

Polarity Questions with Fronted Foci in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Aritz Irurtzun



Introduction: Spanish

Introduction: Spanish

- Spanish is a SVO language.

Introduction: Spanish

- Spanish is a SVO language.
- (1) A. (¿Qué ha pasado?)
what AUX happened
What happened?

Introduction: Spanish

- Spanish is a SVO language.

- (1) A. (¿Qué ha pasado?)
what AUX happened
What happened?
- B. Juan ha comprado vino.
Juan AUX buy wine
Juan bought wine.

Introduction: Spanish

- Spanish is a SVO language.

- (1) A. (¿Qué ha pasado?)
what AUX happened
What happened?
- B. Juan ha comprado vino.
Juan AUX buy wine
Juan bought wine.

- Spanish is a 'discourse-configurational' language.

Discourse-configurationality in Spanish

cf., i.a. Zubizarreta (1998)

Discourse-configurationality in Spanish

cf., i.a. Zubizarreta (1998)

- (2) María compró el **vino**.
Maria bought the wine
María bought the wine.

[Focus: DO, VP, CP]

Discourse-configurationality in Spanish

cf., i.a. Zubizarreta (1998)

- (2) María compró el **vino**. [Focus: DO, VP, CP]
Maria bought the wine
María bought the wine.
- (3) Compró el vino **María**. [Focus: S]
bought the wine Maria
María bought the wine.

Clitic left dislocation

cf., i.a. Villalba (2000)

Clitic left dislocation

cf., i.a. Villalba (2000)

- (4) a. Todo esto, lo dijo un profesional.
all this CL said a professional
All this, a professional said.

Clitic left dislocation

cf., i.a. Villalba (2000)

- (4) a. Todo esto, lo dijo un profesional.
all this CL said a professional
All this, a professional said.
- b. * Todo esto, dijo un profesional.
all this said a professional
All this, a professional said.

Leftward focalizations in Spanish

cf., i.a. Zubizarreta (1998)

Leftward focalizations in Spanish

cf., i.a. Zubizarreta (1998)

Corrective foci:

Leftward focalizations in Spanish

cf., i.a. Zubizarreta (1998)

Corrective foci:

- (5) ¿Ratas? Hasta cocodrilos vamos a ver.
rats even crocodiles go to see
Rats? We're going to see even crocodiles!

Leftward focalizations in Spanish

cf., i.a. Zubizarreta (1998)

Corrective foci:

- (5) ¿Ratas? Hasta cocodrilos vamos a ver.
rats even crocodiles go to see
Rats? We're going to see even crocodiles!
- (6) Uno no, dos goles metió.
one not two goals score
Not one, s/he scored two goals.

Leftward focalizations in Spanish

cf., i.a. Zubizarreta (1998)

Corrective foci:

- (5) ¿Ratas? Hasta cocodrilos vamos a ver.
rats even crocodiles go to see
Rats? We're going to see even crocodiles!
- (6) Uno no, dos goles metió.
one not two goals score
Not one, s/he scored two goals.

Absolute questions in Spanish

cf. i.a. Escandell-Vidal (2002)

Absolute questions in Spanish

cf. i.a. Escandell-Vidal (2002)

- (7) ¿Ha movido Juan un dedo por tí?
has moved Juan a finger for you
Has Juan done anything for you?

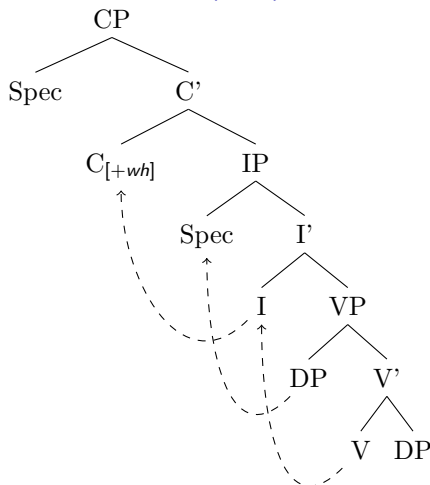
Absolute questions in Spanish

cf. i.a. Escandell-Vidal (2002)

- (7) ¿Ha movido Juan un dedo por tí?
has moved Juan a finger for you
Has Juan done anything for you?
- (8) ¿Te he dicho yo nada?
CL have say I nothing
Did I tell you anything?

Absolute questions in Spanish

cf. i.a. Escandell-Vidal (2002)



Verum Focus fronting

cf. Quer (2002), Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti (2009), Jiménez-Fernández (today)

Verum Focus fronting

cf. Quer (2002), Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti (2009), Jiménez-Fernández (today)

- (9) Nada tengo que añadir a lo que ya dije en su día.
nothing have C add to CL. C already say in his day
I have nothing to add to what I said at the time.

Verum Focus fronting

cf. Quer (2002), Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti (2009), Jiménez-Fernández (today)

- (9) Nada tengo que añadir a lo que ya dije en su día.
nothing have C add to CL. C already say in his day
I have nothing to add to what I said at the time.
- (10) Algo debe saber.
something must know
S/he must know something.

Verum Focus fronting

cf. Quer (2002), Escandell-Vidal & Leonetti (2009), Jiménez-Fernández (today)

- (9) Nada tengo que añadir a lo que ya dije en su día.
nothing have C add to CL. C already say in his day
I have nothing to add to what I said at the time.
- (10) Algo debe saber.
something must know
S/he must know something.
- (11) Lo mismo digo yo.
the same say
I say the same.

Polite requests in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Polite requests in the Spanish of the Basque Country

General-peninsular Spanish

Polite requests in the Spanish of the Basque Country

General-peninsular Spanish

- (12) ¿Me pones una sidra?
cl put one cider
Will you serve me a cider?

Polite requests in the Spanish of the Basque Country

General-peninsular Spanish

- (12) ¿Me pones una sidra?
cl put one cider
Will you serve me a cider?

Spanish of the Basque Country

Polite requests in the Spanish of the Basque Country

General-peninsular Spanish

- (12) ¿Me pones una sidra?
cl put one cider
Will you serve me a cider?

Spanish of the Basque Country

- (13) ¿Una sidra me pones?
one cider cl put
Will you serve me a cider?

Polite requests in the Spanish of the Basque Country

General-peninsular Spanish

- (12) ¿Me pones una sidra?
cl put one cider
Will you serve me a cider?

Spanish of the Basque Country

- (13) ¿Una sidra me pones?
one cider cl put
Will you serve me a cider?
- (14) ¿Un bolígrafo no tendrás?
one pen neg have
Won't you have a pen?

Polite requests in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Polite requests in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Ungrammaticality with clitics:

Polite requests in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Ungrammaticality with clitics:

(15) *¿Una sidra me la pones?
one cider cl cl put
Will you serve me a cider?

(16) *¿Un bolígrafo no lo tendrás?
one pen neg cl have
Won't you have a pen?

Questions

Questions

- In which situations can we use this type of questions?

Questions

- In which situations can we use this type of questions?
- What is the IS associated to the element to the left?

Questions

- In which situations can we use this type of questions?
- What is the IS associated to the element to the left?

Main puzzle

Questions

- In which situations can we use this type of questions?
- What is the IS associated to the element to the left?

Main puzzle

- Prima facie, it would seem that the fronted element is topicalized, but it is discourse-new and the structure does not resemble a CLLD.

Questions

- In which situations can we use this type of questions?
- What is the IS associated to the element to the left?

Main puzzle

- Prima facie, it would seem that the fronted element is topicalized, but it is discourse-new and the structure does not resemble a CLLD.
- Besides, the structure does not correspond to that of a leftward contrastive focalization either.

A prototypical situation

A prototypical situation

Context

A prototypical situation

Context

You go into a bar, go to the counter, and when the barman approaches to you you ask:

A prototypical situation

Context

You go into a bar, go to the counter, and when the barman approaches to you you ask:

- (17) ¿Una sidra me pones?
one cider cl put
Will you serve me a cider?

The intonation

The intonation

- (18) ¿Me pones una limonada?
cl. put one lemonade
Will you serve me a lemonade?

The intonation

- (18) ¿Me pones una limonada?
cl. put one lemonade
Will you serve me a lemonade?
- (19) ¿Una limonada me pones?
one lemonade cl. put
Will you serve me a lemonade?

The intonation

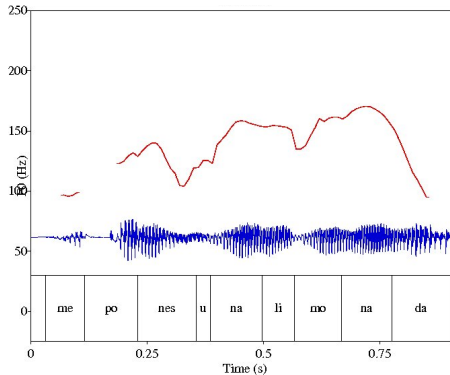
- (18) ¿Me pones una limonada?
cl. put one lemonade
Will you serve me a lemonade?
- (19) ¿Una limonada me pones?
one lemonade cl. put
Will you serve me a lemonade?
- (20) ¿No tendrás una limonada?
no have one lemonade
Won't you have a lemonade?

The intonation

- (18) ¿Me pones una limonada?
cl. put one lemonade
Will you serve me a lemonade?
- (19) ¿Una limonada me pones?
one lemonade cl. put
Will you serve me a lemonade?
- (20) ¿No tendrás una limonada?
no have one lemonade
Won't you have a lemonade?
- (21) ¿Una limonada no tendrás?
one lemonade no have
Won't you have a lemonade?

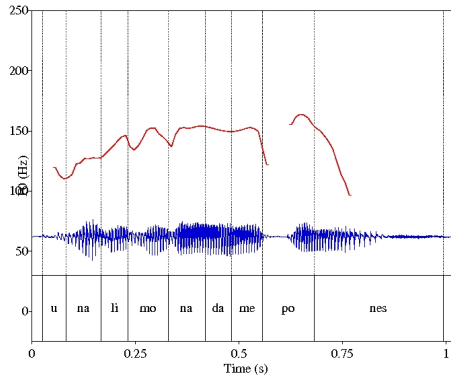
Standard Questions

Standard Questions



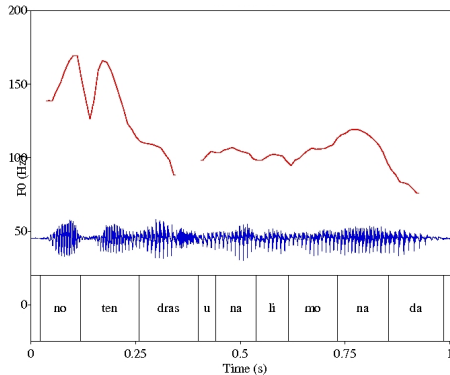
Fronting Questions in the SBC

Fronting Questions in the SBC



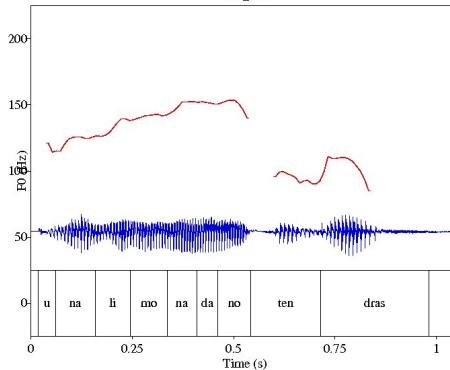
Standard Negative Questions

Standard Negative Questions



Fronting Negative Questions

Fronting Negative Questions



Preliminary observations

Preliminary observations

- 1 There is no pause between the fronted element and the rest of the utterance.

Preliminary observations

- 1 There is no pause between the fronted element and the rest of the utterance.
- 2 The fronted element does not show any alignment with a phrasal boundary in SPB.

Preliminary observations

- 1 There is no pause between the fronted element and the rest of the utterance.
- 2 The fronted element does not show any alignment with a phrasal boundary in SPB.
- 3 In negative questions, there is a sharp divide between the DO and the verb (in both orders).

Preliminary observations

- 1 There is no pause between the fronted element and the rest of the utterance.
- 2 The fronted element does not show any alignment with a phrasal boundary in SPB.
- 3 In negative questions, there is a sharp divide between the DO and the verb (in both orders).

Positive vs. Negative questions

Negative questions are more question-like:

Positive vs. Negative questions

Negative questions are more question-like:

- (22) A. ¿Una limonada me pones?
 one lemonade cl. put
 Will you serve me a lemonade?

Positive vs. Negative questions

Negative questions are more question-like:

- (22) A. ¿Una limonada me pones?
 one lemonade cl. put
 Will you serve me a lemonade?
 B. ?Sí/No.

Positive vs. Negative questions

Negative questions are more question-like:

- (22) A. ¿Una limonada me pones?
 one lemonade cl. put
 Will you serve me a lemonade?
 B. ?Sí/No.
- (23) A. ¿Una limonada no tendrás?
 one lemonade no have
 Won't you have a lemonade?

Positive vs. Negative questions

Negative questions are more question-like:

- (22) A. ¿Una limonada me pones?
 one lemonade cl. put
 Will you serve me a lemonade?
 B. ?Sí/No.
- (23) A. ¿Una limonada no tendrás?
 one lemonade no have
 Won't you have a lemonade?
 B. ✓Sí/No.

Positive vs. Negative questions

Negative questions are more question-like:

- (22) A. ¿Una limonada me pones?
 one lemonade cl. put
 Will you serve me a lemonade?
 B. ?Sí/No.
- (23) A. ¿Una limonada no tendrás?
 one lemonade no have
 Won't you have a lemonade?
 B. ✓Sí/No.

Observation

Similarities of negative questions with evidential/epistemic biased yes-no questions in Sardinian (*cf.* Vanrell *et al.* (2011)).

The position of the subject

The position of the subject

(24) ¿Una sidra me pone?

one cider CL put

Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

The position of the subject

(24) ¿Una sidra me pone?

one cider CL put

Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

Potential sources

The position of the subject

- (24) ¿Una sidra me pone?
one cider CL put
Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

Potential sources

- (25) a. ¿Una sidra *pro* me pone?
one cider *pro* CL put
Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

The position of the subject

- (24) ¿Una sidra me pone?
one cider CL put
Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

Potential sources

- (25) a. ¿Una sidra *pro* me pone?
one cider *pro* CL put
Will you(formal) serve me a cider?
- b. ¿Una sidra me pone *pro*?
one cider CL put *pro*
Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

The position of the subject

The position of the subject

- (26) *¿Una sidra me pones tú?
one cider CL put you(informal)
Will you(informal) serve me a cider?

The position of the subject

- (26) *¿Una sidra me pones tú?
one cider CL put you(informal)
Will you(informal) serve me a cider?
- (27) *¿Una sidra tú me pones?
one cider you(informal) CL put
Will you(informal) serve me a cider?

The position of the subject

The position of the subject

- (28) ¿Una sidra me pone usted?
one cider CL put you(formal)
Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

The position of the subject

(28) ¿Una sidra me pone usted?
one cider CL put you(formal)
Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

(29) *¿Una sidra usted me pone?
one cider you(formal) CL put
Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

Directive Speech Act

Directive Speech Act

- (30) ¿Un bolígrafo no tendrás?
one pen neg have
Do you have a pen?

Directive Speech Act

(30) ¿Un bolígrafo no tendrás?
one pen neg have
Do you have a pen?

(31) * ¿Una sidra me pone Juan?
one cider CL. put Juan
Will Juan serve me a cider?

Directive Speech Act

Directive Speech Act

- (32) *¿Una sidra me pones tú?
one cider CL put you(informal)
Will you(informal) serve me a cider?
- (33) ¿Una sidra me pone usted?
one cider CL put you(formal)
Will you(formal) serve me a cider?

Directive Speech Act

Directive Speech Act

- (34) *¿Mal te sientes?
bad CL feel
Do you feel ill?

Directive Speech Act

(34) *¿Mal te sientes?
bad CL feel
Do you feel ill?

(35) ??¿Una sidra queda?
one cider remain
Is there a cider left?

Definiteness

Definiteness

- (36) ¿Una sidra me pones?
one cider CL put
Will you serve me a cider?

Definiteness

(36) ¿Una sidra me pones?

one cider CL put

Will you serve me a cider?

(37) ¿Un pincho de bacalao me pones?

one snack of cod CL put

Will you serve me a cod-snack?

Definiteness

(36) ¿Una sidra me pones?

one cider CL put

Will you serve me a cider?

(37) ¿Un pincho de bacalao me pones?

one snack of cod CL put

Will you serve me a cod-snack?

(38) ¿El pincho de bacalao ese me calientas?

the snack of cod that CL put

Will you heat that cod-snack over there for me?

Definiteness

(36) ¿Una sidra me pones?

one cider CL put

Will you serve me a cider?

(37) ¿Un pincho de bacalao me pones?

one snack of cod CL put

Will you serve me a cod-snack?

(38) ¿El pincho de bacalao ese me calientas?

the snack of cod that CL put

Will you heat that cod-snack over there for me?

(39) ¿La hora me puedes decir?

the hour CL can tell

Can you tell me what time it is?

Definiteness

(36) ¿Una sidra me pones?

one cider CL put

Will you serve me a cider?

(37) ¿Un pincho de bacalao me pones?

one snack of cod CL put

Will you serve me a cod-snack?

(38) ¿El pincho de bacalao ese me calientas?

the snack of cod that CL put

Will you heat that cod-snack over there for me?

(39) ¿La hora me puedes decir?

the hour CL can tell

Can you tell me what time it is?

Nota bene

Definiteness

- (36) ¿Una sidra me pones?
one cider CL put
Will you serve me a cider?
- (37) ¿Un pincho de bacalao me pones?
one snack of cod CL put
Will you serve me a cod-snack?
- (38) ¿El pincho de bacalao ese me calientas?
the snack of cod that CL put
Will you heat that cod-snack over there for me?
- (39) ¿La hora me puedes decir?
the hour CL can tell
Can you tell me what time it is?

Nota bene

SBC has object *pro*-drop. (cf. Landa & Franco (1999))

Object-drop in SPC

cf. Landa & Franco (1999), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

Object-drop in SPC

cf. Landa & Franco (1999), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

- (40) Los perros no podemos llevar nosotros a la playa
the dogs no can bring we to the beach
We can't bring the dogs to the beach.

Object-drop in SPC

cf. Landa & Franco (1999), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

- (40) Los perros no podemos llevar nosotros a la playa
the dogs no can bring we to the beach
We can't bring the dogs to the beach.
- (41) A. ¿Trabajáis mucho en casa?
work much at home
Do you work a lot at home?

Object-drop in SPC

cf. Landa & Franco (1999), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

- (40) Los perros no podemos llevar nosotros a la playa
the dogs no can bring we to the beach
We can't bring the dogs to the beach.
- (41) A. ¿Trabajáis mucho en casa?
work much at home
Do you work a lot at home?
- B. Sí, pero la comida no hacemos.
yes but the meal no make
Yes, but we don't prepare the meals.

Sketch of the proposal

Sketch of the proposal

Formally

Sketch of the proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with focus-fronting and a bare absolute (YES/NO) question.

Sketch of the proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with focus-fronting and a bare absolute (YES/NO) question.

Functionally

Sketch of the proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with focus-fronting and a bare absolute (YES/NO) question.

Functionally

They are employed in directive requests in order to:

Sketch of the proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with focus-fronting and a bare absolute (YES/NO) question.

Functionally

They are employed in directive requests in order to:

- 1 avoid the rudeness of an imperative.

Sketch of the proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with focus-fronting and a bare absolute (YES/NO) question.

Functionally

They are employed in directive requests in order to:

- 1 avoid the rudeness of an imperative.
- 2 specify what you need (the focus) first.

Split focus constructions

Split focus constructions

- 1 Answers to Multiple Wh Questions.

Split focus constructions

- 1 Answers to Multiple Wh Questions.
- 2 Nonexhaustive answers.

Answers to Multiple *Wh*-Questions

cf. Irurtzun (2007)

Answers to Multiple *Wh*-Questions

cf. Irurtzun (2007)

Answers to multiple *Wh*-questions involve several focal material
(but just one focus).

Answers to Multiple Wh Questions

Answers to Multiple Wh Questions

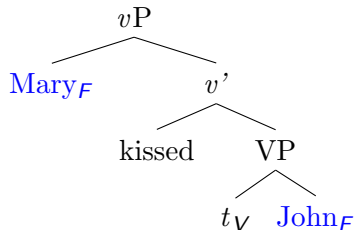
(42) A. Who kissed whom?

Answers to Multiple Wh Questions

- (42) A. Who kissed whom?
B. Mary_F kissed John_F ...

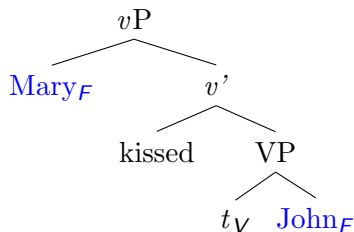
Answers to Multiple Wh Questions

- (42) A. Who kissed whom?
B. Mary_F kissed John_F ...



Answers to Multiple Wh Questions

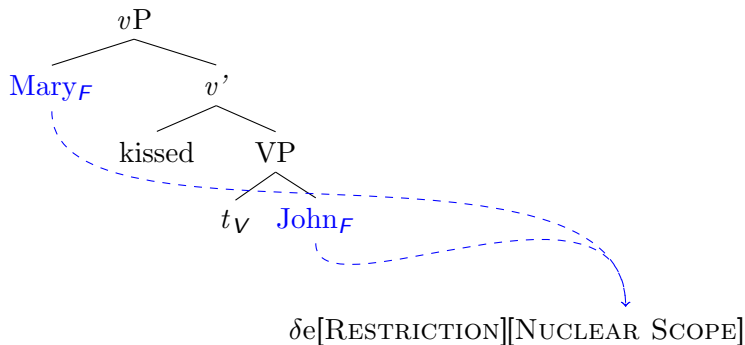
- (42) A. Who kissed whom?
B. Mary_F kissed John_F ...



$\delta e[\text{RESTRICTION}][\text{NUCLEAR SCOPE}]$

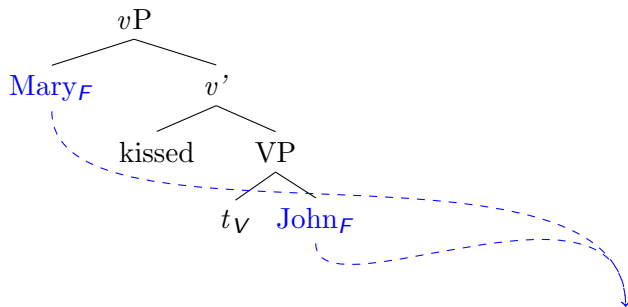
Answers to Multiple Wh Questions

- (42) A. Who kissed whom?
B. Mary_F kissed John_F ...



Answers to Multiple Wh Questions

- (42) A. Who kissed whom?
B. Mary_F kissed John_F ...



$\delta e[RESTRICTION][NUCLEAR SCOPE]$
 $\delta e[kissing(e)][Agent(e, Mary) \ \& \ Theme(e, John)]$

Nonexhaustive answers

cf. Elordieta & Irurtzun (2010)

Nonexhaustive answers

cf. Elordieta & Irurtzun (2010)

Non-exhaustive answers to *Wh*-questions involve split foci:

$\langle XP_F, Pol_F \rangle$

Observation

Observation

Some ‘strings’ can provide either an exhaustive answer or a non-exhaustive answer to the *QUD*.

Observation

Some 'strings' can provide either an exhaustive answer or a non-exhaustive answer to the *QUD*.

Data

Observation

Some 'strings' can provide either an exhaustive answer or a non-exhaustive answer to the *QUD*.

Data

(43) Who came in time?

Observation

Some 'strings' can provide either an exhaustive answer or a non-exhaustive answer to the *QUD*.

Data

- (43) Who came in time?
- (44) a. I came in time. (It's me).

Observation

Some 'strings' can provide either an exhaustive answer or a non-exhaustive answer to the *QUD*.

Data

- (43) Who came in time?
- (44) a. I came in time. (It's me).
b. I came in time. (I did, but maybe someone else also came in time...)

The experiment

The experiment

- Compared exhaustive answers (ENF), non-exhaustive answers (NENF), and verum focus constructions (VF).

The experiment

- Compared exhaustive answers (ENF), non-exhaustive answers (NENF), and verum focus constructions (VF).
- Tests in French, Spanish and Basque.

The experiment

- Compared exhaustive answers (ENF), non-exhaustive answers (NENF), and verum focus constructions (VF).
- Tests in French, Spanish and Basque.
- Measured f0 accentual peaks in S and V.

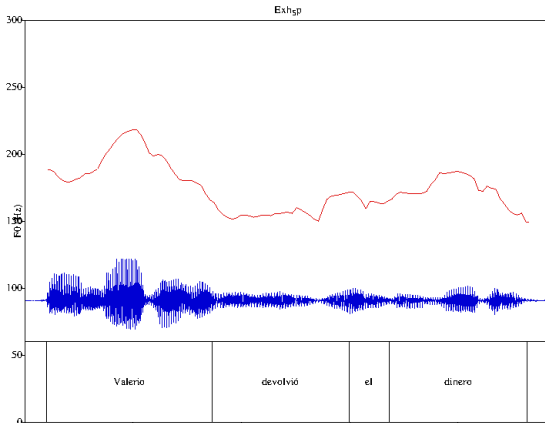
Sample of data: Spanish Exhaustive

Sample of data: Spanish Exhaustive

- (45) Valerio devolvió el dinero.
Valerio returned the money
Valerio returned the money.

Sample of data: Spanish Exhaustive

- (45) Valerio devolvió el dinero.
Valerio returned the money
Valerio returned the money.



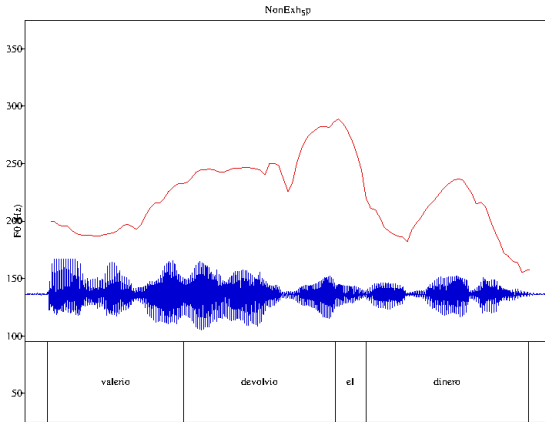
Sample of data: Spanish NonExhaustive

Sample of data: Spanish NonExhaustive

- (46) Valerio devolvió el dinero.
Valerio returned the money
Valerio returned the money.

Sample of data: Spanish NonExhaustive

- (46) Valerio devolvió el dinero.
Valerio returned the money
Valerio returned the money.



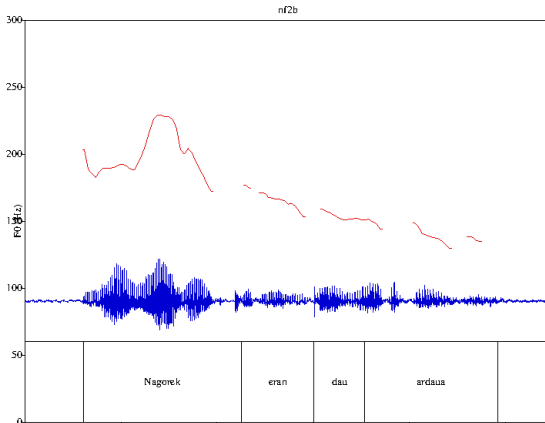
Sample of data: Basque Exhaustive

Sample of data: Basque Exhaustive

- (47) Nagorek eran dau ardaua.
Nagore.ERG drink AUX wine.ABS
Nagore drank the wine.

Sample of data: Basque Exhaustive

- (47) Nagorek eran dau ardaua.
Nagore.ERG drink AUX wine.ABS
Nagore drank the wine.



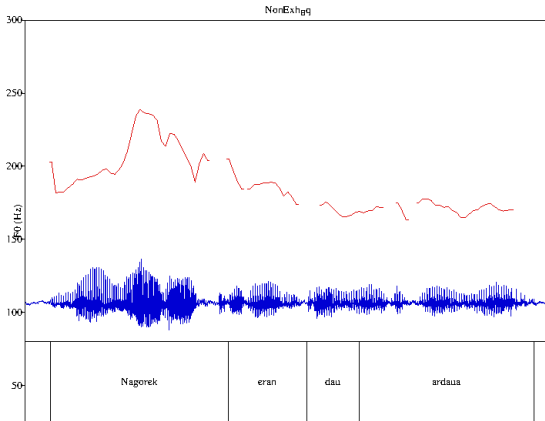
Sample of data: Basque NonExhaustive

Sample of data: Basque NonExhaustive

- (48) Nagorek eran dau ardaua.
Nagore.ERG drink AUX wine.ABS
Nagore drank the wine.

Sample of data: Basque NonExhaustive

- (48) Nagorek eran dau ardaa.
Nagore.ERG drink AUX wine.ABS
Nagore drank the wine.

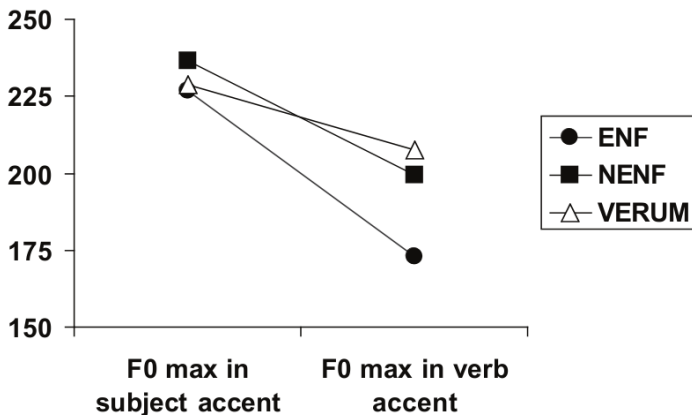


The Results

Scaling values of F0 maxima (in Hz) in the accented syllable in the verb across the three conditions (ENF, NENF and VF) in Basque

The Results

Scaling values of F0 maxima (in Hz) in the accented syllable in the verb across the three conditions (ENF, NENF and VF) in Basque



The analysis

The analysis

Exhaustive Answers

The analysis

Exhaustive Answers

(49) A. Who drank wine?

The analysis

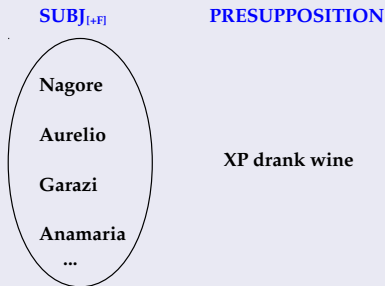
Exhaustive Answers

- (49) A. Who drank wine?
B. NAGOREK eran dau ardaua.
Nagore drink AUX wine
Nagore drank wine.

The analysis

Exhaustive Answers

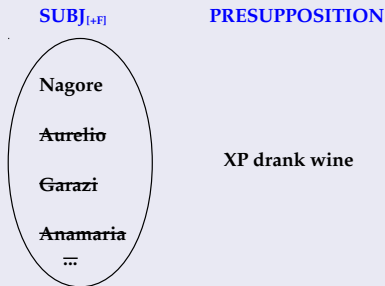
- (49) A. Who drank wine?
B. NAGOREK eran dau ardaua.
Nagore drink AUX wine
Nagore drank wine.



The analysis

Exhaustive Answers

- (50) A. Who drank wine?
B. NAGOREK eran dau ardaua.
Nagore drink AUX wine
Nagore drank wine.



The analysis

The analysis

- NonExhaustive answers involve ‘split foci’, where both the Subject and the polarity are focal but none of them is the focus of the sentence. The focus is the pair <Subject, Polarity>.

The analysis

- NonExhaustive answers involve ‘split foci’, where both the Subject and the polarity are focal but none of them is the focus of the sentence. The focus is the pair <Subject, Polarity>.
- Assertion of <XP, yes>, but no commitment to <altern., no>, expressed by focalizing also the polarity. This raises the question of how to pair the rest of potential Subjects and Polarities.

The analysis

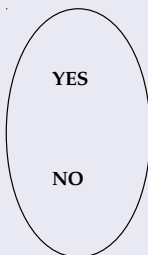
NonExhaustive Answers

- (51) A. Who drank wine?
B. NAGOREK ERAN dau ardaua.
Nagore drink AUX wine
Nagore drank wine.

SUBJ_[+F]



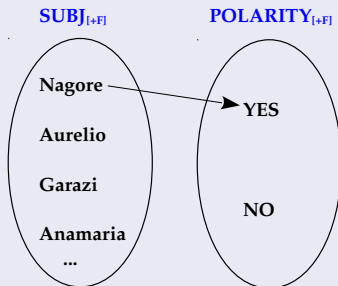
POLARITY_[+F]



The analysis

NonExhaustive Answers

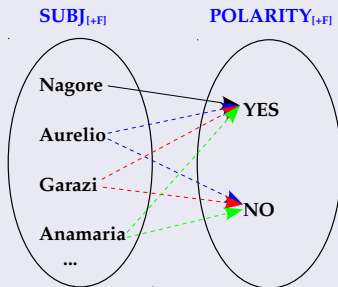
- (52) A. Who drank wine?
B. NAGOREK ERAN dau ardaua.
Nagore drink AUX wine
Nagore drank wine.



The analysis

NonExhaustive Answers

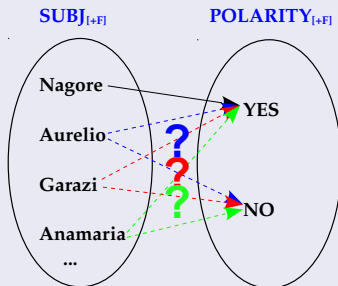
- (53) A. Who drank wine?
B. NAGOREK ERAN dau ardaua.
Nagore drink AUX wine
Nagore drank wine.



The analysis

NonExhaustive Answers

- (54) A. Who drank wine?
B. NAGOREK ERAN dau ardaua.
Nagore drink AUX wine
Nagore drank wine.



The Analysis

The Analysis

- (55) ¿Una sidra me pones?
one cider cl put
Will you serve me a cider?

The Analysis

- (55) ¿Una sidra me pones?
one cider cl put
Will you serve me a cider?

Proposal

In these constructions we have a split focus-like structure with a leftward-moved focus and an open absolute (YES/NO) question.

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Corrective foci:

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Corrective foci:

- (56) ¿Ratas? Hasta cocodrilos vamos a ver.
rats even crocodiles go P see
Rats? We're going to see even crocodiles!

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Corrective foci:

- (56) ¿Ratas? Hasta cocodrilos vamos a ver.
rats even crocodiles go P see
Rats? We're going to see even crocodiles!
- (57) Uno no, dos goles metió.
one not two goals score
Not one, s/he scored two goals.

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Corrective foci:

- (56) ¿Ratas? Hasta cocodrilos vamos a ver.
rats even crocodiles go P see
Rats? We're going to see even crocodiles!
- (57) Uno no, dos goles metió.
one not two goals score
Not one, s/he scored two goals.

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

But also non-corrective foci:

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

But also non-corrective foci:

- (58) A. ¿Qué talla de calzado usas?
 what size of shoe use
 What shoe-size do you use?
- B. Una 43 calzo.
 a 43 wear
 I wear a 43.

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

But also non-corrective foci:

(58) A. ¿Qué talla de calzado usas?

what size of shoe use

What shoe-size do you use?

B. Una 43 calzo.

a 43 wear

I wear a 43.

(59) Además de leche, vino he pedido.

besides of milk wine have order

Besides milk, I ordered wine.

Leftward focalizations in the Spanish of the Basque Country

But also non-corrective foci:

(58) A. ¿Qué talla de calzado usas?

what size of shoe use

What shoe-size do you use?

B. Una 43 calzo.

a 43 wear

I wear a 43.

(59) Además de leche, vino he pedido.

besides of milk wine have order

Besides milk, I ordered wine.

(60) Tarde andas.

late walk

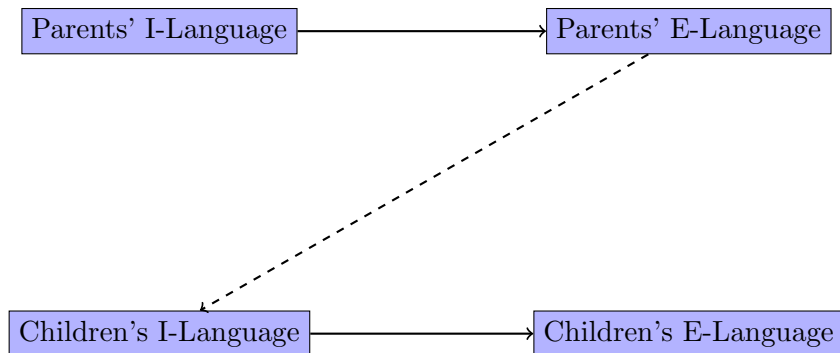
You are late.

The dynamics of language acquisition and change

cf., i.a., Andersen (1973), Lightfoot (1979)

The dynamics of language acquisition and change

cf., i.a., Andersen (1973), Lightfoot (1979)



Plausible catalyst

Plausible catalyst

OV orders in the Spanish of the BC
cf. Steenmeijer (1979), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

Plausible catalyst

OV orders in the Spanish of the BC
cf. Steenmeijer (1979), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

- (61) Dos perros tenemos.
two dogs have
We have two dogs.

Plausible catalyst

OV orders in the Spanish of the BC
cf. Steenmeijer (1979), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

- (61) Dos perros tenemos.
two dogs have
We have two dogs.
- (62) Tres sobresalientes tiene Juan.
three 'A's has Juan
Juan has three 'A's.

Plausible catalyst

OV orders in the Spanish of the BC
cf. Steenmeijer (1979), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

- (61) Dos perros tenemos.
two dogs have
We have two dogs.
- (62) Tres sobresalientes tiene Juan.
three 'A's has Juan
Juan has three 'A's.

... but also other constituents

Plausible catalyst

OV orders in the Spanish of the BC
cf. Steenmeijer (1979), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

- (61) Dos perros tenemos.
two dogs have
We have two dogs.
- (62) Tres sobresalientes tiene Juan.
three 'A's has Juan
Juan has three 'A's.

... but also other constituents

- (63) Con el mogollón, la policía vino.
with the mess the police came
With the mess, the police came.

Plausible catalyst

OV orders in the Spanish of the BC
cf. Steenmeijer (1979), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

- (61) Dos perros tenemos.
two dogs have
We have two dogs.
- (62) Tres sobresalientes tiene Juan.
three 'A's has Juan
Juan has three 'A's.

... but also other constituents

- (63) Con el mogollón, la policía vino.
with the mess the police came
With the mess, the police came.
- (64) Buenos hombres son.
good men are
They are good men.

Plausible catalyst

OV orders in the Spanish of the BC
cf. Steenmeijer (1979), Gómez-Seibane (2012)

- (61) Dos perros tenemos.
two dogs have
We have two dogs.
- (62) Tres sobresalientes tiene Juan.
three 'A's has Juan
Juan has three 'A's.

... but also other constituents

- (63) Con el mogollón, la policía vino.
with the mess the police came
With the mess, the police came.
- (64) Buenos hombres son.
good men are
They are good men.
- (65) Abiertos a las soluciones están.
open to the solutions are
They are open to solutions.

Plausible catalyst

Plausible catalyst

The Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis
cf. Schwartz & Sprouse (1996)

Plausible catalyst

The Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis
cf. Schwartz & Sprouse (1996)

- Basque is a SOV language with a determinate focus position at the left edge (FocP, *cf.*, *i.a.* Ortiz de Urbina (1989)).

Plausible catalyst

The Full Access/Full Transfer Hypothesis *cf.* Schwartz & Sprouse (1996)

- Basque is a SOV language with a determinate focus position at the left edge (FocP, *cf.*, *i.a.* Ortiz de Urbina (1989)).
- Absolute questions in Basque are construed (i) with verb movement to Comp. (VO) (ii) with ‘neutral’ word order (OV) and interrogative intonation.

Permeability to transfer

Permeability to transfer

que Comp.-transfer in the Spanish of Catalonia
cf. Hualde (1992)

Permeability to transfer

que Comp.-transfer in the Spanish of Catalonia
cf. Hualde (1992)

- (66) Que vols mes patates?
 COMP. want.2SG my potatoes
 Do you want my potatoes?

Permeability to transfer

que Comp.-transfer in the Spanish of Catalonia
cf. Hualde (1992)

(66) Que vols mes patates?
COMP. want.2SG my potatoes

Do you want my potatoes?

(67) ¿Que viene la María?
COMP. come.3SG the María
Is María coming?

Permeability to transfer

que Comp.-transfer in the Spanish of Catalonia
cf. Hualde (1992)

(66) Que vols mes patates?
COMP. want.2SG my potatoes

Do you want my potatoes?

(67) ¿Que viene la María?
COMP. come.3SG the María
Is María coming?

PS: Analogous transfers in other languages like Sicilian and the Italian from Sicily (*cf.* Cruschina (2011)).

Permeability to transfer

que Comp.-transfer in the Spanish of Catalonia
cf. Hualde (1992)

(66) Que vols mes patates?
COMP. want.2SG my potatoes
Do you want my potatoes?

(67) ¿Que viene la María?
COMP. come.3SG the María
Is María coming?

PS: Analogous transfers in other languages like Sicilian and the Italian from Sicily (*cf.* Cruschina (2011)).

Transfer of intonational patterns
cf., i.a. Romera *et al.* (2008)

Similarities between the intonational patterns of YES/NO questions with *que* in Central Catalan and the Spanish of Barcelona.

The function of intonation

The function of intonation

Intonation and politeness

cf. Astruc (2008)

The function of intonation

Intonation and politeness

cf. Astruc (2008)

- (68) a. Que prens cafè al migdia?
 COMP. take coffe at noon
 Do you take coffee at noon?

The function of intonation

Intonation and politeness

cf. Astruc (2008)

- (68) a. Que prens cafè al migdia?
 COMP. take coffe at noon
 Do you take coffee at noon?
- b. Prens cafè al migdia?
 take coffee at noon
 Do you take coffee at noon?

The function of intonation

Intonation and politeness

cf. Astruc (2008)

- (68) a. Que prens cafè al migdia?
 COMP. take coffe at noon
 Do you take coffee at noon?
- b. Prens cafè al migdia?
 take coffee at noon
 Do you take coffee at noon?
- (69) a. De cafè, (que) en prens?
 PREP. coffee COMP. CL. take
 Do you take coffee?

The proposal

The proposal

Formally

The proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with:

The proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with:

- 1 focus-fronting to a left peripheric projection above the complementiser,

The proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with:

- ① focus-fronting to a left peripheric projection above the complementiser,
- ② followed by an absolute question on the polarity.

(70) $[[XP]_F [\Sigma_{F-V} S t_V t_{XP}]]$

The proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with:

- ① focus-fronting to a left peripheric projection above the complementiser,
- ② followed by an absolute question on the polarity.

(70) $[[XP]_F [\Sigma_{F-V} S t_V t_{XP}]]$

Functionally

The proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with:

- ① focus-fronting to a left peripheric projection above the complementiser,
- ② followed by an absolute question on the polarity.

(70) $[[XP]_F [\Sigma_{F-V} S t_V t_{XP}]]$

Functionally

They are employed in directive requests in order to:

The proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with:

- 1 focus-fronting to a left peripheric projection above the complementiser,
- 2 followed by an absolute question on the polarity.

(70) $[[XP]_F [\Sigma_{F-V} S t_V t_{XP}]]$

Functionally

They are employed in directive requests in order to:

- 1 avoid the rudeness of an imperative.

The proposal

Formally

These constructions involve a split focus-like structure with:

- 1 focus-fronting to a left peripheric projection above the complementiser,
- 2 followed by an absolute question on the polarity.

(70) $[[XP]_F [\Sigma_{F-V} S t_V t_{XP}]]$

Functionally

They are employed in directive requests in order to:

- 1 avoid the rudeness of an imperative.
- 2 specify what you need (the focus) first.

. . . moltes gràcies!

