ON NEGATION AND FOCUS IN SPANISH AND BASQUE

Ricardo Etxepare

CNRS/IKER UMR 5478, HiTT

Myriam Uribe-Etxebarria

UPV/EHU, HiTT

1. Introduction[1]

In this paper we analize some asymmetries in the interpretation of negative sentences and argue that they follow from differences in the structural configurations produced by syntactic focus.

We first concentrate on Spanish and show that there are three different ways in which Negation and focus can interact semantically, which accounts for the range of interpretations displayed by negative sentences in this language. Under the first construal, Negation takes scope over the whole clause, which is interpreted as focalized (*wide focus*). Under the second construal, Negation takes scope only over the element in final position, which constitutes the focus of the sentence (*bound focus*). Finally, in the third reading, the focus in final position is out of the scope of Negation (*free focus*).

We show that in Spanish each of these readings is associated to a different syntactic structure. In particular, we propose that the bound and the free readings are derived by movement of the focalized element to the specifier of a Focus Phrase. In the bound focus reading, the focalized element moves to the specifier of a FocP located between NegP and VP, and the rest of the material is scrambled to the left of this FocP. But we argue that the third reading, the free construal of focus, involves a different derivation and a different syntactic structure. In particular, we propose that this reading is derived in two steps. First, the focalized element moves to the specifier of a FocP higher than NegP and, then, the remnant (containing the negative head)

moves to the left periphery, to the specifier of a functional projection (TopP) higher than FocP.

Finally we show that the analysis we propose to account for bound and free focus in Spanish can also capture the syntactic and semantic differences exhibited by bound and free (corrective) focus in Basque.

2. Asymmetries in the interpretation of postverbal subjects in negative sentences in Spanish

2.1. Scope Interactions between Negation and Focus: three construals

As is well known, Spanish is a "free word order language". Thus, together with the SVO word order in (1), the VOS pattern illustrated in (2) is also possible (see Contreras 1976, Ordoñez 1997, Zubizarreta 1998, Domínguez 2004 and Gallego 2007, among others, for detailed discussion).

(1) S-V-(O)
 a. *Pedro ha venido*   b. *Pedro ha comprado el   pan*
     Pedro has come   Pedro has bought   the bread
 c. *Pedro ha comprado pan*
    Pedro has brought   bread
(2) V-(O)-S
 a. *Ha venido Pedro*   b. *Ha comprado el   pan   Pedro*
    has come Pedro   has bought   the bread Pedro
 c. *Ha comprado pan   Pedro*
    has bought   bread Pedro

While the examples in (2) all look similar from the point of view of word order (they all involve inverted subjects), they behave differently under the scope of negation. In particular, as we show next, they exhibit interesting semantic asymmetries in the set of elements that can be focalized and contrasted.

Consider (2a) first. Its negative counterpart is given in (3). The sentence in (3) allows the three readings illustrated in (3a-c).

(3)   *No   ha venido Pedro*   [Neg-V- S]
 a. *No   ha venido Pedro, sino que se   ha ido María*
     Not has come Pedro but that CL has left María
     (It is not the case that Pedro has come, but rather that María has left)
 b. *No   ha venido Pedro, sino María*
     Not has come Pedro, but María
     (The one who came isn't Pedro, but María)
 c. *No   ha venido Pedro, y   no María*
     Not has come Pedro and not María
     (The one who hasn't come is Pedro, and not María)

As the translations in (3a-c) show, when a sentence like (2a) combines with sentential negation, as in (3), it gives rise to three types of construals. Under the first construal, illustrated in (3a), negation takes scope over the whole clause, which is fo-

calized. This is shown by the fact that it admits a contrastive tag where the alternative involves a full clause preceded by *que*, a complementizer. Such a contrastive sequence is impossible if the contrasted item is subclausal:

(4)   *No   ha   venido Juan, sino (*que) Pedro*
      Not has come   Juan, but (*that) Pedro

In the second reading, in (3b), negation does not take scope over the whole clause, but rather only over the postverbal subject, which is focalized. This explains why it admits a positive tag like *sino María* ('but María') –only constituents under the scope of negation can be contrasted by positive tags introduced by *but*-type elements. Finally, in the third interpretation, given in (3c), negation does not take scope over the postverbal focalized subject, rather it is the latter which takes scope over negation despite the fact that it follows negation in the surface linear order. That the postverbal subject takes scope over negation is shown by the fact that it admits negative tags like *y no María* ('and not Mary') (it is only when a constituent is not negated that it can be contrasted with a negative tag like *and not X*).[2]

Consider now the negative counterpart of (2b), given in (5) below:

(5)   *No   ha   comprado el   pan   Pedro*   [Neg-V- O- S]
    a. *No   <u>ha comprado el   pan   Pedro</u>, # sino que ha traído   la   leche María*
       Not has bought   the bread Pedro, but that has brought the milk María
    b. *No   ha comprado el   pan   <u>Pedro</u>, sino María*
       Not has bought   the bread Pedro but María
       (The one who bought the bread isn't Pedro, but Mary)
    c. *No   ha comprado el   pan   <u>Pedro</u>, y   no   María*
       Not has bought   the bread Pedro, and not María
       (The one who hasn't bought the bread is Pedro, and not María)

As shown in (5a), the negative counterpart of (2b) does not allow a clause level contrast; in other words, the whole clause cannot be focalized. This is shown by the infelicitousness of the continuation in (5a). Although this first construal is not possible, the other two in (5b) and (5c) (equivalent to those in (3b-c)) are allowed. In the reading in (5b) negation takes scope over the focalized subject in final position (*Pedro*). Finally, under the construal in (5c) it is the focalized element *Pedro* that takes scope over negation, as shown by the negative tag *y no María* ('and not María').

Consider, finally, the negative counterpart of (2c), given in (6). This is the most restrictive one with regard to the set of contrasts that it licenses. Thus, it does not allow either a clause level contrast (6a), or a focus subject under the scope of negation (6b). The only reading it allows, illustrated in (6c), is the one where the focus subject has wide scope over negation.

(6)   *No   ha   comprado pan   Pedro*   [Neg-V- O- S]
    a. *No   <u>ha comprado pan   Pedro</u>, # sino que ha traído   leche María*
       Not has bought   bread Pedro   but that has brought milk María

---

[2] For discussion on the phonological properties associated to each type of foci see, among others, Zubizarreta (1998), Herburger (2000), Irurtzun (2007) and references therein.

   b. *No   ha   comprado pan   Pedro, # sino María*
      Not has bought   bread Pedro   but María
      (The one who bought the bread isn't Pedro, but María)
   c. *No   ha   comprado pan   Pedro, y   no   María*
      Not has bought   bread Pedro and not María
      (The one who hasn't bought the bread is Pedro, and not María)

Summarizing, the negative counterparts of the sentences in (2) present the following asymmetries in the way in which they interact with negation:

(7) a. Neg VS   → Three construals   (cf. (2a)/(3))
     b. Neg V O$_{Complex}$ S   → Two construals   (cf. (2b)/(5))
     c. Neg V O$_{Simple}$ S   → One construal   (cf. (2c)/(6))

2.2. The logical forms of Focus

Let us consider, as a starting point, two of the three construals involving negation and focus in (3), those in (3b) and (3c). Under the reading in (3b), the postverbal subject is interpreted as the focus of the sentence and as the element negated by sentential negation. In contrast, in the construal in (3c), the focus takes scope over sentential negation. These two construals correspond closely to what Herburger (2000) calls the *bound* and *free* readings of focus in negative sentences. Consider the English sentence in (8), with focus in capitals:

(8)   Sascha didn't visit MONTMARTRE

On its most natural interpretation, (8) is taken to mean something like (9):

(9)   "What Sascha visited was not Montmartre"   [*bound* reading]

In (9) *not* negates the focus, and lets the rest of the sentence escape its scope. She calls this focus *bound*. Although the bound reading is the one that comes to mind most easily, the sentence in (8) may also have another reading, one that can be paraphrased by (10):

(10) "What Sascha didn't visit was Montmartre"   [*free* reading]

In this reading negation does not negate the focus, but the visiting event. She calls this a case of *free focus*. Whereas in the bound reading the nonfocused part "entails that Sascha did some sightseeing, in the free reading the nonfocused part licenses the inference that he skipped some sight" (Herburger 2000: 29).

Along with the bound and free readings, a sentence such as (8) seems to have yet a third interpretation. Such a reading is made explicit under the continuation in (11) (cf. 3a), in which the contrast affects the whole clause:

(11) Sascha didn't visit Montmartre, he spent the day at the Louvre

Let us leave aside for the moment this reading and concentrate on the semantic representation of bound and free foci, as presented in (9) and (10).

In Herburger's view, the crucial semantic contribution of focus lies in its ability to restructure the domain of quantification. This not only affects adverbial quantifica-

tion and DP quantification, but also cases where the quantifier is not overtly present as such. This includes the tacit quantification over events advocated by Davidson (1967). For Herburger, sentences are descriptions of events. That is, the logical form of a sentence like (12a) describes an event of loving where John is the lover and Mary is the loved one (12b):

(12) a. John loves Mary
     b. ∃(e) [Love(e) & Experiencer (John, e) & Theme (Mary, e)]

The semantic contribution of focus consists in restructuring the terms of the quantification. Informally, it can be stated as follows (Herburger 2000: 1): when a quantifier has only one syntactic argument at LF, focus reshapes its quantificational structure in that the nonfocused material in its scope also provides a restriction on it. This is true of all quantifiers, included the tacit event quantification exemplified in (12). The presence of focus in the unary quantification in (12) restructures the terms of the quantification in the following way. Let us consider (13), with a focus accent on *Mary*:

(13) John loves Mary (but not Susan)

The semantic effect of focus on (13) restructures the tacit quantificational structure of (13) in that the non-focused material is mapped as part of the restriction of the event quantification. The scope of this quantification is formed by both the focus and the non-focused part:

(14) [∃ (e): C(e) & Experiencer (John, e) & love(e) & Present (e)] Theme (Mary, e) & love (e) & Present (e) & Experiencer (John, e)

The representation in (14) states that some (present) relevant event of John loving, is such that it is an event of John loving Mary. C(e) is a context predicate C whose value is fixed by the context of utterance. C(e) functions much the same as context predicates function in ordinary quantification. In a sentence such as *Everybody came*, it helps encode that we interpret this sentence "relative to a given, salient group of people, ... and not relative to all people absolutely" (Herburger 2000: 19). The aboutness relation introduced by the focus follows from the fact that the restriction of a quantification is pragmatically backgrounded. Lexically, both terms of the quantification are on equal footing: they denote sets. All lexical meaning requires is that the intersection between the two sets not be empty. It is however a logical entailment of the logical form that there is some event of loving that has John as an agent. This, Herburger calls a *backgrounded focal entailment* (Herburger 2000: 20).

The different construals of negation with regard to the focus of the sentence can be seen as affecting different terms in the structured davidsonian decomposition. The case where negation is construed as negating the focal part of the sentence can be represented with negation directly negating the focus in the scope of the quantification (op.cit: 30):

(15) a. Sascha didn't visit Montmartre, but the Boulevards
     (What Sascha visited wasn't Montmartre)
     b. [∃ (e): C(e) & Visit(e) & Agent(e, Sascha) & Past(e)] ¬Theme (Montmartre,e) & Visit(e) & Agent (e, Sascha) & Past(e)   [*bound reading*]

   c. Some (relevant) visit by Sascha yesterday was such that it was not a visit
      by Sascha of Montmartre

On the other hand, in the free reading negation takes scope over the verbal con-
junct, which is backgrounded (op.cit: 31):

(16) a. Sascha didn't visit MONTMARTRE, and not the boulevards
        (What Sascha didn't visit was Montmartre)
     b. [∃ (e): C(e) & ¬Visit(e) & Agent(e,Sascha) & Past(e)] Theme(e,Montmartre)
        & ¬Visit (e) & Agent (e, Sascha) & Past(e)   [*free reading*]
     c. Some (relevant) event of not visiting by Sascha was an event of his not visi-
        ting Montmartre

With this much background, let us now come back to our initial examples. Un-
der the approach to focus we have summarized in the preceeding paragraphs, a sen-
tence such as (3b), repeated below as (17a), will have the logical form in (17b), and a
sentence such as (3c), repeated as (18a), will have the one in (18b):[3, 4]

(17) a. *No   ha venido Pedro, sino María*   (=3b)
        Neg has come Pedro, but Mary
        (It is not Pedro who arrived, but María)
     b. *Bound focus reading*
        [∃ (e): C(e) & come(e) & Past(e)] ¬Theme(Pedro,e) & come(e) & Past(e)
(18) a. *No   ha venido Pedro, y   no María*   (=3c)
        Neg has come Pedro and not María
     b. *Free focus reading*
        [∃ (e): C(e) & ¬come(e) & Past(e)] Theme(Pedro,e) & ¬come(e) & Past(e)

Besides the free and bound foci discussed above, our analysis of the different
construals of focus in negated sentences has also uncovered a third reading: one
where the contrast involves the full clause. Let us call those cases *wide focus*. We take
those cases to be the negated counterparts of affirmative sentences where the whole
clause is part of the assertion. In other words, if we take away negation, the result-
ant sentence is appropriate under a question such as "what happened?" or "what's
new?":

---

[3] For limitations of space we implement our semantic analysis in terms of Herburger's (2000) ap-
proach to focus. See Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (in progress) for a more developed analysis of the se-
mantics of focus based on Irurtzun (2007). Here we are also oversimplifying and leaving aside important
questions related to the role played by temporal intervals in the interpretation of the sentence, intervals
which are not represented in the logical forms we are adopting from Herburger's anaysis. For related dis-
cussion, see among others, Partee (1973), Ogihara (2003); Pratt & Francesz (2001), Späth & Trutwein
(2003), Artsein (2005), Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2005a,b, 2007), von Stechow (2005), Kaiser
(2006), Higginbotham (2000).
[4] The two readings are intonationally distinguished in both English and Spanish. Following Her-
burger 2000: 50-59), bound focus has a fall-rise intonation contour, whereas free focus has a mere fall
intonation contour. We will leave this matter aside (but see Herburger op.cit. for extensive discussion of
its significance in her aproach to focus; see also Irurtzun (2007) and references therein for detailed dis-
cussion on the phonological properties of the different types of foci and the interaction between phonol-
ogy, syntax and semantics).

(19) A: *¿Qué ha pasado?* B: *(Que) ha venido Pedro*
    What happened (That) has come Pedro

For the simple affirmative cases, Herburger proposes a logical form where the restriction of the event operator remains empty, except for the context predicate:

(20) [∃ (e): C(e)] come(e) & Past(e) & Theme(Pedro,e)

How should we represent the negated counterpart of the wide focus case? The wide focus is merely a case of bound focus where the relevant focused constituent which is construed with negation is the whole clause. Following Herburger's discussion of wide focus, we represent those cases with negation taking scope over the event quantification itself:

(21) *Wide focus reading*
    ¬[∃ (e): C(e)] come(e) & Past(e) & Theme (Pedro,e)

On the basis of this discussion, we propose the following logical forms to capture the interpretations of (5) and (6).

(22) *No ha comprado el pan Pedro*
    a. *Bound focus reading* (=5b)
        No ha comprado el pan Pedro, sino María
        (It is not Pedro who bought the bread but María)
    a'. [∃(e): C(e) & Buy (e) & Past(e) & Theme(the bread,e)] ¬Agent(Pedro,e) & Buy(e) & Past(e) & Theme(the bread, e)
    b. *Free focus reading* (=5c)
        No ha comprado el pan Pedro, y no María
        (It is Pedro who didn't come, not María)
    b'. [∃ (e): C(e) & ¬Buy (e) & Past(e) & Theme (the bread,e)] Agent(Pedro,e) & ¬Buy(e) & Past(e) & Theme (the bread, e)
(23) *No ha comprado pan Pedro*
    a. *Free focus reading* (=6c)
        No ha comprado pan Pedro, y no María
        (It is Pedro who didn't buy bread, and not Mary)
    a'. [E(e): C(e) & ¬Buy (e)) & Past(e) & Theme (bread,e] Agent(Pedro,e) & ¬Buy(e) & Past(e) & Theme(bread, e)

Assuming that the logical forms in this section adequately capture the differences between bound, free and wide focus, we must ask the next question: namely, How do the relevant logical forms relate to LF structures? Herburger (2000: 32) suggests that the relevant syntactic relation that determines the different scopes of free and bound foci with regard to negation is syntactic c-command.[5] Herburger provides evidence from languages that overtly disambiguate between free and bound focus readings. The following are two cases from Basque and Hungarian, where the syntactic position of the focus operator vis-à-vis negation determines the reading of the focus construction as free or bound:

---

[5] A standard assumption since May (1977) and Reinhart (1983).

(24) a. *Nem MARIAT veri Peter*   b. *MARIAT nem veri Peter*
      not MARY   veri Peter   Mary   not beat Peter
      "It isn't Mary who Peter is beating"   "It is Mary who Peter is not beating"

(25) a. *Ez da MIREN etorri*   b. *MIREN ez da etorri*
      neg aux MIREN come   MIREN   neg aux come
      "It is not Miren who came"   "It is Miren who did not come"

In both Basque and Hungarian, if the focus c-commands negation, it is interpreted as free focus; if it is below negation, it yields a bound focus reading.[6]

In the next section we develop our analysis of the syntax-semantic interface of focus and defend that the semantic scope of focus directly derives from its syntactic scope. To be more specific, we argue that the range of (im)possible readings that (3), (5) and (6) present derives from differences in the syntactic configurations involving focus and negation at LF.

3. The syntax-semantics mapping

3.1. Three construals, three LF structures

The range of construals of the examples under analysis is summarized in (26):

(26) a. Neg $V_{unaccusative}$ S   → a) wide focus, b) bound focus, c) free focus
      b. Neg $V_{transitive}$ $O_{Definite}$ S   → a) *wide focus, b) bound focus, c) free focus
      c. Neg $V_{transitive}$ $O_{"bare"}$ S   → a) *wide focus, b) *bound focus, c) free focus

Although all the examples under analysis involve postverbal, sentence final subjects (all of them involve the linear order V-(O)-S), they differ with respect to each other with regard to two different variables: a) the nature of the predicate involved (an unaccusative verb in (3) vs. a transitive verb in (5-6)); and b) the nature of the object (a definite, complex object in (5) vs. a "bare" indefinite object in (6)). As we will see next, these two factors play an important role in accounting for the different syntactic structures available for each example.

Let us first consider the examples in (5) and (6), with a VOS word order and the readings in (26b) and (26c), respectively. Ordoñez (1997) argues that in affirmative sentences with a VOS order, the S is focalized and constitutes the only focus of the sentence. We think that this is also true for negative sentences with a VOS word order. (In other words, focus does not "project up" from the sentence final subject). We assume that this is so because in all the VOS cases the subject has moved to the specifier of a FocP, and the rest of the material to the left of the postverbal subject has moved over it. But we argue that we need to distinguish (at least) two different derivations and struc-
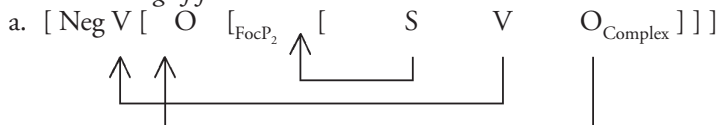
---

   [6] Elordieta (2001), however, notes that even foci following negation can be interpreted as free foci, as in (i):

  (i) Jonek ez du MIREN ikusi, eta ez Peru
      Jon not has MIREN seen, and not Peru
      "Jon hasn't seen MIREN, and not Peru"

  We deal with these cases in Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria (in progress).

tures underlying the VOS word order, which we represent in (27) and (28), respectively. Under the first derivation, illustrated in (27a), the subject moves to the specifier of a FocP located between NegP and VP (FocP$_2$) and the object scrambles to the left of the subject in FocP$_2$. (We assume that the verb moves to a higher functional head, which for the present purpose we assume to be Neg).[7] The resulting structure is given in (27).[8]

(27) *Bound reading of focus*
a. [Neg V [O   [$_{FocP_2}$ [S   V   O$_{Complex}$]]]

b. [$_{NegP}$ **Neg** V [O   [$_{FocP_2}$ **S**   [t$_S$ t$_V$ t$_{OComplex}$]]]

(27b) reflects the LF structure of the bound reading of focus after all the movement operations have taken place. Note that in the configuration in (27b) Negation c-commands, and therefore can negate, the subject in Spec/FocP$_2$. This explains why this type of sentences accept positive tags introduced by *but* (see (5b) above). We extend the analysis of bound focus reading of sentences involving transitive predicates like (5/26b) to sentences involving unaccusative predicates of the type in (3/26a) above. (The only difference is that (26a) involves an unaccusative predicate, so there will be no surface object that can be scrambled over the subject).

Why is the bound focus reading in (27) unavailable for examples like those in (26c), with a "bare" object? If, as we have just argued, the subject moves to Spec/FocP$_2$ in (27), the only possible way to derive the surface word order Neg-V-O$_{«bare»}$-S would be by scrambling the object over the subject. However, as is well known, indefinites and non-specific NPs (among other elements) resist scrambling (see Diesing 1992, de Hoop 1992, Ordóñez 1997 and references therein). This is why the Neg-V-O$_{«bare»}$-S word order is not possible in sentences with the bound reading of focus.

Once we have derived the bound reading of focus let us now turn to the free construal of focus with a Neg-V-O-S word order. In the free construal, the postverbal subject is also understood as the focus of the sentence. However in contrast with the bound reading of focus, where Neg takes scope over the focalized subject, under the free construal the focalized element is not interpreted within the scope of negation. Rather, it takes wide scope with respect to it.

We propose the derivation in (28) for the free reading of focus. In (28a) the subject moves to the specifier of a FocP located hierarchically higher than NegP, FocP$_1$,(it thus moves over the Verb and Negation, which, for concreteness, we assume occupy the head position of NegP). Then, in a second step, the remnant (in this case NegP) moves to a topic-like position in the left periphery (TopicP), past the subject in Spec/FocP$_1$. The resulting structure is given in (28b).

---

    [7] See Ordóñez (1997) for detailed discussion of the different patterns of word orders in Spanish. Ordóñez provides strong evidence, based on a a wide variety of phenomena, that the Object c-commands the Subject in some cases of inversion with the VOS pattern in affirmative and interrogative sentences.
    [8] Although we assume the copy theory of movement, for ease of exposition we represent the copies left by the moved elements with coindexed traces.

(28) *Free* **reading of Focus**

a. $[_{TopP}$ NegP $[_{FocP_1}$ S $[_{NegP}$ Neg V $[$ S t_V O $]]]]$

S to Spec/FocP$_1$

remnant mov of NegP to Spec/TopP

b.$[[_{TopP} [_{NegP} ...Neg V O...] [_{FocP_1}$ S $[t_{NegP}]]]]$
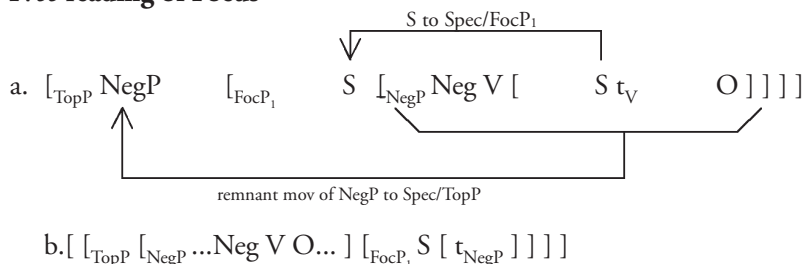
Note that in (28) Negation, within the remnant-moved constituent NegP, cannot c-command the Subject in Spec/FocP$_1$. This explains why this type of examples disallows positive tags introduced by *but*: it is only when a constituent is under the scope of Neg that it can be contrasted with positive tags. This is not the case for the postverbal subject under the derivation we propose for free reading of focus in (28). We have also argued that, in the free reading of focus, Focus takes wide scope over Negation. Why is this so? Because, as shown in (28), FocP$_1$ is higher than NegP (notice, further, that Neg gets trapped within the remnant moved constituent and consequently will not be able to c-command the subject in Spec/FocP at LF either). Since, as follows from this discussion, the subject in Spec/FocP$_1$ is not negated, this explains why this type of sentences can be contrasted with a negative tag like *and not X.*

Why is the free reading of focus available both for examples like (26b), with a definite object, and (26c), with an indefinite object? Because, contrary to the scrambling operation of the object in (27) above, the remnant movement of NegP in (28) is not dependent on the nature of the object.[9]

The analysis we have proposed in (28) for examples with the structure in (26b,c) carries over to the cases in (26a) without any further assumption (the only difference would be that the predicate in (26a) is unaccusative and therefore there is no surface object involved in the derivation).

The analysis we have outlined here for the free and the bound construals of focus makes use of two different FocPs: a) one FocP located below Neg and above VP, which for ease of reference we have called FocP2, and one hierarchically higher than NegP, which we have referred to as FocP1. Our analysis is in line with recent proposals like Belletti (2005), who argues in favor of the existence of two different FocPs (a lower one and a higher one) on the basis of focalization in languages like Italian.

Let us finally consider the last construal, the wide reading of focus. Recall that this reading was only available for examples that conform to (26a), and it was not possible for either (26b) or (26c). Why is it disallowed in (26b-c)? Note that it cannot be a constraint on transitive predicates, since sentences involving transitives predicates do also allow a wide scope reading where the whole clause is interpreted as focus and is under the scope of Negation, as illustrated in (29).

---

[9] See Ortiz de Urbina (2002), Uribe-Etxebarria (2002b, 2003), Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria (2001, 2002, 2005a,b) and Irurtzun (2007) for detailed discussion of the semantic impact of this remnant movement operation, as well as for other related issues that we cannot address here.

(29) *¿Qué ha pasado?*
"What has happened?"
Que no ha comprado Pedro (el) pan.
That not has bought Peter (the) bread
"That Peter has not bought (the) bread"

The basic difference between (26b,c), on the one hand, and (29), on the other, is that (29) has a Neg-V-S-O order: the whole sentence is the focus and is interpreted under the scope of negation. There are two questions that need to be addressed: (i) Why is the whole clause under the scope of Neg? and ii) Why must the subject precede the object under the wide reading of focus?

Following standard assumptions, we argue that the reason why Neg has scope over the whole sentence is because it c-commands it at LF, as shown in (30).

(30) *Wide reading of focus*

Neg   [V S (O)]

With regard to lineal order, the fact that movement operations that distort the original word order (with the subject preceding the object) prevent the wide construal of focus suggests that under this reading all the elements stay in situ.[10]

Summarizing the discussion so far, we have shown that in Spanish negative sentences with postverbal subjects allow three different construals: (a) a bound reading of focus, b) a free reading of focus, and c) a wide reading of focus. We have argued that there is a different structure involved in each construal. In the cases of wide focus there is no movement to FocP. In the bound reading of focus, the focalized element moves to Spec/FocP2 (in between NegP and VP) and the rest of the material scrambles to the left of the focus. Finally, in the third reading the focalized element moves to Spec/FocP1 (hierachically higher than NegP) and the remnant moves to the left of Focus to a TopicP in the left periphery. These derivations explain the different readings associated with each type of focus, as well as the word order facts that characterize each of them.

Our analysis crucially differs from works that defend that there is no movement involved in focus other than p-movement –that is, from those works that claim that the focalized element does not move and it is only the material that is lower than the focus that moves in order to ensure that the context for the Nuclear Stress Rule (NSR) proposed by Cinque (1993) is met (see, for relevant discussion, Zubizarreta 1998 and Reglero 2004, for Spanish, and Elordieta, 2001 and Arregi 2003, for Basque, among others).[11] In the following subsection we provide further syntactic evidence in support of our analysis which cannot be easily accounted for under a simple p-movement analysis. Finally, in Section 4 we discuss other facts related to focus and show that the derivation we have proposed for free focus in (28) is not

---

[10] This is in line with the hypothesis defended for affirmative clauses by Elordieta (2001), Arregi (2003) and Irurtzun (2007), who argue that in out of the blue answers where the whole clause is focalized there is no movement to FocP in Basque.

[11] See Irurtzun (2007) for detailed discussion of the problems that those type of analyses have to face, and for an alternative syntacticocentric approach to focus.

particular to the cases under analysis, but rather is more general and is also found in other focus constructions in Basque. We will also show that the analysis we have proposed for bound focus in Spanish carries over to bound focus in Basque.[12]

3.2. Some predictions of the analysis

Before we move onto Section 4 we will briefly to discuss several predictions that follow from our analysis.

3.2.1. Interaction with Negative Polarity Item licensing

The first prediction concerns the interaction between Negation, Focus and negative polarity items (NPIs). Under the derivation we have proposed for the bound reading of focus, the VOS order follows from scrambling of object to a position higher than Spec/FocP2, as in (27), repeitated below. We have also argued that the reason why this reading is not available for cases like (26c) is because there are some restrictions with respect to the type of elements that can scramble. Since NPIs are usually taken to be indefinites, the prediction is that this type of reading will be disallowed when the object is a NPI. This prediction is confirmed, since speakers find examples like (31) below degraded.

(27) *Bound reading of focus*
      $[_{NegP}$ *Neg* V $[$ O $[_{FocP2}$ S $[$ t_S t_V t_O $]$ $]$ $]$ $]$

(31) ?? *No ha comprado nada Pedro, sino María*

Under the explanation we have offered, the only possibility to obtain the Neg-V-O-S surface word order when the object is a NPI would be to follow the derivation in (28), repeated below. This predicts a free reading of the focalized postverbal subject, and this seems to be indeed the case, as shown in (32) by the possibility of adding a negative tag:

(28) *Free reading of focus*
      b. $[$ $[_{TopP}$ $[_{NegP}$ ...Neg V t_{subj}O... $]$ $[_{FocP1}$ S $[$ t_{NegP} $]$ $]$ $]$

(32) *No ha comprado nada Pedro, y no María*

---

[12] Although for space limitations we cannot discuss wh-in situ questions in Spanish, they also involve a derivation very similar to the one we have proposed above for free focus, where the wh-"in situ" phrase moves to a specifier in the left periphery and then the remnant moves to a Topic-like position, higher than the landing site of the wh-phrase. See Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2001, 2002b) and Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2001, 2005a,b, in progress) for detailed discussion and arguments.
    This analysis allows E&UE to explain the following properties of wh-"in situ" questions (ISQs) in Spanish: i) the intonational facts characteristic of ISQs (the remnant does not have an interrogative melody, only the wh-phrase does); ii) the word order characteristic of ISQs (the wh phrase is sentence final); iii) the lack of intervention effects; iv) why all types of wh-phrases can appear "in situ"; v) scope interaction facts between "in situ" wh-phrases and quantificational elements; vi) binding asymmetries; vii) the possibility of having across the board movement; viii) the possibility of licensing parasitic gaps in ISQs; ix) the behavior and scopal properties of "in situ" wh-phrases embedded within interrogative complements; x) island effects; x) their interpretation.

Note that the derivation in (28) does not involve scrambling of the object; further, Neg c-commands the NPI at LF, which explains why it can be licensed (Uribe-Etxebarria 1994, 2004).

3.2.2. Scope Interactions

The second prediction is related to the interaction of the scope of quantificational elements. Consider the example in (33), which involves negation, a universal NP and a pronoun that can be interpreted as a bound variable.

(33) *No   ha enviado cada libro a su autor (sino cada revista a su editor)*
     Not has sent   each book to its author (but each journal to its editor)

(33) allows a reading where Negation takes scope over the universal NP *cada libro* and the pronoun *su* in the Dative NP is interpreted as a bound variable (that is, a variable bound by the universal NP *cada libro*). Consider now (34a), with a bound focus reading on the dative NP *a su autor*. This example still allows the same scope interaction discussed above for (33): Neg > Universal$_i$ > Bound variable$_i$. This is expected under the structure we have proposed for the bound reading of focus in (27b): Neg c-commands the universal NP and the latter c-commands the pronoun at LF, thus licensing the bound variable reading.

(34) *No han   enviado cada libro a su autor (, sino a su editor)*
     Not have-3.p.pl sent   each book to its author (, but to its editor)

The prediction is that this reading will disappear in examples like (35), with a free construal of focus, and speakers agree that the bound variable reading is not possible in this case.

(35) *No han enviado cada libro a su autor (, y   no a su editor)*
     Not have sent   each book to its author (, and not to its editor)

The structure that corresponds to (35) would be as in (36).

(36)   *Free reading of focus*
    b. [[$_{TopP}$ [$_{NegP}$ ...Neg V O$_{each\ book}$ t$_{IO}$] [$_{FocP1}$ IO$_{to\ its\ author}$ [t$_{NegP}$]]]

Note that in (36) the universal NP within the remnant moved NegP cannot c-command the pronoun within the Dative NP in Spec/FocP$_1$. This straightforwardly explains why the bound variable reading is not present in example (35) with a free construal of focus.

3.2.3. Weak Crossover Effects

There is further syntactic evidence that the bound and the free construals of focus involve different derivations and different structures, as proposed in Section 3.1. Consider the following paradigm in (37). (37a) is a case of bound focus and (37b) a case of free focus.

(37) a. *Teresa no dijo que iba   a venir JUAN, sino María*
        Teresa neg said that was-going to come Juan,   but María

b. *Teresa no dijo que iba   a venir JUAN, y   no María*
   Teresa neg said that was-going to come Juan,   but María

The difference between (37) and the cases of free and bound foci we have ana-lyzed above is that in (37) the focalized element is the subject of the embedded clause. Following the analysis we have proposed for the free reading of focus, in (37b) the embedded subject JUAN would have to move to the specifier of a FocP1 in the matrix clause, followed by movement of the remnant to the specifier of a higher TopP. Under this derivation, the focalized subject would move over the matrix subject on its way to the matrix Spec/FocP1. The prediction of this analysis is that whenever the subject in the main clause contains a pronoun coindexed with the embedded subject, this will trigger (weak) crossover effects. [13] As shown in (38), this prediction is confirmed.

(38) * Su_i *madre no dijo que iba   a venir* $JUAN_i$, *y   no María*
      His$_i$ mother neg said that was-going to come Juan$_i$,   and not María
      (*It is JUAN$_i$ that his$_i$ mother said was going to come, and not María)

Our analysis also predicts that there will be no weak crossover effects when bound focus is involved; this is so because the embedded focalized subject will never cross over the matrix subject on its way to Spec/FocP2. This prediction is also fullfilled, as shown in (39).

(39) a. Su_i *madre no dijo que iba   a venir* $JUAN_i$, *sino María*
      His$_i$ mother neg said that was-going to come Juan$_i$,   but María
      "His$_i$ mother did not say that was-going to come JUAN$_i$, but María"

4. Free and bound focus from a wider perspective

In the previous sections we have argued that free focus involves movement of the focalized constituent to FocP1 followed by movement of the remant to Spec/TopP. In this section we want to show that this derivation is not restricted to the cases of free focus under analysis in Spanish and is also found in Basque. (See also fn. 12). We will also argue that the derivation we have proposed for bound focus in Spanish carries over to bound focus in Basque.

4.1. Focus of correction in Basque

In Section 2.2. we have mentioned that according to Herburger there are lan-guages like Basque and Hungarian where the bound and the free construals of focus

---

[13] Notice that focus also induces weak cross over effects when the free focus moves overtly from the embedded clause to the position preceding matrix Negation, crossing over a matrix subject with a coin-dexed pronoun. ((i) vs. (ii)).

  (i) ??JUAN$_i$ no dijo su$_i$ madre que iba   a venir t$_i$ (, y   no María)
     Juan   Neg said his mother that was-going to come   (, and not María)
    "It is JUAN$_i$ that his$_i$ mother didn't say was going to come (, and not María)"
  (ii) JUAN no dijo Felipe que iba   a venir t$_i$ (, y no María)
     Juan Neg said Felipe that was-going to come   (and not María)

are syntactically disambiguated. In particular, Herburger claims that when the focus c-commands Negation, it is interpreted as free focus, while it is interpreted as bound focus when it is c-commanded by Negation. Assuming that c-commands maps into linear precedence, we could reformulate Herburger's generalization as follows:

(40) Word order and Focus in Basque (generalization)
    Free focus Neg Aux... *Bound Focus...* V

Ortiz de Urbina (2002) studies a third type of focalization in Basque, which he calls focus of correction, which apparently contradicts the generalization in (40). This is so because in the focus of correction strategy the focalized element is interpreted out of the scope of Negation despite the fact that it surfaces in a postverbal position, to the right of negation. Consider the paradigm in (41) (examples from Ortiz de Urbina, 2002):[14]

(41) a. [FOCUS Neg Aux... V]
        ANDONIRI   ez   diot ardoa ekarri (*, eta ez Mikeli*)
        Andoni-dat   neg aux wine brought, Mikel-dat/and not Mikel-dat
        "It is to Andoni (and not to Mikel) that I didn't bring the wine"
     b. [Neg Aux FOCUS V]
        Ez   diot ardoa ANDONIRI   ekarri (*, Mikeli baizik*)
        neg aux wine Andoni-dat brought Mikel-dat but
        "It is not for ANDONI (but for MIKEL) that I brought the wine"
     c. [Neg Aux... V FOCUS]   *Focus of correction*
        *Ez   diot ardoa ekarri / ANDONIRI, * *   baizik eta Mikeli* vs. ✔ *eta ez Mikeli*
        neg aux wine brought Andoni-dat,   but   Mikel-dat/and not Mikel-dat
        "It is to Andoni (✔ and not to Mikel / *but to Mikel) that I brought the wine"

Ortiz de Urbina shows that despite occurring to the right of negation, the focus in (41c) differs from the focus in (41b). In particular, while the focus in (41b) is interpreted under the scope of negation, the focus in (41c) is interpreted as having scope over negation, just as the focus in (41a). For Ortiz de Urbina, the rightward focus in (41c) is semantically akin to the contrastive focus in (41a), in that it gives rise to an existential presupposition on the event, and exhaustively identifies the focus as the only subject of predication in the focus structure. Unlike in canonical cases of contrastive focus, in corrective focalization sentences an element in a previously uttered statement is changed to provide a corrected identification. For Ortiz de Urbina, the semantic commonalities of both types of focus follow from a shared syntactic structure. (41c), a focus of correction, is overtly derived from (41a), a contrastive focus, by moving the remnant to a position higher than the Focus, arguably a topic position (see also Ambar et al. 2000, 2001, Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria 2001, 2005a,b, in preparation, Irurtzun 2007, Munaro et al. 2001, Poletto & Pollock, 2001, Uribe-Etxebarria, 2001, 2002, 2003 and references therein):

(42) a. $[_{FocP}$ANDONIRI F^0 $[_{IP}$ t$_i$ ardoa ekarri diote]]   (focus movement) →
     b. $[_{TopP}[$t$_i$ ardoa ekarri diote]$_j$ Top^0 [ANDONIRI Foc^0 t$_j$]]]   (remnant movement)

---

[14] The symbol "/" indicates a intonational break before the focus.

Ortiz de Urbina's proposal is based on two main arguments. The first one is that there is good evidence that the focus of correction is not just sitting in its base position. Thus, the appropriate position for the focus of correction is the rightmost one, not its base one. Consider for instance a neutral sentence such as (43). The unmarked order of the locative argument vis-à-vis the indefinite object is the one where it precedes the object:[15]

(43) *Jonek   etxean   eskutitz bat irakurri du*
　　　 Jon-erg home-at letter   a   read   has
　　　 "John read a letter at home"

However, if we force a focus of correction on the locative argument, it will occupy the rightmost position, not its base position,[16] as shown in (44):

(44) a. *Jonek   eskutitz bat irakurri du / ETXEAN*
　　　　 Jon-erg read   has letter   a   home-at
　　　　 "John read the a letter AT HOME"
　　　 b. ??*Jonek   ETXEAN   eskutitz bat   irakurri du*
　　　　　 Jon-erg read   has home-at letter   a
　　　　　 "Jon read a letter AT HOME"

The second argument is that the rightmost focus shows all the syntactic properties of the left peripheral focus in (41a). Ortiz de Urbina presents several syntactic contrasts to make his point, of which we will select (for matters of space) two illustrative ones:[17] (i) first, rightmost foci seem to obey the same island constraints as overtly moved contrastive foci, which suggests that *in-situ* foci undergo syntactic movement (45); and (ii) the rightmost focus position can host elements which are otherwise only possible in the preverbal focus position, such as quantifier phrases headed by *gutxi* "few" (46), which cannot remain in their base position.

i. Let us consider the island sensitivity of the focus of correction first. The example in (45a) illustrates a case of contrastive focus where an element that originates in an embedded clause moves to the left periphery of the matrix clause. Ortiz de Urbina shows that focus of correction can also occur in the same configuration. When this happens, the focus of correction has matrix scope and must show up to the right of the embedded clause, as illustrated in (45b).

(45) a. *MIKEL$_i$ esan du Jonek [t$_i$ etorriko   dela   bihar]*
　　　　 Mikel   said has Jon-erg   come-fut aux-Comp tomorrow
　　　　 "It is Mikel who Jon said will come tomorrow"

---

[15] In (43), we have slightly changed Ortiz de Urbina's original examples to make them more relevant for the issues under discussion in this section.

[16] Note that this generalization holds even in cases where the verb precedes the object in the linear order, as in (ia):

(i) a.　*Jonek irakurri du eskutitz bat / ETXEAN*
　　 b. ??*Jonek irakurri du ETXEAN eskutitz bat*
　　　　 Jon-erg read has letter a home-at Jon-erg read has home-at letter a
　　　　 "John read the a letter AT HOME"　　　　"Jon read a letter AT HOME"

[17] We refer the reader to Ortiz de Urbina's paper for a more extensive discussion of these questions.

    b. *Jonek   esan du bihar   etorriko dela   MIKEL*
       Jon-erg said has tomorrow come-fut aux-Comp Mikel
       "It is Mikel who Jon said will come tomorrow"

Ortiz de Urbina's analysis makes the following prediction: since the rightmost position of the focus of correction is the result of focus movement to the left periphery followed by movement of the remnant, we predict that in all those cases where overt focus movement is not possible, the rightmost focus of correction will not, either. Ortiz de Urbina shows that this prediction is true. As an illustration of this, consider the following pairs in (46) and (47), which involve a weak (negative) island:

(46) a. *ESKOLATIK   ez daki Jonek   Miren bialdu duten*
       school-from   neg knows Jon.erg Miren throw have-Comp
       "It is from school that Jon does not know whether they expelled Miren"
    b. *Jonek ez daki Miren bialdu duten   ESKOLATIK*
       Jon-erg neg knows Miren expelled have-Comp school-from
       "It is from school that Jon does not know whether Miren was expelled"

(47) a. *MIRENEN LAGUNA   ez daki Jonek eskolatik   bialdu duten*
       Miren's   friend   neg know Jon-erg school-from expelled have-Comp
       "It is Miren's friend that John does not know whether they have expelled her from school"
    b. *Jonek ez daki eskolatik   bialdu duten   MIRENEN LAGUNA*
       Jon-erg neg know school-from expelled have-Comp Miren's   friend
       "It is Miren's friend that John does not know whether they have expelled her from school"

The focalized element in (46) is an adjunct. Since negative islands prevent adjunct movement, this accounts for the impossibility of (46a). Under Ortiz de Urbina's premises, this also account for the impossibility of (46b) —this is so because (46a) is an intermediate step in the derivation of (46b). In contrast with (46), the focalized element in (47) is an argument. As the grammaticality of (47a) shows, the contrastive focus can cross a negative island when it is an argument. The prediction is that its rightmost counterpart will also be possible, and as the grammaticality of (47b) shows this is indeed the case.

ii. The second argument that Ortiz de Urbina presents in defense of his hypothesis is that the rightmost focus position hosts elements which are independently known to undergo obligatory focus movement to a preverbal position. One such case are quantified NPs headed by *gutxi* "few", which cannot remain in their base position and require focus movement (see Etxepare 2003):

(48) a. [Neutral word order: * S$_{\text{GUTXI}}$ O V]
       Ikasle   gutxik   liburu hori irakurri dute
       student few-erg book   that read   have
       "Few students have read that book"
    b. [Focalization: ✓ S$_{\text{GUTXI}}$ V O]
       IKASLE   GUTXIK irakurri dute liburu hori
       Student few-erg read   have book   that
       "Few students have read that book"

    c. [Rightmost focus: ✓ O V S$_{\text{Gutxi}}$]
       Liburu hori irakurri dute ɪᴋᴀꜱʟᴇ ɢᴜᴛxɪᴋ (, eta ez ikasle askok)
       Book that read   have student few-erg (, and not student many)
       "It's few students (and not many students) that read that book"

The contrast between (48a) and (48b) shows that quantifiers headed by *few* can only occur in the preverbal position associated to focus configurations. In any other position, the quantifier produces an ungrammatical sentence. This restriction has a unique exception: the rightmost focus position, as illustrated in (48c) above. Ortiz de Urbina's analysis has the virtue that no new condition has to be stipulated to account for the occurrence of *few*-quantifiers in that position: they are invariably in the preverbal focus position, their rightmost occurrence being the consequence of remnant movement of the non-focal part.

    The focus of correction described by Ortiz de Urbina presents very similar properties to the one we have called free focus in the preceding sections of this work: we are facing the same type of focus construction in both languages. The derivations involved in what Ortiz de Urbina calls focus of correction in Basque and the ones we have proposed above for free focus in Spanish show that the syntax-semantics interface of free/contrastive focus is parallel in both languages.[18] To finish, in the next subsection we propose a unified derivation for bound focus in Spanish and Basque.

4.2. Two construals, two LF structures[19]

    i. As is well known, when negation and a universal quantifier cooccur in regular neutral sentences, negation takes scope over the universal (see Beghelli & Stowell 1997 and references therein). The paradigm in (49-50) illustrates this fact in Basque and English.

(49) a. Guztiak ez dira etorri   * $\forall \neg$; ✓ $\neg \forall$
       All   neg aux come
       "Not all of them came"
    b. All that glitters is not gold   * $\forall \neg$; ✓ $\neg \forall$

As shown in (50), in Basque this effect can be overcome when the universal quantifier preceding negation is focalized (that is, when it has a free focus reading):

(50) ɢᴜᴢᴛɪᴇᴋ   ez dute   liburua irakurri/erosi, eta ez bakar batzuk
     All of them neg aux the book read/   buy, and not few   some
     "It's all of them that didn't read/buy this, and not just a few ones"

    ii. Linebarger (1980) notes that certain quantifiers, among them universal quantifiers, can prevent licensing of NPIs when they intervene between Negation and a NPI at LF. The English and Basque examples in (51) and (52) illustrate this fact.

---

   [18] See fn. 9.
   [19] For matters of space, here we leave aside the wide focus construal in Basque, although we follow Elordieta (2001), Arregi (2003) and Irurtzun (2007) in assuming that there is no movement involved in that construction, so it would be parallel to the one we propose for the wide focus construal in Spanish (see Section 3.1. above; see also Etxepare & Uribe-Etxebarria (in progress) for further discussion on that issue).

(51) a. I don't believe that John   stole anything
     b. * I don't believe that everybody stole anything
(52) a. Ez dut uste Jonek ezer   irakurri duenik
         Neg Aux believe Jon-Erg anything read   Aux-Comp
         "I don't think John has read anything"
     b. * Ez dut uste guztiek   ezer   irakurri dutenik
         Neg Aux believe all of them anything read   Aux-Comp
         "I don't believe that all of them have read anything"

Keeping all these facts in mind, let us now analyze how they interact in the configurations of free and bound focus under analysis.

Consider the example in (53a) below, with a free focus construal of the postverbal subject *GUZTIEK* ('all of them'). Following the analysis we have put forth above for the free reading of focus in Spanish, we propose the derivation in (53b) for this example (see also Ortiz de Urbina's analysis in Section 4.1. above).

(53) a. *Ez dute ezer   erosi GUZTIEK   eta ez bakar batzuk*
         Neg have anything buy all of them and not few   some
         "It's all of them who haven't bought anything, and not just some of them"
     b. *Free reading of focus in Basque*
         $[\ [_{\text{TopP}} \ [_{\text{NegP}} \ \text{Neg}_{\text{EZ}} \ \text{V}_{\text{DUTE}} \ \text{t}_{\text{GUZTIEK}} \ \text{NPI}_{\text{EZER}} \ \text{erosi} \ ] \ [_{\text{FocP1}} \ \text{guztiek} \ [\ \text{t}_{\text{NegP}} \ ] \ ] \ ]$

The derivation in (53b) directly explains why the universal quantifier *guztiek* takes wide scope over Neg (see discussion in Section 3.1. above). Further, since *guztiek* is out of the scope of negation at LF, we can also explain why this quantifier does not interfere in the licensing of the NPI by Neg in (53a).[20]

Consider now the paradigm in (54-55) below. The ungrammaticality of these examples shows that the bound reading of focus is not possible in either (54) or (55a). Why is this so? On the basis of what we have seen above regarding the intervention effects of universal quantifiers in negative polarity item licensing, we argue that (54) is out because the universal quantifier prevents the licensing of the NPI *ezer*.

(54) * Ez dute guztiek   ezer   erosi (bakar batzuk baizik)
       Neg have all of them anything bought (few   ones   only)
       (All of them have not bought anything, but only some of them)

---

[20] Notice that, in line with our analysis, focalization of the sentence initial universal quantifier in (i) below —with the quantifier (preceding and) taking scope over matrix negation—, makes licensing of the NPI *ezer* ('anything') in this example possible. This is so because the universal quantifier *guztiek* ('all of them') will remain in Spec/FocP1 at LF and consequently will not intervene between Neg and the NPI *ezer* at that level of representation, which we assume is the one where NPI licensing takes place (Uribe-Etxebarria 1994, 2004a). Crucially, if the sentence initial quantifier is not focalized, as in (ii), the sentence becomes ungrammatical. This follows because, as we have discussed above in the text, the universal quantifier would be interpreted under the scope of Negation at LF and would, therefore, interfere with the licensing of *ezer*. As (iii) shows, other operations that ensure that the sentence initial quantifier does not reconstruct at LF, as for instance topicalization, also make licensing of the NPI *ezer* possible.

(i) *GUZTIEK*$_{\text{FOC}}$ *ez dute ezer   erosi*   (ii) *Guztiek ez dute ezer erosi
     all of them Neg Aux anything buy   (iii) *GUZTIEK*$_{\text{TOP}}$ ez dute ezer erosi
     "It's all of them that didn't buy anything"

What about (55)? (Notice that in (55) *guztiek* does not even intervene linearly between Neg and the NPI). Since we are dealing with bound focus, let us assume for the bound focus in the Basque example (55a) the same derivation we have proposed for bound focus in Spanish (Section 3.1.). This structure is given in (55b). Why is (55a) bad? Because, as shown in (55b), it involves scrambling the NPI *ezer* over the subject *guztiek* in Spec/FocP2; however, as we discussed above in Section 3.1., this is not a licit operation because indefinites resist scrambling.

(55) a. * Ez dute   ezer   guztiek   erosi
           Not have-3.p.pl anything all of them bought
     b. *Bound reading of focus (Basque)*
        [$_{NegP}$ *Neg* Infl [O$_{NPI-EZER}$ [$_{FocP2}$ *S*$_{GUZTIEK}$ [t$_S$ t$_o$ V]]]]

By assuming that the structure underlying bound focus is the same in Spanish and Basque, we can provide a unifom account of the ungrammaticality of the Basque example in (55) and the Spanish example in (31).

Under our analysis we can also explain why the bound reading of focus is possible in (56a) and why (56a) contrasts with (55a). The derivation we propose for (56a) is given in (56b).

(56) a. Ez dute   liburua guztiek   erosi, baizik eta bakar batzuk
          Not have-3.p.pl the book   all of them bought
     b. *Bound reading of focus (Basque)*
        [$_{NegP}$ *Neg* Infl [O$_{LIBURUA}$ [$_{FocP2}$ *S*$_{GUZTIEK}$ [t$_S$ t$_o$ V]]]]

Since *liburua* is a definite NP, nothing prevents that this object scrambles over the subject in Spec/FocP2 in (56).

5. Conclusions

Based on the discussion of focus in Spanish and Basque, we have argued that the semantic scope of focus directly derives from its syntactic scope. The asymmetries in the interpretation of focus in negative sentences follow from differences in the syntactic structures associated to the logical form of syntactic focus. Each construal is associated to a particular syntactic configuration at LF. Further, we have shown that the derivations involved in the free and bound reading in both languages are the same. The complex set of phenomena we have analyzed cannot be easily captured under a p-movement analysis of focus, and provides strong evidence for a movement analysis of (certain types of) focalization

References

Ambar, M., Obenauer, H-G., Pereira, I., Tapazdi, J., & Veloso R., 2000, "From Wh-questions to Wh-exclamatives: The internal structure of Wh-phrases and the left periphery. Evidence from Portuguese, French and Hungarian". Article posted at "Chomsky internet Celebration".

—, & Veloso, R., 2001, "On the nature of wh-phrases - word order and wh-in-situ. Evidence from Portuguese, French, Hungarian and Tetum", Ms. University of Lisboa.

Arregi, K., 2003, *Focus on Basque movements,* Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT.

Artsein, R., 2005, "Quantificational arguments in temporal adjunct clauses", *Linguistics and Philosophy* 28: 5, 541-597.

Beghelli, P. & Stowell, T., 1997, "Distributivity and negation: The syntax of *each* and *every*", in A. Szabolcsi (ed.) *Ways of Taking Scope*, Kluwer, Dordrecht, 71-108.

Belletti, A., 2005, "Extended doubling and the VP periphery", *Probus* 17, 1-36.

Cinque, G., 1993, "A null theory of phrase and compound stress", *LI* 24, 239-298.

Contreras, H., 1976, *A theory of word order with special reference to Spanish*, North Holland, Amsterdam/New York.

Davidson, D. D., 1967, "The logical form of action sentences", in N. Rescher (ed.), *The logic of decision and action,* Pittsburgh U. P., Pittsburg, 81-95.

Demirdache, H., & Uribe-Etxebarria, M., 2005a, "Quantified temporal PPs", talk delivered at the Linguistic Colloquium Series, Fédération "Tipologie et Universaux Linguistiques", U. Paris VII, April 2005.

—, &—, 2005b, "Quantified PPs: implications for the syntax of tense and aspect", talk delivered at the Linguistic Colloquium Series, Fédération "Tipologie et Universaux Linguistiques", U. Paris VII, May 2005.

—, &—, 2007, "The syntax of time arguments", *Lingua* 117, 330-366.

Diesing, M., 1992, *Indefinites,* MIT Press, Cambridge.

Domínguez, L., 2004, *Mapping Focus: the syntax and prosody of focus in Spanish*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Boston University.

Elordieta, A., 2001, *Verb Movement and Constituent Permutation in Basque*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Leiden University, The Netherlands.

Etxepare, R., 2003, "Negation", in Hualde and Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), 516-563.

—, & Ortiz de Urbina, J., 1998, "Focalization", in Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina (eds.), 459-515.

—, & Uribe-Etxebarria, M., 2000, "On the properties of Spanish wh-in situ questions", *Minimal Elements of Linguistic Variation Workshop*, Paris, 15-16 December 2000.

—, & —, 2001, "On the hidden syntax of wh-questions in Spanish", talk delivered at the XXXI *Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages,* U. of Chicago*,* April 2001.

—, & —, 2005a, "In situ wh-phrases in Spanish: locality and quantification", in H. Obenauer (ed.), *L'arquitecture propositionnelle: La syntaxe de la périphérie gauche* Special issue of *Reserches Linguistiques de Vincennes*, vol. 33, Presses Universitaires de Vicennes, Saint Denis, 9-35.

—, & —, 2005b, *Word Order in Interrogative Constructions,* talk delivered at the *3rd Workshop on Syntax and Semantics* (III WoSS), U. of Nantes, September 2005.

—, & —, in progress, "The syntax-semantics mapping of focus", ms. CNRS/IKER & UPV/EHU.

Gallego, A., 2007, *Phase theory and parametric variation*, Ph.D. Dissertation, U. Autònoma de Barcelona.

Herburger, E., 2000, *What counts. Focus and Quantification,* MIT Press, Cambridge.

de Hoop, H., 1992, Case Configuration and Noun Phrase Interpretation, Ph.D. Dissertation, U. Groningen.

Higginbotham, J., 2000, "On events in Linguistic Semantics", in J. Higginbotham, F. Pianesi and A. C. Varzi (eds.), *Speaking of events,* Oxford U. P., Oxford, 49-80.

Hualde, J. I. and J. Ortíz de Urbina (eds.), *A Grammar of Basque,* Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin.

Irurtzun, A., 2007, *The grammar of Focus at the Interfaces*, Ph.D. Dissertation, UPV-EHU.

Jiménez, M. L., 1997, *Semantic and Pragmatic Conditions on Word Order in Spanish*, Georgetown University Ph.D. Dissertation.

Kaiser, E., 2006, "Non Canonical Negation and Information Structure", ms. U. Penssylvania.

Laka, I., 1990, *Negation in Syntax: On the Nature of Functional Categories and Projections*, Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT.

Ogihara, T., 2003, "A scope theory of tense and adnominal modifiers", in S. Chiba et al. (eds.), *Empirical and Theoretical Investigations into Language,* Kaitakusho, Tokyo.

Ordóñez, F., 1997, *Word Order and Clause Structure in Spanish and other Romance Languages*, CUNY Ph.D. Dissertation.

Ortiz de Urbina, J., 2002, "Focus of correction and remnant movement in Basque", in X. Artiagoitia, J. A. Lakarra & P. Goenaga (eds.), *Erramu Boneta: A festschrift for Rudolph P. G. De Rijk*, Supplements of *ASJU* 44, Gipuzkoako Foru Aldundia & UPV-EHU, Donostia, 511-524.

Partee, B., 1973, "Some structural analogies between tenses and pronouns", *Journal of Philosophy* 70, 601-609.

Poletto, C. & J.-Y. Pollock, 2000, "On the Left Periphery of Some Romance Wh-questions", ms. U. Padua/U. Picardie, Amiens.

Pratt, I., & Francez, N., 2001, "Temporal prepositions and temporal generalized quantifiers", *Linguistics and Philosophy* 24: 2, 187-222.

May, R., 1977, *The Grammar of Quantification*, Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT.

Munaro, N., C. Poletto & J-Y. Pollock, 2001, "Eppur si muove! On Comparing French and Bellunese Wh-movement", unpublished ms. University of Padua & University de Picardie à Amiens.

Reglero, L., 2004, *A'-Dependencies in Spanish and Basque*, Ph.D. Dissertation, U. of Connecticut.

Reinhart, T., 1983, *Anaphora and semantic interpretation*, Croom Helm, London.

Späth, A. & Trutwein, M., 2003, "Events under Negation", in M. Weisgerber (ed.), *Proceedings of the Conferences "sub7-Sinn und Bedeutung"*, Arbeitspapier Nr. 114. FB, Spachwissenschaft, Universität Kontanz, Germany, 29-3009. http://ling.uni-konstanz.de/pages/conference/sub7/

von Stechow, A., 2005, "Temporal prepositional phrases with quantifiers: some additions to Pratt and Francez (2001)", ms. U. Tübingen.

Uribe-Etxebarria, M., 1994, *Interface Licensing Conditions on Negative Polarity Item Licensing: A Theory of Polarity and Tense Interactions*, Ph.D. Dissertation, U. of Connecticut.

—, 2000, "Optional Operations and Covert Overt Movement", talk presented at *Colloquium on Generative Grammar*, Alcala, April 2000.

—, 2001, "A review of Jiménez (1997)", *GLOT International*, vol 5, n.6, June 2001.

—, 2002, "In situ Questions and Masked Movement", in P. Picá and J. Rooryck (eds.), *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 2, Elsevier, 217-257.

—, 2003, "Euskararen eta Hizkuntza Erromanikoen Foko Egituren arteko zenbait paralelotasunez", in J. Makazaga et alii (eds.), *Euskal gramatikari eta literaturari buruzko*

ikerketak XXI. mendearen atarian. Gramatika Gaiak. Iker-14 (1), Euskaltzaindia, Bilbo, 437-457.

—, 2004, *Interface Licensing Conditions on Negative Polarity Item Licensing: A Theory of Polarity and Tense Interactions*, UPV-EHU, Bilbao.

Zubizarreta, M. L., 1998, *Prosody, Focus and Word Order*, MIT Press, Cambridge.