

## Chapter 5

# Basque Movements and Focus

### 5.1 Introduction

One of the most studied properties of Basque syntax is its preverbal focus position.<sup>1</sup> In this language, a *wh* or focused phrase (*wh/f*-phrase) must be left-adjacent to the verbal complex. This is exemplified in the question-answer pair in (1). In the question, the *wh*-subject is left-adjacent to the verbal complex, as a result of left dislocation of the object (cf. §4.5); in the answer, the focused subject, which constitutes the ‘answer’ to the question, is also left-adjacent to the verbal complex as a result of left dislocation of the object.<sup>2</sup>

- (1) Q: Jon **señek** *t* ikusi rau?  
 Jon.A who.E see.PRF Aux.PR  
*Who saw Jon?*
- A: Jon **Mirenek** *t* ikusi rau.  
 Jon.A Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR  
*MIREN saw Jon.*

Similarly, in (2), the subject *wh/f*-phrase is left-adjacent to the verbal complex as a result of right dislocation of the object:

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<sup>1</sup>This condition on word order in Basque was first described by Altube (1929). In Basque grammatical tradition, this position is termed *galdegaia*, which, curiously enough, means ‘the topic of the question, what the question is about’ (from *galde* ‘ask’ and *gai* ‘topic’).

<sup>2</sup>In all the examples below, capitals are used in the English translations to mark the focused constituent.

- (2) Q: **Señek** *t* ikusi rau Jon?  
 who.E see.PRF Aux.PR Jon.A  
*Who saw Jon?*
- A: **Mirenek** *t* ikusi rau Jon.  
 Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR Jon.A  
*MIREN saw Jon.*

If there is no left or right dislocation of the object, the result is ungrammatical, or in the case of the focused subject, it does not have the relevant interpretation:

- (3) Q: \***Señek** Jon ikusi rau?  
 who.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR  
*Who saw Jon?*
- A: #**Mirenek** Jon ikusi rau.  
 Miren.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR  
*Miren saw Jon.*

In this chapter, I argue that this condition is derived from a principle that requires that a *wh/f*-phrase contain sentence stress. As argued for in §4, the NSR predicts that sentence stress in Basque is assigned to the constituent immediately preceding the verbal complex. In (1-2), this condition is satisfied by moving the object from its preverbal position. In (3), this condition is not satisfied, resulting in ungrammaticality. This analysis follows recent works on the syntax of focus in several languages, including Vallduví's (1992, 1995) work on Catalan, Zubizarreta's (1998) work on the syntax of focus in Romance and Germanic languages, and on the treatment of focus and scrambling in Dutch found in Reinhart 1995 and Neeleman and Reinhart 1998. Several recent works have provided further evidence for this approach from a variety of languages. These include Costa 1998 for Portuguese, Ishihara 2001 for Japanese, and Szendrői 2001 for Hungarian.

An analysis of Basque focus along these lines was first suggested in Arregi 2000, and further developed in Arregi 2001b. The analysis presented in this chapter provides a more detailed analysis, and is based on the new version of the NSR introduced in previous chapters. In independent work, Elordieta (2001) makes very similar proposals to the ones made here. However, there are important differences between the two

analyses. Some of these were already discussed in §4.6. Further differences between the two analyses are discussed in §§5.6–5.7, 5.9 and §5.10 below.

This chapter is organized as follows. In §5.2, I lay out some basic assumptions about the semantics of focus which will be useful in the discussion and analysis of the data presented in later sections. After reviewing the basic facts to be accounted for in §5.3, in §5.4 I provide an analysis of the facts within the framework sketched above. In §5.5, I discuss certain data having to do with focused constituents within DPs which justify a small change to the analysis presented in the previous section. §5.6 outlines the basic features that distinguish the account proposed here from those found in Ortiz de Urbina 1989, 1994, 1995 and Elordieta 2001. In §5.7, I argue that the analysis defended here provides a better account for certain focus projection facts. §5.8 examines more focus projection facts which suggests that left and right dislocation in Basque are constrained by an economy condition which basically states that they can only occur if they have an effect on the focus interpretation of the sentence. In this section, I argue that this economy condition is unnecessary, and in some cases even incorrect. The basic argument is that all the facts can be explained once we take into consideration other effects that left and right dislocation have on the discourse properties of the sentence. Finally, §5.9 discusses certain data that Ortiz de Urbina provides in favor of his analysis. In that section, I show that the data is in fact compatible with the analysis defended in this thesis.

## 5.2 The Semantics of Focus

For the purposes of this thesis, I assume Rooth's (1985, 1996) alternative semantics theory of focus. One of the basic properties of a focused element in a sentence is that it correlates with the *wh*-element in the question that the sentence is an answer to:<sup>3</sup>

- (4) a. Who wants coffee?  
       b. Ede<sub>F</sub> wants coffee.

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<sup>3</sup>In the answers, the subscript *F* simply indicates which constituent is focused, abstracting away from the phonetic realization of focus. As is well known, focus in English is realized phonetically as a H\*L pitch accent on the syllable with primary stress within the focused constituent.

- (5) a. What does Ede want?  
 b. Ede wants coffee<sub>F</sub>.

(4b) is a felicitous answer to the question in (4a), but not to (5a). Similarly, (5b) is a possible answer to (5a), but not to (4a).

I assume, following Jackendoff 1972, that focus is marked by a feature F in the focused phrase. In the theory of alternative semantics, a sentence  $\phi$  containing an F-marked constituent has two different semantic values: its ordinary semantic value,  $\llbracket\phi\rrbracket^o$  (a proposition), and an additional semantic value,  $\llbracket\phi\rrbracket^f$ , which is a set of propositions obtained by making substitutions in the position of the focused phrase. Thus, the focus value of *Ede<sub>F</sub> wants coffee* is the set of propositions of the form *x wants coffee*, and the focus value of *Ede wants coffee<sub>F</sub>* is a set of propositions of the form *Ede wants y*. The basic function of focus, then, is to introduce alternatives to the proposition denoted by the sentence.

In this theory, the question-answer paradigm in (4–5) is explained as follows. First, following Hamblin 1973, the ordinary semantic value of a *wh*-question is a set of propositions which are obtained by making substitutions in the position of the *wh*-constituent. That is, a question denotes the set of all possible answers to it. For instance, the question *Who wants coffee?* denotes the set of propositions of the form *x wants coffee*, and the question *What does Ede want?* denotes the set of propositions of the form *Ede wants y*. A question-answer pair must meet the condition that the set denoted by the question be consistent with the set denoted by the focus value of the answer.<sup>4</sup> Thus, (4b) is a possible answer to (4a) because both characterize the same set of propositions (i.e. those of the form *x wants coffee*). On the other hand, (4b) is not a possible answer to (5a) because the latter denotes the set *Ede wants x*.

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<sup>4</sup>Specifically, where  $\phi$  is an answer to a question, the set denoted by the question must be a subset of  $\llbracket\phi\rrbracket^f$  containing  $\llbracket\phi\rrbracket^o$  and at least one more element.

### 5.3 The Preverbal Position in Basque

The preverbal position was exemplified in (1–3), repeated below as (6–8), with a subject *wh/f*-phrase:

- (6) Q: Jon **señek** ikusi rau?  
 Jon.A who.E see.PRF Aux.PR  
*Who saw Jon?*
- A: Jon **Mirének** ikusi rau.  
 Jon.A Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR  
*MIREN saw Jon.*
- (7) Q: **Señek** ikusi rau Jon?  
 who.E see.PRF Aux.PR Jon.A
- A: **Mirének** ikusi rau Jon.  
 Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR Jon.A
- (8) Q: \***Señek** Jon ikusi rau?  
 who.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR
- A: #**Mirének** Jon ikusi rau.  
 Miren.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR

In the question, the subject is a *wh*-phrase and therefore has to be left-adjacent to the verbal complex. In the answer to the question, the subject must accordingly be interpreted as focused. This is possible only when the subject is immediately preceding the verbal complex (cf. 6–7). If it is further to the left (cf. 8), the result is not a proper answer to the question. The same infelicitous result is obtained if the subject is to the right of the verb:

- (9) Q: \*Jon ikusi rau **señek**?  
 Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR who.E
- A: #Jon ikusi rau **Mirének**.  
 Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR Miren.E

In the case of object *wh/f*-phrases, the same condition holds: the object has to be left-adjacent to the verb.

- (10) Q: Mirenek **séin** ikusi rau?  
 Miren.E who.A see.PRF Aux.PR  
*Who has Miren seen?*

- A: Mirenek **Jón** ikusi rau.  
Miren.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR  
*Miren has seen JON.*
- (11) Q: **Séin** ikusi rau Mirenek?  
who.A see.PRF Aux.PR Miren.E
- A: **Jón** ikusi rau Mirenek.  
Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR Miren.E
- (12) Q: \***Séin** Mirenek ikusi rau?  
who.A Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR
- A: #**Jón** Mirenek ikusi rau.  
Jon.A Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR
- (13) Q: \*Mirenek ikusi rau **séin**?  
Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR who.A
- A: #Mirenek ikusi rau **Jón**.  
Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR Jon.A

Similarly, the subject of intransitive sentences must also be left-adjacent to the verbal complex when it is a *wh/f*-phrase:

- (14) Q: **Séin** aia san atzo?  
who.A arrive.PRF Aux.PST yesterday  
*Who arrived yesterday?*
- A: **Amáia** aia san atzo.  
AmaiaA arrive.PRF Aux.PST yesterday  
*AMAIA arrived yesterday.*
- (15) Q: \*Aia san **séin** atzo?  
arrive.PRF Aux.PST who.A yesterday
- A: #Aia san **Amáia** atzo.  
arrive.PRF Aux.PST AmaiaA yesterday
- (16) Q: \*Aia san atzo **séin**?  
arrive.PRF Aux.PST yesterday who.A
- A: #Aia san atzo **Amáia**.  
arrive.PRF Aux.PST yesterday AmaiaA
- (17) Q: Amen **séñek** jolasten dau?  
here who.E play.IMP Aux.PR  
*Who plays here?*

A: Amen **Aitórrrek** jolasten dau.  
 here Aitor.E play.IMP Aux.PR  
*AITOR plays here.*

(18) Q: \***Séñek** amen jolasten dau?  
 who.E here play.IMP Aux.PR

A: #**Aitórrrek** amen jolasten dau.  
 Aitor.E here play.IMP Aux.PR

(19) Q: \*Amen jolasten dau **séñek** ?  
 here play.IMP Aux.PR who.E

A: #Amen jolasten dau **Aitórrrek**.  
 here play.IMP Aux.PR Aitor.E

Finally, as shown in the following examples, adverbial *wh/f*-phrases are also subject to the same condition:

(20) Q: Jon **nóis** jun san?  
 Jon.A when go.PRF Aux.PST  
*When did Jon leave?*

A: Jon **átzo** jun san.  
 Jon.A yesterday go.PRF Aux.PST  
*Jon left YESTERDAY.*

(21) Q: \***Nóis** Jon jun san?  
 when Jon.A go.PRF Aux.PST

A: #**Átzo** Jon jun san.  
 yesterday Jon.A go.PRF Aux.PST

(22) Q: **Selánik** arregla sendun armaxu?  
 how fix.PRF Aux.PST closet.A.SG  
*How did you fix the closet?*

A: **Matrallúas** arregla neban armaxu.  
 hammer.COM.SG fix.PRF Aux.PST closet.A.SG  
*I fixed the closet with the HAMMER.*

(23) Q: \*Armaxu arregla sendun **selánik**?  
 closet.A fix.PRF Aux.PST how

A: #Armaxu arregla neban **matrallúas**.  
 closet.A fix.PRF Aux.PST hammer.COM.SG

To summarize, *wh*-phrases must be left-adjacent to the verbal complex. Furthermore, as shown by the question-answer congruence test, focused phrases must also be left-adjacent to the verb. In the next section, I argue that these facts are derived from certain prosodic conditions imposed on these phrases.

#### 5.4 The Preverbal Position and the NSR

In this section, I argue that the NSR is crucial in deriving the the preverbal focus position. The basic idea is that the distribution of *wh/f*-phrases is governed by the following PF condition (cf. Chomsky 1971, Jackendoff 1972, Truckenbrodt 1995, Zubizarreta 1998, Reinhart 1995):

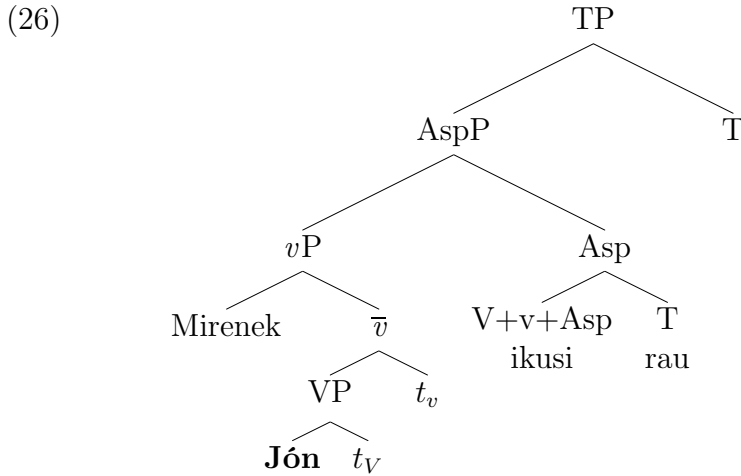
- (24) The F-marked phrase in a sentence must contain the primary stress in that sentence.

As argued in §4, the NSR proposed in this thesis derives the fact the primary stress in a sentence is on the constituent preceding the verbal complex. Thus, condition (24), applied to Basque, means that the focused constituent must be the constituent preceding the verbal complex.

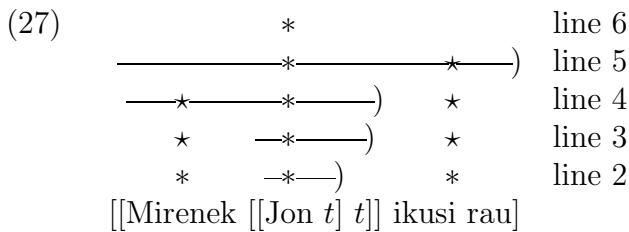
Consider sentences with focus on the object first. In a transitive sentence with a focused object, the object must be left adjacent to the verb:

- (25) a. Mirenek Jon<sub>F</sub> ikusi rau.  
 Miren.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR  
*Miren has seen JON.*
- b.  $\overbrace{t \text{ Jon}_F \text{ ikusi rau}} \downarrow$  Mirenek.  
 Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR Miren.E

In (25a), the object *Jon* is in its base position inside VP:

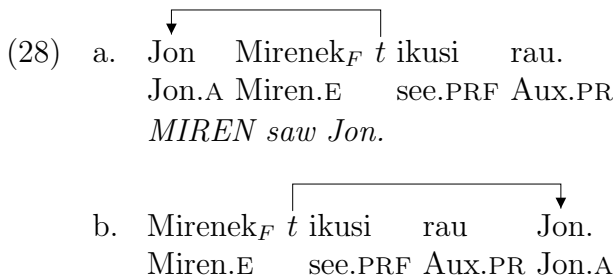


As we saw in §4, when the object is in its base position, it is assigned sentence stress by the NSR:



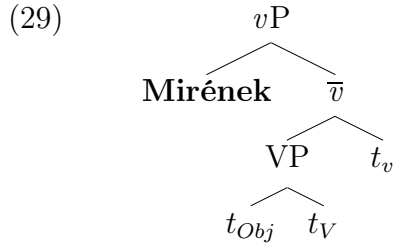
Since the object is focused and it contains sentence stress, condition (24) is satisfied. Sentence (25b) is like (25a), except that the the subject is right dislocated. Since, as shown above, the object has sentence stress when it stays in VP, condition (24) is satisfied in this case too.

The above two sentences cannot be interpreted with focus on the subject, since this constituent does not contain sentence stress. On the other hand, when the subject is immediately preceding the verbal complex, this interpretation is possible:



The basic idea, following, among others, Vallduví 1992, Reinhart 1995 and Zubizarreta 1998, is that movement of constituents other than XP can result in XP having sentence

stress, which allows it to be interpreted as focused. In these sentences, the object is left or right dislocated. Since both left and right dislocation result in adjunction to TP, the subject is the only overt constituent in *vP*:



As shown in §4, the subject is assigned sentence stress in this configuration. Thus, (24) is satisfied. If, on the other hand, the object were focused in these sentences, the result would not be grammatical, since the object does not contain sentence stress.

As can be seen in the examples above, the present analysis explains why focused constituents have to be left-adjacent to the verb. In fact, the analysis imposes an even stronger condition. As we saw in §4.5.3, when both the subject and the object are moved out of *vP*, sentence stress is on the verbal complex. In this case, the sentence cannot be interpreted with focus on the preverbal constituent, since it does not contain sentence stress:

- (30) Q: Mirenek sein ikusi rau?  
 Mirenek.E who.A see.PRF Aux.PR  
*Who has Miren seen?*

A: #Mirenek Jon t t ikusí rau.  
 Mirenek.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR

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graph TD
    Root --> Mirenek["#Mirenek"]
    Root --> VP1["VP"]
    VP1 --> Jon
    VP1 --> VP2["VP"]
    VP2 --> t1["t"]
    VP2 --> t2["t"]
    Root --> ikusí["ikusí"]
    Root --> rau["rau."]
  
```

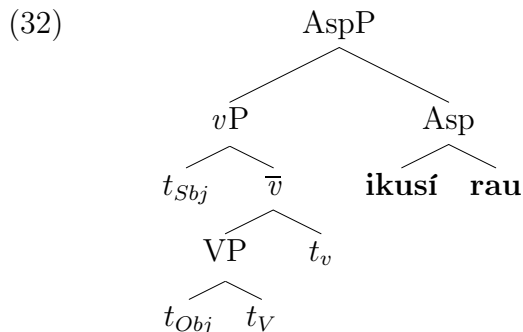
- (31) Q: Señek ikusi rau Jon?  
 who.E see.PRF Aux.PR Jon.A  
 Who has seen Jon?

A: #Mirenek t t ikusí rau Jon.  
 Miren.E see.PRF Aux.RAU Jon.A

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graph TD
    Root --> Mirenek["#Mirenek"]
    Root --> VP1["VP"]
    VP1 --> t1["t"]
    VP1 --> VP2["VP"]
    VP2 --> t2["t"]
    VP2 --> Jon
    Root --> ikusí["ikusí"]
    Root --> rau["rau"]
    Root --> Jon2["Jon."]
  
```

In both sentences, the subject and the object have been extracted out of *vP*. The structure of *AspP* after movement is as follows:



In this structure, the verbal complex is assigned sentence stress, so neither the subject nor the object can be understood as focused.<sup>5</sup>

Nothing that has been said so far predicts that *wh*-phrases are preverbal. However, as I showed in §5.3, they also must appear in the preverbal position. Following Zubizarreta 1998 (pp. 92–97, and references cited there), I assume the following principle:

- (33) *Wh*-phrases are F-marked.<sup>6</sup>

This correctly predicts that *wh*-phrases must be left-adjacent to the verb. This is confirmed by all the *wh*-question data provided in §5.3, some of which are repeated below:

- (34) a. Jon **séñek** ikusi rau?  
 Jon.A who.E see.PRF Aux.PR  
*Who has seen Jon?*
- b. \***Señek** Jon ikusi rau?  
 who.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR
- (35) a. **Séin** ikusi rau Mirenek?  
 who.A see.PRF Aux.PR Miren.E  
*Who has Miren seen?*

<sup>5</sup>A number of different focus interpretations arise when sentence stress is on the verb. In the above sentences, the most salient interpretation is *verum* focus (i.e. focus on the positive polarity of the sentence). Another possibility is focus on the verb itself, which also involves certain specific morphological changes in the verbal complex. Although, I believe, the basic facts are compatible with the analysis defended here, there are certain complexities in the data that I have not been able to examine thoroughly. I leave this as a question for future research.

<sup>6</sup>This principle might seem to make wrong predictions for languages, like English, where *wh*-phrases do not necessarily have sentence stress. I follow Zubizarreta in assuming that F-marked phrases can be licensed in different ways (i.e. via prosody or via movement to [Spec,CP]) in different languages. See Zubizarreta 1998 (pp. 92–97) for discussion.

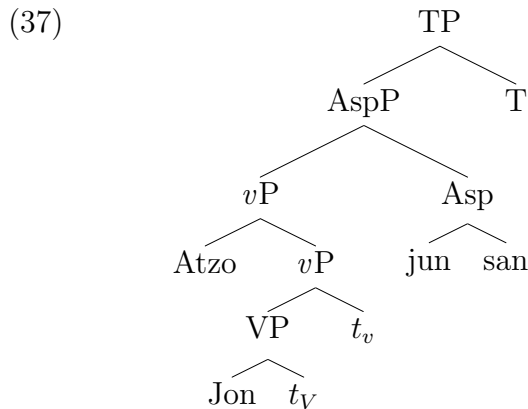
- b. \*Mirenek ikusi rau sein?  
 who.E see.PRF Aux.PR who.A

As with focused phrases, the prediction is even stronger: the *wh*-phrase has to have sentence stress. If the grammatical sentences in (34–35) are pronounced with sentence stress on the verb, the result is ungrammatical.

The analysis developed so far also accounts for all the other data discussed in §5.3. Consider, for instance, the intransitive sentence in (36):

- (36) a. Atzo **Jón** jun san.  
 yesterday Jon.A go.PRF Aux.PST  
*JON left yesterday.*
- b. Jon **átzo** t jun san.  
 Jon.A yesterday go.PRF Aux.PST  
*Jon left YESTERDAY.*

The structure of (36a) is as follows:



The subject *Jon* is the only overt constituent inside VP, and thus receives sentence stress. As predicted, it can be understood as focused. On the other hand, if the subject is left dislocated, as in (36b), the adverbial *atzo* receives sentence stress and can be understood as focused. Focus cannot be on the subject in this case.

## 5.5 Focus and the Domain of Application of the NSR

Principle (24), as stated above, encounters some problems when we take into account the fact that, as we saw in §4, the NSR does not apply within DPs in Ondarroa Basque. The following sentence illustrates this problem:

- (38) Aitorrek **neure áma** ikusi ban.  
 Aitor.E my mother.A see.PRF Aux.PST  
*Aitor saw my mother.*

This sentence, as predicted by the NSR, has sentence stress on the object *neure ama* ‘my mother’. As shown in Hualde et al. 1994 and Elordieta 1997a,<sup>7</sup> it can have at least three different focus readings, each corresponding to one of the following continuations:<sup>8</sup>

- (39) a. *Focus on ‘my mother’:*  
 ... es Jon.  
 not Jon.A  
 b. *Focus on ‘mother’:*  
 ... es neure atxe.  
 not my father.A  
 c. *Focus on ‘my’:*  
 ... es seure ama.  
 not your mother.A

However, there is only one way of pronouncing the object *neure ama*. As we saw in §4.7, the NSR does not apply within it. Its stress pattern is determined by the phrasal rules discussed in §2. Since this phrase only contains unaccented words, these rules assign stress to a single syllable within it. Specifically, stress is assigned on the penultimate syllable of the DP, i.e. on the first syllable of the noun *ama*. That means that both the object *neure ama* and the noun *ama* can be focused, according to (24), since both constituents contain sentence stress. These are the two readings in (39a-b), respectively. However, reading (39c) is wrongly predicted to be ungrammatical, since *neure ‘my’* does not contain sentence stress.

I propose the following modification to condition (24) to account for this fact:

- (40) The minimal phrase accessible to the NSR which contains the F-marked phrase in a sentence must contain the primary stress in that sentence.

<sup>7</sup>These authors discuss the same facts in the variety spoken in the neighboring town of Lekeitio.

<sup>8</sup>In fact, it can also have other readings: focus on the object and the verbal complex, and focus on the whole sentence. These are discussed in §5.7 below.

With this modification, reading (39c) is accounted for as follows. In this reading, the genitive pronoun *neure* ‘my’ is F-marked. The minimal phrase containing it which is accessible to the NSR is the object *neure ama* ‘my mother’. Since the object also contains sentence stress (on the first syllable of *ama*), (40) is satisfied. The other readings of this sentence are accounted for in a similar way: the minimal phrase accessible to the NSR containing *neure ama* or *ama* is the whole DP; since the whole DP also contains sentence stress, both readings are predicted to be grammatical.

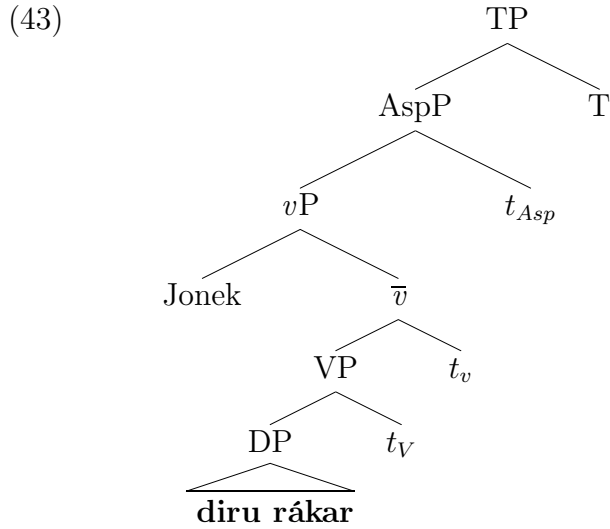
The revised condition also accounts for similar facts found in sentences with simple tense verbs. As we saw in §4, sentence stress in this case is on a phrase formed by the tensed verb and the phrase preceding it:

- (41) Jonek **diru**            **rákar**.  
 Jon.E money.A.SG has  
*Jon has MONEY.*

As discussed in §4.3, this fact can be accounted for by assuming that the tensed verb and the preceding phrase (the object *diru* ‘money’ in this case) are joined into a single phrase by morphological merger:

- (42)
- $$\begin{array}{c}
 \text{DP} \\
 \swarrow \quad \searrow \\
 \text{DP} \quad \text{T} \\
 \wedge \quad \wedge \\
 \text{diru} \quad \text{rakar}
 \end{array}$$

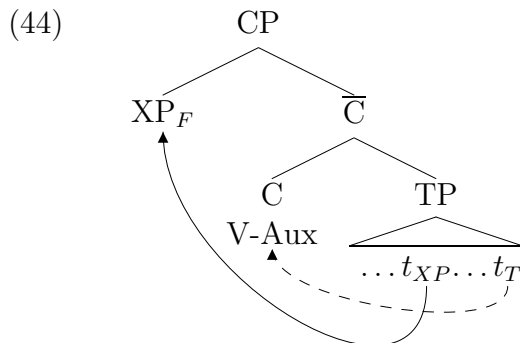
The resulting DP is a constituent whose internal structure is inaccessible to the NSR. Within it, the stress rules in §2 place stress on the penultimate syllable (i.e. on the first syllable of *rakar*). Furthermore, this DP is assigned sentence stress by the NSR, since it is the only overt constituent within VP:



However, the sentence can be understood with focus on the object *diru* ‘money’, as witnessed by the fact that it can be an answer to *What does Jon have?*. Under the unrevised condition in (24), this reading would not be possible: sentence stress is on the verb *rákar*. Under the revised condition in (40), this reading is possible, since the minimal phrase accessible to the NSR which contains the focused object is the constituent *diru rákar*, which also contains sentence stress.

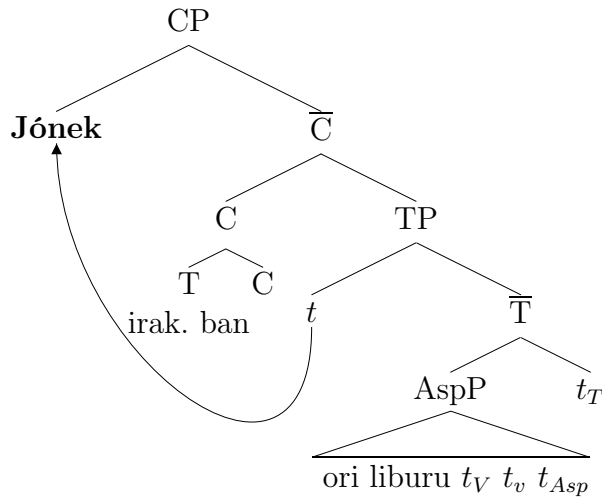
### 5.6 On Focus Movement

Most previous accounts of the preverbal focus position in Basque propose that it is a syntactically defined position. Specifically, Ortiz de Urbina (1989, 1994, 1995) proposes that *wh/f*-phrases must move to [Spec, CP]. Adjacency between the focused constituent and the verbal complex is obtained by movement of the latter to the head of CP, which in this analysis is left-headed:



The basic idea is that the word order restriction that Basque imposes on focused (and *wh*-) phrases has the same syntactic explanation that the V2 phenomenon does in German (see Den Besten 1977).<sup>9</sup> For instance, an SVO sentence with focus on the subject has the following structure:<sup>10</sup>

- (45) **Jónek** irakurri ban ori liburu.  
 Jon.E read.PRF Aux.PST that.A book.A.SG  
*JON read that book.*



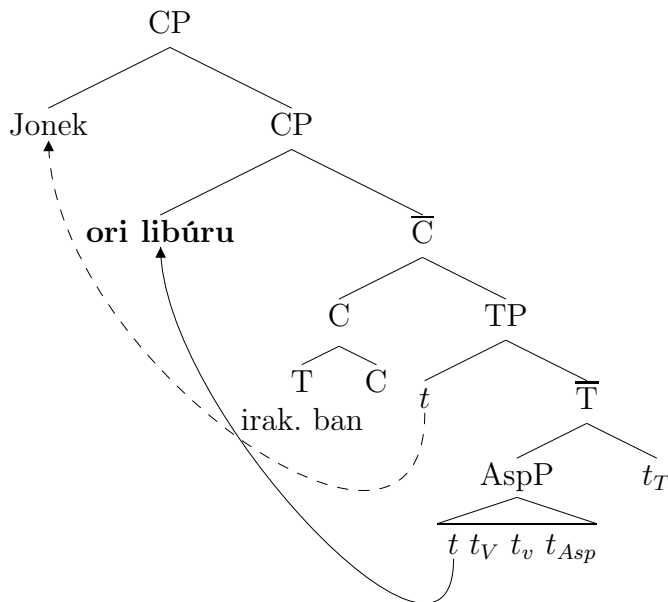
In an SOV sentence with focus on the subject, the object moves to [Spec, CP], and the subject moves further to the left:<sup>11</sup>

- (46) Jonek **ori** libúru irakurri ban.  
 Jon.E that.A book.A.SG read.PRF Aux.PST  
*Jon read THAT BOOK.*

<sup>9</sup>The particular machinery needed to derive both movements is not important for the purposes of this section. See Ortiz de Urbina 1989, 1994, 1995 for details.

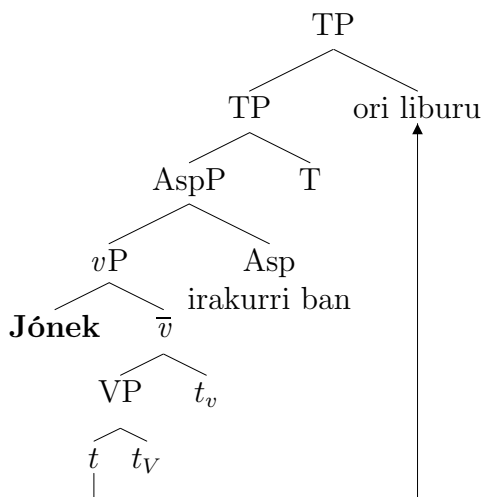
<sup>10</sup>In this structure, the subject is generated [Spec, TP], which is consistent with Ortiz de Urbina's (1989) assumptions. As we saw in §4, I do not assume that the subject of a transitive sentence must move to [Spec, TP]. This detail is not relevant for the purposes of this section. See §4 for discussion.

<sup>11</sup>The movement of the subject in this sentence is basically the same as the one termed 'left dislocation' in this thesis (cf. §4 and §5.8.3 below).

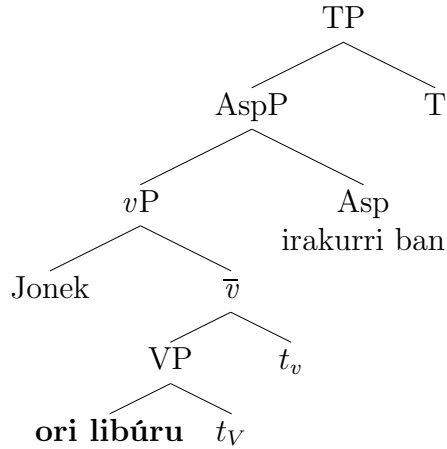


In contrast, in the analysis defended here, *wh/f*-phrases do not move (overtly) to a fixed syntactic position.<sup>12</sup> The fact that they have to be left-adjacent to the verb is seen as a consequence of the fact that they need sentence stress. In this analysis, (45) involves right dislocation of the object, and (46) involves neither right nor left dislocation:

(47) Structure for (45)



<sup>12</sup>I do not rule out that either focused or *wh*-phrases move to some fixed position covertly. None of the data presented in this thesis bears on this issue. The arguments in favor of covert movement of *in situ wh*-phrases are well known (cf. Huang 1982 and much subsequent work), although the problems with this analysis are also well known (see Reinhart 1994 and Rullmann and Beck 1998 for some recent proposals). For discussion on covert movement of focused constituents, see, among others, Chomsky 1976, Rooth 1985, Drubig 1994 and Krifka 1996.

(48) *Structure for (46)*

Elordieta (2001) proposes what might be termed a “mixed” approach, which can be summarized as follows. In sentences in which there are no phrases to the right of the verb (e.g. 46), the focused constituent does not move to [Spec, CP]; it is left-adjacent to the verb because it needs sentence stress, as in the analysis defended here. In sentences in which there are one or more phrases to the right of the verb (e.g. 45), the focused constituent moves to [Spec, CP] (and the verbal complex to C), as in the analysis proposed by Ortiz de Urbina. The main motivation for this approach is that, although the placement of sentence stress and prosodic requirements on focused phrases can explain the preverbal position in some cases (e.g. 46, 48), she rejects the idea that constituents appearing to the right of the verbal complex are right dislocated (e.g. 45).<sup>13</sup> This aspect of her analysis is what makes it crucially different from the account proposed here. Her arguments against rightward movement are evaluated in §5.10, where I argue that right dislocation does exist in Basque.

In §4.6.2, we saw some arguments against a particular aspect of both Ortiz de Urbina’s (1989, 1994, 1995) and Elordieta’s (2001) analyses. Specifically, since in both the verbal complex can move to C as a unit, they need to assume that the

<sup>13</sup>Elordieta does not exclude the possibility that some phrases are base generated to the right of the verbal complex as adjuncts or specifiers to some verbal or functional projection (in fact, that is what she proposes for indirect objects appearing to the right of the verbal complex). Thus, the reason for rejecting rightward movement is not some constraint on the mapping between syntactic structure and word order (cf. Kayne’s (1994) LCA). Rather, she gives empirical arguments that some constituents are base generated as right adjuncts/specifiers, and that other phrases appearing to the right of the verbal complex have not been moved to the right. These arguments are discussed in §5.10.

participle and the auxiliary form a complex head in the syntax. As we saw there, this does not provide a satisfactory account of all the relevant phonological and morphological properties of the verbal complex. In the next section, I provide evidence from focus projection which argues that the analysis defended in this chapter provides a more principled account of the data. The argument applies to both Ortiz de Urbina's analysis and Elordieta's, although in the latter case the argument is a little more complicated because of the partial similarity between that analysis and the one proposed here.<sup>14</sup>

## 5.7 Focus Projection

As is well-known an English transitive sentence with SVO order and sentence stress on the object can have several focus readings:

(49) John drank some COFFEE.

- (50) a. What did John drink?  
 b. What did John do?  
 c. What happened?

Sentence (49) can be an answer to any of the three questions in (50). As an answer to question (50a), the sentence is interpreted with focus on the object; as an answer to (50b), it is interpreted with focus on the constituent containing the verb and the object (VP); and as an answer to (50c), it is interpreted with focus on the whole clause.

Quite generally, the focused constituent can be larger than the constituent with sentence stress, as long as the latter is contained in the former. This well-known phenomenon, termed "focus projection", is expected in the framework adopted here. As shown in Chomsky 1971, it is predicted by the condition that requires that the

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<sup>14</sup>Other analyses of the preverbal focus position include: de Rijk 1978, Azkarate et al. 1982, Ortiz de Urbina 1983, Eguskiza 1986, Laka and Uriagereka 1987, Uriagereka 1992, 1999, Albizu 1995. See Elordieta 2001 (§4.3) for discussion of most of these works. The criticisms she makes of these analyses are, for the most part, also valid from the point of view defended in this thesis.

focused constituent contain sentence stress (see also Jackendoff 1972, Cinque 1993, Zubizarreta 1998, Reinhart 1995).<sup>15</sup> In this thesis, this condition is formulated as (40), repeated below as (51).

- (51) The minimal phrase accessible to the NSR which contains the F-marked phrase in a sentence must contain the primary stress in that sentence.

In (49), the object contains sentence stress. Thus, the object, the VP or the whole sentence can be understood as focused, since all of them contain sentence stress. The reading in which the whole clause is focused is the “neutral” reading, i.e. one in which no particular subconstituent in the sentence is focused.

In the analysis of Basque focus proposed in this chapter, this phenomenon is also expected to occur in this language. This prediction is borne out, as illustrated by the fact that (52) is an appropriate answer to either question in (53):

- (52) **Jón** jun san.<sup>16</sup>  
 Jon.A go.PRF Aux.PST  
*Jon left.*
- (53) a. Sein jun san?  
 who.A go.PRF Aux.PST  
*Who left?*

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<sup>15</sup>There is an alternative view of these facts, defended, among others, by Schmerling 1976, Gussenhoven 1984, Selkirk 1984, 1995 and Rochemont 1986. See Zubizarreta 1998 (§2.5.1) for discussion and criticism of this type of analysis.

<sup>16</sup>As an answer to (53b) (*What happened?*), speakers have a strong preference to add the suffix *-(e)la* to the auxiliary verb (*san+ela*). This suffix is equivalent to the English complementizer *that*. A similar phenomenon occurs in Spanish, as illustrated in the following:

- (i) Q: ¿Qué pasó?  
 Qué happened
- A: Que Juan bebió café. / #Juan bebió café.  
 that Juan drank coffee

This detail is not important for our purposes. I have accordingly omitted the suffix *-(e)la* in all examples below which are possible answers to *What happened?* In English, there is no such preference (in fact, the answer beginning with *that* is ungrammatical). The explanation of this difference between these languages might be, in part, that the answer is understood as the complement of (an elided) *happen*, and that the complementizer is obligatory in Basque and Spanish complement clauses, but optional in English.

- b. Se pasa san?  
 what.A happen.PRF Aux.PST  
*What happened?*

Sentence stress in (52) is on the subject *Jón*. As in English, the focused constituent can be either the subject *Jon* or the whole sentence, since both constituents contain sentence stress. This last reading is the “neutral” reading that was used in §4 to determine the basic facts about syntactic structure and word order in Basque.

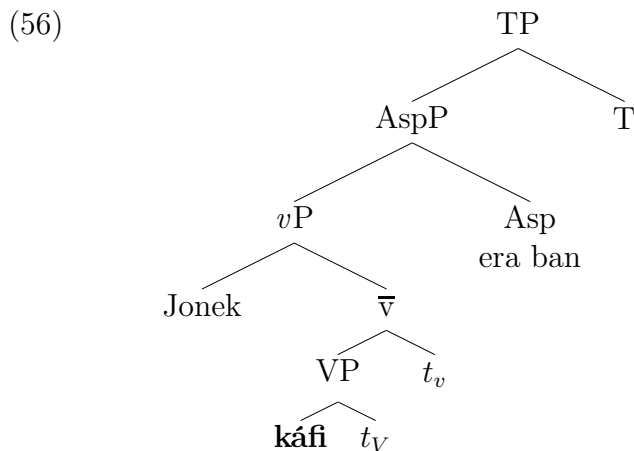
The same point is illustrated in the following transitive sentence:

- (54) Jonek **káfi** era ban.  
 Jon.E coffee.A.SG drink.PRF Aux.PST  
*Jon drank COFFEE.*

- (55) a. Jonek se era ban?  
 Jon.E what.A drink.PRF Aux.PST  
*What did Jon drink?*

- b. Se pasa san?  
 what.A happen.PRF Aux.PST  
*What happened?*

The sentence in (54) has the following structure:

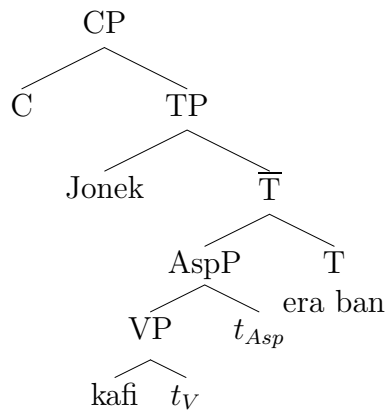


Sentence stress is on the object *káfi*. Accordingly, the sentence can be understood with focus on the object (i.e. as an answer to 55a), or with focus on the whole clause (i.e. as an answer to 55b).<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup>In the structure given to (54), there is a constituent, *vP*, which contains both the subject and the object. This predicts that *vP* can also be understood as focused. This prediction is borne out; (54) can also be an answer to *Who drank what?*

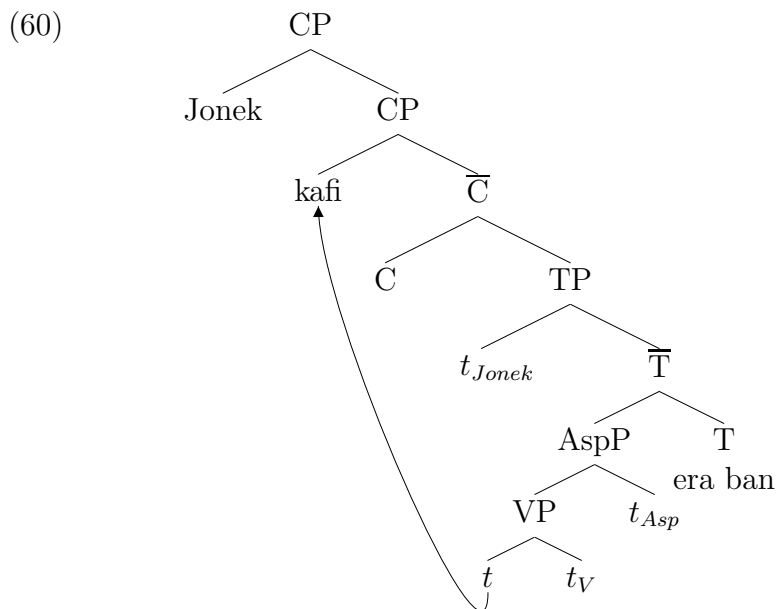


- (59) Jonek **káfi** era ban.  
 Jon.E coffee.A.SG drink.PRF Aux.PST  
*Jon drank COFFEE.*

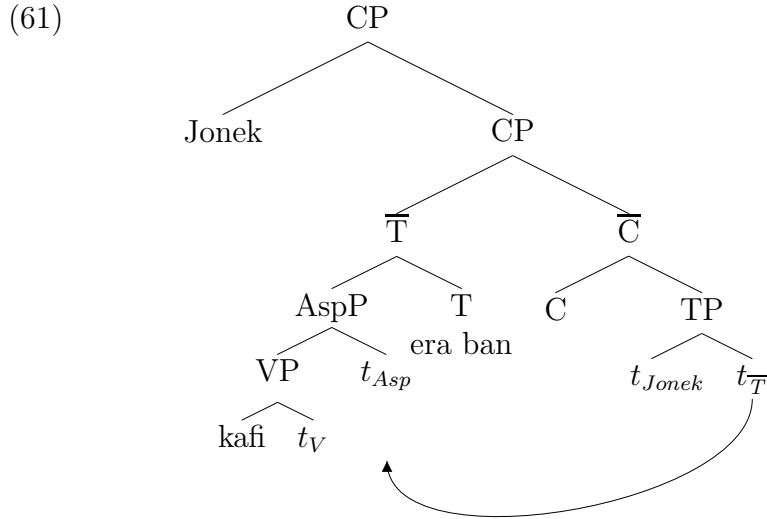


Recall that this sentence has three different focus readings: (i) focus on the object, (ii) focus on the object and the verb, and (iii) focus on the whole clause. In Ortiz de Urbina's analysis reading (iii) does not involve any movement: this is the "neutral" reading, which can be taken to be the case in which the sentence contains no focused constituent.

Reading (i) is derived as we saw in the previous section: the focused object moves to [Spec, CP], and the verbal complex moves to C. Since the subject is to the left of the focused object, it must have moved further to the left:

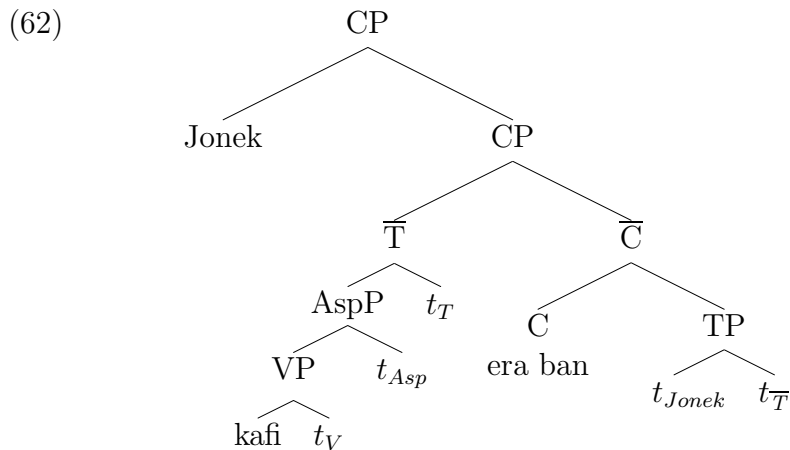


However, it is not clear how reading (ii), in which both the verb and the object are part of the focus, should be derived. The only constituent containing only both elements is  $\bar{T}$ . Moving this phrase to [Spec, CP] would yield (with further movement of the subject to the left):



There is, however, a problem with this structure. In Ortiz de Urbina's analysis, movement of the verbal complex from T to C is obligatory.<sup>20</sup> That is how the focused constituent and the verbal complex are adjacent. Although in this structure they are adjacent, the verbal complex is not in C. This problem could be solved by assuming that T moves to C before movement of  $\bar{T}$  to [Spec, CP]:

<sup>20</sup>What exactly motivates this movement is not relevant for this point. In Ortiz de Urbina 1994, this is motivated by Rizzi's (1991) Operator Criterion: an operator feature (such as [wh] or [Foc]) must be matched by a corresponding feature on a head in a specifier-head configuration. In Basque, the [Foc] (and [wh]) head feature is in T. Movement of T to C (and of the focused constituent to [Spec, CP]) is then motivated by the need to satisfy the Operator Criterion with respect to [Foc].



There are two potential problems with this structure, both related to the fact that the verbal complex moves out of the focused constituent. First, the trace of the verbal complex ( $t_T$ ) is not c-commanded by its antecedent. Second, the reading we are trying to obtain is one in which the verbal complex is part of the focused constituent. Both problems could be solved by reconstruction of the verbal complex back to T.

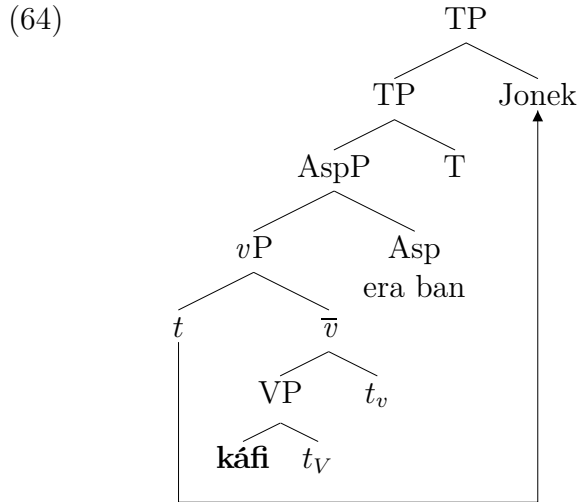
However, even if these problems are solved, this analysis misses an important generalization. The facts about focus projection are essentially the same in Basque and English: sentence stress on the object yields the same three focus readings in the two languages. In the framework assumed here, all the facts in both languages are captured in a unified way. In Ortiz de Urbina's analysis, the generalization is seen as an accident.

The same problem arises in Elordieta's (2001) "mixed" approach. As discussed in the previous section, she proposes two different mechanisms to derive the preverbal focus position. In some cases, it is the result of the interaction of the NSR and the requirement that the focused constituent contain sentence stress. For instance, this is her analysis of the transitive sentence in (59) above. In this case, her account of the focus projection facts in Basque is the same as the one defended here. However, she rejects the idea that there is rightward movement in Basque, which forces her to an analysis similar to Ortiz de Urbina's in cases in which there is some phrase following the verbal complex:<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup>As discussed in footnote 13, there are some cases in which the presence of some phrase to the right of the verbal complex is not necessarily the result of movement of the verbal complex to its

- (63) **Káfi** era ban Jonek.  
 coffee.A.SG drink.PRF Aux.PST Jon.E  
*Jon drank COFFEE.*

This sentence has at least two readings: focus on the object (as an answer to *What did Jon drink?*), or focus on the object and verbal complex (as an answer to *What did Jon do?*).<sup>22</sup> In the analysis defended here, this sentence has the following structure:

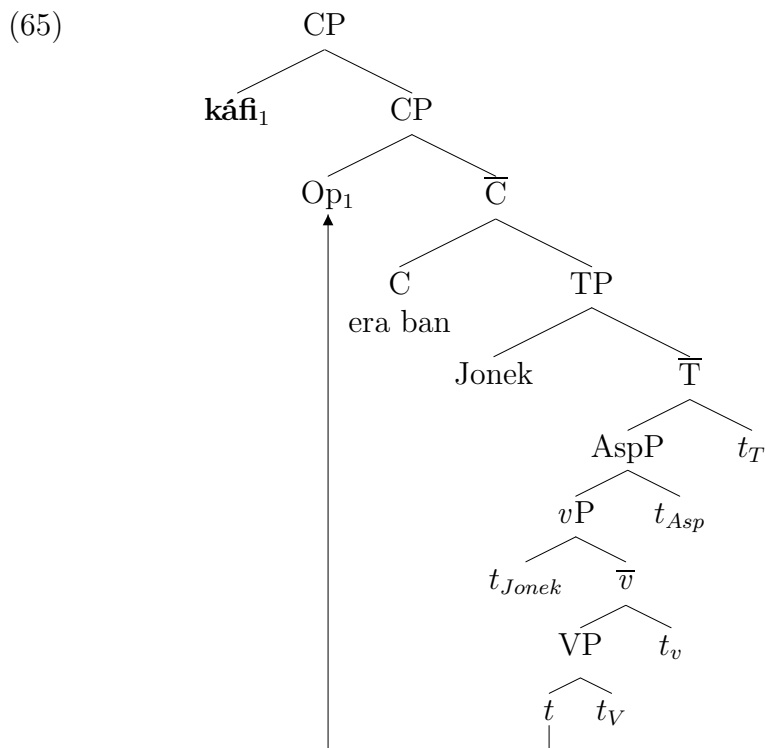


In this structure, the object *káfi* receives sentence stress. Thus, focus can be on the object or on the constituent containing both the object and the verbal complex (AspP), since both contain sentence stress.

On the other hand, the structure which Elordieta proposes for this sentence is the following:

left. This does not apply to the postverbal subject below.

<sup>22</sup>It also has a reading in which the whole clause is focused. This reading is somewhat obscured by the fact the postverbal subject must be understood as given. See §5.8.4 below.



Her analysis has one important difference with respect to Ortiz de Urbina's: the focused constituent is not [Spec, CP], but adjoined to CP. [Spec, CP] is occupied by an empty operator (coindexed with the focused phrase) which moves there from inside TP. See Elordieta 2001 (§4.4.3) for details. This difference between her analysis and Ortiz de Urbina's, although reflected in the structure in (65), is not relevant for the point discussed here. The structure proposed by both authors for this sentence is, in all relevant respects, basically the same.

Elordieta's discussion of focus projection in sentences of this type is somewhat confusing. In page 140, she claims that sentences in which the focused phrase is in the left-peripheral position involve "narrow" focus, i.e. only the phrase in the left-peripheral position can be interpreted as focused. One of the sentences she gives in order to support this claim is the following (Elordieta's 105b on page 172):<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup>This sentence is in Standard Basque. In Ondarroa Basque it would be:

(i) **Jonek** irakurri rau liburu.  
Jon.E read.PRF Aux.PR book.A.SG

- (66) **Jonek** irakurri du liburua.  
 Jon.E read.PRF Aux.PR book.A.SG  
*JON has read the book.*

In her analysis, the subject *Jonek* must be in the left-peripheral focus position, given that there is one phrase to the right of the verbal complex. This sentence, she claims, involves narrow focus on the subject, as predicted in her analysis.

On the other hand, on page 214, she reports the following judgement (Elordieta's 66):<sup>24</sup>

- (67) Adarra jo dio maisuak ikasleari.  
 horn.A.SG hit.PRF Aux.PR teacher.E.SG student.D.SG  
*The teacher has pulled the student's leg.*

She claims that this sentence is compatible with focus on the object and the verbal complex (*adarra jo dio*). This means that the object *adarra* is not in the left-peripheral position; rather, some constituent containing both the object and the verb are in that position.

If, in general, the verb together with some other constituent can appear in the left-peripheral focus position, it is not clear why this is not possible in (66) with the subject and the verbal complex. This would not be consistent with Elordieta's claim that only the preverbal constituent can be interpreted as focused in this sentence. In fact, according to my informant, (66) *can* have a reading in which the preverbal subject and the verbal complex are part of the focus. For instance, it can be an answer to *What happened to the book?*<sup>25</sup> If this judgement is not due to dialectal variation, then the contradiction found in Elordieta's text is solved.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>This sentence is reported in Standard Basque in Elordieta 2001. In Ondarroa Basque, it would be:

- (i) **Adárra** jo tza maxuak ikasliai.  
 horn.A.SG hit.PRF Aux.PR teacher.E.SG student.D.SG

<sup>25</sup>Admittedly, answering this question with (66) (*Jon read the book*) is odd, unless something bad happens to a book when Jon reads it. This minor problem is solved by using *apurtu* 'break' instead of *irakurri* 'read' in (66). The resulting sentence can be used as an answer to *What happened to the book?*

<sup>26</sup>In fact, although Elordieta claims that (66) can only be interpreted with narrow focus on the preverbal subject, she does not provide any context contradicting the claim that it can also be

That means, then, that in sentences in which there are postverbal constituents, such as (63, 66), Elordieta's analysis is forced to assume that the different focus readings are the consequence of constituents of different sizes appearing in [Spec, CP]. Thus, this analysis suffers from the same problem that we saw with Ortiz de Urbina's: focus projection facts are basically the same in English and Basque, but the analyses of the two languages are very different.

In this section, I have given a plausible argument that the analysis defended here provides a better account of focus in Basque than the ones found in Ortiz de Urbina 1989, 1994, 1995 and Elordieta 2001. These authors provide several arguments in favor of their analyses which I have not discussed so far. These arguments are discussed and countered in §5.9 and in §5.10. Specifically, Ortiz de Urbina presents evidence that focused constituents in Basque behave as *wh*-words in English (i.e. they move to [Spec, CP]). In §5.9, I discuss the relevant data, arguing that they are compatible with the analysis defended here. As discussed above, a central claim in Elordieta's analysis is that there is no right dislocation in Basque. In §5.10, I discuss the arguments she provides, arguing that the data is in fact compatible with an analysis in terms of right dislocation.

## 5.8 Basque Movements and Economy

### 5.8.1 The Problem

In the previous section, we saw that condition (68), repeated below as (51), accounts for several focus projection facts in Basque (and other languages):

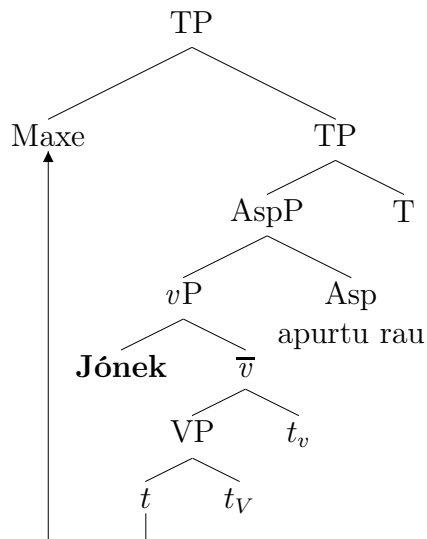
- (68) The minimal phrase accessible to the NSR which contains the F-marked phrase in a sentence must contain the primary stress in that sentence.

This analysis seems to make wrong predictions in some cases:

- (69) Maxe        **Jónek** apurtu    rau.  
          table.A.SG Jon.E   break.PRF Aux.PR  
          *Jon has broken the table.*

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interpreted with focus on the subject and the verb.



This sentence has two focus readings, each corresponding to the following questions:

- (70) a. *Focus on the subject:*

Maxe      señek    apurtu      rau?  
 table.A.SG who.E break.PRF Aux.PR  
*Who has broken the table?*

- b. *Focus on the subject and the verbal complex:*

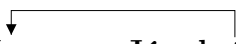
Maxai      se      pasa      gako?  
 table.D.SG what.A happen.PRF Aux.PR  
*What happened to the table?*

These two readings are predicted by the present analysis. Sentence stress is on the subject *Jonek*. Thus, the sentence can be understood with focus on the subject. There is also a constituent containing only the subject and the verbal complex (AspP), so this constituent can also be understood as focused.

However, the analysis predicts that this sentence can also be interpreted with focus on the whole clause, since the clause, obviously, contains sentence stress. This prediction is not borne out: this sentence is not a possible answer to *What happened?* One could propose the following solution to this problem. Compare, first, the sentence in (69), repeated below as (71b), with one in which the object is not left dislocated (71a):

- (71) a. Jonek **máxe** apurtu rau.  
 Jon.E table.A.SG read.PRF Aux.PR  
*Jon has broken the table.*

Focus readings:  $\text{Obj}_F$ ,  $[\text{Obj V-Aux}]_F$ ,  $[\text{Sbj Obj V-Aux}]_F$

- b.  Maxe **Jónek** t apurtu rau.  
 table.A.SG Jon.E break.PRF Aux.PR  
*Jon has broken the table.*

Focus readings:  $\text{Sbj}_F$ ,  $[\text{Sbj V-Aux}]_F$

Interestingly, the only readings available to the sentence with left dislocation ( $\text{Sbj}_F$  and  $[\text{Sbj V-Aux}]_F$ ) are precisely the ones that are not available for the sentence without left dislocation. It seems that what motivates left dislocation, at least in this case, is the need to express some reading which is not available without it. This suggests an economy condition similar in spirit to others that have been proposed in the literature (e.g. Chomsky 1995, Reinhart 1995, Fox 2000). In particular, one could propose that left dislocation is possible only if it results in some focus reading which would not be available to the sentence otherwise. This would account for the limited set of readings that (71b) has, i.e. only the ones that are not available to (71a).

In fact, analyses along this lines has been proposed by several authors for similar phenomena in other languages. For instance, Zubizarreta 1998 proposes something along these lines for Romance.<sup>27</sup>

In Elordieta 2001 (pp. 138-142), a similar proposal is made for these data in Basque. In the remainder of this section, I provide an alternative analysis of these facts in Basque which does not rely on economy. The basic idea is that left a dislocated phrase in Basque is necessarily understood as topic, and that this fact explains why sentences with left dislocated elements do not have all the expected focus readings. In particular, in (71b) above, the left dislocated object is interpreted as a topic. Since, as discussed below, a topic cannot be part of the focus of a sentence, any reading in

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<sup>27</sup>As formulated above, the economy condition relies on global economy, i.e. it compares the interpretations available to different (but related) sentences. Zubizarreta avoids this by building the economy condition into the movement rule. See Zubizarreta 1998 (§3.3–3.5) for details.

which the object is part of the focus is ruled out. Therefore, the economy condition is not necessary.

### 5.8.2 The Semantics of Topic

Before we turn to the analysis of the Basque data, we need to clarify what is meant by ‘topic’. I adopt Büring’s (1997) theory of the semantics of topics. In this framework, a sentence  $\phi$  has three semantic values: an ordinary semantic value  $\llbracket\phi\rrbracket^o$ , a focus value  $\llbracket\phi\rrbracket^f$ , and a *topic value*  $\llbracket\phi\rrbracket^t$ . As we saw in §5.2, the focus value of a sentence in Rooth’s (1985) theory is a set of propositions. The topic value of a sentence in Büring’s theory is a set of focus values, i.e. a set of sets of propositions. Consider, for instance, the following English example (Büring’s 39 on p. 66; subscript  $T$  is used to mark the topic):

(72)  $[\text{I}]_T$  would buy [*The Hotel New Hampshire*] $_F$ .

The focus value of this sentence is a set of propositions which contain alternatives to the focused constituent:

(73) {I would buy *War and Peace*, I would buy *The Hotel New Hampshire*, I would buy *The World According to Garp*, ... }

The topic value is a set of such sets, with alternatives to the topic:

(74) { {I would buy *War and Peace*, I would buy *The Hotel New Hampshire*, I would buy *The World According to Garp*, ... },  
 {Bolle would buy *War and Peace*, Bolle would buy *The Hotel New Hampshire*, Bolle would buy *The World According to Garp*, ... },  
 {Fritz’s brother would buy *War and Peace*, Fritz’s brother would buy *The Hotel New Hampshire*, Fritz’s brother would buy *The World According to Garp*, ... }, ... }

In other words, the focus value of this sentence is a set of propositions of the form *I would buy y*, and the topic value is a set of sets of propositions of the form *x would buy*

*y*. In this theory, the meaning of topic and focus are related, in that the topic value of a sentence is a set of focus values, and a focus value is in turn a set of ordinary values.<sup>28</sup>

This definition of topic accounts for a number of facts. Consider the role that topics have in answers to multiple questions, as in the following English example (from Jackendoff 1972):<sup>29</sup>

- (75) Q: Who ate what?  
 A: [Fred]<sub>T</sub> ate [the beans]<sub>F</sub>.  
 A': [Fred]<sub>F</sub> ate [the beans]<sub>F</sub>.

A is a partial answer to Q. In Büring's (1997) theory, the topic value of A is a set of sets of propositions of the form *x ate y*, i.e. the ordinary value of the question. Topic marking is crucial in partial answers to multiple questions.<sup>30</sup> If the answer does not contain topic marking on some constituent, but just focus, as in A', it would not be a partial answer. Rather, it would be a final answer to the question.

Another common use of topics is as *contrastive topics*, as illustrated in the following:

- (76) Q: Which book would Fritz buy?  
 A: Well, [I]<sub>T</sub> would buy [*The Hotel New Hampshire*]<sub>F</sub>.

In this case, A is not an answer to Q. Rather, it is an answer to the related question *Which book would you buy?* These two questions are subparts of the more general question *Who would buy which book?* By marking the subject as topic in A, the speaker is giving a partial answer to a question that is more general than Q.

The following is another example of the effect of topic-marking:

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<sup>28</sup>This might suggest that the notions *focus* and *topic* could be collapsed. Büring (1997) provides evidence against this possibility.

<sup>29</sup>In English, foci and topics are marked intonationally with two different pitch accents (the *A* and *B* accent, respectively). See, among others, Bolinger 1965, Pierrehumbert 1980, Liberman and Pierrehumbert 1984.

<sup>30</sup>The topic does not have to be the subject in this sentence. For instance, another possible partial answer to this question would mark the object as topic and the subject as focus. See Jackendoff 1972 and Büring 1997 for discussion.

(77) Q: What did you give John?

A: I gave [John]<sub>T</sub> [a book]<sub>F</sub>.

A is a complete answer to Q. However, by marking the indirect object as topic, it is also a partial answer to the more general question *Who did you give what?* The speaker is thus implying that he gave things to other people as well.

In the next section, I show that left dislocated elements in Basque are interpreted as topics, and I argue that this fact explains why sentences with left dislocation do not have all the expected focus readings, thus rendering the economy condition suggested in the previous section unnecessary.

### 5.8.3 Left Dislocation

As is well known from the literature on Basque, left dislocated elements are topics (cf. de Rijk 1978, Mitxelena 1981, Eguskiza 1986, Ortiz de Urbina 1989). Consider again the left dislocation example in (71b), repeated below as (78):

(78) Maxe      **Jónek** *t* apurtu      rau.  
 table.A.SG Jon.E      break.PRF Aux.PST  
*Jon has broken the table.*

In this sentence, the left dislocated object is understood as a topic. To see how this is the case, consider the following possible answers to *Who broke the table?*:

(79) Señek apurtu      ban      maxe?  
 who.E break.PRF Aux.PST table.A.SG  
*Who broke the table?*

A: **Jónek** apurtu      ban      (maxe).<sup>31</sup>  
 Jon.E break.PRF Aux.PST table.A.SG

A': Maxe      **Jónek** apurtu      ban.  
 table.A.SG Jon.E break.PRF Aux.PST

---

<sup>31</sup>Subjects, direct and indirect objects can be covert in Basque. These are also the arguments that the tensed verb agrees with. In this sentence, there is a slight preference to omit the object, probably not to be repetitive. As in other languages, the most felicitous answer is one in which only the focus is overt, i.e. *Jonek*.

Both A and A' are complete answers to the question. However, A', where the object *maxe* is left dislocated, introduces something else. Specifically, it suggests that there are other objects about which we should be asking who broke them. That is, A' is also a partial answer to the question *Who broke what?* This means that the left dislocated object is interpreted as a topic, in the sense defined in the previous section:


(80) Left dislocated XPs are interpreted as topics.

The following illustrates another use of left dislocation as topic:

- (81) Q: Señek topa ban Jon?  
 who.E find.PRF Aux.PST Jon.A  
*Who found Jon?*
- A: (es tai, bañe) Aitor **neuk** topa neban.  
 not know.PR but Aitor.A I.E find.PRF Aux.PST  
*(I dont know, but) I found Aitor.*

The left dislocated subject in the answer is interpreted as a contrastive topic. As in the English example in (76), A is not an answer to Q, but to a related question (*Who did you find?*).

The fact that left dislocated constituents are interpreted as topics explains why sentences with left dislocation do not have all the expected focus readings. Consider the problematic example in (71b) again, repeated here as (82):

- (82)  Maxe **Jónek** t apurtu rau.  
 table.A.SG Jon.E break.PRF Aux.PST  
*Jon has broken the table.*

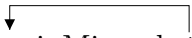
Focus readings: Sbj<sub>F</sub>, [Sbj V-Aux]<sub>F</sub>, \*[Obj Sbj V-Aux]

Since the clause contains sentence stress, it would be expected that this sentence can be understood with focus on the whole clause. As we saw above, this is not possible; this sentence cannot be an answer to *What happened?*

What we need to explain, then, is why this sentence is not a possible answer to *What happened?* Given what we saw in the previous section, the answer is obvious.

Since the object is left dislocated, it is interpreted as a topic. This means that this sentence is a partial answer to *Who broke what?*, but, crucially, not to *What happened?*

Quite generally, left dislocated elements are topics, which means that they are excluded from the focus of the sentence. Thus, it is expected that a sentence in which there is left dislocation has less focus readings than the corresponding sentence without left dislocation. This is illustrated further in the following sentences:

- (83) a. Mirenek Jonei **libúro bat** emo tzan.  
 Miren.E Jon.D book a.A give.PRF Aux.PST  
*Miren gave Jon a book.*
- b.  Jonei Mirenek *t* **libúro bat** emo tzan.  
 Jon.D Miren.E book a.A give.PRF Aux.PST

The left dislocated indirect object in (83b) is a topic. For instance, it can be used in the following context, where it is interpreted as a contrastive topic:

- (84) A: Mirenek Aitorrei se emo tzan?  
 Miren.E Aitor.D what.A give.PRF Aux.PST  
*What did Miren give Aitor?*
- B: Es tai, bañe Jonei Mirenek **libúro bat** emo tzan.  
 not know but Jon.D Miren.E book a.A give.PRF Aux.PST  
*I don't know, but Miren gave Jon a book.*

Furthermore, (83b), as opposed to (83a) cannot be interpreted with focus on the whole sentence; it cannot be an answer to *What happened?* This is explained in the same way as in the previous sentence: the left dislocated indirect object is a topic, which means that it is excluded from the focus.

To conclude, the fact that left dislocated constituents are topics explains why sentences containing them do not have all the expected focus readings. Thus, the economy condition suggested in §5.8.1 is not necessary to explain the facts.

#### 5.8.4 Right Dislocation

A problem similar to the one we saw with left dislocation also arises in sentences with right dislocation:

- (85)  $\overbrace{t \text{ J} \mathbf{u} \mathbf{n} \quad \text{ein} \quad \text{san} \quad \text{Jon.}}^{\downarrow}$   
 arrive.PRF do.PRF Aux.PST Jon.A.SG  
*Jon left.*

This sentence can be understood with focus on the verb (as an answer to the question *What did Jon do?*) This is as expected, since the verb contains sentence stress. However, it seems that, in “out of the blue” contexts, it cannot be an answer to *What happened?* This would suggest that the right dislocated subject cannot be part of the focus, even though there is a constituent, the whole clause, that contains both the verb and the subject. This is not as expected, since the clause contain sentence stress.

This problem, again, suggests an economy condition similar to the one suggested (and rejected) earlier for left dislocation: right dislocation is possible only if it results in a focus reading that would not be available had the movement not applied. It seems that right dislocation serves the function of removing the moved element from the focused constituent. In the remainder of this section, I argue that this economy condition is not necessary for right dislocation either. The argument is similar to the one involving left dislocation, except that in this case, it shows that the economy condition actually makes wrong predictions. Specifically, I argue that right dislocation also has a specific discourse function: right dislocated elements are understood as *given*. Once this is taken into account, it turns out that sentences with right dislocation *do* have all the focus readings expected in the present analysis. Since the economy condition would predict that some of these readings are not available, it has to be rejected.

Let us illustrate the concept of givenness with the following English example (see, among others, Selkirk 1995, Schwarzschild 1999):

- (86) After buying the book, I read the book.

In this sentence, the second occurrence of *the book* must be pronounced destressed. If it is pronounced with nuclear stress on *the book* (as would be expected given the NSR), it is not grammatical. In general, a phrase is destressed in English when its

denotation has been mentioned previously in the discourse, i.e. when it is *given*.<sup>32</sup> This can also be exemplified with third person pronouns, since they are normally understood as given:

(87) Q: What did John's mother do?

A: She praised him.

In this example, if *him* refers to John, it must be destressed. Even though in this sentence the VP *praised him* is focused, the pronoun must be destressed because it is given.<sup>33</sup>

Consider now the counterpart of (86) above in Basque:

(88) Liburu erosi txe gero, ...  
 book.A.SG buy.PRF and later  
*After buying the book ...*

a. #... liburu irakurri neban.  
 book.A.SG read.PRF Aux.PST  
 ... *I read the book.*

b. ...  $\overbrace{t \text{ irakurri ein neban liburu.}}^{\downarrow}$   
 read.PRF do.PRF Aux.PST book.A.SG  
 ... *I read the book.*

In this example, *liburu* 'the book' is mentioned in the first part of the sentence. In the continuation, the second occurrence of *liburu* must be right dislocated. Thus, we can conclude:

(89) Right dislocated XPs are interpreted as given.

Consider again the problematic example (85), repeated below as (90):

<sup>32</sup>This oversimplified informal definition is sufficient for our purposes. See Schwarzschild 1999, and references cited there, for discussion.

<sup>33</sup>This is only a partial discussion of the relevant facts in English which will be useful below in understanding the discourse properties of right dislocation in Basque. See the references cited above for discussion.

- (90)  $\overbrace{t \text{ J} \acute{u}n \quad \text{ein} \quad \text{san} \quad \text{Jon.}}^{\downarrow}$   
 arrive.PRF do.PRF Aux.PST Jon.A.SG  
*Jon left.*

As mentioned above this sentence cannot be interpreted with focus on the whole clause in “out of the blue” contexts. However, the present analysis predicts that the whole clause can be interpreted as focused as long as the right dislocated element is interpreted as given. This prediction is borne out:

- (91) Q: Jonek klasi amatxu te gero, se pasa san?  
 Jon.E class.A.SG finish.PRF and later what.A happen.PRF Aux.PST  
*After Jon finished the class, what happened?*
- A: **J**  $\acute{u}n$  ein san Jon.  
 go.PRF do.PRF Aux.PST Jon.A  
*Jon left.*

The sentence is an answer to *What happened?* which means that, in this particular context, it can be understood with focus on the whole clause. The crucial difference between this context and an “out of the blue” context is that *Jon* is given, since it is mentioned in the question. Thus, both right dislocation and focus on the whole sentence are licensed.

To summarize, right dislocated phrases are interpreted as given. Once we take this fact into account, we can see the economy condition suggested above makes wrong predictions, since right dislocation does not necessarily result in the moved element being outside of the focus.

## 5.9 Long Distance Dependencies

In the preceding sections, I have examined the syntax of focused and *wh*-phrases (*wh/f*-phrases) in Basque simple sentences, arguing that their main properties are derived from the interaction of movement and prosodic conditions imposed on them. In this section, I study more complex cases in which embedded clauses are involved. More specifically, I discuss different strategies that are used in this language in order to focus and assign matrix scope to embedded *wh/f*-phrases.

Given that in simple clauses *wh/f*-phrases do not need to move, one might expect that Basque does not need long distance movement for establishing long distance dependencies with *wh/f*-phrases. However, apart from the expected *in-situ* strategy, this language also uses another one which involves long distance movement, as argued for by Ortiz de Urbina (1989, 1994, 1995). In this section, I discuss long distance movement first (§5.9.1), and then the *in-situ* strategy (§5.9.2), and provide an account within the general framework assumed here.

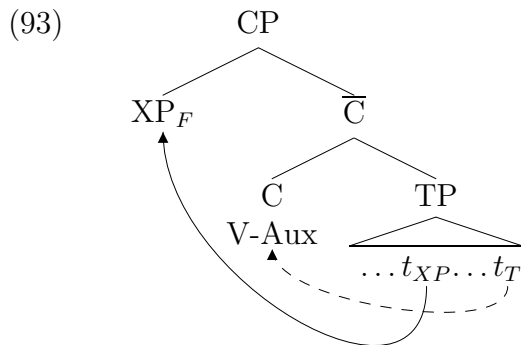
### 5.9.1 Long Distance Movement

Long distance movement is exemplified in the following sentences:

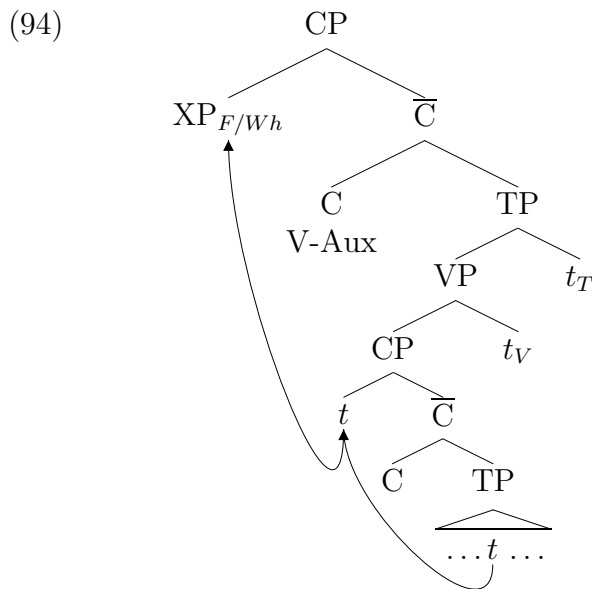
- (92) a. **Séin** pentzate su [CP Mirenek ikusi rabela ]?  
 who.A think.IMP Aux.PR Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR.COMP  
*Who do you think Miren saw?*
- b. **Jón** pentzaten dot [CP Mirenek ikusi rabela ].  
 Jon.A think.IMP Aux.PR Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR.COMP  
*I think Miren saw JON.*

In both cases, the *wh/f*-phrase has sentence stress. However, since the *wh/f*-phrase is separated from the embedded clause in which it was generated, it also appears that these sentences involve extraction of the *wh/f*-phrase from the embedded clause. This might be seen as a problem for the analysis defended here, since this movement would, in principle, place the moved *wh/f*-phrase in a position where it would not receive sentence stress.

Ortiz de Urbina (1989) gives examples of this type as evidence for his analysis. As we saw in §5.6, in this account, *wh/f*-phrases move to [Spec, CP], and the verbal complex moves to C:



In this approach, the sentences like the ones in (92) receive a straightforward analysis. They involve long distance movement of the *wh/f*-phrase from the embedded clause to the matrix [Spec, CP], just as in the English counterpart to the *wh*-question in (92a):<sup>34</sup>



An analysis along these lines is clearly incompatible with the approach defended in this thesis. In the moved position, the *wh/f*-phrase cannot be assigned sentence stress by the NSR.

Ortiz de Urbina provides further evidence for his analysis from the domain of islands. For instance, the movement posited in this account is sensitive to complex NP islands (95) and to adjunct islands (adapted from Ortiz de Urbina 1989, p. 252):

<sup>34</sup>I have ignored the *v* and Asp projections for ease of exposition. I have also ignored the subject in the matrix clause, which is *pro*.

- (95) a. \***Séñek** irakurri ban Peruk [DP[DP*t* idatzi ban ]  
 who.E read.PRF Aux.PST Peru.E write.PRF Aux.PST.COMP  
 liburu ]?  
 book.A.SG  
*Who did Peru read the book wrote?*
- b. \***Jónek** irakurri ban Peruk [DP[DP*t* idatzi ban ]  
 Jon.E read.PRF Aux.PST Peru.E write.PRF Aux.PST.COMP  
 liburu ].  
 book.A.SG  
*Peru read the book that JON wrote.*
- (96) a. \***Se** jun sin amendik [ *t* ikusi txe gero ]?  
 what.A go.PRF Aux.PST here.ABL see.PRF and later  
*What did they leave after seeing?*
- b. \***Máxe** jun sin amendik [ *t* ikusi txe gero ].  
 table.A.SG go.PRF Aux.PST here.ABL see.PRF and later  
*They left after seeing the TABLE.*

These facts convincingly show that the sentences in (92) involve long distance movement.

There are two questions that the analysis defended here needs to answer in order to address the problem raised by sentences like (92). First, the *wh/f*-phrase receives sentence stress, but it is not clear how this can be so if it is extracted from the embedded clause. Second, the embedded clause appears to the right of the verbal complex, which is not expected in a V-final language like Basque.

In Ortiz de Urbina 1989, the second question is answered by positing a left-headed CP, and moving the verbal complex to C. This option is not available to us, since, as argued in §4, the participle and the auxiliary form two separate heads in the syntax. The only way in which the embedded clause can be to the right of the verbal complex is via rightward movement. In fact, even though VP is right-headed in Basque, there is a general preference to place complement clauses to the right of the verb. For instance, (97b) below is as acceptable as (97a).<sup>35</sup>

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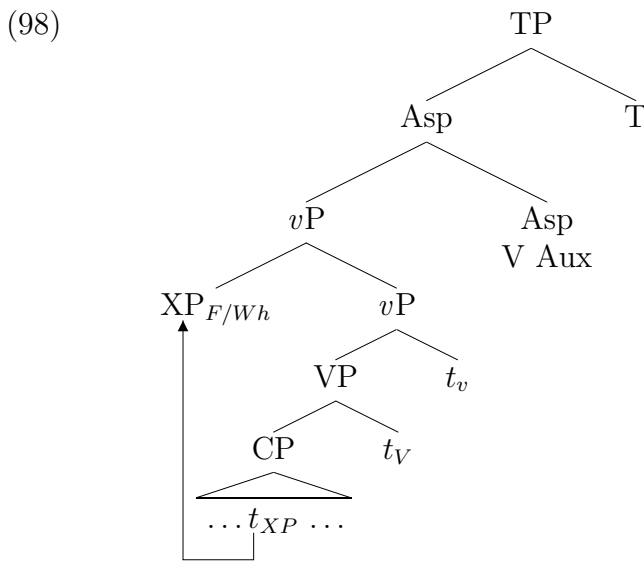
<sup>35</sup>In the examples below, I abstract away from any possible effect that rightward movement of embedded clauses might have on discourse. I leave this as a question for future research.

- (97) a. Jonek [CP Miren jun dala ] pentzaten dau.  
 Jon.E Miren.A go.PRF Aux.PR.COMP think.IMP Aux.PR  
*Jon thinks that Miren has left.*

- b. Jonek  $\overbrace{t \text{ pentzaten dau } [CP \text{ Miren jun dala } ]}^{\downarrow}$ .  
 Jon.E think.IMP Aux.PR Miren.A go.PRF Aux.PR.COMP

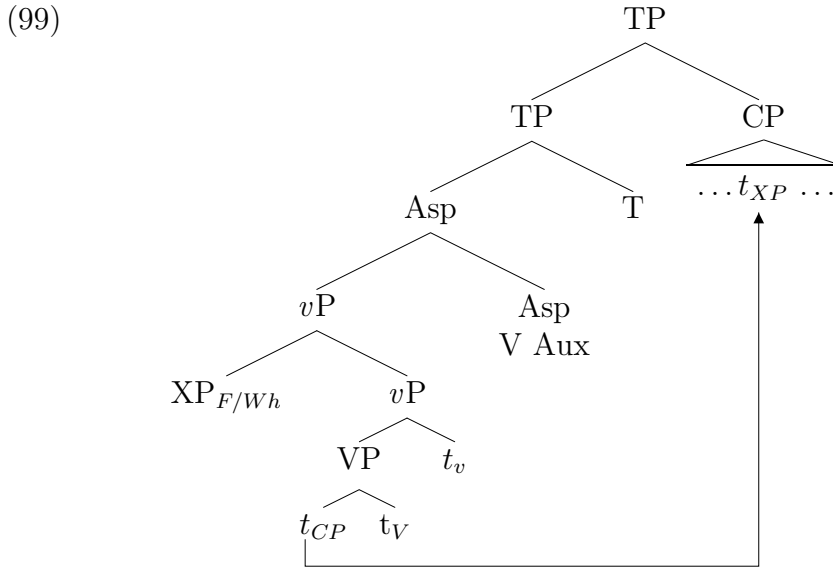
Let us assume that this movement adjoins the embedded CP to the matrix TP. I would like to propose that the long distance extraction cases we saw above in (92) also involve rightward movement of the embedded clause.

This answers the second question posited above. The fact that the embedded clause in (92) appears to the right of the verb is the result of rightward movement. This, in turn, helps in answering the first question, namely, how the extracted *wh/f*-phrase obtains sentence stress. Since rightward movement creates an adjunction structure, extraction of the *wh/f*-phrase must occur *before* rightward movement of the embedded clause. Otherwise, there would be a violation of the adjunct island condition. All that we need, then, to make these sentences compatible with our analysis is to extract the *wh/f*-phrase to a position in which they receive sentence stress. I would like to propose that this movement adjoins the *wh/f*-phrase to the matrix *vP*. Thus, the sentences in (92) involve two steps. First, the *wh/f*-phrase is extracted from the embedded clause and adjoined to the matrix *vP*:<sup>36</sup>



<sup>36</sup>In the structures below, I abstract away from the possibility that the movement of the *wh/f*-phrase might undergo certain intermediate steps (e.g. through [Spec, CP] in the embedded clause).

Second, the embedded CP moves to the right, to be adjoined to the matrix CP:



In the resulting structure, the extracted *wh/f*-phrase is in a position in which it is assigned sentence stress by the NSR, since it is the only overt constituent inside the matrix *vP*. In (92), this is the case because the only other constituent that could be in the matrix *vP* is the covert matrix subject (*pro*). If, on the other hand, the matrix subject (or any other constituent generated in *vP*) is overt, it must move out of *vP*. If it did not, the *wh/f*-phrase would not receive sentence stress. The result is that the extracted *wh/f*-phrase must be left adjacent to the matrix verbal complex. As shown by Ortiz de Urbina (1989), this is indeed the case:

- (100) a. (Jonek) **Séin**<sub>1</sub> (\*Jonek) pentzaten dau (Jonek) jun  
 Jon.E who.A think.IMP Aux.PR go.PRF  
 sanela?  
 Aux.PR.COMP  
*Who does Jon think left?*
- b. (Jonek) **Míren**<sub>1</sub> (\*Jonek) pentzaten dau (Jonek) jun  
 Jon.E Miren.A think.IMP Aux.PR go.PRF  
 sanela.  
 Aux.PR.COMP  
*Jon thinks MIREN left.*

To summarize so far, the examples of long distance extraction are compatible with the analysis of *wh/f*-phrases proposed in this chapter. Furthermore, the two

movements that have been posited are independently motivated. First, movement of the embedded CP to the right can occur whether there is long distance extraction or not. Second, movement of the *wh/f*-phrase to the matrix *vP* is motivated by the need to receive sentence stress.

### 5.9.2 *Wh/F in situ*

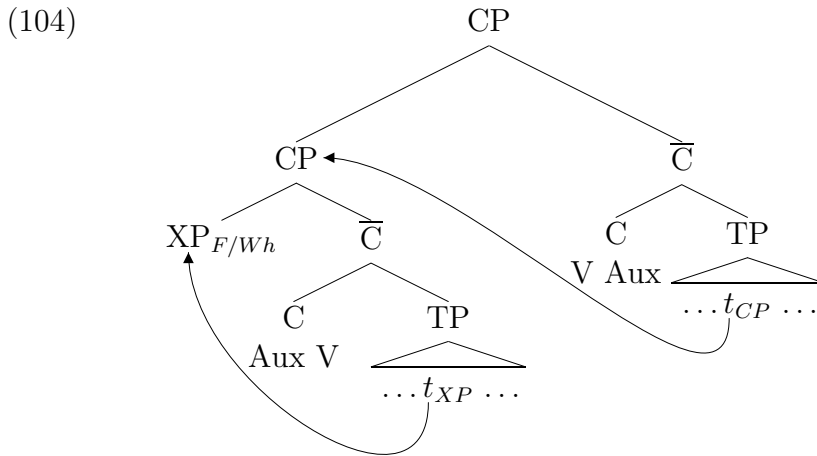
As we saw in the previous section, embedded *wh/f*-phrase can undergo long distance movement. However, this is not the only strategy available to embedded *wh/f*-phrases. What, in principle, looks like an *in situ* strategy is also possible:

- (101) a. [CP Mirenek **séin** ikusi rabela ] pentzate su?  
 Miren.E who.A see.PRF Aux.PR.COMP think.IMP Aux.PR  
*Who do you think Miren saw?*
- b. [CP Mirenek **Jón** ikusi rabela ] pentzaten dot.  
 Miren.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR.COMP think.IMP Aux.PR  
*I think Miren saw JON.*

These cases might be seen as an argument against Ortiz de Urbina's (1989) approach, since, apparently, they do not involve movement of the *wh/f*-phrase. However, Ortiz de Urbina makes two crucial observations. First, the *wh/f*-phrase within the embedded clause must be left-adjacent to the embedded verbal complex (102). Second, the embedded clause must be left-adjacent to the matrix verbal complex (103):

- (102) a. \*[CP **Séin** Mirenek ikusi rabela ] pentzate su?  
 who.A Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR.COMP think.IMP Aux.PR  
*Who do you think Miren saw?*
- b. \*[CP **Jón** Mirenek ikusi rabela ] pentzaten dot.  
 Jon.A Miren.E see.PRF Aux.PR.COMP think.IMP Aux.PR  
*I think Miren saw JON.*
- (103) a. \*[CP Mirenek **séin** ikusi rabela ] suk pentzate su?  
 Miren.E who.A see.PRF Aux.PR.COMP you.E think.IMP Aux.PR  
*Who do you think Miren saw?*
- b. \*[CP Mirenek **Jón** ikusi rabela ] nik pentzaten dot.  
 Miren.E Jon.A see.PRF Aux.PR.COMP I.E think.IMP Aux.PR  
*I think Miren saw JON.*

In Ortiz de Urbina's analysis, obligatory adjacency between an XP and the verbal complex is analyzed in terms of movement of XP to [Spec, CP] and of the verbal complex to C. Thus, these sentences, he argues, involve movement of the *wh/f*-phrase to [Spec, CP] within the embedded clause, and movement of the embedded clause to the matrix [Spec, CP]. Within both clauses, the verbal complex moves to C:



We can view this strategy as movement of the *wh/f*-phrase which carries along the whole embedded clause. Ortiz de Urbina, accordingly, calls this strategy *clausal pied-piping*.

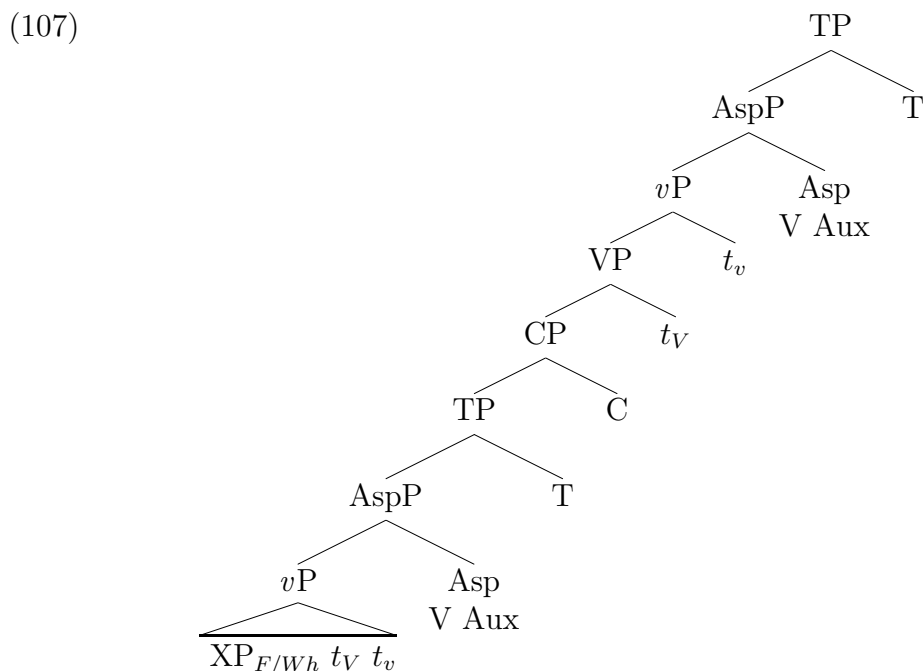
As evidence for the view that these sentences involve clausal pied-piping, Ortiz de Urbina argues that it can involve long distance movement of the embedded clause:

- (105) [CP **Séin** jun sanela ] pentzate su t esa banela  
 who.A go.PRF Aux.PR.COMP think.PRF Aux.PR say.PRF Aux.PST  
 Jonek?  
 Jon.E  
*Who do you think Jon said left?*

- (106) [CP **Míren** jun sanela ] pentzaten dot t esa banela  
 Miren.A go.PRF Aux.PR.COMP think.PRF Aux.PR say.PRF Aux.PST  
 Jonek.  
 Jon.E  
*I think Jon said MIREN left.*

In these examples, the most deeply embedded clause (*Sein/Miren jun sanela* 'that who/Miren left') is moved to the left of the matrix clause (i.e. to [Spec, CP] in Ortiz de Urbina's analysis).

In the remainder of this section, I provide an alternative account of these facts which is compatible with the analysis of Basque *wh/f*-phrases proposed in this thesis. There are two cases to be considered: (i) the simpler cases in (101), which, as mentioned above, seem to be cases of an *in situ* strategy, and (ii) the more complex cases in (105–106), which seem to involve movement of the most deeply embedded clause. The examples in (101) are straightforward in the present analysis. They simply involve an *in situ wh/f*-phrase:



As expected, in these examples, the *wh/f*-phrase contains sentence stress. That means that the embedded CP containing it must be assigned more prominence than any other constituent in the matrix clause. This means that it must remain as complement of the matrix V, i.e. it must be left-adjacent to the matrix verbal complex. Within the embedded CP, the *wh/f*-phrase must be assigned more prominence than other constituents, which means that it must be left-adjacent to the embedded verbal complex. This is achieved in the same way that it is in matrix clauses, i.e. as shown in §5.4. This derives all the properties that Ortiz de Urbina observed for these simple cases.

Consider next the more complex cases in (105–106), repeated below as (108–109).

- (108) [CP **Séin** jun sanela ] pentzate su  $t_{CP}$  esa banela  
 who.A go.PRF Aux.PR.COMP think.PRF Aux.PR say.PRF Aux.PST  
 Jonek?  
 Jon.E  
*Who do you think Jon said left?*
- (109) [CP **Míren** jun sanela ] pentzaten dot  $t_{CP}$  esa  
 Miren.A go.PRF Aux.PR.COMP think.PRF Aux.PR say.PRF  
 banela Jonek.  
 Aux.PST Jon.E  
*I think Jon said MIREN left.*

These sentences are obvious cases of movement of the most deeply embedded clause, since it is not adjacent to the verb it is generated as a complement of (i.e. *esan* ‘say’). In order to account for sentences of this type, I will follow the same strategy that was used to account for the cases of long distance movement discussed in the previous section.

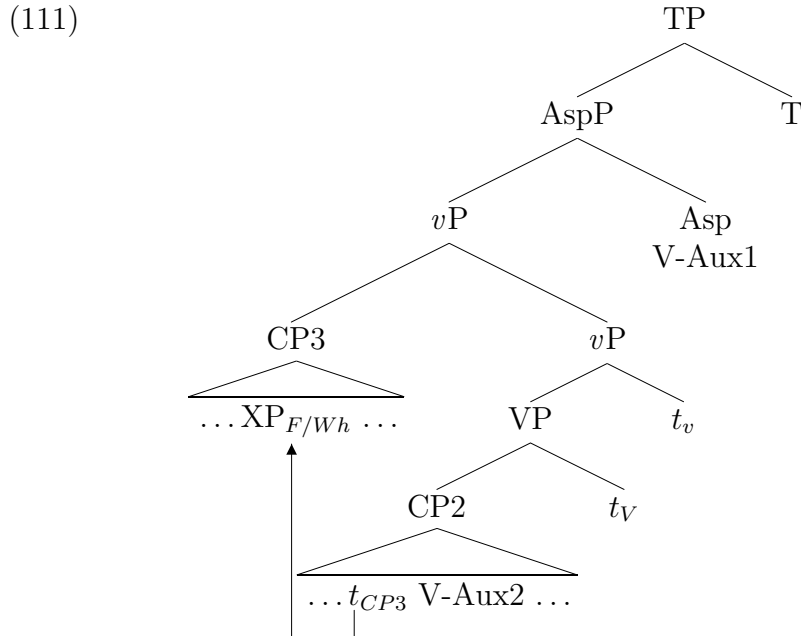
For ease of exposition, we can schematize these sentences as follows:

- (110) [CP<sub>1</sub> [CP<sub>3</sub> ... XP<sub>F/Wh</sub> V-Aux<sub>3</sub> ...] V-Aux<sub>1</sub> [CP<sub>2</sub> ...  $t_{CP3}$  V-Aux<sub>2</sub> ...] ]

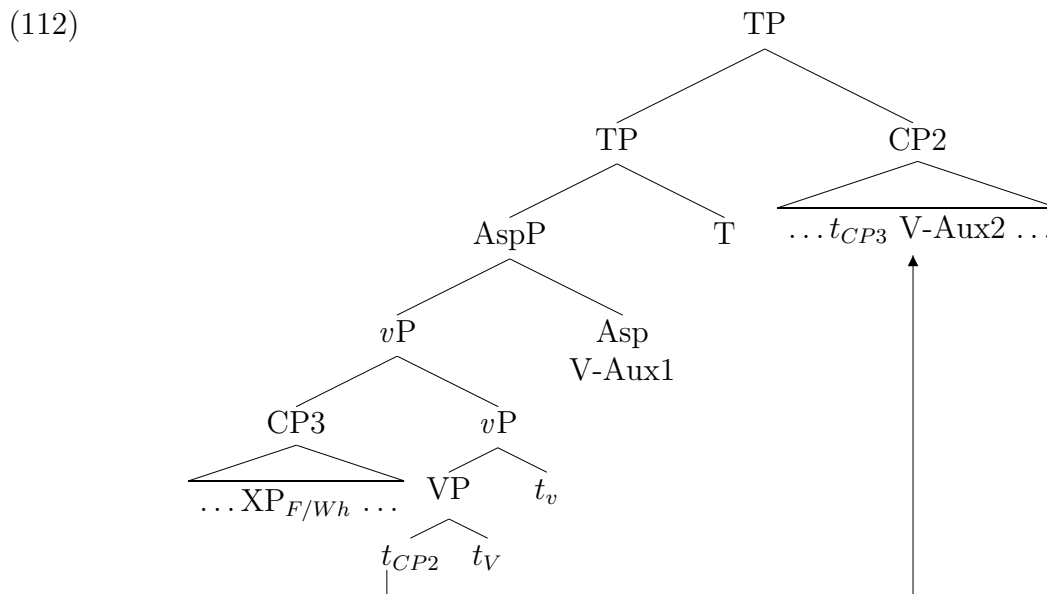
There are two questions that the analysis defended here needs to answer in order to address the problem raised by these sentences. First, the *wh/f*-phrase receives sentence stress, but it is not clear how this can be so if the clause containing it (CP<sub>3</sub>) is extracted to some higher position in the matrix clause (CP<sub>1</sub>). Second, the intermediate clause (CP<sub>2</sub>) appears to the right of the matrix verbal complex V-Aux<sub>1</sub>, which is not expected in a V-final language like Basque.

The second question was already answered in the previous section: embedded clauses tend to appear to the right of the verb via rightward movement, regardless of whether some constituent has been extracted from them or not. This explains why CP<sub>2</sub> is to the right of the matrix verbal complex. This, in turn, helps in answering the first question. Since rightward movement of the CP<sub>2</sub> creates an adjunction structure, extraction of CP<sub>3</sub> occurs before rightward movement so that CP<sub>3</sub>, and consequently, the *wh/f*-phrase within it, is made more prominent than other constituents in the sentence. As in the cases of long distance movement discussed in the previous section,

I propose that CP3 moves to be adjoined to the matrix *v*P. Thus, the derivation of these sentences involves to basic steps. First, CP3 is extracted from CP2 targeting the matrix *v*P:



Second, CP2 is moved to the right:



The resulting structure derives all the relevant word order facts (i.e. 110). Furthermore, it also derives that the *wh/f*-phrase has sentence stress. Within the matrix clause, CP3 receives more prominence than any other constituent, and within CP3, the *wh/f*-phrase receives more prominence than any other constituent.

In sum, the data examined in this section are compatible with the analysis of *wh/f*-phrases in Basque defended in this thesis. In all the relevant cases, the *wh/f*-phrase is in a position in which it is assigned sentence stress by the NSR. Thus, even though Ortiz de Urbina provides convincing arguments that some of the sentences must involve movement of the *wh/f*-phrase (or an embedded clause containing it), his conclusion that this must be movement to [Spec, CP] is not warranted.

### 5.10 Basque Movements and Reconstruction

In this section, I provide further evidence for right dislocation in Basque. As we saw at several points in this thesis, the hypothesis that phrases appearing to the right of the verb are right dislocated is crucial for several claims. First, it allows us to explain sentence stress in Basque in the same way that it is accounted for in other languages. Second, it is also an essential ingredient of the account of the preverbal focus position proposed in this chapter. Thus, the arguments presented in this section in favor of right dislocation provide further support for the general approach to the interface between syntax, phonology and discourse adopted in this thesis.

The main argument presented in this section can be summarized as follows. First, I provide evidence from variable binding that argues that left dislocation alters scope relations. This means that the order of constituents that are before the verbal complex matters for scope relations: in the SOV order, S outscopes O, and in the OSV order, O outscopes S. Second, I argue that placing constituents to the right of the verbal complex does not alter scope relations; the constituent behaves as if it were in its base position. In other words, in the orders SVO, OVS, VSO and VOS, the subject always outscopes the object. I provide the following analysis of these facts. (i) Basque has both left and right dislocation; (ii) left dislocation does not reconstruct; and (iii) right dislocation reconstructs obligatorily.

I compare this analysis with the one found in Elordieta 2001. As discussed in this and previous chapters, Elordieta proposes that there is no right dislocation in Basque. Cases in which one or more constituents appear to the right of the verbal complex are analyzed in terms of leftward movement of the verbal complex to C. At

the end of this section, I evaluate some of the arguments provided by Elordieta, and argue that the data she discusses is in fact compatible with the analysis proposed here. Furthermore, I argue that certain crucial data that are not discussed by this author provides evidence for rightward movement over the approach proposed in that work.

Consider the following sentences:<sup>37</sup>

- (113) a. Andra bakotxak<sub>1</sub> beran<sub>1</sub> semi ekarri ban.  
 woman each.E.SG her son.A.SG bring.PRF Aux.PST  
*Each woman<sub>1</sub> brought her<sub>1</sub> son.*
- b. \*Beran<sub>1</sub> amak mutil bakotxe<sub>1</sub> ekarri ban.  
 his mother.E.SG boy each.A.SG bring.PRF Aux.PST  
*His mother brought each woman.*

As shown in these examples, in the neutral SOV order, a QP subject can bind a pronoun inside the object, but a QP object cannot bind a pronoun inside the subject. These binding relations are altered if the object is dislocated to the left of the subject:

- (114) a. \*Beran<sub>1</sub> semi andra bakotxak<sub>1</sub> ekarri ban.  
 her son.A.SG woman each.E.SG bring.PRF Aux.PST  
*Each woman<sub>1</sub> brought her<sub>1</sub> son.*
- b. Mutil bakotxe<sub>1</sub> beran<sub>1</sub> amak ekarri ban.  
 his mother.E.SG boy each.A.SG bring.PRF Aux.PST  
*His mother brought each boy.*

As shown in these sentences, a left dislocated object QP can bind a pronoun inside the subject, but a subject QP cannot bind a pronoun inside a left dislocated object.

These data can be summarized as follows:

- (115) Surface order matters for the relative scope of constituents to the left of the verbal complex:
- a. In the SOV order, S outscopes O.

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<sup>37</sup>Unless specified otherwise, in the examples considered in this chapter, sentences are to be pronounced with their “neutral” intonation, i.e. with sentence stress on the preverbal constituent. When there is no preverbal constituent, sentence stress is on the verbal complex.

- b. In the OSV order, O outscopes S.

I propose the following account of these facts. First, in Basque, there is no QR; QPs can be interpreted *in situ*.<sup>38</sup> Second, left dislocation does not reconstruct.<sup>39,40</sup>

A different picture emerges when we look at sentences with constituents to the right of the verbal complex:

(116) SVO: S outscopes O

- a. Andra bakotxak<sub>1</sub> ekarri ban beran<sub>1</sub> semi.  
 woman each.E.SG bring.PRF Aux.PST her son.A.SG  
*Each woman<sub>1</sub> brought her<sub>1</sub> son.*
- b. \*Beran<sub>1</sub> amak ekarri ban mutil bakotxe<sub>1</sub>.  
 his mother.E.SG bring.PRF Aux.PST boy each.A.SG  
*His<sub>1</sub> mother brought each boy<sub>1</sub>.*

(117) OVS: S outscopes O

- a. Beran<sub>1</sub> semi ekarri ban andra bakotxak<sub>1</sub>.  
 her son.A.SG bring.PRF Aux.PST woman each.E.SG.  
*Each woman<sub>1</sub> brought her<sub>1</sub> son.*
- b. \*Mutil bakotxe<sub>1</sub> ekarri ban beran<sub>1</sub> amak.  
 boy each.A.SG bring.PRF Aux.PST his mother.E.SG  
*His<sub>1</sub> mother brought each boy<sub>1</sub>.*

When one of the constituents is to the right of the verb, word order is not relevant for scope. In both cases, a subject QP can bind a pronoun inside the object, but an object QP cannot bind a pronoun inside the subject.

In §4, it was proposed that constituents to the right of the verbal complex are adjoined to TP as a result of right dislocation:

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<sup>38</sup>Alternatively, one could assume that there is QR in Basque, but that it cannot alter scope relations. See, among others, Bruening 2001.

<sup>39</sup>For reasons of time and space, I have simplified greatly the discussion on reconstruction with respect to the Basque data. The reader is referred to Chomsky 1993, Fox 2000, Romero 1997, Sauerland 1998, and references cited there, for discussion.

<sup>40</sup>We could assume an alternative analysis in which QR does apply, and in which the ungrammatical sentences above are explained in terms of Weak Crossover. At this point, I cannot offer arguments for one analysis or the other. However, this does not alter the argument made in this chapter.

- (118) a. [TP [TP ... [<sub>vP</sub> Subject *t* ...] V Aux ...] Object ]  
 b. [TP [TP ... [<sub>vP</sub> *t* Object ...] V Aux ...] Subject ]

Given this structure, the fact that the subject outscopes the object in both cases must mean that right dislocation reconstructs obligatorily.

Further support for this hypothesis comes from sentences in which both the subject and the object are right dislocated:

- (119) VSO order: S outscopes O

- a. Ekarri ban andra bakotxak<sub>1</sub> beran<sub>1</sub> semi.  
 bring.PRF Aux.PST woman each.E.SG her<sub>1</sub> son.A.SG  
*Each woman<sub>1</sub> brought her<sub>1</sub> son.*
- b. \*Ekarri ban beran<sub>1</sub> amak mutil bakotxe<sub>1</sub>.  
 bring.PRF Aux.PST his mother.A.SG boy each.A.SG  
*Her<sub>1</sub> mother brought each son<sub>1</sub>.*

- (120) VOS order: O outscopes S

- a. Ekarri ban beran<sub>1</sub> semi andra bakotxak<sub>1</sub>.  
 bring.PRF Aux.PST her<sub>1</sub> son.A.SG woman each.E.SG  
*Each woman<sub>1</sub> brought her<sub>1</sub> son.*
- b. \*Ekarri ban mutil bakotxe<sub>1</sub> beran<sub>1</sub> amak.  
 bring.PRF Aux.PST boy each.A.SG his mother.A.SG  
*Her<sub>1</sub> mother brought each son<sub>1</sub>.*

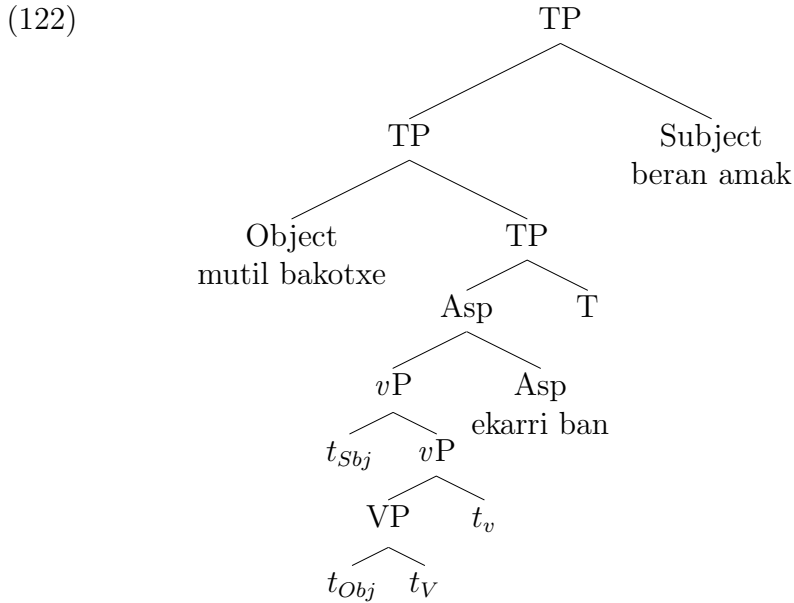
Since right dislocated elements reconstruct obligatorily, the judgements are the expected ones: the subject outscopes the object in both the VSO and VOS orders.

Consider, finally, an example with both left and right dislocation. In this case, sentence stress is on the verbal complex (cf. §4.5.3):

- (121) Mutil bakotxe<sub>1</sub> **ekarri ban** beran<sub>1</sub> amak.  
 boy each.A.SG bring.PRF Aux.PST his mother.E.SG  
*Her<sub>1</sub> mother brought each boy<sub>1</sub>.*

This sentence has the following structure:<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup>A structure in which the object is adjoined higher than the subject is also possible for this sentence. The predictions made for this structure are the same.



Since, on the surface, both the subject and the object are outside *v*P, the verbal complex receives sentence stress. After reconstruction, the right dislocated subject is interpreted in its base position inside *v*P. Since left dislocation does not reconstruct, the left dislocated object remains in the TP-adjoin position, from which it can bind the the pronoun inside subject, which is inside *v*P after reconstruction.

The data discussed in this section provide strong support for the view of the syntax-phonology interface defended in this thesis. Consider, for instance, the contrast between (117b) and (121). These two sentences have the same word order, OVS. The only difference is that in (117b) sentence stress is on the preverbal object, and in (121) sentence stress is on the verbal complex. Given the structure dependent NSR that was proposed in §§3–4, the prediction is that the object is higher in (121) than in (117b). This prediction is borne out, as witnessed by the fact that the QP object can bind the pronoun in the subject in the former, but not in the latter. If, on the other hand, the NSR were based on linear order (as in the alternative discussed in §4.6.1), these data would not receive a straightforward explanation. One would need to posit principles which would relate prosody, or discourse function, and scope directly. These principles would be needed in addition to the ones that are required to relate syntactic structure and scope. In the present approach, the fact that there is a correlation between the prosodic properties of some constituents and their scope

is analyzed in terms of syntactic structure, so that these additional principles are not necessary.

In the paragraphs above, we have explained several scope facts in terms of left dislocation, right dislocation and their reconstruction properties. Elordieta 2001 (§5), examining very similar data, reaches a very different conclusion. She claims that there is no rightward movement, and that phrases appearing to the right of the verb are the result of leftward movement of the verbal complex. In this section, I argue that, in fact, the data discussed in that work is compatible with an analysis in terms of right dislocation. Furthermore, as I argue below, some of the data we saw above cannot be accounted for in her analysis.

Elordieta provides a number of tests from binding and scope as evidence for her analysis. She concentrates on the following word orders, where ‘V’ stands for the verbal complex:

- (123) a. S IO O V  
 b. S IO V O  
 c. S V IO O  
 d. V S IO O

She provides evidence that, in all these orders, word order correlates with scope, i.e. if  $\alpha$  is to the left of  $\beta$ , then  $\alpha$  outscopes  $\beta$ . This, she claims, is compatible only with an analysis in terms of leftward movement of the verbal complex, but not with an account based on right dislocation.

There is, however, a serious gap in the data considered by Elordieta (2001). Most of the data conforms to one of the word orders in (123). However, all the word orders in (123) preserve the order of arguments in the unmarked clause (i.e. 123a, see §4.2.2). Crucially, none of these include cases in which the object precedes the subject or the indirect object, or cases in which the indirect object precedes the subject. Since, in the analysis defended here, right dislocated phrases reconstruct to their base position, word orders in which the base word order is preserved are irrelevant for deciding between the two analysis. Consider, for instance, the word order in (123d), V-Aux S

IO O. In the analysis defended here, this structure would involve right dislocation of the subject, the indirect object and the direct object. Since all three reconstruct, the prediction is that the scope relations among them are the same as in the base order S IO O V-Aux.

The crucial sentences that show that the analysis defended here is on the right track are the ones involving phrases to the right of the verbal complex which do *not* preserve the base word order, e.g. OVS and VOS. As we saw in the previous section, in these cases, word order is irrelevant for scope. In both cases, the subject outscopes the object.<sup>42</sup> These data cannot be captured in an analysis in terms of leftward movement of the verb, since it predicts that scope always correlates with word order. As shown in the previous section, the relevant generalization concerning phrases appearing to the right of the verbal complex is not that scope relations correlate with word order, but that their scope is the one we would expect if they are interpreted in their base position. To conclude, the variable binding data presented in this section provides further support for right dislocation in Basque, and for the general approach to the syntax of focus defended in this thesis.

### 5.11 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the Basque preverbal focus position receives a natural explanation in terms of the interaction of the NSR and syntactic movements. The basic principle is that F-marked constituents must contain sentence stress. This approach accounts for all the relevant data, and is able to explain similar facts in Basque and other languages in a unified way. On the other hand, analyses in which F-marked constituents move to [Spec, CP] have been argued to miss important generalizations in accounting for focus projection facts in Basque and other languages. In §5.9, I discussed certain cases of long distance movement which are apparent counterexamples to the analysis defended here. In that section, I proposed an analysis of these structures which is compatible with the approach adopted in this thesis.

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<sup>42</sup>Except, in the OVS order, when the verbal complex has sentence stress.

Finally, in §5.10 I presented further evidence for the analysis from the scopal properties of left and right dislocation in Basque. In particular, I showed that the differences in the scopal properties of phrases appearing to the right of the verb receive a natural explanation if they are analyzed in terms of rightward movement, but not in terms of leftward movement of the verbal complex. For reasons of time, I have not been able to provide a more complete picture of the scopal and reconstruction properties of Basque movements. This is left as question for future research.

**\*\*DRAFT\*\***

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