ focus])
 c. **liburua nik irakurri dut*
 book-det/sg-abs I-erg read I have it
 'I have read the book' (*liburua*: [+ focus], grammatical if focus assigned to *nik*)
 d. *nik espero zitekeenaren kontra liburua irakurri dut*
 I-erg hope one could-rel suf-gen against book-det/sg-abs read I have it
 'unexpectedly I have read the book' (*liburua*: [+ focus])
 e. **nik liburua espero zitekeenaren kontra irakurri dut*
 I-erg book-det/sg-abs hope one could-rel suf-gen against read I have it
 (*liburua*: [+ focus])

And if any movement takes place, as mentioned in the text, they, [focus + V], have to move together.

1.2.2. **Two Focusing Strategies.** One could ask why it is possible that (13a) is a grammatical sentence, but (15), the answer to (14), is not, for Basque being a language with a rather free word order, we could think of (15) as a case of scrambling and not as an instance of *wh*-movement. The answer to this objection is straightforward. Once an element has been focalized in any sentence of Basque, the rest of the constituents of that sentence may appear in almost every possible order, only determined by discourse constraints, for the feature that seems to be at work in this language, as Carlos Otero put it (p.c.), is [—verb initial]⁶. Thus, we can find the following cases (De Rijk 1978, number (12) of his examples):

- (17) a. sendagille batek bi txakur *ementxe* *il* *zituen* atzo
 doctor one-erg two dog-ind-abs right here killed had them yesterday
 'a doctor killed two dogs right here yesterday'
- b. sendagille batek *ementxe* *il* *zituen* *bi* *txakur* atzo
 doctor one-erg right here killed had them two dog-ind-abs yesterday
 'a doctor killed two dogs right here yesterday'
- c. bi txakur *ementxe* *il* *zituen* sendagille batek atzo
 two dog-ind-abs right here killed had them doctor one-erg yesterday
 'a doctor killed two dogs right here yesterday'
- d. bi txakur sendagille batek *ementxe* *il* *zituen* atzo
 two dog-ind-abs doctor one-erg right here killed had them yesterday'
 'a doctor killed two dogs right here yesterday'
- e. *ementxe* *il* *zituen* sendagille batek bi txakur atzo
 right here killed had them doctor one-erg two dog-ind-abs yesterday
 'a doctor killed two dogs right here yesterday'

In these cases the focused element is (*h*)*ementxe* 'right here'. However, if no element is focused, at least superficially, as in (13), we have what we could call a *neutral orden*, i.e., a situation where no element in the sentence has any kind of preeminence. All this can be observed in the following cases:

- (18) a. gizonak Peruri liburua behintzat bidali dio
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs at least sent has it to him
 'the man has sent the book to Peter, at least'
 (no focus)
- b. gizonak Peruri *liburua* *bidali* dio behintzat
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him at least
 'the man has sent the book to Peter'
 (either no focus or *liburua* 'the book' focused)

6. It would be interesting if we could find a deeper principle to explain the existence of this constraint in the grammar of Basque. If it turns out that focus must always be filled either at *s*-structure or at LF, this could explain why a main verb cannot (exceptions aside) ever appear in the front position of its sentence, for the focus position would always be there in front of it waiting to be filled and hence making it impossible for that verb to appear sentence-initially.

- c. gizonak Peruri behintzat *liburua* *bidali dio*
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat at least book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
 'the man has sent the book to Peter at least'
 (*liburua* 'the book' in focus position)
- d. gizonak behintzat Peruri *liburua* *bidali dio*
 man-det/sg-erg at least Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
 'the man at least has sent the book to Peter'
 (*liburua* 'the book' in focus)
- e. liburu hau behintzat *irakurri egin dut*
 book this-abs at least read done I have it
 'I have read this book at least'
 (*irakurri* 'to read' in focus)
- f. *liburuak zenbat balio duen *nik* behintzat entzun dut
 book-det/sg-erg how much value has it I-erg at least heard I have it
 'at least I have heard how much the book cost'
 (if *nik* 'I' marked [+ focus])

In negative sentences it is also possible to see the difference:

- (19) ez dut *liburua* *irakurri*
 not I have it book-det/sg-abs read
 'I have not read the book'
 (*liburua* 'the book' in focus)
- (20) ez dut irakurri liburua
 not I have it read the book
 'I have not read the book'

In (20) no focus appears unless the negation itself can be considered as such (see fns. 5 and 7). We shall return to this point later.

In we now come back to sentence (12):

- (12) gizonak Peruri liburua bidali dio
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
 'the man has sent the book to Peter'

and focus *liburua* 'the book', the way to mark it unambiguously as opposed to a mere neutral statement appear to be two:

- a) an additional emphatic accent with a clear break between the focused item and its preceding elements⁷:

- (21) gizonak Peruri *liburua bidali dio*

7. This strategy also implies a movement to focus position, even though at the surface no change seems to occur. The movement is that of *liburua* 'the book' from its starting position to focus position. We shall come back to this point in the following pages.

b) movement:

- (22) a. *liburua bidali dio gizonak Peruri*
 b. *gizonak liburua bidali dio Peruri*
 c. *Peruri liburua bidali dio gizonak*
 d. *zer bidali dio gizonak Peruri?*
 e. *nork bidali dio liburua Peruri?*

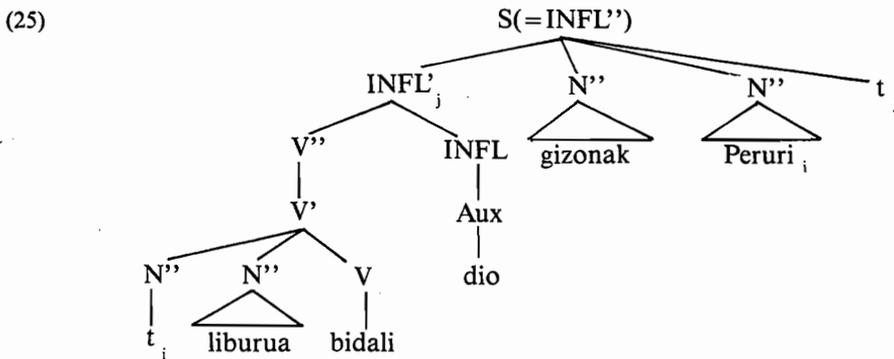
The same can be observed in (23):

- (23) *Peru goizean heldu da*
 Peter-abs morning-det/sg-loc arrived is
 'Peter has arrived in the morning'

where if we focalize *Peru* 'Peter', the possible results are:

- (24) a. *goizean Peru heldu da*
 b. *Peru heldu da goizean*
 c. *Ez da Peru heldu goizean*
 d. *Ez da goizean Peru heldu*

In all the cases, either the string formed by the focused element, verb and INFL [*focus + V + INFL*] has been fronted, or else the indirect object *Peruri* 'to Peter' and the subject *gizonak* 'the man' in sentence (22), and the adverbial *goizean* 'in the morning' in (23) have been moved rightward. For instance, the representation of (22a) could be (25):

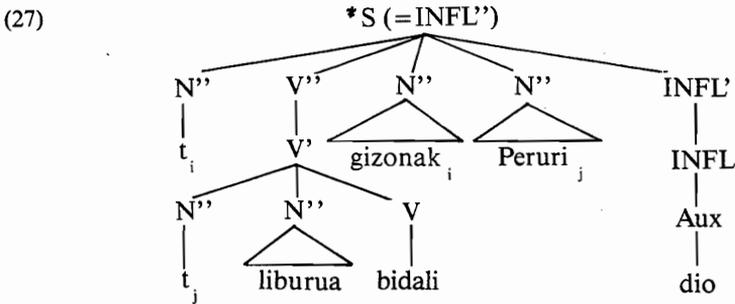


The string named above, [*focus + V + INFL*], cannot be broken either by moving part of it to the front, or by inserting the subject *gizonak* 'the man' or/and the NP *Peruri* 'to Peter' in (22), or the adverbial *goizean* 'in the morning' in (23), between them, specifically between focus and V^0 , and V^0 and INFL⁸ (cf. 1.1.). As pointed out before, however, INFL can be moved to the front position as in (19) above.

8. Between focus and V^0 nothing can appear either, for by definition focus is the first element to the left of the main verb of the sentence. In fact, this linear continuity between V and INFL is the intuitive base upon which Wilbur and others have apparently built up the concept of VC (Verbal Complex).

- (26) a. **liburua bidali gizonak Peruri dio*
 b. **liburua bidali Peruri dio gizonak*
 c. **liburua bidali gizonak dio Peruri*
 d. **Peru goizean heldu da*
 e. **goizean heldu da Peru*
 f. **Peru heldu goizean da*

This means, as stated in 1.3.1., that INFL is directly connected to V, or in other words that INFL is the head of S. Thus, the ungrammatical (26a) can be represented as (27) [(9a) above]:



In (27) the traces left by the corresponding movements are properly governed (where *proper government* to the conditions of government mentioned in (4), adds the following ones, 1) that the governor be a lexical head, and/or 2) that the governor and the governee be coindexed), i.e., the trace left by the subject *gizonak* 'the man' is antecedent-governed by the moved NP and by INFL. The trace of *Peruri* 'to Peter' is properly governed by the verb *bidali* 'to send'. The same can be stated with respect to (23) above, repeated here:

- (23) *Peru goizean heldu da*
 Peter-abs morning-det/sg-loc arrived is

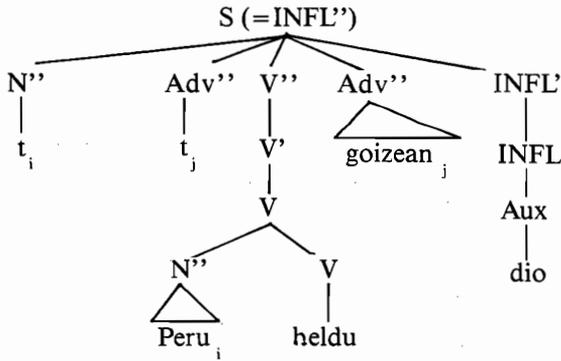
'Peter has arrived in the morning'

One impossible form of this sentence is the following (cf. 26f):

- (28) **Peru heldu goizean da*

Represented as (29). *Heldu* 'to arrive' is an intransitive verb, (exactly, an unaccusative one, and hence not subcategorized for any complement position). Its focused subject *Peru* 'Peter', then, is adjoined to V (cf. 1.3.).

(29)



Again, the only violation that makes this sentence ungrammatical is the breaking of the string formed by [*focus* + *V* + *INFL*].

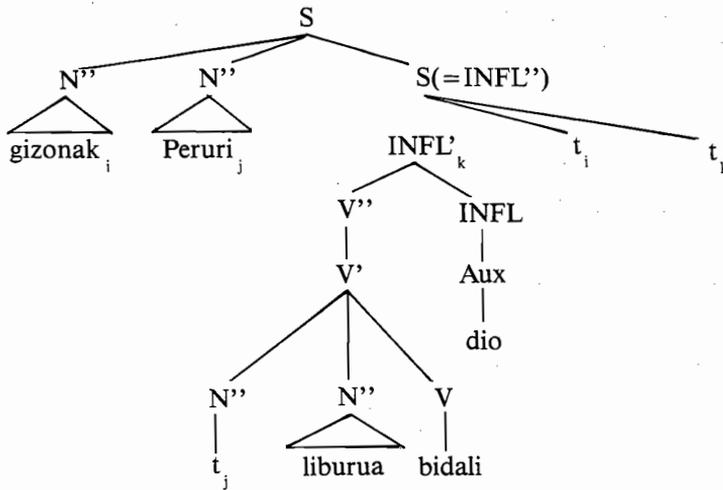
1.2.3. *Unifying Strategies*. At this point, there is a legitimate question that we may ask ourselves, i.e., whether there is any way to unify under a simple label the two mentioned focusing strategies, namely, what we have called 'the addition of an emphatic accent' strategy and the movement strategy.

In effect, there seems to be grounds for such a unification. Thus, the intonation break mentioned for the cases of apparent non-overt movement also occurs where the string formed by [*focus* + *V* + *INFL*] is not in absolute initial position. For instance, in (22) above, that intonation break appears in (22b) and (22c). In these cases the focused item *liburua* 'the book' is preceded by *gizonak* 'the man' in (b), and by *Peruri* 'to Peter' in (c). In addition, both of them are separated from the focused N' *liburua* 'the book' by the abovementioned intonational break. In other words, the first strategy seems to be only a subpart of the second one, for in the mentioned cases of (22), also the intonation is used as a marking tool, even though movement has taken place. The apparently unavoidable conclusion so far has then two possible forms (some other possibilities will be discussed later, however): either a) any element superficially located in front of *INFL'* is topicalized, or b) the string formed by [*focus* + *V* + *AUX*], is a constituent independent from any other element in the sentence and all the rest of NP's hangs from S, i.e., there is no VP. Let us analyze both hypotheses.

If hypothesis (a) above turns out to be correct, (21), repeated here for ease of reference, would be represented as in (30):

- (21) *gizonak* *Peruri* *liburua* *bidali* *dio*
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-ti book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
 'the man has sent the book to Peter'

(30)



or in other words, focalization would imply two sorts of movement: first, one of the focused item to the still not defined focus position immediately before the main verb, and second, movement of the string [*focus* + *V* + *INFL*] to the front position. Finally, the elements in front of that string, in the case at hand the subject *gizonak* 'the man' and the indirect object *Peruri* 'to Peter', would be topicalized (Some other possibilities have been discussed in Eguzkitza 1986 Chapter IV). The potential weakness of this account is the amount of movement it posits in order to have well-formed sentences in Basque. Thus, in a sentence that superficially seems to have undergone no movement, for instance (21) above, three movements have to have taken place before we arrived at the desired result: 1) movement of *liburua* 'the book' to focus position, not represented in (30) above for we have not defined it yet, 2) movement of the by now familiar string [*focus* + *V* + *INFL*] to the front, and 3) topicalization of *gizonak* 'the man' and *Peruri* 'to Peter'. It is true that this accounts perfectly for the situation we are trying to explain, i.e., the intonation break between what precedes it and the focused element. But it seems to be too clumsy an explanation, at least if compared with other possible accounts. Thus, if hypothesis (b) is the correct one, the intonation break would be explained because *INFL'* after the movement of *liburua* 'the book' to the focus site is just that, an independent constituent within *S*. Then, the formation of the string [*focus* + *V* + *INFL*] would be the product of the syntactic movement of focalization, while the movements of the string itself would probably occur in PF (Phonetic Form), as a matter of style controlled by discourse restrictions that we are not going to discuss. The situation, then, is the following: When there is no intonation break in the sentence, i.e., when we have the neutral order, either affirmative or negative, no focalization movement takes place at *SS* (nor topicalization in hypothesis (a) either). In contrast, when we have an intonation break, with or without movement of the string [*focus* + *V* + *INFL*], focalization has applied, or in other words, the rule 'move α ' has taken some element to the pre-verbal focus position at

SS, so that we can legitimately speak of a contrastive stress rule associated with focalization. Therefore the first issue to be resolved is the definition of the focus position.

1.3. The Focus Position.

1.3.1. **Wh-movement.** If we question an element in (21) (=12) above we have the following possible cases:

- (31) a. gizonak Peruri zer bidali dio?
man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat what-abs sent has it to him

or with fronting of the question word

- b. zer bidali dio gizonak Peruri?
what-abs sent has it to him man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat
'wat has the man sent to Peter?'

- (32) a. gizonak liburua nori bidali dio?
man-det/sg-erg book-det/sg-abs who-dat sent has it to him

- OR b. nori bidali dio gizonak liburua?
who-dat sent has it to him man-det/sg-erg book-det/sg-abs
'who has the man sent the book to?'

- (33) a. Peruri liburua nork bidali dio?
Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs who-erg sent has it to him

- OR b. nork bidali dio Peruri liburua?
who-erg sent has it to him Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs
'who has sent the book to Peter?'

- (34) a. gizonak Peruri liburua zer egin dio?
man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs what-abs done has it to him

- OR b. zer egin dio gizonak Peruri liburua?
what-abs done has it to him man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs
'what has the man done to Peter with the book?'

As we can readily observe, the question words (*zer* 'what', *nori* 'to whom', and *nork* 'who') have been moved to the same preverbal position into which the focused elements go. In fact, the focused element in Basque is called *galdegaia*, literally the subject of question (*galde* 'to ask' and *gai* 'subject').

The correctness of this assertion can be seen if we try a) to insert any element between the landing site of the wh-word and V or b) if we try to focalize anything else in addition to the questioned element⁹. Thus, if we insert *noski* 'of course' in (31):

9. In the case of an echo-question, no doubt, a multiple interrogation is possible:

(i) nork Peruri zer bidali dio?
who-erg Peter-dat what-abs sent has it to him
'who has sent what to Peter?'

- (35) *gizonak Peruri zer noski bidali dio?
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat what-abs of course sent has it to him

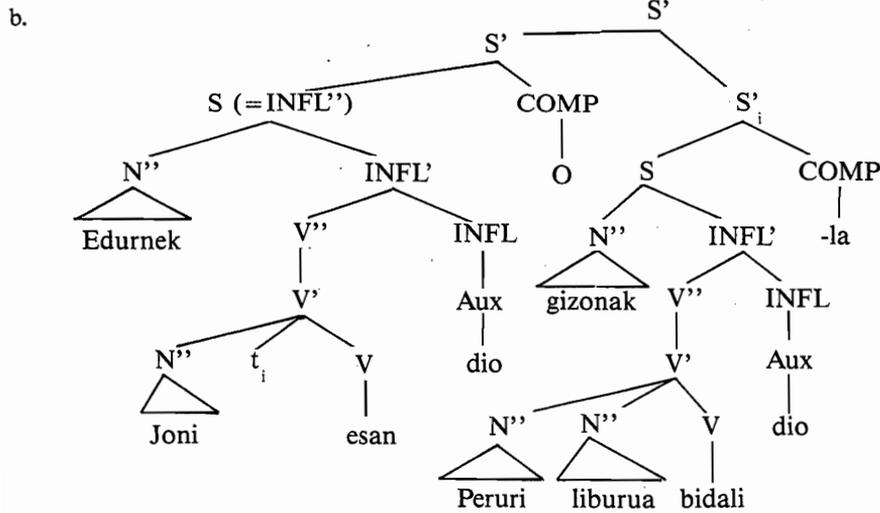
or if we try to focalize, say, *Peruri* 'to Peter' the result is equally ungrammatical:

- (36) *gizonak zer Peruri bidali dio?
 man-det/sg-erg what-abs Peter-dat sent has it to him

If wh-movement applies in more complex sentences, the same results appear to occur, i.e., wh-movement is a focus-to-focus movement rather than a COMP-to-COMP movement:

- (37) a. Edurnek Joni esan dio gizonak
 Edurne-erg John-dat said has it to him man-det/sg-erg
 Peruri liburua bidali diola
 Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him-that
 'Edurne has told John that the man has sent the book to Peter'

whose structure could be diagrammed as in (b):



Thus:

- (38) a. zer_i esan dio Edurnek Joni [gizonak Peruri e_i
 what-abs said has it to him Edurne-erg John-dat man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat
t_i bidali diola?
 sent has it to him
 'what has Edurne told John that the man has sent to Peter?'
 b. nori esan dio Edurnek Joni [gizonak
 who-dat said has it to him Edurne-erg John-dat man-det/sg-erg

e_i liburua t_i bidali diola]?
book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him

'to whom has Edurne told John that the man has sent the book?'

c. $nork_i$ esan dio¹⁰ Edurnek Joni
who-erg said has it to him Edurne-erg John-dat

[e_i Peruri liburua t_i bidali diola]?
Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him

'who has Edurne told John has sent the book to Peter?'

First, we move the corresponding wh-word to the focus position of its own sentence [e_i — t_i], the lower one. Then we extract it to the focus position of the upper sentence [t_i — wh]. Again, if we try to question or focalize some other element either in the lower or in the upper sentence, the results are equally ungrammatical, for the landing site that the moved item has to occupy is already filled. Thus, if in (38a) we try to question the subject too, the situation is the following:

(39) * zer_i esan dio Edurnek Joni
what-abs said has it to him Edurne-erg John-dat

e_i Peruri t_i $nork_i$ bidali diola?¹¹
Peter-dat who-erg sent has it to him-that

If we now try to focalize *Edurnek* 'Edurne' in the upper sentence the result is also wrong:

(40) * zer_i Edurnek esan dio Joni
what-abs Edurne-erg said has it to him John-dat

gizonak Peruri e_i t_i bidali diola?
man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat sent has it to him-that

Also, in verbs like *galdetu* 'to ask for', subcategorized for wh-words, the situation is the same. Thus, we have:

(41) Edurnek Joni galdetu dio Peruri
Edurne-erg John-dat asked has it to him Peter-dat

liburua $nork$ bidali dion
book-det/sg-abs who-erg sent has it to him-ind. quest. suff.

'Edurne has asked John who has sent the book to Peter'

10. Although most common, it is not obligatory for the string [*wh* + *V* + *INFL*] to appear in absolute initial position. For instance (38c) could also appear as:

(i) Edurnek $nork_i$ esan dio Joni [e_i Peruri liburua t_i bidali diola]?
Edurne-erg who-erg said has it to him John-dat Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him-that
or (ii) Edurnek Joni $nork_i$ esan dio [e_i Peruri liburua t_i bidali diola]?
Edurne-erg John-dat who-erg said has it to Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him-that

11. Also, for the very same reason, no other focalized element can appear in the lower sentence:

(i) * zer esan dio Edurnek Joni e_j Peruri e_i Andonik i t_i bidali diola?
what-abs said has it to him Edurne-erg John-dat Peter-dat. Anthony-erg sent has it to him-that

where a *wh*-word is in the focus position of the lower sentence, the only position where the question word can appear, otherwise the result is ungrammatical.

(42) **Edurnek Joni galdetu dio, norik Peruri liburua bidali dion*

If we now try to extract the question word to the upper sentence the results are parallel:

?? (43) a. *norik_i galdetu dio Edurnek Joni*
 who-erg asked has it to him Edurne-erg John-dat

e_i Peruri liburua t_i bidali diola?
 Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to

'who has Edurne told John has sent the book to Peter?'

but b. **norik_i galdetu dio Edurnek Joni*
 who-erg asked has it to him Edurne-erg John-dat

e_i e_j liburua nori t_i bidali diola?
 book-det/sg-abs who-dat sent has it to
 him-that

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (43b) is apparent. *Nori* 'to whom' cannot appear in focus because this site is already filled by the trace left by *norik* 'who'. On the other hand the echo-interpretation is almost impossible precisely because *nori* 'to whom' has been moved from its starting 'neutral' position to one superficially to the left of V. In fact, (44) does allow an echo-question interpretation:

(44) *norik_i galdetu dio Edurnek Joni*
 who-erg asked has it to him Edurne-erg John-dat

e_i nori liburua t_i bidali diola?
 who-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him-that

'who has asked Edurne John the book has sent to whom?'

Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the landing site for *wh*-words is the preverbal position mentioned before, i.e., the same position that is used for focalization. What this means, in turn, is that the focus position is an A-bar-position (a nonargument position), or in other words, that this position cannot be one coming from V' for many of the *wh*-words or lexical items that either by means of *wh*-movement or focalization can land at it are not subcategorized elements of V. In the following sentence:

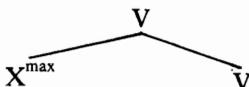
(45) *gizonak orain Peruri liburua bidali dio*
 man-det/sg-erg now Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him

'the man now has sent the book to Peter'

gizonak 'the man', *orain* 'now' and the verb *bidali* 'to send' itself can appear in the focus position, even though they clearly are not subcategorized by the verb *bidali* 'to send'. On the other hand, the very fact that the string mentioned before [*focus* + V + *INFL*] always moves together shows us that the focus position

cannot be one coming from a superior position in the projection of V^0 . This was already pointed out by the facts quoted in 1.2.1. with respect to sentential adverbials, i.e., focus position is a site internal to VP and immediately to the left of V, as the impossibility for those sentential adverbials to intervene between the focus position and V clearly showed¹². Thus, an attractive solution appears to be one similar to the proposal by Julia Horvath for Hungarian (1981), namely, an adjoined position to \bar{V} :

(46)



This position is an A-bar-position that is filled at s-structure when something has been either questioned or focalized. This is an important difference with respect to the Hungarian case, for Basque unlike Hungarian, as argued in Horvath (1981), does not subcategorize for any element at all at the focus site¹³. We have seen that almost all elements of a sentence may be brought to that position without any restriction¹⁴. This accounts for the difference in status of that position in both languages, an A-position in Hungarian (according to the above-mentioned analysis), and an A-bar-position in Basque. Next, we will see how wh-movement is characterized in Basque.

12. We also could mention here the VP-deletion test proposed by Julia Horvath (1981), for in Basque, as in Hungarian, one can only reconstruct an element within VP, but not any outside it, such as parentheticals or a sentential adverbial. In Basque, in addition, even NP's that are subcategorized by the main verb, if they are not in focus position, cannot be recovered. For instance (I use similar examples to Horvath's 40 and 41 in page 56):

- (i) Marik *mahaian ipini ditu* plater bi eta Jonek ustekabean beste bi
 Mari-erg table-det/sg-in put has them plate two-abs and John-erg suddenly other two-abs
 'Mary has put two plates in the table and John suddenly two others'

The gapped part is [*mahaian ipini ditu*], i.e., [*focus + V + INFL*].

However, if we now try to gap, say, *beste bi* 'two others', that is, an NP that is not in focus, the result is clearly ungrammatical:

- (ii) *Marik *mahaian ipini ditu* plater bi eta Jonek ustekabean
 Mari-erg table-det/sg-in put has them plate two and John-erg suddenly

In other words, the only recoverable string is [*focus + V + INFL*], in the example at hand *mahaian ipini ditu* 'has put in the table'. On the other hand, as pointed out also by Julia Horvath, if we have some element in the focus position and we make a yes-no question out of that sentence, we have two possible outcomes, one without movement and another one with movement of [*focus + V + INFL*] to the front, thus making it clear that the focus position is one internal to VP:

- (iii) Peruk *liburua irakurri du*
 Peter-erg book-det/sg-abs read has it
 'Peter has read the book'
- (iv) Peruk *liburua irakurri al du?*
 Peter-erg book-det/sg-abs read modal part has it
 'has Peter read the book?'
- (v) *liburua irakurri al du* Peruk?
 book-det/sg-abs read modal part has it Peter-erg
 'has Peter read the book?'

13. Horvath (1981:53) states the following: "Although Hungarian is an SVO language, its Phrase Structure differs from that of, say, English in one crucial respect: it has a (single) phrase node as a *left sister* to V. This 'pre-V' node is a regular argument position in Hungarian, and particular verbs must be strictly subcategorized to take (or not to take) one of their complement phrases in this node. Any major category type can occur in the 'pre-V' position. Even though sub-regularities do exist, the occurrences of 'pre-V' complements with particular verbs is largely idiosyncratic, motivating a *lexical* account, namely, one based on lexical subcategorization features".

14. The possibility should be mentioned of considering the focus position an A-position and explain wh-movement, as Horvath does for Hungarian, as a case of substitution into that position, because some other rule (*postposing* in Hungarian) has moved the corresponding subcategorized element out of that position. This is not the case in Basque. In other words, the focus position is really an adjoined position produced by means of the rule 'move'.

3.3.2. **A Test of Wh-movement.** To confirm that we really have a case of wh-movement, i.e., move \bar{A} , when wh-words are moved to focus position, we will confront the Basque case with the criteria proposed by Chomsky (1977):

a) Wh-movement leaves a gap. For instance:

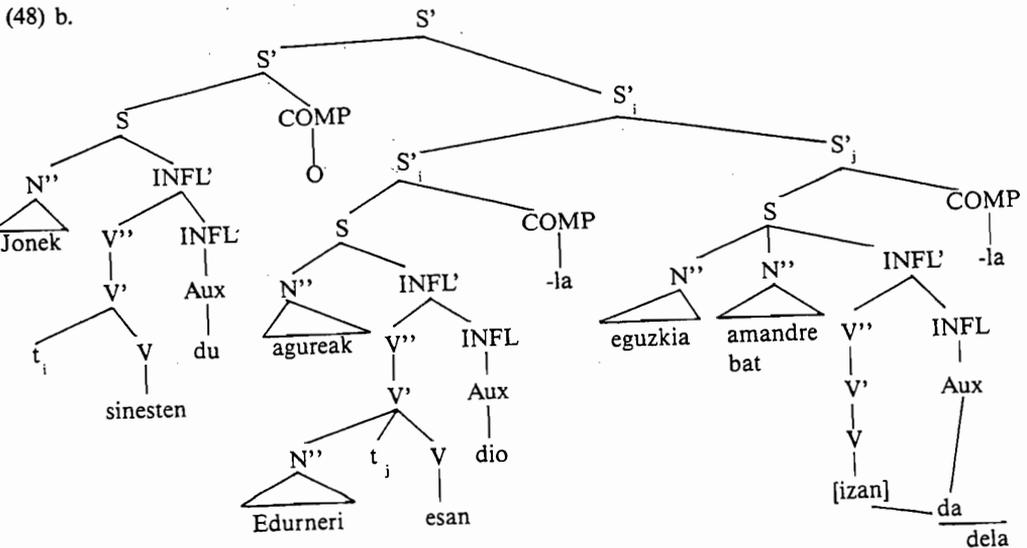
(47) a. Jonek sinesten du eguzkia amandre bat dela
 John-erg believing has it sun-det/sg-abs old lady one-abs is-that
 'John believes that the sun is an old lady'

b. *Zer_i* sinesten du Jonek eguzkia e, *t_i* dela?
 what-abs believing has it John-erg sun-det/sg-abs is-that
 'what does John believe that the sun is?'

b) Wh-movement apparently violates subjacency:

(48) a. Jonek sinesten du agureak Edurneri esan diola
 John-erg believing has it old man-det/sg-erg Edurne-dat said has it to him-that
 eguzkia amandre bat dela
 sun-det/sg-abs old lady one-abs is-that
 'John believes that the old man has told Edurne that the sun is an old lady'

it can be represented as in (b):



Now, if we extract the wh-word *zer* 'what' from the most embedded sentence and move it from its starting position, first to the focus position of its own clause, then to the focus position of the second sentence, and finally to the same position in the upper sentence the result is grammatical:

- (49) *zer_i sinesten du Jonek agureak*
what-abs believing has it John-erg old man-det/sg-erg

Edurneri t_i esan diola eguzkia e_i t_i dela?
 Edurne-dat said has is to him-that sun-det/sg-abs

'what does John believe that the old man has told Edurne is the sun?'

c) Wh-movement obeys CNCP. This is also the case in Basque:

- (50) a. *Jonek eguzkia amandre bat delako zurrumuttua sinesten du*
 John-erg rumor-det/sg-abs believing has it

eguzkia amandre bat dela
 sun-det/sg-abs old lady one-abs is-that

'John believes the rumor that the sun is an old lady'

where if we question 'what the sun is' no grammatical sentence can be produced, for the wh-word cannot pass over *zurrumurrua* 'the rumor' precisely because this word does not have a focus position at which the wh-word could land:

- (51) **zer sinesten du Jonek eguzkia delako zurrumurrua?*
 what-abs believing has it John-erg sun-det/sg-abs is that rumor-dat/sg-abs

d) Finally, wh-movement cannot be produced in wh-islands. In fact, we have already seen it above, when we have discussed that the wh-word landing site is the same as the focus position and that there is just one available position in each sentence. Thus, out of (52a) we cannot have (52b) because the escape-hatch for *nork* 'who' is already occupied by the trace of *zer* 'what' by the time *nork* 'who' tries to land at it:

- (52) a. *Jonek sinesten du Edurnek hori esan duela*
 John-erg believing has it Edurne-erg that-abs said has it-that

'John believes that Edurne has said that'

- b. **zer_i sinesten du Jonek e_j nork_j t_i esan duela?*
 what-abs believing has it John-erg who-erg said has it-that

Again if we interpret the lower sentence —provided that the intonation is there— as an echo question, (b) could be considered grammatical or at least rather acceptable.

1.4. Logical Form.

1.4.1. **The Focus Assignment Parameter.** Having defined the focus position as an A-bar-position adjoined to V, the next question to be answered is how this structure proposed for the syntactic component of the grammar of Basque is reflected in its Logical Form.

We have just stated that the focus position is one that appears at s-structure when some element within a sentence has been focalized. Then, if there is no element in focus, it means that we do not have an adjoined position to V at this

level of representation (SS), as it is the case in what we have called the neutral order (cf. 18a). In other words, so far we have been using the term *focus* to define a syntactic position (an A-bar-position) created by 'move_α' and not, as more traditionally has been done, to define a semantic property of some element in the sentence. For that reason, I have sometimes used the Basque term for focus, *galdegaia*, in the manner of Azkarate *et al.* (1981), in order to avoid confusion, for we also know that this position in the grammar of Basque is the landing site for wh-words. Thus, now we can say that the semantic property [+*focus*] in the sense of, say, Chomsky (1971), Jackendoff (1972) or Suñer (1982) can only be assigned in Basque to items that have previously undergone the defined movement within the syntax of the grammar of this language. In fact, we are going to define a 'focus assignment parameter' along the lines of the proposals by Julia Horvath (1981) for Hungarian, according to which —as she predicted— Basque is, like Hungarian, a) a type (ii) language, one where "FOCUS is a feature inherent to the lexical category V. It can get assigned by V, and only by V, to other categories, and its assignment is subject to precisely the same conditions that Case-assignment is subject to" (Horvath 1981; 158), and b) a language where FOCUS can get assigned only to the left of V.

1.4.2. Quantifier Raising.

1.4.2.1. **Definition.** QR (May, 1977) functions in Basque as in other languages, i.e., by adjoining the corresponding quantifier to the left or right of S¹⁵, so that the scope of the quantifiers can be defined with respect to one another. Thus, if we have the following sentence:

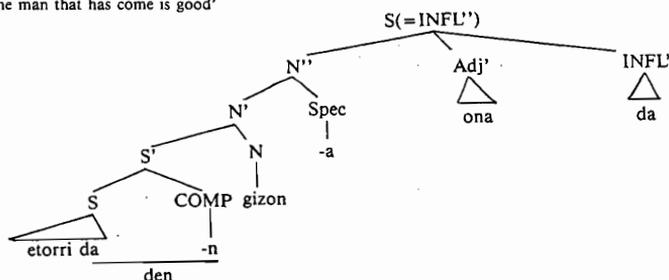
- (53) gizon asko anitz hiritara joan da
 man many-abs many city-indet-adl gone is

'many men have gone to many cities'

15. I assume that in Basque COMP is a position to the right of S and its only function is to serve as the site for those suffixes which, attached to Aux, mark the embedding of any sentence, either as a relative clause or as a complement:

- (i) etorri den gizona ona da
 come is-red suff man-det/sg-abs good-det/sg-abs is
 'the man that has come is good'

b.



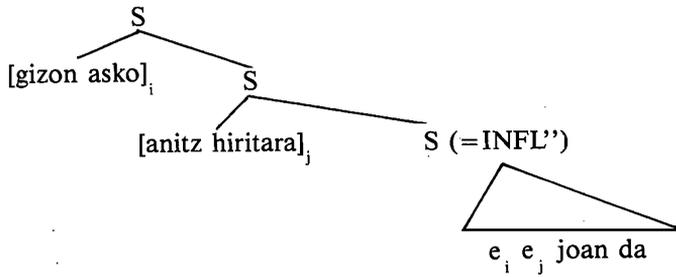
- (ii) a. Jonek dio Mari etorri dela
 John-erg says Mary-abs come is-that

Two readings are possible. In one the quantified phrase *gizon asko* 'many men' has wide scope; in the other it is *anitz hiritara* 'to many cities' that has wide scope:

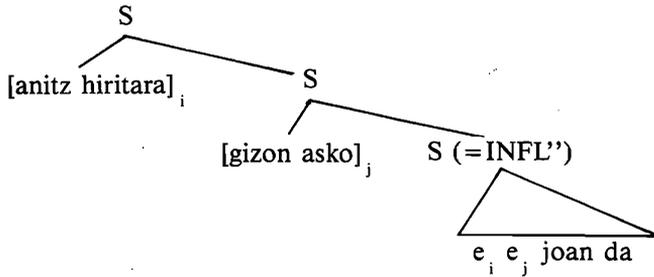
- (54) a. [_S gizon asko_i [_S anitz hiritara_j [_S e_i e_j joan da]]]
 [_S hiri anitzetara_j [gizon asko_i [_S e_i e_j joan da]]]

where the two traces [e_i] and [e_j] are properly governed by the head of S, namely, by INFL.

- (55) a.

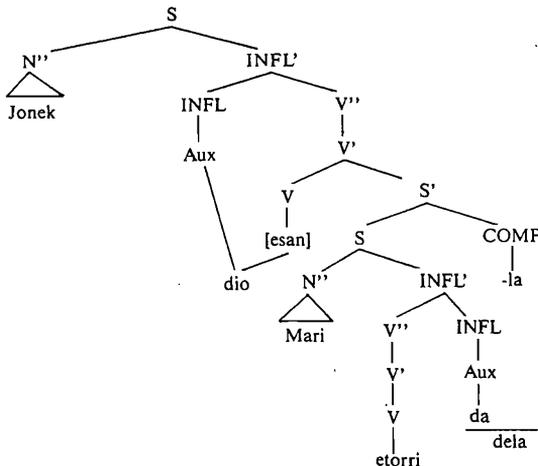


- b.



'John says that Mary has come'

- b.



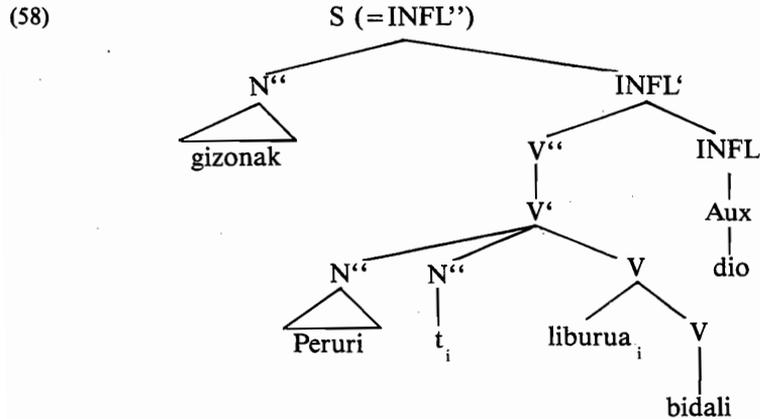
3.4.2.2. **Wh-movement and QR.** If now in (18a) or (21) above, that I repeat here as (56):

- (56) gizonak Peruri liburua bidali dio
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
 'the man has sent the book to Peter'

we focalize *liburua* 'the book' by moving it to the preverbal focus position postulated earlier, the result is:

- (57) gizonak Peruri liburua bidali dio
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
liburua: [+ focus]

whose structure could so far be diagrammed as:



If we apply wh-movement by questioning the NP *liburua* 'the book', the wh-word goes also to the focus position and the possible results are

- (59) a. gizonak Peruri zer bidali dio?
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat what-abs sent has it to him
- b. zer bidali dio gizonak Peruri?
 what-abs sent has it to him man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat
- c. gizonak zer bidali dio Peruri?
 man-det/sg-erg what-abs sent has it to him Peter-dat
- d. Peruri zer bidali dio gizonak?
 Peter-dat what-abs sent has it to him man-det/sg-erg
- 'what has sent the man to Peter?'

where in (a) the wh-word *zer* 'what' along with V and INFL remains in place, and in (b), (c) and (d) the whole set moves towards the front. This second alter-

native is by far the most common one. What is the logical representation of (59)? On the one hand, we know that QR applies to a quantified phrase and adjoins them to S. In languages like English or Spanish, on the other hand, the COMP-position to the left of S is the landing site for the quasi-wh-operators, i.e., the movements of QR and wh-words are parallel and both can define scope with respect to the c-commanded sentence and with respect to each other without any difficulty. But, if we try to define the logical form in Basque in the same way, the results are not satisfactory for the focus-position, the escape-hatch of Basque equivalent to the COMP of English or Spanish, does not c-command its clause. For instance (59a) above:

- (60) [s gizonak [INFL Peruri e_i [v zer_i [v bidali]] dio]]?
 'what has sent the man to Peter?'

where the trace left by *zer* 'what' is properly governed. The wh-word in focus, however, does not c-command the sentence and therefore we are not able to define its scope. At this point is when the proposal of Julia Horvath appears extremely attractive, namely, the assignment by V of the feature [+ *focus*] to any category —V itself included— strictly adjacent (cf. Stowell, 1981) to its left. The conditions for this assignment are the same as the conditions for the assignment of abstract Case, i.e., a) government (cf. 5 above), b) directionality —'to its left'—and c) adjacency. Now, the feature [+ *focus*] having been assigned, we can use it as a kind of operator and adjoin the wh-word to S, so that we are able to define its scope:

- (61) [s zer_i [s gizonak [INFL Peruri t_i [v e_i [v bidali]] dio]]?
 'what has the man sent to Peter?'

The importance of this move is even more apparent in sentences where in addition to wh-words we have quantified phrases. For example:

- (62) zer bidali dio gizonak mutil askori?
 what-abs sent has it to them man-det/sg-erg youth many-dat
 'what has the man sent to many youths?'

whose two possible logical interpretations are:

- (63) a. [s zer_i [s mutil askori_j [s [INFL [v e_i [v bidali]] dio] gizonak e_j]]?
 b. [s mutil askori_j [s zer_i [s [INFL [v e_j [v bidali]] dio] gizonak e_i]]?

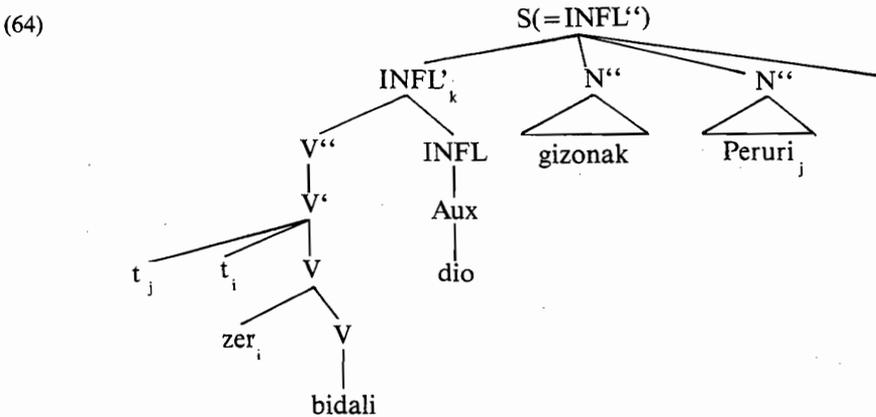
In (63a) *zer* 'what' has wide scope, so that the sentence means what individual things the man has sent to many different youths. In (63b), on the contrary, *mutil askori* 'to many youths' has wide scope, the sentence thus means what the man has sent to those many youths, but the implication of the former case does not hold in the latter, namely, that each of the youths has received an individual thing. Simply, both possibilities are open, those youths have received

something from that man, but we do not know whether as a group or as different individuals¹⁶.

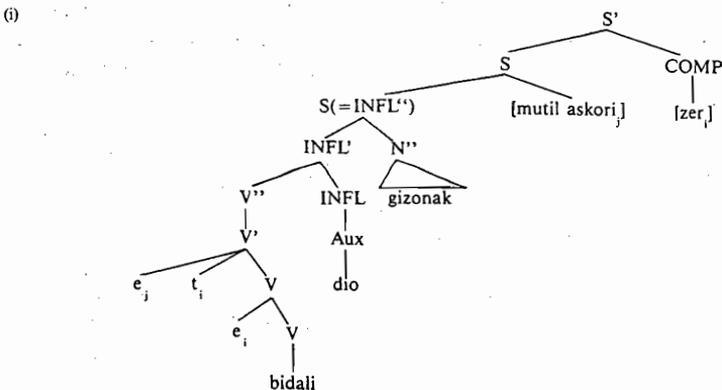
But what about (59b)?

(59b) *zer bidali dio gizonak Peruri?*
 what-abs sent has it to him man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat
 what has sent the man to Peter?

In this case the set [*Focus/wh-word* + *V* + *INFL*] appears sentence-initially. Apparently, the problem of lack of c-command does not appear. However, the question is still there, for we always have a downgrading movement of the wh-word from its starting position to the left of *V*. Thus, with the data at hand, we could represent (59b) as follows:



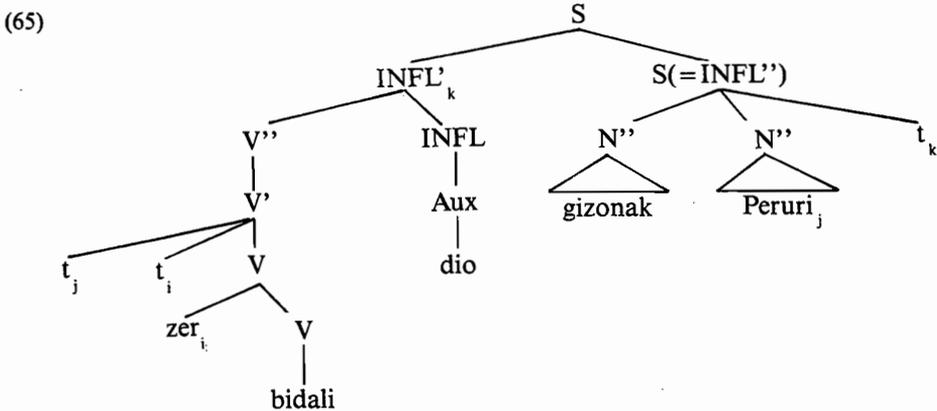
16. As stated in footnote (15), syntactically COMP in Basque is the site of suffixes that mark either sentential complements or relative clauses. However, if we want to postulate, as it seems reasonable, that the Logical Form is universal, and therefore that the landing site to which wh-words move within this component of grammar is universally COMP, we could also say that at LF in Basque, wh-words rather than adjoining to S, as we have proposed in the text, can also land at the COMP position of the highest S'. Thus, (63a) would be represented in the following way:



However, since the effects are the same, I will keep things in the way presented so far.

where the problem is immediately apparent: 1) The fact that the NP subcategorized for by the verb *bidali* 'to send', *Peruri* 'to Peter' hangs directly from S, and 2) again, the fact that the wh-word does not c-command its trace. We will deal with the first question later. With respect to the second problem nothing seems necessary to be added, namely, after the assignment of the feature [+focus], a parallel rule to QR at LF gives us the scope of the wh-word by adjoining it to S. The motivation for this move is the downgrading of the wh-words to the focus site, and as we just have seen, the fronting of the set [focus + V + INFL] does not avoid the conflict.

A possible alternative would be one where INFL' [focus + V + INFL] is adjoined to S, the only available position for topicalization in a language where COMP is, as stated before, a suffix site (cf. fn. 15) to the right of S. The representation of this hypothesis could be the following:



This alternative presents, however, two unsurmountable problems. For one thing, when the movement of INFL' to the front does not take place (cf. 59a) (a real possibility even though not too common), we are left without explanation, since the downgrading of the wh-words will take place and thus no c-command relation can be established between the wh-word and its sentence. Moreover, in the case of indirect questions the fronting mentioned is not so common, for instance:

- (66) Jonek galdetu du, t_i Peruri liburua nork_i bidali dion
 John-erg asked has it Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs who-erg sent has it to him-ind.
ques. suff

'John has asked who has sent the book to Peter'

In this case the wh-word *nork* 'who' has been downgraded to the focus position of the embedded sentence from its starting location as the subject of S, and it is therefore c-commanded by its trace. For another thing, even if the movement of INFL' takes place, say, either at SS or at LF in the proposed way, we still have to move the corresponding wh-word to the focus position, i.e., in the

process of derivation we have to make a wh-word be c-commanded by its trace. Hence, it seems reasonable to allow UG to include the proposed alternative, for as Julia Horvath also points out, the traces involved in the movement to focus position being variables, no violation of the Binding Theory occurs.

The question now is how costly this situation is in terms of learnability. QR, as stated before, does not present any problem, for it follows the general pattern of other languages. The downgrading of wh-words, however, is obviously, in terms of the grammars of the most well-known languages, a marked mechanism. Nonetheless, if we take into account that in the grammar of Basque no other COMP-escape-hatch position is available for those words to land at, as well as that this position is also the position where any focalized item must end up, we could accept Julia Horvath's proposal (1981:5) and speak of 'a single parameter of UG, in terms of which Hungarian [and Basque] differs from languages involving the assignment of the feature FOCUS at the level of S-structure, referred to [...] as the FOCUS-assignment parameter'¹⁷.

Also, this parameter provides us with an explanation for the non-existence of multiple interrogation in Basque. When a wh-word has been moved into focus position, no other wh-word can land at it, for it is already occupied, i.e., there is no more room for other wh-words to be extracted. On the other hand, once [+ *focus*] has been assigned by V, no other item can receive it because the conditions for its assignment cannot be fulfilled again (cf. adjacency¹⁸). Thus, we can say that multiple interrogation is only possible in the grammar of Basque with an echo interpretation (cf. fn. 10 above).

1.4.2.3. Focalization and QR. How is the situation when an NP has been moved to the focus site, as in (57)?

- (57) gizonak Peruri *liburua* *bidali dio*
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
 'the man has sent the book to Peter'

By moving *liburua* 'the book' to focus position, again we have a downgrading movement. Then, if the Binding Theory is not going to be violated because a trace is c-commanding its antecedent, the only open possibility is that that trace be a variable, in which case according to the principle C of that theory, must always be free (Chomsky 1981). The first hint that this is the case is produced by the fact that the focus position is an A-bar-position. But even more important than that are the so-called 'weak crossover' effects that occur between an item in focus and the variable it binds, as observed by Horvath (1981) for Hungarian. According to Chomsky (1977) no variable can be the antecedent of a pronoun to its left. Thus, if we can show that in such a configuration we have the same kind of results, we can safely conclude that the trace in question is a variable:

17. Besides, there is no room in the grammar, of Basque for the proposal of a stylistic rule (Horvath, 1981), that is, a situation where wh-words would be extracted by COMP-to-COMP and then moved to the focus position by such a rule. This is not possible because COMP is not available, the focus position being the only escape-hatch for wh-words in the grammar of this language.

18. [+ *focus*] is assigned by V to the item strictly adjoined to it on its left side at SS. Thus, once this has occurred and we are at LF, there is no room for any other item to land at the focus position and receive the mentioned feature from V. On the one hand, because we cannot go back to SS, and on the other, because even if we could go back, the item already present there, or its trace, would make it impossible for the condition of strict adjacency between the new element and V to be met.

- (67) a. *hark_i maite duen andreak gizona_i saldu du
 he-erg lovely has it-rel suff lady-det/sg-erg man-det/sg-abs [+ focus] sold has it
 'the lady that he_i loves has sold the man_i'
- b. *There is an x [x = a man] such that the lady he_i loves had betrayed x_i

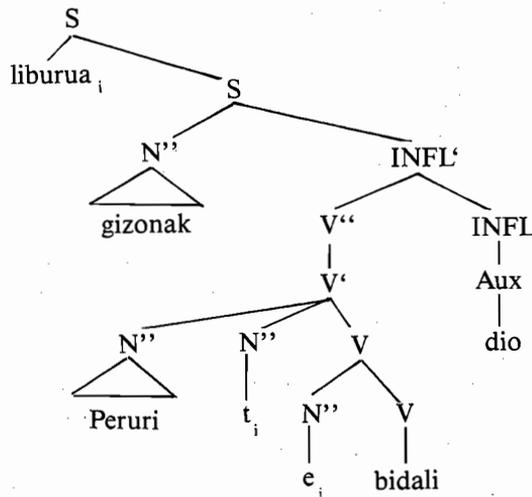
Then, the logical form of (57) will look as follows:

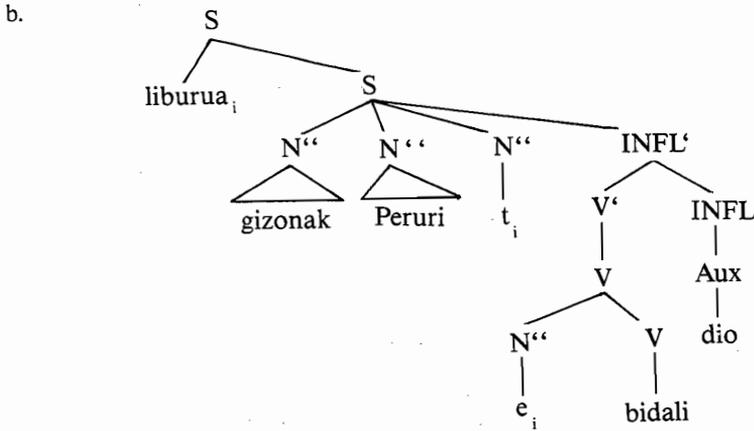
- (68) [_S liburua_i [_S gizonak Peruri t_i [_{INFL} [v e_i [v bidali]] dio]]]

where the trace left by the movement of *liburua* 'the book' to the focus position is thus a variable and therefore free. On the other hand, after the assignment of the feature [+ focus] by V to *liburua* 'the book' we may extract it and define its scope. Also, this explains why no other NP can be interpreted as bearing the feature [+ focus], as in the case of multiple interrogation with wh-words, for once that feature has been assigned by V, there is no room for any other item to land at the focus site and by fulfilling all the prescribed conditions for it receive that feature from the verb. That position is simply occupied by the other item, and even if a double occupancy were to be allowed, the condition of strict adjacency could non be met.

The two possible tree-diagrams for the logical form of (68) above are, according to the two possible hypotheses, (69a) with a VP constituent, and (69b) with no VP:

- (69) a.





We have established before that the traces left by the movement to focus must be variables, and from the point of view of the Binding Theory free, as they are. However, it is also the case that those traces ought to obey the ECP (Empty Category Principle) (Chomsky 1981:250), according to which every empty category must be properly governed. In the hypothesis represented by (69a) both traces, [t_i] left by the movement within the syntax, and [e_i] left by the application of QR in LF, are properly governed, both of them by V. In the hypothesis represented by (69b), again, the trace left by the movement at LF is properly governed by V. The trace left at the syntax, however, is properly governed, I assume, by the head of S, namely, INFL. In other words, the movements within the logical component of the grammar do not help us decide between the two represented hypotheses (69a) and (69b).

In order to close this subsection we have to check those cases where in addition to any element in focus we have a quantified phrase. For instance:

- (70) gizonak mutil askori liburua bidali dio
 man-det/sg-erg youth many-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
 'the man has sent the book to many youths'

where as expected, in one case —the most natural one— *liburua* 'the book' would be the bearer of the wide scope, and in the other *mutil askori* 'to many youths' would have scope over *liburua* 'the book'.

1.4.3. Affirmation and Negation. Finally, what occurs when there is no movement to the focus position? To put it with De Rijk's words, when "the sentence modality (its truth value, so to speak) is focused on, and no special word order is required" (cf. fn 4)? Or as Julia Horvath says, when V absorbs itself the feature [+ *focus*]?

- (71) gizonak Peruri liburua bidali dio
 man-det/sg-erg Peter-dat book-det/sg-abs sent has it to him
 'the man has sent the book to Peter'

or its negative counterpart:

- (72) gizonak ez dio bidali Peruri liburua
 man-det/sg-erg not has it to him sent Peter-to book-det/sg-abs
 'the man has not sent the book to Peter'

The logical interpretations of these sentences are the following:

- (73) a. bai_i [gizonak Peruri liburua bidali_i dio]
 yes sent

b. yes, it is the case that the man has sent Peter the book

- and (74) a. Ez_i [gizonak x_i dio bidali Peruri liburua]
 not

b. It is not the case that the man has sent the book to Peter

where we can say that both the affirmation and the negation —unlike the affirmation morphologically represented (cf. *ez* 'not')— have scope over the whole sentence.

If in (72) we were to focalize *liburua* 'the book', the situation would be:

- (75) a. [_S liburua_i [_S ez_j [_S gizonak x_j dio y_i bidali Peruri]]]

b. there is an x [x = a book] such that it is not the case that the man has sent x to Peter

where the fact that *liburua* 'the book' can be asserted before the negation starts to work gives us the difference for its status as focalized element within the sentence. We can see that this difference neatly corresponds to that proposed by Suñer (1982) between *declarative* (our sentences with some focalized element) and *presentational* (our sentences without any focalized item). When nothing has been moved to the focus position, the whole sentence, its truth value, is asserted or negated, as it is the case with presentational sentences with postverbal subjects in Spanish:

- (76) a. llegalan los muchachos
 arrive the guys
 'the guys arrive'

b. de vez en cuando asoma el sol
 once in a while comes out the sun
 'the sun comes out once in a while'

On the other hand, when some element in the sentence has been focalized, the logical structure of it reflects this fact by moving it out of the scope of the affirmation or negation, so that the corresponding element in focus is specifically pointed out, as it is the case in declaratives in Spanish according to Suñer's analysis:

- (77) a. la luna apareció

'the moon appeared'

- b. los niños no compraron caramelos
 the children not bought candy

'the children did not buy candy'

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