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It will be argued that the hierarchical organization of functional structures is not universal, but subject to parametric variation, in that the dominance relations between Inflectional Projections may vary from one grammar to another. I argue that the Tense C-command Condition plays a crucial role in the workings of all the grammars considered in this paper. The Tense C-Command Condition is a requirement on the relation of Tense with respect to all other inflectional heads; in this paper I concentrate on evidence for the TC drawn from sentence negation in Basque and supported by data from other grammars. The account presented in this paper supports the hypothesis put forward by Chomsky (1989), (1991) that there is only one computational system, and parametric variation is reduced to the non-substantive aspects of the lexicon.*

0. Introduction.

This paper starts by exploring a variety of syntactic phenomena induced by sentence negation in Basque, and it presents a detailed account of them (section 2). The account provided rests on the interaction between two aspects of Universal Grammar: (a) the possibility of variation in the functional architecture of the clause, (1) (section 3)); and (b) a general condition on inflectional structures, the *Tense C-command Condition*, which requires that the head containing (a

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non-vacuous) Tense c-command all other inflectional heads of the clause at S-Structure (2) (section 4). Section 5 presents cross-linguistic evidence drawn from Spanish, Hebrew and English that further supports claims made in (a) and (b).

Regarding (a), it is argued that the arrangement of functional structures is not universal, but subject to parametric variation, in that the dominance relations between Inflectional Projections may vary from one grammar to another. In particular, I argue that there is a parametric choice regarding the placement of Negation with respect to other functional projections in the clause. Negation can be generated TP (=IP)¹ internally or TP externally. Ultimately, then, the claim is that functional heads may vary in their selectional properties. Specifically, I argue that whereas in languages like English negation is generated below TP (as in Pollock 1989 and Chomsky 1989), there are languages like Basque and Southern Romance, where negation is generated above TP (Laka 1989, 1990, Zanuttini 1989, 1991). This is schematized in (1):



Regarding (b), I argue that some condition like (2) plays a crucial role in the workings of all the grammars considered in this paper:

- (2) *Tense C-command Condition:*
Tense must c-command all inflectional heads at S-Structure.

Where inflectional heads are the X⁰'s that may be selected by either Comp or Tense. The *Tense C-command Condition* (henceforth TC) is a requirement on the relation of Tense with respect to all other inflectional heads; in this paper, however, I concentrate on evidence for the TC drawn from sentence negation in Basque and supported by data from other grammars. Given the choice between Phrase Structures like (1), grammars rely solely on UG operations to satisfy (2). The account presented in this paper, if correct, strongly supports the hypothesis put forward by Chomsky (1989), (1991) that there is only one computational system, and parametric variation is reduced to the non-substantive aspects of the lexicon.

¹ I will identify TP (Tense Phrase) with IP (Inflectional Phrase), following Pollock (1989). Distinctions between IP and TP will be made only when relevant to the discussion.

1. The basic phenomenon and some general properties of Basque.

The presence of sentence negation induces sharp syntactic effects in Basque: Negation induces a marked word-order, which is not available in declarative sentences. Consider a simple declarative sentence in Basque (3):

- (3) a. Irune etorri da
Irune arrived has
'Irune has arrived'
b. *Irune da etorri
c. *da Irune etorri

As shown in (3), in declarative, non-emphatic sentences, the verb must precede the inflected auxiliary, and no verbal argument can intervene between the verb and the inflected auxiliary. Now consider the paradigm in (4):

- (4) a. Irune ez da etorri
Irune not has arrived
'Irune hasn't arrived'
b. ez da Irune etorri
not has Irune arrived
'Irune hasn't arrived'
c. *Irune etorri ez da

The paradigm in (4) is the mirror image of (3): in negative sentences, the main verb *cannot* precede the inflected auxiliary (4c). Instead, it is the auxiliary that must precede the main verb. Moreover, the subject can now break the adjacency between the auxiliary and the verb.

Before entering into an account of (3) and (4), I will briefly lay out some general properties of the grammar of Basque, with particular reference to those most relevant to our discussion.

1.1. On Maximal Projections: Case Marking, Agreement and pro.

Basque has an Ergative Case-marking system. As argued by Levin (1983), all arguments that are complements of the verb at D-structure surface with Absolutive case, whereas D-Structure external arguments display Ergative Case. Thus, subjects of unaccusative verbs like *etorri* 'arrive' or *erori* 'fall' have absolutive case, like the objects of transitives like *ikusi* 'see' or *jan* 'eat'. The subject of intransitive verbs like *hitz egin* 'speak' or *lo egin* 'sleep' shares ergative case with transitive subjects in Basque. This Case-marking system is illustrated in (5):

(5) a. *ume-a etorri da*
 kid-the arrived has
 'the kid has arrived'

b. *ume-a-k sagarr-a jan du*
 kid-the-E apple-the eaten has
 'the kid has eaten the apple'

c. *ume-a-k hitz egin du*
 kid-the-E word make has
 'the kid has spoken'

(5a) illustrates the unaccusative verb *etorri* 'arrive', the subject of which has Absolutive case (marked by a zero morpheme); (5b) shows the transitive verb *jan* 'eat', which marks the subject with ergative case (E), and the object with absolutive case. Finally (5d) is an example of an intransitive verb, *hitz egin* 'speak', whose subject is again marked with ergative case.² Levin (1983) and Ortiz de Urbina (1989) have argued convincingly that Basque is not thematically Ergative in the sense of Marantz's Ergativity Hypothesis (1984).

Unlike languages like Warlpiri (Hale 1981, 1983), where arguments are marked in an ergative pattern but agreement markers follow an accusative system, Basque consistently shows ergative morphology both on overt arguments and the agreement system (Laka 1993a). There are three grammatical cases: Ergative, Dative and Absolutive. They are marked on the arguments by the following morphemes: *-k* for the ergative, *-(r)i* for the dative and zero for the Absolutive. The empty pronominal *pro* is licensed in all three verbal arguments (Salaburu 1986, Laka & Uriagereka 1987, Ortiz de Urbina 1989), plausibly in relation to the fact that Basque Inflection shows agreement with all of them: Ergative, Absolutive and Dative, as illustrated in (6):

(6) a. *zu-k ni-ri etxe-a eman d-i-i-da-zu*
 you-E me-D house-the given it-have-me-you
 'you have given me the house'

b. *pro_i pro_j pro_k eman d_k-i-da_j-zu_i*
 'you have given it to me'

It is the agreement morphemes encoded in the auxiliary verb which identify the empty pronominals; thus, a change in the morphemes of the auxiliary will convey a different meaning:

(7) a. *pro_i pro_j pro_k eman d_k-i-zue_j-gu_i*
 given it-have-you-us
 'we gave it to you-guys'

² As discussed by Levin (1983), most intransitive predicates in Basque display what appears to be an object NP combined with the verb *egin* 'make'. See Uribe-Etxebarria (1989), Hale & Keyser (1991), Laka (1993b) for discussion on Basque unergative predicates.

Uriagereka (1986) and Laka & Uriagereka (1987), argue that it is the licensing of *pro* in these positions what makes it possible to generate left or right dislocated arguments, parallel to the way in which Romance languages that license *pro* in the Specifier of IP can right or left dislocate the subject. For the purposes of this paper, I will assume that the 'free word-order' displayed by Basque is in fact a consequence of these multiple dislocations. The order variations are not semantically identical: the preverbal argument is interpreted as focus under the right intonation pattern, and the right dislocated constituents are usually interpreted as topics (Alube 1929, Mitxelena 1981, Ortiz de Urbina 1989).³

1.2. On heads: Verb, Aspect, Inflection.

Contrasting sharply with the freedom of order of Maximal Projections, the Verb and the Inflectional complex display very strict ordering constraints in Basque. In declarative sentences, the inflected auxiliary (Infl) must follow the lexical verb:

(8) a. *etxea erori da* b. **etxea da erori*
 house-the fallen has house-the has fallen
 'the house fell down' (the house fell down)

The first example, (8a), is a well-formed declarative sentence, where the lexical verb precedes the inflected auxiliary. (8b), however, is not a licit order in a declarative sentence; a sequence like the one in (8b) is only acceptable as an emphatic sentence (see Ortiz de Urbina 1990 and Laka 1990 for two proposals regarding these emphatic constructions). Added to this precedence requirement, there is also a strict adjacency requirement: no argument can intervene between the verb and the inflected auxiliary,⁴ as illustrated in (9):

³ Subject inversion in Romance isn't semantically inert either. See Contreras (1976) for Spanish, Calabrese (1985) for Italian, Raposo (1987) for Portuguese, and Bonet (1989) for Catalan. I will not enter into the general question of focalization strategies and scrambling processes in Basque; only aspects of word-order that pertain to the domain of sentence negation will be considered here.

⁴ The only elements that can intervene between the uninflected verb and the inflected auxiliary are certain modal particles, which appear cliticized onto Infl, as shown in (i) and (ii), and the adverb *ere* 'too', as shown in (iii), although this placement of the adverb is rather marked and literary:

- (i) *ibonek hori esan omen zuen*
 Ibon that said allegedly had
 'Ibon had allegedly said that'
- (ii) *ibonek hori esan oti zuen*
 Ibon that said use had
 'Ibon used to say that'
- (iii) *ibonek hori esan ere du*
 Ibon that said too has
 'Ibon has even said that'

- (9) a. *etxea erori da* house-the fallen has
'the house fell down'
b. **erori etxea da* fallen house-the has
'the house fell down'

I will argue that this strict adjacency and precedence met by the verb and the inflected auxiliary is not a result of Verb raising having taken place at S-Structure. Evidence for the claim that there is no Verb raising to Infl in cases like (9a) and (9b) is found in a small set of verbs traditionally called *synthetic*, for which the description given so far does not hold completely.

Whereas most verbs in Basque consist of a lexical verb marked for aspect and an auxiliary that carries the inflectional morphology, as in (9a) and (9a), *synthetic* verbs are inflected as a single morphological unit, where both the lexical verb and the inflectional elements merge together. Compare the verbal forms in (10): (10a) is a non-synthetic form, like the ones we have seen in previous examples; (10b) is a synthetic form of the same verb *ekar* 'to bring'.⁵

- (10) a. *ekarr-i na-u-zu* bring-perf me-have-you
'you have brought me'
b. *na-kar-zu* me-bring-you
'you bring me'

The morphological difference between these two types of verbal forms cannot be left to a late Phonetic Form readjustment, because certain syntactic phenomena like sentence negation (and emphatic sentences, Laka 1990) separate the Verb and Infl in (10a), but never in (10b), as we will see below. The contrast in (10) is syntactic in nature, because syntactic phenomena are sensitive to it. The contrast between synthetic (10b) versus non-synthetic (10a) verbal forms is accounted for if we assume that Verb raising to Infl has taken place at S-Structure in (10b), but not in (10a). Hence, the different morphological shape of synthetic verbs as opposed to non-synthetic ones is the result of raising versus non-raising of the Verb to Infl.

Following Hualde & Ortiz de Urbina (1987), I will assume that these particles are generated in Infl.

⁵ In the history of the language, the number of synthetic verbs and the usage of the synthetic forms has been declining significantly in favor of periphrastic forms. Thus, from approximately 60 verbs that were inflected synthetically in the XVI century (Lafon 1943), the grammar of *Euskaltzaindia* (Academy of the Basque Language) (1987) lists only 24. There does not seem to be any semantic or syntactic property that determines what verbs belong in the synthetic class; rather, this property seems to be a lexical idiosyncrasy. The verbs nowadays subject to synthetic inflection are the following: *egon* 'stay', *etorri* 'come', *ibili* 'walk', *joan* 'go', *aizteki* 'hold', *erion* 'drip', *eizan* 'lie', *jarruti* 'follow', *eduki* 'have', *ekarri* 'bring', *erabili* 'use', *eraman* 'bring', *erotan* 'take', *jakin* 'know', *entzun* 'hear', *eritzi* 'to seem to x', *erran* 'say', *ezagutu* 'meet', *ihardun* 'engage', *ikusi* 'see', *irautu* 'last', *irudi* 'look like'.

1.2.1 The Aspect Projection.

The crucial factor determining when a verb of the synthetic class raises to Infl is the aspectual morphology. A verb of the synthetic class will display a synthetic form only when aspect is non-perfective and non-habitual. Perfective and habitual forms show an overt aspect marker attached to the lexical verb (10a); synthetic forms have a punctual aspect meaning, but no overt aspect marker (10b). Thus, the generalization is that an overt aspect marker prevents raising of the verb to Infl. If no overt aspect marker is present, the verb will raise to Infl.⁶ These generalizations are captured under the hypothesis that Basque has an Aspect Phrase, headed by the aspectual morpheme itself:

- (11)
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{AspP} \\ / \quad \backslash \\ \text{VP} \quad \text{Asp} \\ / \quad \backslash \\ \quad \quad \text{V} \end{array}$$

In non-synthetic forms, the verb raises to aspect and the morphological unit [Verb-Aspect] is created at S-Structure; no further raising to Infl takes place. This accounts for forms like (10a), the S-Structure representation of which is given in (12), where the lexical verb and aspect are distinct from the inflected auxiliary:

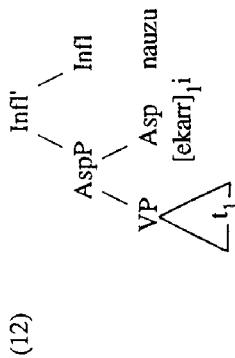
⁶ In the case of modals, we find non-incorporated forms that do not display any overt aspect marker:

- (i) *ekar na-za -ke -zu*
bring me-root-mod-you
'you can bring me'
(ii) *na-KAR -ke -zu*
me-bring-mod-you
'you can bring me'

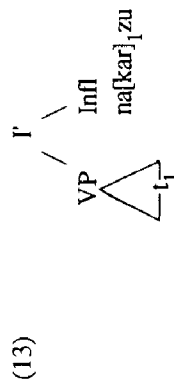
There are also incorporated forms, (although they are quite literary and nearly archaic):

- (iii) *ekarr-i n -ei -ke -zu*
bring-perf me-root-mod-you
'you can bring me'

Presumably, there are two ways to construct modals in modern Basque: one of them, the oldest one, nearly gone from spoken language, is the one illustrated in (ii), where the verbal root raises to Infl, the other one, more active in modern Basque, has an empty aspect marker preventing the verb from raising. This hypothesis is supported by western dialects of Basque, where modals do display an overt perfective aspectual marker on the verb:



I assume that Basque lexical verbs are bound morphemes, hence they must attach to a base by S-Structure (Lasnik 1981, Chomsky 1989). In a case like (12), Aspect is providing such a base. However, if there is no Aspect head, as in (13), the verb raises to Infl, generating a single inflected unit in the overt syntax:



Whenever there is a process involving the inflected auxiliary but not the lexical verb, a synthetic form will show the same behavior as the inflected auxiliary. This is expected under the analysis given above, since any syntactic process involving the head Infl will affect equally inflected auxiliaries and synthetic forms. In what follows, then, it should be kept in mind that when I refer to the inflected auxiliary, synthetic verbs are also included. This aspectual projection is of course not particular to Basque; several independent works have claimed the existence of an Aspect Phrase, based on different kinds of evidence from a wide variety of languages. See, for instance, Cheng (1989) for Chinese, Demirdache (1989) for Egyptian Arabic, Iatridou (1989) for English and French, and Hendrick (1990) for Irish and Breton.

2. Sentence Negation: a Head Movement account.

The occurrence of the sentence negation *ez* 'not' induces, as we have seen, two radical changes in the surface order of a sentence in Basque. First, the requirement that the verb precede the inflected auxiliary (8a, b) is reversed. In negative sentences, the inflected auxiliary must precede the lexical verb. This is shown again in (14):

- (14) a. **etxea* erori *ez da*
house-the fallen no has
'the house didn't fall down'
b. *etxea ez da erori*
house-the no has fallen
'the house didn't fall down'

Furthermore, the adjacency requirement that holds in declarative sentences, by which no constituent can intervene between V and Infl (9a, b), no longer holds in negative sentences. (15) illustrates this point: the subject *etxea* is intervening between the auxiliary and the verb.

- (15) *ez da etxea erori*
no has house-the fallen
'the house didn't fall'

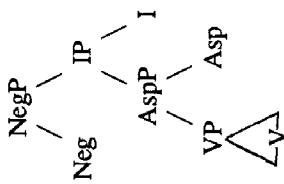
In fact, any kind and number of constituents can intervene between the inflected auxiliary and the verb when the sentence is negative, as illustrated in (16), where the subject *Irunek*, the dative argument *Iboni* and the direct object *etxea* all three appear in between the Auxiliary and the Verb:

- (16) *ez dio Irunek Iboni etxea eman*
no has Irunec Ibon-to house-the given
'Irunec hasn't given the house to Ibon'

The pattern that emerges in negative clauses is thus the exact opposite of the pattern followed by declarative clauses. In declarative clauses the verb must precede the auxiliary; in negative clauses the auxiliary must precede the verb. In declarative clauses, the verb and the auxiliary must be strictly adjacent; in negative clauses there is no adjacency requirement at all, and any number of constituents can occur in between the Auxiliary and the Verb.

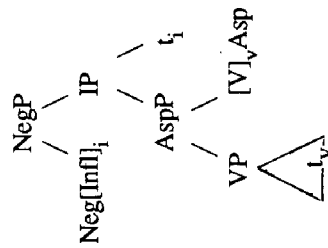
Following Pollock (1989), I will assume that *ez* 'not' in Basque is a head projecting a Negative Phrase (henceforth NegP). Unlike the unmarked case in this language, though, Neg is an initial head, instead of final, and unlike French and English, where NegP is the complement of Infl, Neg takes IP as a complement in Basque. That is to say, French and English have IP internal negation, whereas Basque negation is external to IP. We will later see that this different placement of negation has certain empirical consequences. The D-Structure of a negative sentence in Basque is shown in (17):

(17)



In this configuration, Neg and Infl sit at the two opposite edges of the Phrase Marker; however, as we have seen in previous examples, negation occurs attached to the left of the auxiliary. Hence, Neg and Infl must eventually merge together, at some level of representation.⁷ The merging of Neg and Infl results from raising of Infl to Neg. This movement satisfies the ECP: Infl moves to the head immediately dominating it; in this configuration, the trace left behind is governed by its antecedent (Baker 1988, Chomsky 1989). In fact, it is a standard instance of head-to-head movement. This merger between negation and the inflected auxiliary takes place in the mapping from D-Structure to S-Structure by raising of Infl to Neg. This movement results in the S-Structure representation in (18):⁸

(18)



⁷ The fact that the head of NegP differs from all other heads in Basque in not being final but initial, is at the core of the marked word-order pattern displayed by negative sentences in this language, as it will become clear below. Basque is not alone in having both final and initial heads: German has also this property (den Besten 1983, Travis 1984).

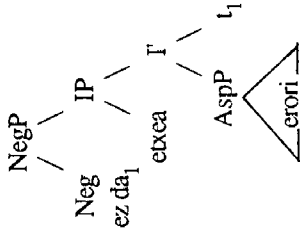
⁸ If we were to claim that Neg lowers onto Infl, the trace left at S-Structure would satisfy the ECP at LF provided the head [Infl[Neg]] raises at LF, parallel to the way Tense raises in English after S-Structure affix-lowering onto the verb (Chomsky 1989). Under this hypothesis, however, a sentence where the lexical verb precedes [Neg-Infl] should be grammatical; as illustrated in (32c), however, this is not the case. In order to rule out (32c) we would have to postulate that the lowering of negation forces a further movement of the verb somewhere to the right of Infl. This hypothesis is problematic in that it is difficult to imagine why the lowering of Negation would force the verb to move rightwards obligatorily. Moreover, the differences in deletion and Negative Polarity Item licensing to be presented below would find no explanation.

It is this head movement that causes the dislocated pattern of negative sentences illustrated in (4a, b) and (14), (15), (16). Consider (4a) and (4b), repeated here as (19):

- (19) a. etxea ez da erori
house-the no has fallen
'the house hasn't fallen down'
b. ez da etxea erori
no has house-the fallen
'the house hasn't fallen down'

We can now account for this pattern: (19a, b) are both instances of adjunction of Infl to Neg, the only difference between the two sentences being the fact that the former has a left dislocated subject (cf. section 2.1). The S-Structure representation of (19b) is provided in (20):

(20)



As discussed above, movement of Infl to Neg does not violate any principle of the Grammar, and it gives the desired results in terms of the data to be accounted for. It therefore appears to be the right analysis of the phenomena.⁹ The two main claims made in this analysis are:

- (a) Neg is generated above IP in Basque;
- (b) Infl is forced to move to Neg before the PF and the LF mappings diverge.

I will now argue for (a), based on comparative evidence from deletion and Negative Polarity Item licensing, in English and Basque. Next, I will argue that (b) results in Basque from the *Tense C-Command Condition*.

⁹ Although it is orthographically separated from the inflected verb, the negative element is a clitic on the auxiliary, and it induces a series of phonological changes in it (Cf. Hualde 1988 and references therein), like devoicing of the initial consonant of the auxiliary verb, as illustrated in (i):

- (i) a. ez+da /esta/
b. ez+gara /eskara/

3. The relative position of NegP and TP: Basque versus English.

3.1. Deletion.

The first piece of independent evidence supporting the claim that the relative position of the Negative Phrase with respect to Tense is different in Basque and English involves deletion. In this section, I will argue that the different dominance relations holding between IP and NegP in English and in Basque result in different patterns with respect to conjunction-induced deletion. In cases of coordinate sentences, where the first coordinate sentence is declarative and the second one is negative, VP-deletion can take place in English:

- (21) a. Mary bought a book but Peter didn't
 b. Mary has bought a book but Peter hasn't

As argued by Ross (1969) and Akmajian & Wasow (1975), the constituent deleted in (21a) and (21b) is the Verb Phrase; this deletion operation is possible because it satisfies Chomsky's (1965) condition on Recoverability of Deletion, in that the deleted VP is identical to the VP in the first conjunct. Consider now the ungrammatical (22):

- (22) *Mary bought a book but [_{IP} Peter [_I _] [_{NegP} not [_{VP} _]]]

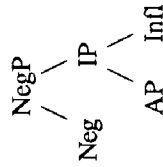
In this example, deletion has applied to VP and also to IP, but not to NegP. The condition on Recoverability is not violated, since the content of Infl in the second conjunct is identical to the content of Infl in the first conjunct; the non-recoverable element, Neg, has been left intact by deletion. In order to rule (22) out, we must follow Akmajian & Wasow (1975) in assuming that deletion operates on single constituents. More specifically, I assume that deletion may not operate on chunks of Phrase Structure that do not constitute a single constituent. I will refer to this constraint as the Constituency condition on deletion. The representation in (22) violates this constraint on Constituency because NegP is 'nested' between IP and VP, and deletion of Infl and VP would force deletion of all elements dominated by I', including NegP. Deletion of NegP, in turn, would violate the Recoverability condition, since the antecedent conjunct does not contain a NegP. This tension between Recoverability and Constituency explains why the only available paradigm in conjunction-induced deletion where the second conjunct is a negative sentence, is the one illustrated in (21). Note that under the account provided here, cases like (23) have licit derivations:

- (23) Mary bought a book and [_{IP} Peter [_I _]] too.

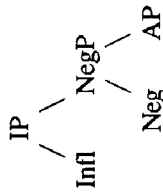
In (23), deletion affects the constituent I'; the adverb *too* is IP adjoined (Akmajian & Wasow 1975), and therefore it is not affected by deletion of I'. However, all elements dominated by I' *must* be affected by deletion, given the Constituency condition.¹⁰ The conclusion we arrive at, therefore, is that the only reason why examples like (21) must contain Tense in the second conjunct is that deletion of Tense will violate either the Recoverability Condition or the Constituency Condition on deletion, given the fact that NegP is dominated by IP in English.

The structure of Basque negative clauses proposed in this paper differs from English precisely with respect to the dominance relations holding between IP and NegP. In Basque, NegP dominates IP. The structure in (24a) illustrates this, whereas (24b) illustrates the structure of an English negative clause (Pollock 1989, (Chomsky 1989)).¹¹

(24) a. Basque



b. English



If the reason for the ungrammaticality of (22) depends crucially on the fact that NegP is dominated by IP in English, a prediction made for Basque is that the parallel of (22) will be grammatical in this language: it will not violate the Recoverability condition, since both IP and VP are recoverable from the first conjunct, and it will not violate the Constituency condition either, because NegP is not dominated by IP: There is a syntactic constituent that includes both IP and VP, making satisfaction of the Constituency condition possible, and this syntactic node excludes NegP, making satisfaction of the Recoverability condition possible as well. This prediction is borne out, as shown in (25):

- (25) Marik liburua erosi du baina Peruk ez
 Mary-E book-the bought has but Peter-E not
 'Mary has bought the book but Peter hasn't'

¹⁰ The phenomenon of 'Gapping' is not included in this discussion. See Hudson (1976), (1982) for a discussion of the distinctive properties constraining 'Gapping', that do not affect deletion.

¹¹ AP here is used as a cover term for AgrP and AspP. Under the analysis of Basque presented here, AP stands for Aspect Phrase. However, under Pollock (1989) AP in English stands for Agreement Phrase, and under Chomsky (1989) it stands for Object Agreement Phrase. What the name or nature of that projection is will not affect the conclusion of this argument. It has been argued that English AP is actually an Aspect Phrase (Iatridou 1988). For evidence that the AP in Basque could not be any kind of Agreement Phrase, see Cheng & Demirdache (1990), and Laka (1993a).

All the examples discussed so far involve sentence negation, and not contrastive negation of the subject. Consider in particular the following English sentence:

(26) Mary bought the book, but not Peter

(26) is felicitous only if the subject of the first conjunct is focalized, and the negation preceding the subject in the second conjunct is an instance of contrastive negation. Contrastive negation requires that the contrastively negated constituent have an antecedent of the same syntactic type that is focalized. Hence, (27) is also a case of contrastive negation on the subject:

(27) it was Mary, not Peter, who bought the book

This type of negation yields ungrammaticality whenever the appropriate antecedent fails to be focalized. Consider (28), where only the object 'the book' has been focalized:

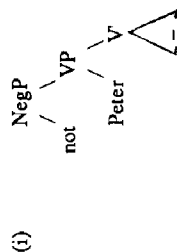
(28) * Mary bought THE BOOK, not Peter

The only available interpretation now is that Mary bought the book instead of buying Peter. The sentence is ungrammatical in the intended meaning of (27). This interaction with focalization does not arise in the cases involving NegP discussed previously. Thus, consider (29):

(29) a. MARY bought the book, but Peter didn't
b. Mary bought THE BOOK, but Peter didn't

Therefore, we can conclude that (26) does not involve NegP.¹²

¹² Richard Larson (p.c.) suggest that (26) might involve a VP-internal subject left intact by deletion under NegP, as in the representation in (i):



This analysis, although attractive, presents a number of problems. In (i), Infl must have been deleted as well as V, which violates the Constituency condition on deletion. Moreover, it appears that V' deletion is not an available choice, in light of examples like (ii), adapted from Akmajian & Wasow (1975):

- (ii) a. John said that there are [_{VP} many people dancing in the streets], but there aren't [_{VP}]
b. *John said that there are many people dancing in the streets, but there aren't many people [_{VP}]

Moreover, contrastive negation is not restricted to the most external element in VP. Consider (iii):
(iii) Mary bought a book, not a horse

Crucially, the Basque example in (25) is not a case of contrastive negation of the subject. In Basque, focalized elements must be left-adjacent to the Verb-Auxiliary complex (Ortiz de Urbina 1989). The examples in (30) show how focalizing different constituents of the first conjunct does not affect the grammaticality of the second conjunct (where IP has been deleted):

- (30) a. Marik LIBURUA erosi du, baina Peruk ez [_{IP}]
Mary-E book-the bought has but Peter not
'Mary has bought THE BOOK, but Peter hasn't'
b. *MARIK erosi du liburua, baina Peruk ez [_{IP}]
MARY-E bought book-the, but Peter not
'MARY has bought the book, but Peter hasn't'

In instances of contrastive negation, however, Basque and English behave alike. Contrastive negation in Basque precedes the contrasted constituent. The Basque equivalent of English (26) is shown in (31a). (31b) is the equivalent of (28), where focalization of the object yields contrastive negation of the subject ungrammatical.

- (31) a. *MARIK erosi du liburua, ez Peruk
Mary-E bought has book-the, not Peter-E
'Mary bought the book, not Peter'
b. *MARIK LIBURUA erosi du, ez Peruk

The explanation of why English and Basque behave differently with respect to IP deletion in these cases is straightforward under the proposal presented here: in English, deletion of IP could not take place without deletion of NegP as well, under the Constituency condition. Further, the Constituency condition is crucially required to rule out cases of deletion that satisfy the Recoverability condition ((22)). However, nothing prevents deletion of IP in Basque in these cases, because NegP is not dominated by IP, and thus it can be left intact after deleting the entire IP, which is recoverable from the antecedent of the conjunct.

Under the view that 'not' in (iii) is the head of NegP, we are bound to accept that all the material in the VP containing a horse has been deleted (the subject, the Verb), violating the Constituency condition, which is crucially required to rule out cases like (52). For the purposes of this discussion, I assume that not is adjoined to the contrasted constituent, as in (iv):
(iv) [_{DP} not [_{DP} Peter]]

3.2. Negative Polarity Item licensing: Basque versus English.

The second piece of evidence supporting the claim that NegP dominates IP in Basque comes from Negative Polarity Item (NPI) licensing by negation. It is a well known fact that English displays a subject-object asymmetry with respect to NPI licensing, in that sentence negation does not license subject NPIs, but it licenses object NPIs (Ladusaw 1979):

- (32) a. *anybody didn't come
 b. Mary didn't see anything

These facts are accounted for by assuming that negation licenses NPIs under c-command at S-Structure. Early works on the topic took essentially this position. Klima (1964) proposed a suppletion rule deriving NPIs from underlying positive counterparts, which applied to expressions preceded and commanded by an overt negation.¹³ More recently, Progovac (1988) develops a proposal based on Aoun's Generalized Binding Theory (1986), where c-command is built into the notion of SUBJECT accessibility.

In a configuration like the one proposed here for Basque (17), negation c-commands all arguments in IP, both at D-Structure and S-Structure. This correlates with the fact that Basque displays no subject-object asymmetries with respect to NPI licensing by negation. NPIs in subject position are licensed in this language, as illustrated in (33):

- (33) a. ez dio inork Iboni etxea eman
 no has anybody Ibon-to house-the given
 'nobody has given the house to Ibon'
 (lit: anybody hasn't given the house to Ibon)
 b. ez da inor etorri
 no has anybody come
 'nobody came'
 (lit: anybody didn't come)

The examples in (33a) and (33b) show ergative and absolutive subject NPIs respectively. In both cases negation licenses the Polarity Item in the Specifier of IP. The examples in (34a,b) show that these lexical items are indeed Negative Polarity Items: in (34a) *inor* "anybody" is not in the domain of a licenser, and thus the sentence is ungrammatical; in (34b), *inor* "anybody" appears in a conditional clause, another NPI licensing environment, where it is licensed and

¹³ Klima's (1964) rule applied if the item was 'in construction with' sentence negation. A constituent is 'in construction with' another constituent if the former is dominated by the first branching node that dominates the latter. The concept is thus the converse of the c-command notion.

receives an existential interpretation. This shows that elements like *inor* are not universal negative quantifiers:

- (34) a. *inor etorri da
 anybody arrived has
 b. inor etoritzen bada, badakizu zer esan
 anybody arrive if-has do-know-you what say
 'if anybody arrives, you know what to say'

That there is no adjacency requirement in the licensing is shown by the example in (35), where the ergative subject intervenes between negation and the NPI:

- (35) ez dio [IP Ibonek inori etxea eman t_i]
 no has Ibon anybody-to house-the given
 'Ibon hasn't given the house to anybody'

There are two cases of negation in English that have the same effects that Basque sentence negation does, because c-command of the whole IP constituent obtains at S-Structure. The first case is the *no way* colloquial negation used in some registers and varieties of English.¹⁴ This kind of negation does indeed license subject NPIs in English, as (36) illustrates:

- (36) no way anybody is gonna tell me what to do

The negative adverb *no way* is in a pre-sentential position, either adjoined to IP or at some higher position. For the purposes of this argument it is enough that it is c-commanding IP at S-Structure, a claim that I take to be uncontroversial, given that it precedes the subject of the sentence. The second case is found in the phenomenon that Klima (1964) called "Neg-preposing": a negative constituent is fronted to sentence initial position, triggering movement of Infl to a sentence second position. In cases of "Neg-preposing" also, subject NPIs are licensed in English, just like in Basque. The first sentence of S. Gould's *Wonderful Life* instantiates this phenomenon:

- (37) not since the Lord himself showed his stuff to Ezekiel in the valley of dry bones had anyone brought such grace to the reconstruction of animals from disarticulated skeletons.

Negative Polarity Item licensing data, then, provide further empirical support for the analysis proposed: Negation always c-commands IP in Basque, whereas it only does so in certain instances involving head

¹⁴ Thanks to D. Pesetsky for bringing these facts, and their relevance to this argument, to my attention.

movement in English. More specifically, NegP dominates IP in Basque, whereas IP dominates NegP in English. Neg does not lower to Infl at S-Structure in Basque; instead, it stays in a position where it c-commands the external argument of IP, thus being able to license subject NPIs.

4. The Tense C-command Condition: embedded clauses and infinitivals.

The second main aspect in the analysis of Basque negation presented here involves raising of Infl to Neg at S-Structure. Within the Standard Theory of Principles and Parameters that constitutes the background of this analysis, nothing is violated if negation and Infl stay separate also at S-Structure, as they are at D-Structure. The question is to determine what rules out a S-Structure like (38), where Neg and Infl do not merge together:

- (38) *[NegP ez [p Ibon etorri da]]
'Ibon hasn't arrived'

Under the TC stated in (2), the S-Structure representation in (38) does violate a general condition: Negation is an inflectional head (it may be selected by Comp in Basque), and it is not c-commanded by Tense at S-Structure. Let us now review our analysis of Basque sentence negation under a condition like the TC. In a configuration like the one proposed for Basque (17), the structural relation demanded by the TC does not hold at D-structure. The only way in which Tns can govern Neg at S-Structure is by resorting to "move": Infl, which contains Tns, moves to Neg. This movement operation results in the configuration in (39):

- (39)
$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Neg}^\circ \\ / \quad \backslash \\ \text{Tns}^\circ \quad \text{Neg}^\circ \end{array}$$

This movement is local and the trace left by Tns is antecedent governed (Baker 1988), hence no violation results from it. Moreover, the resulting configuration satisfies the c-command relation required by the TC. In fact, movement of Tns to Neg is the minimal operation required in Basque to satisfy the TC.

4.1. Negation in embedded sentences.

The descriptive generalizations about Basque sentence negation presented in the previous sections hold of matrix negative sentences, but not of embedded ones. Thus, for example, relative clauses display the

opposite pattern of matrix negatives, as illustrated in the following examples:

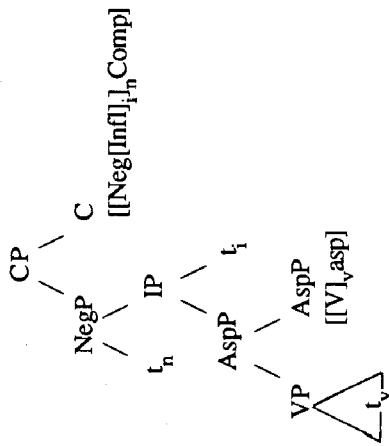
- (40) a. [_{CP} erori ez den] etxea
fallen not has-that house-the
'the house that didn't fall-down'
b. *_{CP} ez den erori] etxea
not has-that fallen house-the
'the house that didn't fall'

In these examples, the lexical verb must precede the negated auxiliary (40a), otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical (40b). This paradigm is exactly the opposite of matrix sentence negation, where the negated inflected auxiliary must precede the lexical verb (4); rather, embedded negative sentences pattern like declarative matrix sentences, in that the main verb must precede the inflected auxiliary (8). A second property that distinguished matrix declarative sentences from negative ones was the adjacency requirement between the verb and the auxiliary: whereas in declarative sentences no argument can intervene between the verb and the inflected auxiliary, in negative sentences any number of arguments can intervene between the negated auxiliary and the verb. Embedded negative sentences again pattern like matrix declaratives with respect to the adjacency requirement. No argument can intervene between the verb and the negated auxiliary, as illustrated in (41):

- (41) a. [_{CP} Paulek erosi ez duen] etxea
Paul-E bought not has-that house-the
'the house that Paul hasn't bought'
b. *_{CP} erosi Paulek ez duen] etxea

Apart from the facts about negation just illustrated, the only overt difference between root and embedded clauses is the occurrence of a Comp marker in the latter. The Complementizer is a bound morpheme in Basque, and it occurs attached at the end of the inflected auxiliary. It is then natural to assume that it is the head of Comp that is making the difference in embedded sentence negation. In embedded clauses, the same processes discussed in the previous section take place, and that what makes root and embedded clauses diverge with respect to negation is a further movement: the complex head [Neg-Infl] adjoins to Comp in embedded clauses.¹⁵ The derivation is illustrated in (42) (ignoring X' levels for simplicity):

¹⁵ Not all embedded clauses behave alike with respect to negation. Some of them may optionally behave like matrix clauses. See Laka (1989) for a more detailed discussion of these cases.



Two successive movements are involved in (42): (i) as in root clauses, and for the same reasons as in main clauses (that is, to satisfy the TC), Infl raises to negation also in embedded clauses.

(ii) The head of C is filled by a bound morpheme that has to be attached to Infl at S-Structure; therefore, the head [Neg-Infl] further raises to Comp. This latter movement does not alter the S-Structure scope properties of the negation head, since from that position it still commands IP. That the scope of negation is not altered in embedded clauses is shown by the fact that Subject Polarity Items are also licensed in embedded clauses:

- (43) [inork erosi ez duen] etxea
 anybody bought not has-that house-the
 the house that nobody bought'
 (lit: the house that anybody didn't buy)

Note that adjacency or precedence requirements play no role, since arguments can intervene between the Polarity Item and Neg without affecting the licensing:¹⁶

- (44) [inork Iboni eman ez dion] etxea
 anybody Ibon-to give no has-that house-the
 'the house that nobody gave to Ibon'

Under this analysis, both surface morpheme ordering and negative polarity licensing are accounted for straightforwardly, assuming

¹⁶ Ladusaw (1979) presents a scope principle for English where precedence is required, if licenser and NPI are clausemates. If we try to extend this scope principle to Basque, this precedence requirement is problematic. Even if we change the precedence requirement to a 'followed by' requirement according to the head parameter, the Basque case is still problematic, since both when preceded or when followed is the NPI licensed, provided that c-command is met. See Laka (1990) for an alternative to Ladusaw's requirement on precedence and clause-mateness in NPI licensing.

standard c-command relations and head-movement. Thus, movement of the complex head [Neg-Infl] to Comp yields the surface order of negative embedded clauses illustrated in (40), and no further stipulation is needed to account both for surface constituent ordering and NPI licensing (41), (43), (44).

4.2. When Tense is not there: infinitivals.

The TC is a requirement on Tense: it states that this syntactic category must c-command the inflectional heads that operate on the clause. It is this property of UG that explains why in Basque the auxiliary fronts. If it is the head Tense that is crucially involved in these syntactic phenomena, we expect that clauses lacking Tense will not display such phenomena. I will now argue that this prediction is indeed borne out. Consider the following Basque infinitival sentences:

- (45) a. ez gezurrik esan
 not lies-part say
 'do not say lies'
 b. hamaika bider agindu dizut [ez ardorik edateko]
 eleven times demanded I-have-you not wine-part drink-to
 'I have told you one thousand times not to drink wine'

The object of the infinitival clause intervenes now between the negation *ez* and the infinitival *esan* in (45a) and *edateko* in (45b). Recall that no element could intervene between the negative morpheme and the auxiliary in finite clauses. The examples in (46) illustrate that it is not only the object that can intervene between negation and the infinitival verb: in (46a) we see a dative and the object, both in between *ez* 'not' and *esan* 'say'. In (46b) we see a time adjunct *igandean* 'on Sunday' and the object, placed between *ez* 'not' and the embedded infinitival *edateko* 'to drink':

- (46) a. ez umeari gezurrik esan
 no kid-to lie-part say
 'do not tell lies to the kid'
 b. isekok eskatu dit [ez igandean ardorik edateko]
 auntie asked has-me not sunday-on wine-prt drink-to
 'auntie has asked me not to drink wine on Sunday'

Non-finite clauses are the only cases in Basque where the sentence negation morpheme can surface unattached. Under the TC hypothesis, why this is so is trivially explained: there is no Tense head in the clause, and thus there is no requirement to be met. This evidence shows that the effects induced by the TC cannot be reduced to a morphological requirement governing inflectional morphemes. Negation must not be

marked in as a bound morpheme in the lexicon. If that were the case, it would have to cliticize onto some other elements in the examples in (45) and (46), and it would not be able to occur as a free standing form. I assume that Neg is marked for its X° status, and that it is the interaction of independent principles of UG, like the TC, that determine whether some other element will move to that X° position or not, yielding Neg as a morpheme on a larger free-standing unit.

5. Evidence for TC in other grammars.

5.1. Modern Hebrew.

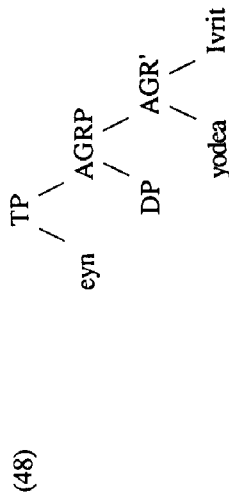
Under the assumption that the TC holds universally, the prediction made is that no language will allow a sentence negation that is not governed by Tense in a finite sentence. However, Neg is not required to be governed by Tense in a sentence lacking Tense. A counterexample for the TC, then, would be a head-initial language allowing a string like [Neg ...X... V/I] in a tensed clause. Hebrew sentence negation appears to be this case.¹⁷ Modern Hebrew has two different negation particles, *eyn* and *lo*, with the following distribution (examples from Ritter 1988):

- (47) a. *eyn* Dani *yodea* Ivrit
 neg Danny knows Hebrew
 'Danny doesn't know Hebrew'
 b. **eyn* Dani *yada* Ivrit
 neg Danny knew Hebrew
 'Danny didn't know Hebrew'
 c. **lo* Dani *yada* Ivrit
 neg Danny knew Hebrew
 'Danny didn't know Hebrew'
 d. Dani *lo* *yada* Ivrit
 Danny neg knew Hebrew
 'Danny didn't know Hebrew'

Example (47a) looks like a direct counterexample for the TC. Interestingly, though, the distribution of *eyn* and *lo* is determined precisely by the presence versus absence of Tns in the sentence. The negative element *eyn* only occurs in infinitives, gerunds and what are called 'benoni' verbs. Berman (1978) distinguishes Hebrew verbs in terms of the feature [Tense]: past and future finite forms are [+Tense], infinitives and gerunds are [-Tense], and 'benoni' verbs are [0 Tense]. Doron (1983) and Rapoport (1985) claim that the Inflection of benoni verbs contains Agr but not Tns. Under an analysis along the lines of

¹⁷ The following Hebrew paradigm was provided by Betsy Ritter, who pointed out its relevance for the TC.

Pollock's work, where Agr and Tns are two different heads, Ritter (1988) argues that *eyn* occupies the head Tns as in (48):



Therefore, the example in (47a) does not violate the TC, since either there is no Tense in the sentence, or *eyn* itself bears the Tense features of the clause. The case of the negative element *lo* is more similar to negation in English: it is an adjoined particle governed by Tense at S-Structure, thus the ungrammaticality of (47c), where it is not governed by Tense, in violation of the TC.

5.2. Southern Romance: Catalan, Italian, Spanish.

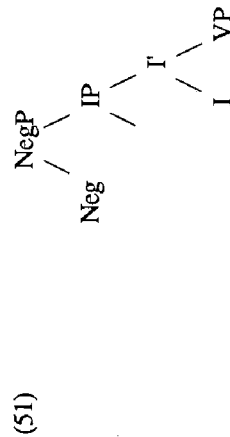
I follow Zanuttini's (1989), (1991) proposal that in Catalan, Italian, Spanish and other Southern Romance languages NegP is generated above TP. That is to say, Southern Romance negative sentences are basically identical to Basque negative sentences, modulo the head parameter. If both grammars generate NegP above Tense, the TC hypothesis predicts that Tense raises to Neg at S-Structure in these languages. Before showing how this is borne out, I will present some independent evidence in support of the claim that NegP is generated above TP in Spanish. Let us consider deletion. Section (3.1) showed that Basque and English differ crucially in cases of conjunction-induced deletion when the second conjunct contains sentence negation. Thus, whereas Basque grammar has the possibility of deleting the entire IP and leaving the NegP intact, English cannot delete Inflection, because NegP is dominated by it. The crucial contrast is repeated here:

- (49) a. Marik liburu bat erosi du eta Peruk ez
 b. *Mary bought a book and Peter not
 c. Mary bought a book and Peter didn't

If NegP is generated above TP in Southern Romance, conjunction-induced deletion ought to pattern like Basque, and unlike English. This is indeed the case, as shown for Spanish (50a), Catalan (50b) and Italian (50c):

- (50) a. la Maria ha comprat un llibre però en Pere no
 b. Maria ha comprado un libro pero Pedro no
 c. Maria comprò un libro ma Pietro no

The sentences in (50) are not instances of contrastive negation; they are the equivalent of (49a) and (49c).¹⁸ Focalization does not affect the grammaticality of (49) (cf. the discussion in section 3.1). We can thus conclude that the structure of a negative clause in these Romance languages is the one given in (51):



Except for the choice of the head parameter, this structure is equivalent to the one for Basque. According to the TC, then, Infl will be required to raise to Neg at S-Structure, in order to establish a government relation. That this movement takes place is shown by the Spanish data in (52), which hold also for Catalan and Italian:

- (52) a. María_i [_{NegP} no compró_j [_{IP} pro_i t_j el libro]]
 b. * [_{NegP} no [_{IP} María compró el libro]]
 c. [_{NegP} no compró_j [_{IP} María t_j el libro]]

The subject can appear before or after negation, but never intervene between Neg and Infl. Given that subjects can be left or right dislocated, or stay in situ, it is possible to have a dislocated subject, like the one in (52a), or a subject in situ, as in (52c). It is however impossible to have an S-Structure representation where the subject sits in the Spec of IP and the verb in the head of IP, and where Neg stands un-governed (52b). These facts are essentially the same as the ones in Basque: The TC forces movement of Infl to Neg by S-Structure when Tense is generated below NegP and movement is an available option.

¹⁸ In the case of Italian, the negative word *no* appears in these deletion cases, rather than the negative element *non* that is found in full negative sentences. An anonymous reviewer suggests that this *no* might be a proform for a negated IP; this is further suggested by the fact that it may follow a complementizer: *penso di no, penso che no* 'I think not'. However, it can still be argued that Italian is like Basque, Spanish and Catalan regarding deletion, since the *Tns* marker is not present in the second conjunct. Italian would only differ in having a special negative marker for deletion cases, which would still head a NegP above TP.

6. Conclusion.

In this paper, I have presented cross-linguistic evidence involving negation, in support of the *T-c-command Condition*, a universal well-formedness requirement on inflectional structures. I have also presented evidence that inflectional structures are not universal; rather, grammars allow variation as to what dominance relations may hold among different functional projections. In Basque, NegP dominates IP; the D-Structure representation violates the TC. Hence, some operation must take place in the mapping from D-Structure to S-Structure for the TC to be satisfied. "Move α " applies: Infl raises to Neg, and government is met. Southern Romance (Catalan, Italian, Spanish), is essentially identical to Basque in this respect, modulo the head-parameter. Modern Hebrew presents specialized negative markers that are sensitive to Tense: only the negative head that is selected in un-tensed environments can appear in a configuration where no other inflectional element governs it. If correct, the proposals in this paper strongly support the hypothesis that parametric variation among grammars is restricted to the functional, non-substantive part of the lexicon (Chomsky 1989). The task at hand is to determine what underlying principles, if any, produce as a result conditions on inflectional structures like the *T-c-command Condition*. A second question to which this paper provides only a partial answer is whether the variation among dominance relations among various functional projections is constrained to a few choices.

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