

## **Focus in Tsakhur**

Konstantin Kazenin

(Moscow State University and University of Tübingen)

Mailing address: Dr.Konstantin Kazenin  
Kholzunov pereulok 6-53  
Moscow RF-119021

E-mail: [kazenin@philol.msu.ru](mailto:kazenin@philol.msu.ru)

## Focus in Tsakhur

### Abstract

This paper explores focus phenomena in Tsakhur, a language of Nakh-Daghestanian family (East Caucasus, Russian Federation). Focus in this language is marked in a very non-standard way: the focused constituent is followed by a marker of some verbal category (tense, polarity, modality), which is attached to the verb in the absence of focusing of a constituent. The focused constituent either remains in situ or undergoes extraction; extracted focus and focus in situ demonstrate regular differences with respect to locality. I argue that the distribution of the focus markers in Tsakhur is identical to that of the «focus particles» (even, only) and the negation in English: they can (1) follow the verb, being associated with an intonationally marked focus; (2) follow focus in situ, being adjoined to it; or (3) follow extracted focus. I show that acknowledging these three structural positions of focus markers is necessary in order to account for a number of intricate morphosyntactic phenomena of the focus construction, including agreement. At the same time, I argue against the analysis proposed for similar focus in situ constructions in other languages, which assumes that focus is actually extracted, and non-focused material preceding it is scrambled to the left of it.

## 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

This paper deals with grammatical means to express information partition of the sentence in Tsakhur, one of the languages of Daghestan (Nakh-Daghestanian family), spoken in the North-Eastern part of the Caucasus (in the south of the Republic of Daghestan, belonging to the Russian Federation, and in the north of neighboring Azerbaijan). Specifically, I will be concerned with expression of focus. The general approach to focus adopted in this paper is based on the relational theory of focus advocated by Moser (1992) and Drubig (1994) and the distinction between contrastive and presentational focus proposed by Kiss (1996, 1998; see also Drubig 1998) (I outline the essence of this approach and the notion of focus entailed by it in section 2).

Marking of focus is one of the most intricate components of the grammar of Tsakhur and a number of other Daghestanian languages, and challenges the current views on focus in a number of aspects. In general, focus is marked by morphemes of certain verbal categories, which must be attached to the focused constituent rather than to the verb when the latter is out of focus. Consider (1) as an example. In (1a), in which the verb is included in the focus, the positive auxiliary *wor* occupies its «default» position inside the verbal form. In contrast, in (1b-c) it is attached to the focused NP, indicating that the verb itself is out of focus<sup>2</sup>:

- (1) a. all-ē    Xaw            aljaʔa            **wor=r.**  
Ali-ERG    house            build.IPF        **POS=1**  
Ali is building the house.

- b. all-ē      **wo=r**      Xaw      aljaʔa.  
 Ali-ERG   **POS=1**      house      build.IPF  
 [F<sub>F</sub>Ali] is building the house.
- c. all-ē      Xaw      **wo=r**      aljaʔa.  
 Ali-ERG   house      **POS=1**      build.IPF  
 Ali is building [F<sub>F</sub>the house].

The following two properties of focus marking in Tsakhur become immediately evident from these examples. First, focus is marked by an element which is not a designated «focus marker», but at the same time expresses some verbal category, polarity in the present example. Second, the constituent morphologically marked as focus does not need to be extracted — as (1c) shows, focus can be licensed in situ, being embedded in non-focused material.

It is the focus in situ construction what makes focusing in Tsakhur challenging for current linguistic theory, as it raises questions about the status of the focus morphemes: being markers of certain verbal categories, in focus in situ constructions they are attached to a constituent subordinate to the verb. This structural configuration is rather nonstandard. I will attempt to argue, however, that it is not unique. Specifically, I will try to show that the syntactic distribution of Tsakhur focus markers resembles in a crucial way the distribution of focus particles *only*, *even* and *not* in English. Adopting the syntactic approach of English focus particles proposed in Drubig (1994), who argues against their non-syntactic analysis in the spirit of Mats Rooth (1985), I propose a similar structural

account of Tsakhur focus markers. Under such treatment, the Tsakhur focus markers are generated as adjuncts to the focused constituent and are optionally extracted together with that constituent into the A'-position designated for focus. I will attempt to argue that the focus construction in Tsakhur crucially supports this analysis by agreement facts and some other characteristics. The difference between English and Tsakhur, under the analysis advocated in this paper, is that in the latter the elements with such distributional possibilities not merely import the semantics of focus, but also express certain verbal categories.

It will be shown in the present paper that such treatment of Tsakhur focus markers enables us to explain some further intricacies of Tsakhur focus, namely (1) possibility for matrix focus markers to occur within islands; (2) special agreement patterns observed in focus constructions.

After outlining briefly the general approach to focus which I adopt in this paper (section 2) and some basics of Tsakhur syntax (section 3), in section 4 I will introduce the key characteristics of the focus construction. An analysis of the focus construction which would explain its "abnormal" properties will be argued for in section 5.

Tsakhur has an outstanding variety of focus markers — virtually all markers expressing verbal categories, following the verb in the absence of a focused constituent, are attached to the focused constituent if there is one in the sentence. The variety of focus markers, however, is beyond the subject of the present paper. For presentational purposes, I confine myself to two focus markers — *wod* and *deJ* (other focus markers as well as their combinatorics is discussed in Kazenin 1999b). This choice is not quite arbitrary because out of all the focus markers, only *wor* demonstrates class agreement, which will

be important for my argumentation in the present paper; as far as *de]* is concerned, it is often combined with *wor*, and combinations of the two markers allow to make a proposal about the functional structure in which they occur. As I will attempt to argue in section 5.1, the marker *wor* actually has to be split into two markers, one heading the Polarity Phrase, the other one heading the Modality Phrase; *de]*, being a marker of negation, always heads the Polarity Phrase.

It has to be emphasized that the two focus markers which I have chosen for more careful study in this paper share with the other focus markers the properties which my analysis will attempt to explain, in the first turn the ability to mark focus in situ. For simplicity, and making reverence to their traditional treatment in Caucasian linguistics, below I will call *wor* and *de]* auxiliaries, although this probably does not adequately reflect the structural account of these markers which I am going to argue for.

## **2. Some remarks on the notion and representation of focus**

In this paper I follow the common perception of focus as the most highlighted, foregrounded part of the sentences, opposed to its backgrounded components. Every sentence has one or several possible interpretations with respect to the “focus-background” opposition. When several interpretations are available, the choice between them depends upon the context. For example, the English sentence (2), with the pitch accent (indicated in (2) and the subsequent English examples by capitalisation) on the subject, can only be uttered when the subject is focused, whereas the verb and the object are backgrounded. This is evidenced by the fact that (2) can be a valid answer to the

question ‘Who broke the car?’, but not e.g. to the questions ‘What did Mary do?’ or ‘What happened?’:

(2) MARY broke the car.

In contrast, (3), with the pitch accent on the object, is possible when either only the object, or the VP, or the whole sentence are focused; in each case, (3) is valid as an answer to the questions ‘What did Mary break?’, ‘What did Mary do?’ and ‘What happened?’, respectively (see Selkirk 1984):

(3) Mary broke THE CAR.

Some recent studies of focus have shown that focus is not a structurally uniform phenomenon. A crucial distinction between two types of focus, one called contrastive (or identificational) and the other one presentational (or information), is argued for in Drubig (1994) and Kiss (1996, 1998). Semantically, information focus roughly corresponds to the common concept of ‘new’ (cf. Chafe 1976). Contrastive focus, unlike information focus, is characterised by exhaustiveness: it implies that the predicate phrase holds only for the focused element out of a set of elements given in the context or in the situation.

The English sentences just considered provide examples of information focus when they are used as answers to the questions listed above. When used in this way, these sentences do not imply that the predicate phrase is true only for the accented element but not for any other element of a relevant set: e.g., (2) does not imply that no other person

from some relevant set besides Mary broke the car. In other words, focus here is not exhaustive.

In contrast, foci in (2')-(3') have the exhaustive interpretation if they bear contrastive stress, and the context or situation supplies a set of elements out of which the predicate phrase holds only for the focused one:

(2') MARY (not John) broke the car.

(3') Mary broke THE CAR (not the canoe).

Kiss (1998) argues at length that the opposition between presentational (in her terms, information) and contrastive (in her terms, identificational) foci is relevant not only in semantics and phonology, but also in syntax. First of all, she shows that in some languages the two types of focus are associated with different syntactic positions. Thus, in Hungarian contrastive foci must be located immediately before the verb, whereas presentational foci normally occur after the verb (under Kiss' analysis, the position of focus in (4) corresponds to the Spec of FocusPhrase, whereas the focused constituent in (5) remains inside the VP):

(4) Marí Pétert hívta fel

Mary Peter.ACC called up

'It was Peter that Mary called up.'

(5) Marí fel hívta Pétert



Mary up called Peter.ACC

'Mary called up Peter.'

In a similar fashion, English optionally employs the cleft construction for contrastive, but never for presentational focus (see Delin 1994, Drubig 1998, but cf. Prince 1978 for some potential counterevidence; see also 5.3 for further comments on clefts). Sentence initial position is typical of contrastive, but not presentational focus in a number of languages, including Standard Arabic (Ouhalla 1994) and Romanian (Göbbel 1996). Also, many languages use special focus particles in contrastive focus constructions which are not available in presentational focus.

Second, Kiss shows that the two types of focus demonstrate regular grammatical differences even in languages in which they are not distinguished morphosyntactically. Some of these differences are listed below:

1. Contrastive focus, even when it does not move in syntax, shows properties associated with movement at LF. For example, it exhibits Weak Crossover Effects; compare the ill-formedness of (6) with contrastive focus on John (this type of example was noted as early as Chomsky 1977):

(6) ??His<sub>i</sub> mother loves JOHN<sub>i</sub>.

This sentence, under the given coreference reading, is acceptable only in the absence of contrastive focusing. At the same time, the coreference banned by focusing is equally impossible with (overt) Wh-movement (7) and (covert) quantifier raising (8):

(7) ??Whom<sub>i</sub> does his<sub>i</sub> mother love t<sub>i</sub>?

(8) ??His<sub>i</sub> mother loves everyone<sub>i</sub>.

Therefore, the unacceptability of (6) is explained under the assumption that the focused constituent is moved at LF (Chomsky 1981). It should be mentioned, however, that Weak Crossover Effects by themselves seldom give solid evidence for movement, mainly due to subtleness of the relevant grammaticality judgements.

Another (probably more important) piece of evidence for LF movement of contrastive focus comes from the fact that contrastive focusing obeys locality constraints. This is plain in languages where overt syntactic movement of contrastive focus takes place: e.g. in Hungarian (Horvath 1986), Standard Arabic (Ouhalla 1994), Basque (Ortiz de Urbina 1995), contrastive focus, being moved in syntax, obeys the standard island constraints. However, languages without overt movement of contrastive focus do also give evidence that contrastive focusing obeys locality. This has been shown by Drubig (1994), whose argument is crucially based on replacive focus constructions, in which the focus associated with negation is replaced by an alternative. When focus in such constructions is embedded in a syntactic island, the alternative is represented as the whole island rather than the element marked by contrastive stress:

(9) Mary didn't invite [the girl in the BLUE dress],

a. but [the girl in the [RED] dress].

b. \*but [RED].

Irrelevant details omitted, Drubig argues that in sentences like (9) assignment of focus to the dependent of the island is blocked by Subjacency, and therefore the whole island is assigned the focus feature.

Locality constraints are traditionally explained by assuming that the processes which obey them involve movement, either in syntax or at LF. Locality constraints thus give most solid evidence in favour of LF movement of contrastively focused constituent

In contrast, the relevant phenomena associated with movement usually are not reported for presentational focus (but cf. the discussion of presentational focus in Italian and Modern Hebrew in Beletti & Shlonsky 1995), which makes one think that it does not trigger movement at any level of representation.

2. Contrastive focusing always affects one constituent of a sentence; for presentational focus this requirement does not hold. Thus, according to Kiss (1996:22), (10b), corresponding to Kiss' (31b), is all presentational focus when uttered in the context of (10a):

(10) a. What happened at the race?

b. János autója volt a leggyorsabb

John's car was the fastest

'John's car was the fastest.'

3. Presentational focus can undergo focus projection (see Selkirk 1984). Projection is possible from certain focused constituents marked by a pitch accent in English. For

example, in (11), although the object bears the pitch accent, the domain of new information can in fact be wider: it can consist of the whole VP or even the whole clause:

(11) John has bought a new CAR.

According to Selkirk (1984), focus in English can be projected to a constituent either from its head or from its complements. This explains why the projection of focus is possible in (3), where focus is projected from the verbal complement to the VP, and further on to the IP from the VP as its complement (see Drubig 1994 for some comments). Also Selkirk's rule explains why focus projection is blocked in (2): the focused subject occupies neither the head nor the complement position within the superordinate constituent (the IP) and thus it cannot project focus.

The impossibility of projection of contrastive focus falls out for free (at least for English, where Selkirk's rule is sure to be at work) if it is assumed that contrastive focus undergoes movement. As soon as a contrastively focused constituent undergoes movement, it surely does not occupy either a complement or a head position, from where only focus percolation is allowed in English.

4. Contrastive focus can take scope over various kinds of operators, such as Wh-words or quantifiers. These scope relations obey general rules of scope in a given language. Thus, in Hungarian a quantifier takes scope over contrastive focus when the former precedes the latter, but contrastive focus takes scope over a quantifier under the opposite order (examples from Kiss 1998):

(12) a. Minden          fiú      Marival          akart          táncolni.  
                  every          boy      Mary.with      wanted      to.dance

'For every boy, it was Mary [of the relevant persons] that he wanted to dance with.'

b. Marival          akart          táncolni          minden          fiú.  
     Mary.with      wanted      to.dance      every      boy

'It was Mary [of the relevant persons] that every boy wanted to dance with.'

According to Kiss (1998), (12a) means that every boy wanted to dance only with Mary, i.e. there was no other girl that any boy wanted to dance with; (12b), however, means that Mary was the only girl who every boy wanted to dance with, although any boy could simultaneously want to dance with some other girl. This contrast of meanings is typically observed in combinations of various kinds of operators, e.g. in combinations of a universal and an existential quantifier, or of a quantifier and negation (among the vast amount of literature on this topic, see May 1985 and Aoun and Li 1993 as the most important works). The scope mechanism has been formalised in terms of raising of scope taking entities: an operator taking scope over another one must move to a position from which it c-commands that operator.

In contrast, presentational focus cannot enter into scope relations with quantifiers or other operators. For example, in (13) from Hungarian, in which the postverbal PP is intonationally marked as 'new information', the universal quantifier takes scope over the whole sentence rather than over the focused constituent:

(13) Minden fiú táncolni akart a szépségkirálynővel.  
every boy to.dance wanted the beauty queen with

'Every boy wanted to dance with the beauty queen.'

We see that the two types of focus, labelled presentational and contrastive respectively, demonstrate regular grammatical differences. The properties of contrastive focus listed above are well accounted for under the assumption that the focused NP undergoes movement into a special operator position. This predicts locality effects, Weak Crossover Effects and scope effects in an obvious way.

An important characteristic of the theoretical approach to focus which I have just outlined is that it treats focus as a syntactic phenomenon, subject to the general syntactic constraints such as locality etc. In this respect, the present approach differs radically from the one advocated by Rooth (1985), who argues in favor of a theory of focus which does not treat focus as subject to general syntactic constraints. I believe that the data outlined briefly above gives certain credit to the syntactic approach to focus, adopted in the present paper.

### **3. Some basics in Tsakhur grammar**

#### **3.1. Ergativity**

Like all the other languages of Nakh-Daghestanian family (see Kibrik 1979), Tsakhur is a language with the ergative pattern prevailing in morphology. Case marking is consistently

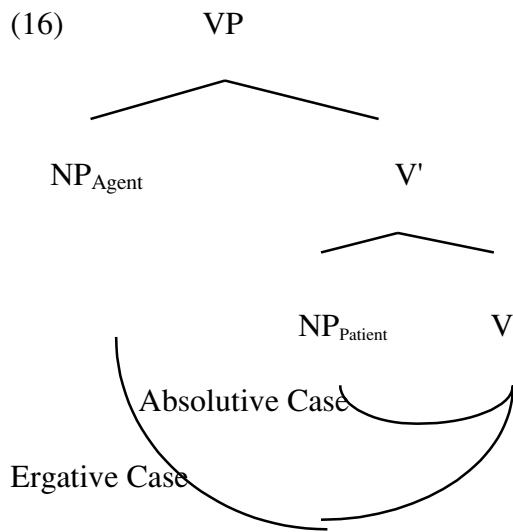
ergative (except for 1st and 2nd person pronouns, which do not distinguish between Ergative and Absolutive cases):

(14) malhamad                      a=r=i.  
Mohammed,ABS                      1=come.PF  
'Mohammed came.'

(15) malhamad-ē    Xaw                      aljaʔ-u  
Mohammed-ERG    house,ABS                      4.build-PF  
'Mohammed built the house.'

Class agreement of a verb is always triggered by the Absolutive NP, be it an intransitive subject or a transitive object. Four nominal agreement classes are distinguished.

In the present paper, I adopt the VP-internal subject hypothesis for Tsakhur, assuming that the subject is generated in the Specifier of the VP and receives the Ergative case from V there:



For general arguments in favour of the VP-internal subject hypothesis, the reader can see Koopman & Sportiche (1991). (16) is accepted as a possible clause structure in ergative languages in Bittner & Hale (1996). Also, the appropriateness of (16) for Tsakhur in particular is argued for in Kazenin & Testelec (1999), where it is shown that Tsakhur is a non-configurational language in the sense that it does not give evidence for the position of any verbal argument outside the VP, viz. in the Spec of IP or other position designated for subject (for most recent discussion of structural correlates of non-configurationality, see Baker (2001)). Among other pieces of evidence, this view is supported by the freedom of word order: being basically an SOV language, Tsakhur allows all the possible word order permutations in matrix sentences:

(17) a. malhamad-ē Xaw aljaʔ-u.

Mohammed-ERG house,ABS 4.build-PF

'Mohammed built the house.'

b. Xaw malhamad-ē aljaʔ-u.



c. malhamad-ē      aljaʔ-u      Xaw.

d. Xaw      aljaʔ-u      malhamad-ē.

e. aljaʔ-u      malhamad-ē Xaw.

f. aljaʔ-u      Xaw      malhamad-ē.

This freedom of word order would be unexpected if one of the NPs, be it the Absolutive or the Ergative, were outside the VP.

### 3.2. Verbal forms

Tsakhur verbs can have three synthetic forms — perfective, imperfective and potential (the latter can function in the meaning of mere future tense, but according to Tatevosov & Maisak 1999 has some additional modality components of meaning). All the three forms can head independent sentences. The sentences in (18a-c) illustrate the use of the perfective, imperfective and potential forms, respectively:

(18) a. malhamad-ē      Xaw      aljaʔ-u.

Mohammed-ERG      house.4,ABS      4.build-PF

'Mohammed built the house.'

b. malhamad-ē      Xaw                      aljaʔ-a.

Mohammed-ERG house.4,ABS              4.build-IPF

'Mohammed is building the house.'

c. malhamad-ē      Xaw                      aljaʔ-as.

Mohammed-ERG house.4,ABS              4.build-POT

'Mohammed will build the house.'

The three synthetic forms can all be combined with a large variety of analytic markers conveying meanings of several categories. The sentences in (19)-(21) illustrate the combinations of the three verbal forms with the positive and negative auxiliaries:

(19) malhamad-ē              Xaw                      aljaʔ-u              wo=d/deš.

Mohammed-ERG house.4,ABS              4.build-PF              AUX=4/AUX.NEG

'Mohammed built/didn't build the house.'

(20) malhamad-ē      Xaw                      aljaʔ-a              wo=d/deš..

Mohammed-ERG house.4,ABS              4.build-IPF              AUX=4/AUX.NEG

'Mohammed is/is not building the house.'

(21) malhamad-ē      Xaw                      aljaʔ-as              wo=d/deš..

Mohammed-ERG house.4,ABS              4.build-POT              AUX=4/AUX.NEG

'Mohammed will/will not build the house.'

Note that the positive auxiliary has the position for class agreement. In (22), this agreement is triggered by the Absolutive NP:

- (22) malhamad-ē                      Xaw                      aljaʔ-u                      wo=**d**.  
       Mohammed-ERG                      house.**4,ABS**                      4.build-PF                      AUX=**4**  
       'Mohammed built/didn't build the house.'

Another possibility attested in Tsakhur is the so-called transparent agreement. In this case, the matrix verb agrees in class with the Absolutive NP of the complement clause. Crucially, this agreement pattern is available only when there is no Absolutive NP in the matrix clause, to the effect that transparent agreement materialises in (23), but not in (24):

- (23) daḱ-i-s                      malhamad                      Gaž-es                      iḱan-**o=r**.  
       father-OBL-DAT    [Mohammed.**1,ABS**                      1.see-POT]                      1.want.IPF-AUX=**1**  
       Father wants to see Mohammed.

- (24) malhamad                      wa-s-qa                      mašin                      hil-es  
       Mohammed.**1,ABS**                      [you.OBL-AD-ALL                      car.**4,ABS**                      4.give-POT]  
       qaIjq'an-**o=r** / \*-**o=d**.  
       1.be.afraid.IPF-AUX=**1**/ \*-AUX=**4**  
       Mohammed is afraid to give you the car.

In (23), the matrix verb subcategorises for the Dative NP and for the complement clause, agreeing 'transparently' with the embedded Absolutive NP. In contrast, the matrix verb of (24) subcategorises for the complement clause and the Absolutive NP, which is the only possible trigger of agreement, blocking agreement with the embedded Absolutive NP. In the present paper, I will not be concerned with accounting for agreement in Tsakhur in structural terms. However, the observations I have just made will be of importance in my argumentation for a particular structure of the focus construction below.

#### **4. The focus construction: general facts**

In the examples considered so far, the auxiliary uniformly followed the verb. However, this is not the only linear position available for the auxiliary. Consider (25), where the positive auxiliary follows the Absolutive NP:

(25) ali-wo=r      a=r=i.

Ali.1-AUX=1 1=come.PF

'<sub>[F</sub>Ali] came.'

Unlike the corresponding sentence where the auxiliary follows the verb, (25) is used only when the Absolutive NP is focused, but the verb is backgrounded. This is evidenced by the fact that (25) is valid as an answer to the question 'Who came?', but not to the question

'What did Ali do?' or 'What happened?'. As an answer to the latter two questions, only the sentence with the auxiliary following the verb is available.

Focusing by attaching an auxiliary is possible not only for Absolutive NPs. Thus, in (26) the auxiliary is attached to the Ergative NP, in (27) it is attached to an adjunct, and in (28) to a dependent of the complement clause:

(26) all-ē      wo=d          ekin          ez-a.  
 Ali-ERG      AUX=4          field.4      4.plough-IPF

'[<sub>F</sub> Ali] ploughs the field.'

(27) rasul          balkan-u-k,a                      **wo=r**      qa=r=i  
 Rasul.1          horse-OBL-COMIT                      **AUX=1** 1=come.PF

'Rasul came [<sub>F</sub> by horse].'

(28) malhamad      wo=r          daḱ-i-s                      Gaž-es      iḱan.  
 Mohammed.1      AUX=1          father-OBL-DAT      1.see-POT      4.want.IPF

'Father wanted to see [<sub>F</sub> Mohammed].'

The import of the "displaced" auxiliary to the semantics of (26)-(28) is the same as in (25): the constituent followed by the auxiliary is marked as the focus. Again, (26)-(28) are valid answers to a wh-question about the agent, the means of transportation, and the patient of the complement clause, respectively, but are invalid as answers to other wh-questions.

The examples just considered demonstrate some important structural characteristics of the construction I am introducing. First, they show that the change of linear position of the auxiliary does not cause any change of case marking. To make sure that this is the case, compare (26)-(28) with respective sentences where the auxiliary takes its 'standard' position after the verb:

(29) all-ē            ekin            ez-a            **wo=d.**

Ali-ERG            field.4            4.plough-IPF            **AUX=4**

'Ali ploughs the field.'

(30) rasul            balkan-u-k,a            qa=r=i            **wo=r.**

Rasul.1            horse-OBL-COMIT            1=come.PF            **AUX=1**

'Rasul came by horse.'

(31) malhamad            daḱ-i-s            Gaž-es            iḱan            **wo=r.**

Mohammed.1 father-OBL-DAT            1.see-POT            4.want.IPF            **AUX=1**

'Father wanted to see [<sub>F</sub> Mohammed].'

It is easy to see that case marking of all the NPs in (29), (30) and (31) is identical with their case marking in (26), (27) and (28) respectively.

Also, the comparison between (29)-(31) and (26)-(28) reveals that the change of linear position of the auxiliary does not yield a change of its class agreement: the agreement obeys the rule outlined in the previous section, whether the auxiliary follows the verb or some other constituent. (In section 5.2 we shall see that this is not always the case: in some rather specific circumstances a change of linear position of the auxiliary implies a change of class agreement. I will claim there that exactly these facts give crucial support for the analysis of focus which I suggest in this paper.)

Finally, the examples show that focusing marked by an auxiliary is not local: whereas in (25)-(27) the auxiliary follows a constituent of the matrix clause, in (28) it is attached to a constituent of the embedded clause. (The issue of locality constraints in Tsakhur focus constructions will be dealt with in more details in section 5.2.)

Consider now the negative auxiliary. Its behaviour is basically the same as that of its positive counterpart, in that it can follow either the verb or any other constituent of the sentence. Following the verb, the auxiliary expresses predicate negation (32); following some other constituent, the auxiliary expresses negation of that constituent (so called 'term negation'; cf. (33)):

(32) xjan      qojxar      deš.

water.4    4.boil.IPF    AUX.NEG

'The water is not boiling.'

(33) xjan      deš              qojxar.

water.4    AUX.NEG    4.boil.IPF

'Not the water is boiling.'

Morphosyntactically, the negative auxiliary differs from the positive one only in one respect: it does not display class agreement. The independence of class agreement upon linear position, which we have attested for the positive auxiliary, cannot therefore be tested for the negative one. However, the other two characteristics we have observed for the positive auxiliary are valid for its negative counterpart as well: (1) case marking of NPs, including the NP followed by the negative auxiliary, is not changed with the change of the auxiliary's linear position, and (2) the negative auxiliary may follow a constituent of an embedded clause marked as the scope of matrix negation. The following example illustrates both properties:

(34) malhamad              deš              daḱ-i-s              Gaž-es              iḱan.

Mohammed.1,ABS    AUX.NEG    father-OBL-DAT    1.see-POT    4.want.IPF

It is not Mohammed whom father wants to see.

So far, we have seen that Tsakhur auxiliaries are not obliged to be linearly attached to the main verb; rather, their linear position in the sentence is variable, and has an impact on the information structure. We have introduced the focus construction, where the



auxiliary is attached to the focused constituent. The next section suggests an analysis of this construction.

## **5. The structural types of focus in Tsakhur**

### 5.1. The auxiliaries

The question about the structure of the focus construction in the present paper can be subdivided into the following two questions: (1) what is the structural position of the focused constituent and (2) what is the structural position of the auxiliary? I start with the former question, addressing in this section the status of the auxiliaries in constructions where they follow the verb, and then turning to their status in focus constructions.

As we have seen in section 3.2, the auxiliaries can be combined with the perfective, imperfective and potential verbal forms. The negative auxiliary expresses mere negation (cf. (32)-(33)). As far as the positive auxiliary is concerned, its semantic function is more complex. According to Tatevosov & Maisak (1999), the positive auxiliary follows the verb if the meaning of the predicate is represented as relevant for the moment of speech; if this specification is not needed, the positive polarity gets zero marking in Tsakhur.

These data seem to suggest the following descriptive solution concerning structural positions of the auxiliaries: they both head a projection which could be called “polarity phrase.” In the case of negation the head of this phrase is occupied by the negative auxiliary; under the positive polarity, it is occupied by the positive auxiliary if relevance of the utterance is emphasised, and is not overtly expressed otherwise. Such an analysis runs

into problems with another piece of data, however: it turns out that in a number of occasions there may be two auxiliaries per clause. Specifically, the following combinations are available: (1) the negative auxiliary followed by the positive polarity marker (cf. (35)) and (2) the reduplication of the positive auxiliary (cf. (36)):

(35) xjan      qojxar      deš-o=d.

water.4    4.boil.IPF      AUX.NEG-AUX=4

'The water is not boiling.'

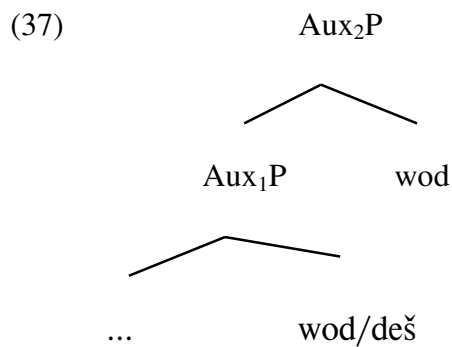
(36) malhamad-ē              Xaw              aljaʔ-u              wo=d=o=d.

Mohammed-ERG              house.4,ABS              4.build-PF              AUX=4=AUX=4

'Mohammed built/didn't build the house.'

(Note that (35) is the only way to express relevance of a negated sentence, since the negative auxiliary itself does not bring in the relevance meaning.)

Obviously, if the head of the Polarity Phrase were the only position available for an auxiliary, neither (35) nor (36) would have been grammatical. The possibility of (36) indicates that there are at least two positions available for the positive auxiliary, and the possibility of (35) signals that the positive auxiliary can occupy a position different from the one occupied by the negative auxiliary. Given that Tsakhur is a head-final language, this leads us to the following configuration of functional projections:



When the “Aux<sub>1</sub>P” is occupied by the negative auxiliary, we get the combination of auxiliaries as in (35), and when it is occupied by the positive auxiliary, we get the combination as in (36).

Obviously, any other architecture for this fragment of the functional skeleton of Tsakhur sentence would make incorrect predictions about the combinatorics of the auxiliaries. Thus, if we assume that the upper projection (Aux<sub>2</sub>P) can be occupied both by the positive and the negative auxiliary, we would expect the combination wod + deš to be grammatical, which it in fact is not. If we suppose that the negative auxiliary and the “leftmost” positive auxiliary occupy different structural positions, it would be wrongly predicted that the combinations deš + wod + wod and wod + deš + wod are possible.

In sentences with two auxiliaries, the auxiliaries always must be in contact position with each other. This becomes evident in the focus construction where two auxiliaries are present: they must both follow the focus, to the effect that (38b), with one positive

auxiliary following the focus and the other one attached to the verb, is sharply ungrammatical:

(38)a. malhamad-ē            **wo=d=o=d**            Xaw            aljaʔ-u.  
           Mohammed-ERG        **AUX=4=AUX=4**        house.4,ABS        4.build-PF  
 '[<sub>F</sub>Mohammed] built the house.'

b. \*malhamad-ē        **wo=d**            Xaw            aljaʔ-u        **wo=d.**  
           Mohammed-ERG    **AUX=4**            house.4,ABS    4.build-PF     **AUX=4**

The same effect as in (38) is observed when the negative auxiliary is combined with the positive auxiliary:

(39) a. malhamad-ē            **deš-o=d**            Xaw            aljaʔ-u.  
           Mohammed-ERG        **AUX.NEG-AUX=4**        house.4,ABS        4.build-PF  
 '[<sub>F</sub> Not Mohammed] built the house.'

b. \*malhamad-ē        **deš**            Xaw            aljaʔ-u        **wo=d.**  
           Mohammed-ERG    **AUX=4**            house.4,ABS    4.build-PF     **AUX=4**

In order to explain this, we have to assume that the auxiliary which heads the “lower” projection is obligatorily head-adjoined to the auxiliary which heads the “upper” one. I

adopt this explanation of the contrast we observe in (38)-(39), although the question of “the driving force” of this head movement remains unclear.

Let us now attempt to specify particular functional categories correlating with the two auxiliary projections. First, there is some evidence that the ‘relevance’ meaning reported by Tatevosov and Maisak 1999 for the positive auxiliary correlates with the “upper” auxiliary projection. There is one combination of auxiliaries indicating that this is the case: that is the combination of the negative and the positive auxiliaries illustrated in (35). Since the ‘relevance’ meaning has been reported for the positive, but not by the negative auxiliary, in (35) it is expressed not by deš, but by wod, which according to (37) heads the “upper” auxiliary projection in this sentence. Assigning the “relevance” meaning to the “upper” auxiliary projection also correctly predicts that only the positive polarity marker may occupy the “upper” AuxP, because the negative auxiliary does not express the relevance meaning.

In the case of reduplication of the positive auxiliary as in (36), it is of course impossible to detect which one of the two auxiliaries bears the “relevance” meaning. However, nothing seems to prevent us from assigning this meaning to the “upper” auxiliary, by analogy with (35). The “lower” auxiliary would thus uniformly have the mere polarity meaning. This allows us to identify the lower auxiliary projection with the Pol(arity)P(hrase).

The categorial nature of the “upper” auxiliary projection is less clear. Although it has been proposed recently (cf. e.g. Schaffar and Chen 1998) that there may be two distinct auxiliary projections in a sentence, this particular projection hardly can be treated as an “upper” PolP. An obvious reason for this is that it is never filled by the negative

auxiliary, and thus does not express the full range of polarity meanings. Besides, we have seen that the “upper” auxiliary brings in the specific meaning of “relevance” of the utterance, which is more close to modality rather than to polarity semantics. There is also certain evidence that the “upper” auxiliary projection can be headed by some other elements which convey modality meanings. Specifically, the “polarity” auxiliaries wod and deš can be followed by a question particle of the set -je, -ne, -ji, and -ni (choice between these particles is subject to rather complex rules). Cf. (40):

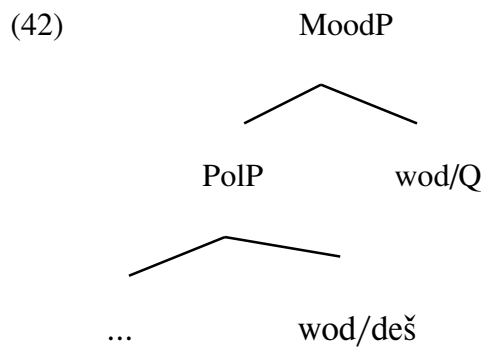
(40) malhamad-ē	Xaw	aljaʔ-u	wo=d-/deš-ne.
Mohammed-ERG	house.4,ABS	4.build-PF	AUX=4/AUX.NEG-Q

'Did Mohammed (not) build the house?'

The question particles are not compatible with the “upper” auxiliary, however:

(41) \*malhamad-ē Xaw aljaʔ-u wo=d=**o=d**-ne?

The impossibility of (41) can be explained on the assumption that the “upper” auxiliary heads the same projection as the question particles do. I hypothesise that this is exactly the case and will treat the “upper” auxiliary projection as the MoodP, with relevance and interrogativity being among possible meanings of Mood. The fragment of functional skeleton which we get in this way is represented in (42):



It has to be stressed, however, that the particular identification of the functional categories which I propose here will not have any consequences for the analysis of focus I am going to suggest below.

Note that under the proposed analysis, the positive auxiliary is actually ‘split’ into two distinct auxiliaries, one with the relevance meaning, the other one with the polarity meaning. This certainly complicates the analysis, but seems to be unavoidable given the possibility of two auxiliaries per sentence.

Another problem, however, is how to treat sentences with a single auxiliary under the proposed analysis. According to Tatevosov and Maisak (1999), the positive auxiliary has the “relevance” meaning in isolated use as well, as e.g. in (1a) repeated here:

(1) a. all-ē      Xaw              aljāʔa **wo=r**.

Ali-ERG    house              build.IPF      **AUX=1**

Ali is building the house.

This allows two structural interpretations. First, we can assume that the head of the PolP is left unexpressed in such sentences, and the auxiliary manifested in (1a) heads the MoodP, expressing the ‘relevance’ meaning. Conversely, it could be suggested that the head of the PolP is expressed in (1a), but the head of the MoodP is not. Although in the analysis of focus which I propose below nothing seems to hinge on the choice between the two alternatives, I opt for the former one. The reason for this is that the ‘relevance’ meaning is never conveyed by a non-expressed polarity marker in Tsakhur. By contrast, the positive polarity meaning is left unexpressed also in constructions with synthetic verbal forms (cf. (18)); besides, the possibility of zero marking of positive polarity is quite common cross-linguistically.

As far as sentences with a single negative auxiliary (cf. (32)-(33)) are concerned, under the proposed analysis the negative auxiliary marker there occupies the head of the PolP, and the MoodP does not have an overt head.

To conclude, in this section I have put forward a fragment of the functional skeleton of Tsakhur sentence, which includes the positions hosting the auxiliaries. Surely this is at most the first step towards establishing the overall functional architecture of Tsakhur sentences. However, below I tentatively assume the proposed analysis, whose only point crucial for the discussion of focus is the very existence of the functional projection(s) headed by the auxiliaries.

The analysis I have proposed has some immediate consequences for the focus construction. Specifically, it implies that the polarity marker which follows the focused constituent corresponds to the head of either the PolP or the MoodP. I turn to the analysis of the focus construction in the subsequent sections.



## 5.2. Two types of focus

We have already seen that the focused constituent followed by an auxiliary is not obliged to undergo extraction into the leftmost position in the sentence, but can remain in situ (see Introduction and section 4). These two possibilities also exist when an element of an embedded clause is marked as the matrix focus. The example (28) repeated here illustrates the possibility of extraction of focus out of complement clauses; its counterpart in (43) shows that elements of embedded clauses may be focused in situ, too:

(28) malhamad      wo=r      daḱ-i-s      *t*      Gaḱ-es      iḱan.  
Mohammed.1 AUX=1      father-OBL-DAT      1.see-POT      4.want.IPF  
'Father wants to see [<sub>F</sub> Mohammed].'

(43) daḱ-i-s      malhamad      wo=r      Gaḱ-es      iḱan.  
father-OBL-DAT      Mohammed.1 AUX=1      1.see-POT      4.want.IPF  
'Father wants to see [<sub>F</sub> Mohammed].'

There is, however, an important difference between extraction of focus and focus in situ. When marking focus in situ, an auxiliary can be attached to a constituent within an island; extraction of focus out of an island, however, is prohibited. The examples in (44) illustrate this for an adjunct island, and the examples in (45) for a complex NP<sup>3</sup>:

(44) a. rasul            fāt'imat-**o=r**            a=r=īnGal            ark'in.  
           Rasul.1            [Fatimat.1-AUX=1    2=come-TEMP]        1.leave.PF

'After [<sub>F</sub> Fatimat] came, Rasul left.'

b. \*fāt'imat<sub>i</sub>-o=r        rasul    [t<sub>i</sub> a=r=īnGal] ark'in.

(45) a. ma-n-Gu-k'le        mišleš-k-qa            **wo=r**            ulq̄a-na  
           he-A-OBL-AFF    [[īshlesh-CONT-ALL        AUX=1            1.go.IPF-AA]

          gade            Gež-e.

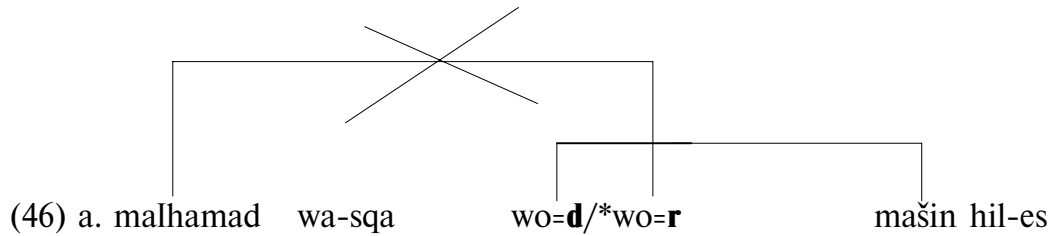
          boy.1]            1.see-IPF

'He sees a boy going [<sub>F</sub> to Mishlesh].'

b.        \*mišleš-k-qa<sub>i</sub> wo=r    ma-n-Gu-k'le [[t<sub>i</sub> ulq̄a-na]        gade] Gež-e.

Another characteristic of Tsakhur focus construction which becomes evident in matrix focusing of elements of embedded clauses concerns agreement. As shown in section 4, in general focusing does not change the trigger of agreement for the positive auxiliary, which, as the reader remembers, has a position for class agreement. However, this is not always the case when matrix focusing of an embedded clause constituent is expressed by the positive auxiliary. Consider (46), where the auxiliary agrees in class with

the embedded Absolutive NP; agreement with the matrix Absolutive NP is impossible, whether the focused constituent is left in situ (46a) or is extracted (46b):

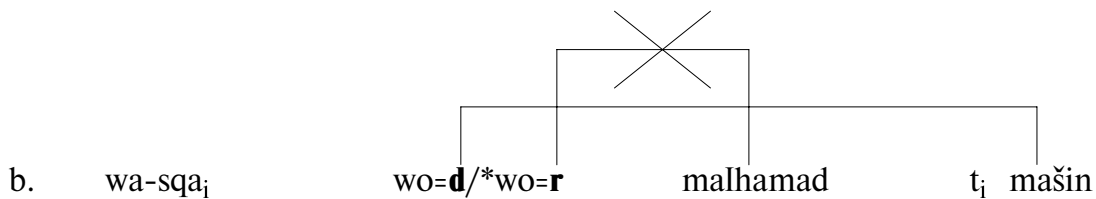


Mohammed.1 [you.OBL-ALL AUX=4/\*AUX=1 car.4 4.give-POT]

qlajq'an.

1.afraid.IPF

'Mohammed is afraid to give [<sub>F</sub>you] the car.'



you.OBL-ALL AUX=4/\*AUX=1 Mohammed.1 [ car.4

hil-es qlajq'an.

4.give-POT] 1.afraid.IPF

'Mohammed is afraid to give [<sub>F</sub>you] the car.'

Note that in the corresponding sentence without focusing, the auxiliary following the matrix verb agrees in class with the matrix, but not with the embedded Absolutive NP:

(47) malhamad                      wa-sqa                      mašin                      hil-es  
 Mohammed.1                      [you.OBL-ALL                      car.4                      4.give-POT]  
 qlajq'an-o=**r**/\*-o=**d**.  
 1.afraid.IPF-AUX=**1**/\*-AUX=**4**

'Mohammed is afraid to give you the car.'

The agreement in (47) follows the agreement pattern always observed in sentences without focusing (see section 3.2): if there is an Absolutive NP in the matrix clause, agreement of the matrix auxiliary is obligatorily triggered by that NP. Before we conclude that in (46) this rule is violated, we have to make sure that the auxiliary in (46) indeed is the matrix auxiliary. To see that this is the case, consider (48), which shows that when wod marks matrix focus within the embedded clause, it cannot be repeated in the matrix sentence:

(48) \*malhamad                      wa-sqa                      **wo=d**                      mašin hil-es  
 Mohammed.1                      [you.OBL-ALL                      AUX=4                      car.4 4.give-POT]  
 qlajq'an-o=**d**/-o=**r**.  
 1.afraid.IPF-AUX=**4**/-AUX=**1**

'Mohammed is afraid to give [<sub>F</sub>you] the car.'

If wod occurring inside the embedded clause did not have the function of matrix auxiliary, it would be left unexplained why the matrix auxiliary cannot occur with the main verb of the matrix sentence in (48).

To summarise this section, we have seen that matrix focusing of an embedded clause dependent has two properties which are not observable when an element of the matrix clause is focused. One property has to do with agreement, the other one with the possibility for auxiliaries which mark matrix focus to occur within an island. Any analysis of Tsakhur focus constructions has to account for these two properties. Below I will attempt to argue that only one analysis achieves this, among several analyses which we will consider.

### 5.3. Extracted focus

Simplex sentences with the focused constituent on the left margin (examples (1b), (25), (26), (33)), strictly speaking, do not give evidence for extraction of focus. The reason for this is that the same constituent may occupy the leftmost position in these sentences when non-focused, too. Things differ, however, when focusing out of an embedded clause takes place: the constituent which is focused e.g. in (46b) cannot occur on the left margin of the matrix sentence when it is not focused:

(49) ??wa-sqa      malhamad    mašin hil-es      qaljq'an.

you.OBL-ALLMohammed.1 [car.4 4.give-POT] 1.afraid.IPF

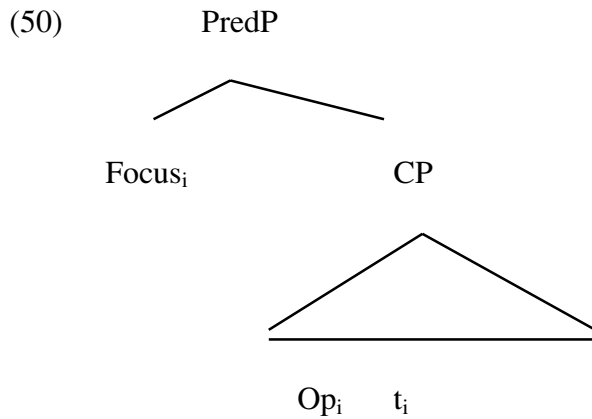
'Mohammed is afraid to give you the car.'

The unacceptability of (49) shows that long scrambling out of (this type of) embedded clauses is impossible in Tsakhur. Extraction of focus out of the embedded clause,

however, is possible, as shown by (46b). Therefore, the extraction of the focused constituent in (46b) must be related to focussing.

Let us consider the type of the empty category which occurs in the source position of the focused constituent. There are reasons two assume that this is an A'-trace. First, it can be non-locally bound, as the examples considered in the previous section show. Second, this empty category is possible in a case marked position: in (28) it occurs in the position where an overt NP gets the Absolutive case, and in (46b) it occurs in a position where an overt NP in the function of a recipient gets one of the locative cases.

From the current typological studies of focus (see e.g. Drubig 1998), it is known that constructions with a displaced focused constituent can be licensed in two different ways. First, they can involve the usual operator-variable dependency between the focused constituent occupying an A'-position and the trace in the position of its base generation. This kind of dependency is identical with the dependency created by wh-movement. Alternatively, constructions with displaced focus may realise the structure of clefts. In this case, the focused constituent is base generated on the right or left margin of the sentence, where it enters into predication relation with the presupposition, analysed under different approaches either as a free relative clause or as a wh-questions (for competing proposals about the particular structure of clefts, see, among others, Higgins (1979), Williams (1983), Boškovič (1997)). The gap corresponding to the focused constituent within the presupposition is licensed by an operator inside it. Schematically, the structure of cleft focus construction is represented in (50):



Drubig (1998) points out a number of characteristics which are possible (though not obligatory) for cleft focus, but never occur in monoclausal focus constructions with an operator-variable dependency. These include:

- (1) possibility of island constraints violation;
- (2) possibility of resumptive pronouns instead of the trace inside the presupposition.

Both phenomena are accounted for by Drubig under the specific analysis of cleft constructions which he argues for. What is important for our present purposes, however, is that none of these phenomena is observed in Tsakhur constructions with extracted focus. We have seen that extraction of focus obeys locality. As far as resumptive pronouns are concerned, they are possible in Tsakhur relative clauses under certain conditions (cf.(51)), but they never occur in Tsakhur focus constructions, as indicated by (52):

(51) malʔallim-ē    **že-ni**            balkan-i-s            iX-i-na            ičī  
 teacher-ERG        **REFL-AOBL** horse-OBL-DAT        hit-PF-ATR        girl

gēš-u-na.

cry-PF-ATR

The girl whose horse the teacher hit cried.

(52) \*malhamad    wo=r            daḱ-i-s            **wuž**            Gaž-es  
Mohammed.1 AUX=1            father-OBL-DAT            **REFL.ABS**            1.see-POT  
iḱan.  
4.want.IPF

'Father wants to see [<sub>F</sub> Mohammed].'

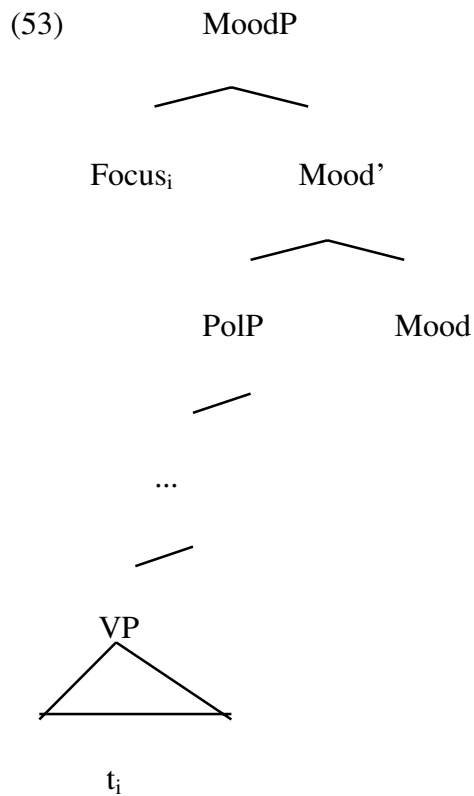
Although I do not deal here either with the exact distribution or with structural account of resumptive pronouns in Tsakhur, it is worth to note that they are possible only in relative clauses. The impossibility of their use in the position from where focus is extracted, therefore, additionally points to the fact that focus constructions do not contain a relative clause.

I conclude that Tsakhur focus constructions do not demonstrate the key diagnostics for cleft structure. Therefore, it seems plausible to assume the alternative analysis of extracted focus for Tsakhur, i.e. A'-extraction of focus taking place in a monoclausal structure.

One of the important questions with this analysis, of course, is into which A'-position the focused constituent is extracted. Since extracted focus is always immediately followed by the auxiliary, it would be natural to suggest that the auxiliary licenses



extraction of focus in some way. The most simple implementation of this idea would be to assume that the landing site for focus is projected by the auxiliary. In 5.1. we have proposed that there are two phrases which can be headed by auxiliaries in the functional skeleton of Tsakhur sentence: the PolP and the MoodP. Imagine, for the sake of argument, that focus ends up in the specifier of the “upper” projection, i.e. the MoodP. This would give us the following structure for extracted focus:



In general, movement of focused constituent into the specifier projected by the IP or by a category of the IP-domain has been argued for a number of languages not related to Tsakhur. For example, Aissen (1992) has proposed movement of focus into the Spec of IP

in several Mayan languages. Since the MoodP and the PolP normally are considered as IP-domain projections, the structure in (53) is in a sense in line with one of the structural options acknowledged for focusing.

There are, however, at least two problems with this structure. First, it fails to correctly predict the order of constituents in the construction with extracted focus. While it accounts well for the leftmost position of the focused constituent, it does not explain how the auxiliary may be attached to the focused constituent. Given the head final order of Tsakhur, which holds also for the auxiliary projections (the latter is evidenced by sentences without focusing like (1a), where the auxiliary obligatorily follows the VP), (53) predicts the following order in the construction with extracted focus: Focus (=the specifier of the MoodP)— Presupposition (=the complement of the MoodP) — Auxiliary (=the head of the MoodP). Obviously, this prediction is not borne out. In order to derive the correct order, one could view an inversion of the auxiliary, but given no independent evidence in favour of it, this solution would be stipulative at best.

Second, the proposed structure runs into problems in accounting for agreement in the focus construction. We have seen that when the matrix auxiliary marks extracted focus originating in an embedded clause, the auxiliary uniformly agrees in class with the embedded Absolutive NP (cf.(46b)). However, outside focus construction the matrix auxiliary cannot agree in class with the embedded Absolutive NP whenever a matrix Absolutive NP is present (cf. (47)). The structure in (53) assigns the auxiliary of the construction with extracted focus the same position as it has in the corresponding construction without focusing. The difference in agreement patterns could of course be accounted for by difference of relative position of the competing triggers of agreement —

the matrix and the embedded Absolutive NPs — with respect to the auxiliary in constructions with and without focusing. However, there is no independent evidence that the Absolutive NPs occupy different positions depending upon whether focusing is or is not present in a sentence (with the exception for the case when one of the Absolutive NPs is itself focused, of course). Therefore, the structure in (53) does not allow to derive the difference in agreement patterns in the constructions with and without focussing from the difference in the structural configuration of the auxiliary and the trigger of agreement.

I proceed by discussing focus in situ and suggesting an analysis of the Tsakhur focus construction which arguably avoids the problems we have observed in the structure under (53), at the same time accommodating the focus in situ option.

(Note that the objections against the structure in (53) which I have put forward above do not depend upon the exact landing site of focus: if we assume that focus is extracted into the specifier projected by the lower auxiliary, i.e. the specifier of the PolP, the same objections will also be valid.)

#### 5.4. Focus in situ

The special feature of focus in situ is that it allows a matrix auxiliary to occur inside an embedded clause, at least at the surface. To account for this in a most simple fashion, one could view downgrading movement of the matrix auxiliary into the embedded clause. This solution, however, would of course bring up more problems that it resolves. First and foremost, the existence of downgrading movement contradicts current assumptions on head movement, specifically the assumption that head movement is universally

constrained by the ECP. Although some proposals on existing of downgrading head movement have been made in syntactic literature (cf. Borer 1995 on verb movement in Modern Hebrew, Dasgupta (1980) on movement of a complementizer in a Bengali construction similar in some respects to the one we are studying in Tsakhur), they are too scanty and do not allow even to hypothesise when and under what conditions downgrading movement could be allowed by universal grammar. Therefore, the downgrading movement hypothesis is likely to be dismissed for theoretical reasons (for discussion of the same hypothesis regarding focus constructions in some other Daghestanian languages, see Testelec 1999).

In addition, this hypothesis fails to account for the agreement facts we have observed in the focus construction. We have seen that when an auxiliary marks matrix focus on a constituent of an embedded clause, it agrees in class with its Absolutive NP. Under the downgrading movement analysis, this would mean that the change in the position of the focus marker implies a change in the trigger of its agreement. However, nowhere else in Tsakhur grammar does a change in position affect agreement. In (17) we have seen that class agreement of verb does not depend upon the linear position the verb takes in its sentence. Consider class agreement of adverbs as another example. Tsakhur possesses a number of adverbs which manifest class agreement. Class agreement of an adverb is triggered by the Absolutive NP of the sentence over which it has scope. For example, in (54) class agreement of the adverb uftanda 'beautifully' is triggered by the embedded Absolutive NP, because the adverb refers to the embedded sentence. Crucially, when a focused adverb is extracted out of the embedded clause, its class agreement does not change, i.e. it is still triggered by the embedded Absolutive NP (55):

(54) daḱ-i-s            Xaw            uftan=da            aljaʔ-as  
 father-OBL-DAT house.4,ABS    beautiful=ADV.4    build-POT  
 iḱan.

4.want.IPF

Father wants to build a house beautifully.

(55) uftan=da            wo=d            daḱ-i-s            Xaw            aljaʔ-as  
 beautiful=ADV.4    AUX=4            father-OBL-DAT    house.4,ABS    build-POT  
 iḱan.

4.want.IPF

Father wants to build a house [<sub>F</sub>beautifully].

This shows that the trigger of class agreement is established in the position of base generation of the agreeing element. Now imagine that the auxiliary in (46a) is lowered from the matrix into the embedded clause. Being base generated in the matrix clause, the focus morpheme wod has the matrix Absolutive NP as the only possible trigger of agreement. However, after the downgrading movement, the control of agreement would be transferred from the matrix Absolutive NP to the embedded Absolutive NP. This would mean that here, unlike elsewhere in Tsakhur grammar, class agreement would be established not in the base generated position of the agreeing element, but in the position

where it ends up after movement. Obviously, this would make the focus in situ construction an exception from the general agreement rules. In order to avoid this, and also taking into consideration the questionable status of downgrading movement in universal grammar, I reject the downgrading analysis of focus in situ.

Attempting to reconcile the configuration observed in focus in situ constructions with the universal grammar, one could try to suggest an analysis under which the in situ position of focus, as well as the position of the matrix auxiliary in the embedded clause, are only apparent. An analysis of this kind has been proposed in literature for similar constructions of languages genetically unrelated with Tsakhur. Thus, Jayaseelan (1996) argues for such an analysis of focus construction in Malayalam, a Dravidian language in which focused constituents followed by a focus morpheme can remain in situ. According to his analysis, the apparent in situ position of focus is not actually the position it is in. Jayaseelan claims that focus is always extracted, and the elements preceding it are scrambled to the left from the landing site of focus. If we apply Jayaseelan's analysis to focus in situ in Tsakhur, e.g. (56) would be derived in the following way: the focused constituent malhamad 'Mohammed' would be extracted from the embedded clause into the specifier of the matrix auxiliary, and the NP dakis 'father' would be moved into some position to the left from the focused constituent (this could be the result either of scrambling or e.g. of topicalisation):

(56) daḱ-i-s<sub>i</sub>      malhamad<sub>j</sub>    wo=r            t<sub>i</sub>      t<sub>j</sub> Gaḱ-es      īkan.  
 father-OBL-DAT    [Mohammed.1 AUX=1                      [1.see-POT]    1.want.IPF]  
 'Father wanted to see [<sub>F</sub> Mohammed].'

Although I am of course not in the position to judge whether Jayaseelan's analysis is plausible for Malayalam, I have several reasons to argue that it has to be rejected for Tsakhur. The first reason has to do with island structures. Imagine that constructions with the focus marking auxiliary inside an island were derived by extracting the focused constituent and subsequent scrambling of some other constituents to the left of it. Under such analysis e.g. (44a) and (45a) would be derived by scrambling from (44b) and (45b) respectively. However, (44b) and (45b) are ungrammatical, due to island constraints violation. The proposed analysis, therefore, yields the following state of affairs: extraction out of islands becomes possible if and only if it is accompanied by scrambling of certain constituents to the left of the focus. One can hardly think of a principle-based explanation of this relation between scrambling and violation of island constraints, however.

In addition, the scrambling analysis is not able to account for the agreement facts we have observed with matrix focusing of embedded clause constituents. Under this analysis, the auxiliary always remains in the matrix clause, and its agreement with the embedded Absolutive NP in the presence of the matrix Absolutive NP in no way follows from the structure of focus construction, despite of the fact that it is observed only there.

To conclude, in this section I have attempted to show that the two analyses of focus in situ which suggest its derivation by certain kind of movement are untenable. They fail to account for the possibility of focus in situ within islands as well as for the

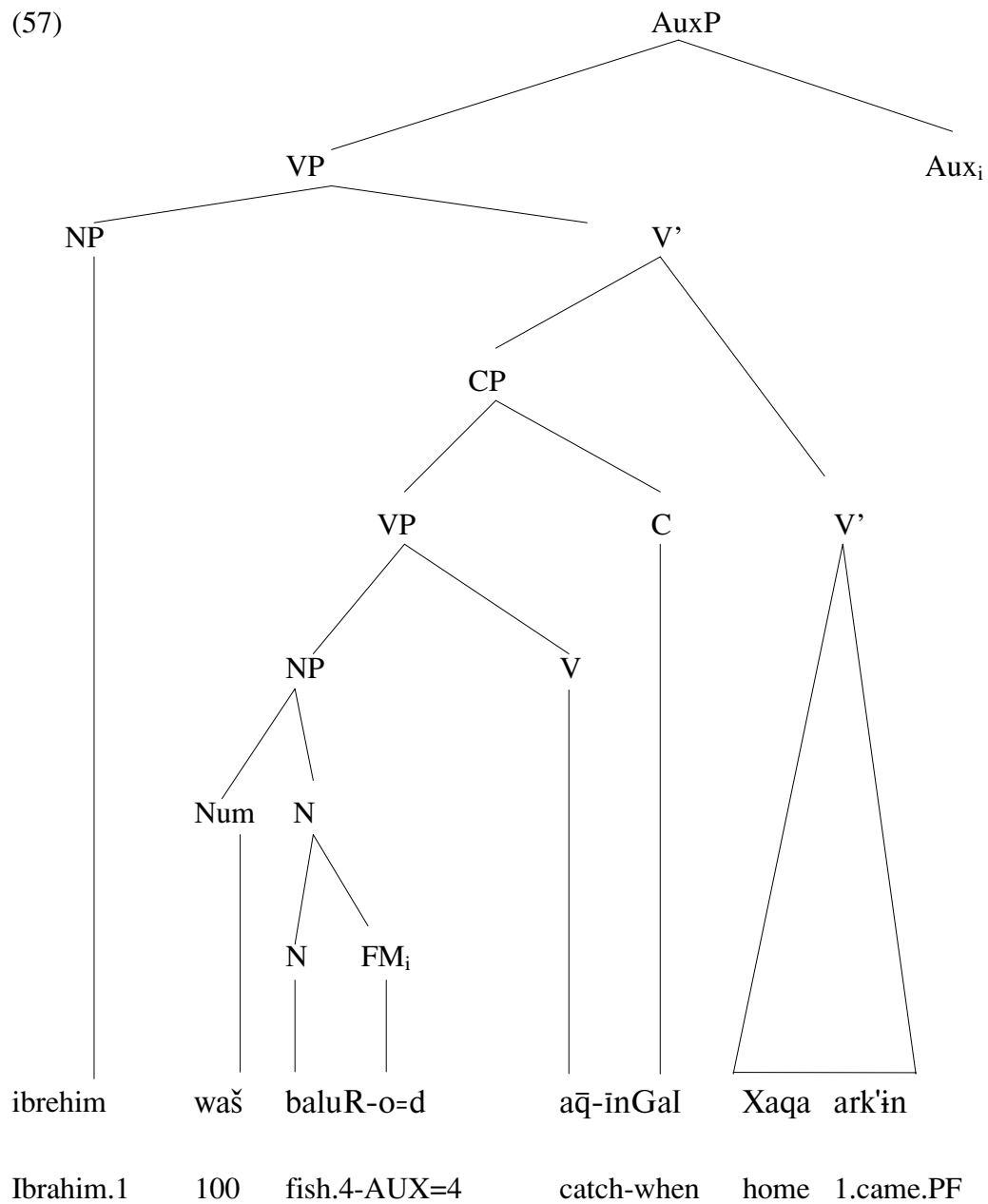
agreement pattern specific for the focus construction. Besides, the analysis which views downgrading movement is hardly acceptable for theoretical reasons. In the next section I will propose an alternative analysis, which, as I will attempt to show, does not run into the problems met by the movement analyses.

### 5.5. The proposal

Given the conclusion that neither the focused constituent can be moved into the position adjacent to the matrix auxiliary (with subsequent scrambling), nor the auxiliary can move downgradingly to the focused constituent, we are actually left with only one option, namely that the auxiliary marking focus in situ is base generated in the embedded position together with the focus. Irrelevant details omitted, a sentence where the matrix auxiliary is attached to a constituent within an island gets the following structure under this proposal:



(57)



Having caught [<sub>F</sub> one hundred fishes], Ibrahim returned home.

Here the focus marking auxiliary is generated as an adjunct to the head of the focused constituent (N). It is coindexed with the head of the matrix MoodP, the meaning of which

it expresses. If the focus marking auxiliary corresponds to the PolP (as is the case of deš), the coindexing takes place with the PolP.

Obviously, this structure easily explains the peculiarities of the focus in situ construction which we have observed above. First, the agreement pattern in focus in situ constructions falls out for free from the general rule of agreement under the proposed analysis. As the reader remembers, the general rule states that class agreement of the auxiliary is triggered (1) by the Absolutive NP of the clause where the auxiliary occurs, if there is such an NP, and (2) by the Absolutive NP of the embedded clause otherwise. Given that in (57) (f. also (46a)) the auxiliary is generated as an element of the embedded clause, it is not unexpected that it agrees in class with the embedded Absolutive NP, as with the Absolutive of its clause. It has to be stressed that in the present paper I do not suggest any structural account for agreement in Tsakhur. But whatever account is given for the general rule of agreement, under the proposed analysis of focus it will be valid also for the agreement pattern observed in (46a) without any additional stipulations.

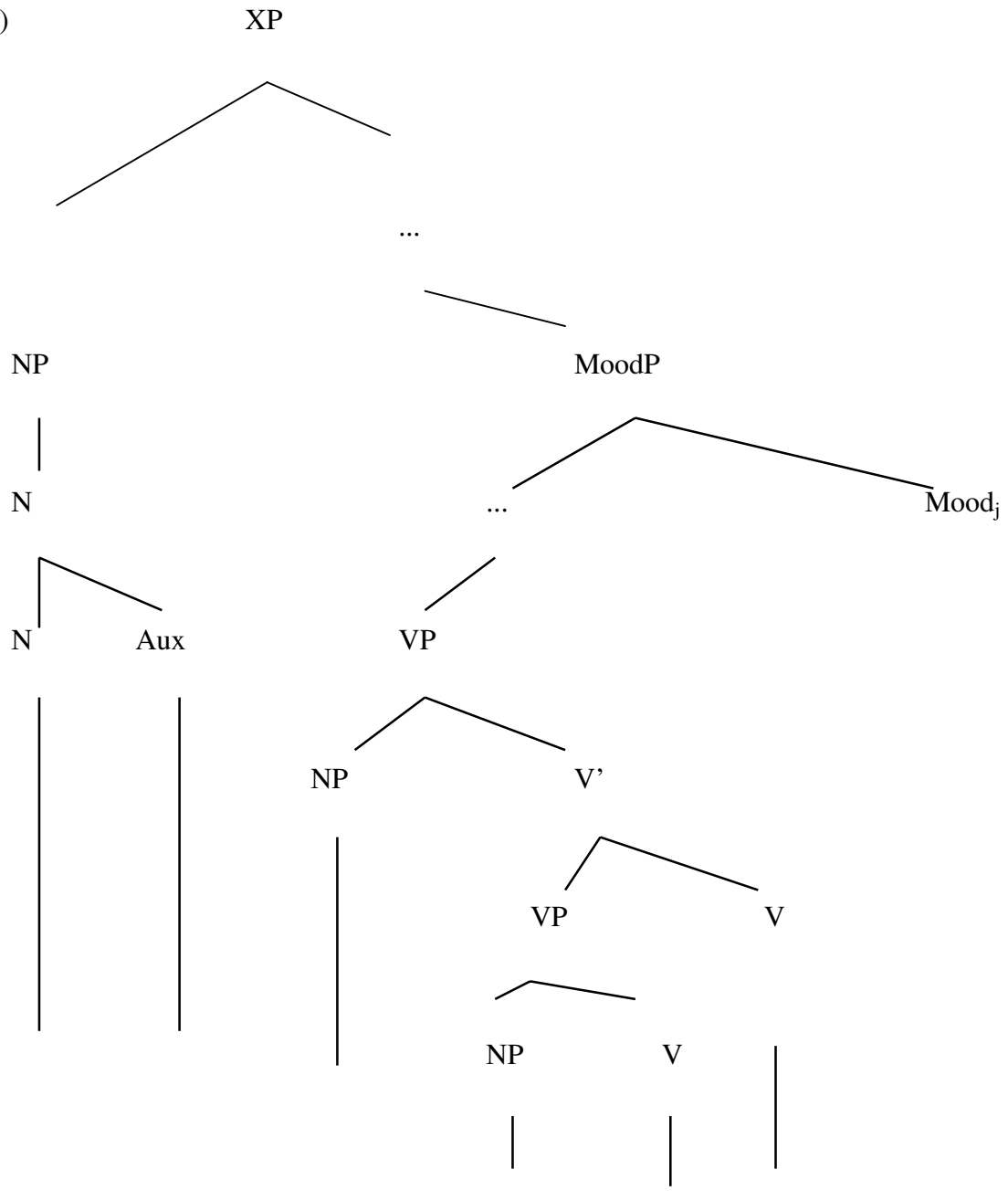
Second, occurrence of the auxiliaries within islands would not be a problem under the proposed analysis, which does not require movement out of an island either of the constituent followed by the auxiliary or of any other material.

Consider now extracted focus. In 5.2 we have seen that it cannot end up in the specifier of the projection headed by the auxiliary which marks focus (cf. the structure in (53) above). Under the proposed analysis of focus in situ, an alternative account of extracted focus becomes possible: the focused constituent is extracted into a position designated for focus along with the auxiliary, which is generated as an adjunct to the head of the focused constituent. Note that this solution explains the otherwise problematic

agreement pattern observed with extracted focus. Indeed, the agreement of the auxiliary attached to extracted focus with the embedded Absolute NP (cf. (46b)) is expected because the auxiliary is generated within the embedded clause and therefore agrees with the most proximate Absolute NP in accordance with the general agreement rule.

The exact landing site does not seem to be relevant for accounting for the agreement properties as well as for locality constraints observed for focus extraction, therefore in the diagram below the landing site is not specified (I take up the question of the landing site of focus in the next section):

(58)



malhamad<sub>i</sub> wo=r<sub>j</sub> da<sub>k</sub>-i-s t<sub>i</sub> Ga<sub>ž</sub>-es i<sub>k</sub>an.  
 Mohammed.1 AUX=1 father-OBL-DAT 1.see-POT 1.want.IPF

'Father wanted to see [<sub>F</sub> Mohammed].'

So far, we have seen that the analysis which views base generation of an auxiliary as an adjunct to the head of the focused constituent is able to explain those peculiar properties of Tsakhur focus construction which were not explained under the analyses we have considered in the previous sections. However, before we adopt the proposed analysis we need to answer at least two questions which arise in connection with it: (1) How can an element adjoined to the head of some constituent of a sentence (e.g. an NP) express a category taking scope over the whole sentence (polarity, modality)? (2) In what way is the focus interpretation of a constituent which is followed in situ by a focus marker achieved? I take up these questions in the next section.

### 5.5. Licensing of focus

The behaviour of the auxiliaries in the focus construction looks very non-standard if we remember that they express certain matrix functional categories: not only can the auxiliaries freely change their position within the matrix sentence, but they can also occur inside an embedded sentence. The latter is not expected for markers of matrix categories such as mood and polarity. However, it is not the case that no other elements with a distribution similar to that of Tsakhur focus markers are found across languages. In English, the «focus-sensitive» particles even, only etc. as well as the marker of negation not/n't have similar distribution. These elements can appear in either of two positions: they are adjacent to the focused constituent or to the verb of the sentence over which they take scope (see Taglicht 1984, McCawley 1986, Drubig 1994, among others). The former

alternative is illustrated in (59)-(60), and the latter alternative in (61)-(62) (the focus with which the particle is associated is capitalised):

(59) John allows Mary to drink only WINE.

(60) John allows Mary to drink no WINE.

(61) John only allows Mary to drink wine.

(62) John doesn't allow Mary to drink wine.

The sentences in (59)-(60) are not ambiguous with respect to focus, which is exactly on the constituent the particle is attached to; however, these sentences are ambiguous with respect to the scope of only and of the negation respectively. This ambiguity must be resolved at LF, where the focused constituent with the particle attached to it moves into the specifier of some projection hosting focus either in the embedded or in the matrix sentence (see Bayer 1990).

In contrast with (59)-(60), the sentences in (61)-(62) are not ambiguous with respect to scope, but are ambiguous with respect to focus. The phenomenon illustrated in (61)-(62) is usually termed «association with focus»: a focus particle is attached to a predicate and can license focus interpretation of any element dependent upon that predicate. Specifically, the particle only attached to the matrix verb in the sentences below

can license focus interpretation of either the NP wine alone (63) or of the embedded clause containing it (64):

(63) John only allows Mary to drink wine, not vodka.

(64) John only allows Mary to drink wine, not to smoke cigars.

Obviously, for the Tsakhur auxiliaries the same two linear positions are available: they attach either to the verb or to a focused constituent. Moreover, when attached to the verb, the auxiliaries can associate with focus in the same way as the English only, even and not/n't do when attached to the verb. When a constituent is focused in Tsakhur, it is actually not required that a focus marker be attached to it. The focus marker can remain on the verb if a constituent is intonationally marked as focus, as in (65):

(65) all-ē            Xaw            aljaʔ-a            wo=d.  
                         Ali-ERG        house,4        4.build-IPF    AUX=4

'Ali was building the house.'

It is not required that an auxiliary attached to the verb associate with a narrow focus, as in (65). Instead, it can license focus of the whole VP, which would be achieved in (65) in the absence of the intonation marking on a single NP. This possibility is known for the English focus particles as well. Thus, in (66) only is associated with the whole VP (see Tancredi 1990 for a discussion of such sentences):

(66) John only MET MARY, (he didn't talk to Sue).

A further similarity between the Tsakhur auxiliaries and the English focus particles is observed in constructions with extraction. The reader remembers that in Tsakhur a focused constituent accompanied by an auxiliary can undergo syntactic extraction. The same is possible for English phrases to which a focus particle is attached (on such constructions see e.g. Culicover 1991 and Drubig 1994):

(67) Only wine does John allow Mary to drink.

(68) No wine does John allow Mary to drink.

To conclude, for the English focus particles the same array of distributional possibilities is observed as for the Tsakhur focus markers. Both can either associate with focus by being attached to the verb, or follow a focused constituent, together with which they optionally can be extracted.

The similarities between the Tsakhur auxiliaries and the English focus particles are not restricted to the above linear order observations. Another similarity between the two groups of markers is that both must either follow the focus or associate with it, i.e. they obligatorily assign some focus/background structure to the sentence in which they are used. For the English focus particles this is quite obvious. It is possible to argue that the same holds true for the Tsakhur auxiliaries. It turns out that in Tsakhur the focus



morphemes are not used in sentences which are totally backgrounded (e.g. in «out-of-chain» expository remarks in narratives). Such sentences are headed by a bare verb:

(69) all-ē            Xaw            aljaʔ-a  
         Ali-ERG        house.4        4.build-IPF

'Ali was building the house.'

The explanation of the obligatoriness of association with focus is possible on the assumption that the focused phrase which an auxiliary in Tsakhur or a focus particle in English is associated with has the status of an operator. The key general properties of operators are captured by Drubig's (1994:19) Operator Criterion, which is an extension of Rizzi's (1991) Affective Operator Criterion:

(70) Operator Criterion

A. An operator must be in a Spec-head configuration with an  $X^0$  marked with an operator feature.

B. An  $X^0$  marked with an operator feature must be in a Spec-head configuration with an operator.

In other words, an operator is a phrase with a feature that causes its movement into some special position either in syntax (in which case movement is manifested via word order), or at LF (in which case movement is manifested via scope relations). Conversely, the

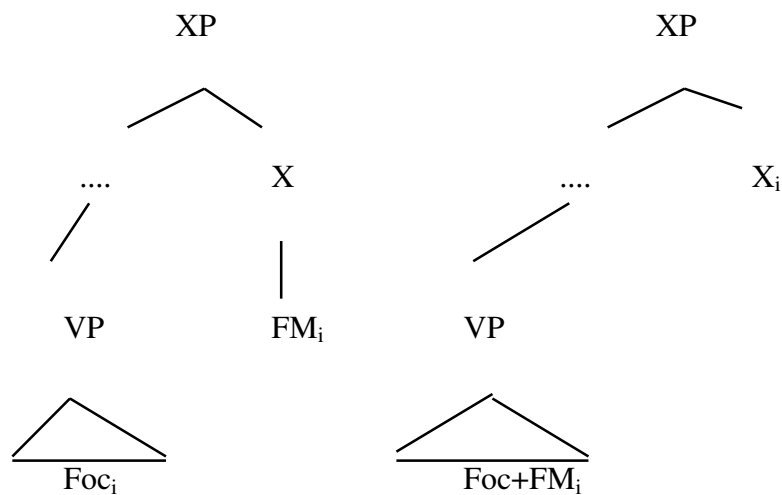
projection into the Spec of which an operator moves must have a head that requires a (special type of) operator in its Spec.

Drubig (1994) argues at length that phrases associated with or accompanied by the focus particles in English satisfy the Operator Criterion. He shows that the English focus particles can have two alternative structural positions. When they are attached to a predicate, they head certain functional projections with an operator feature, thus satisfying the B requirement of the Operator Criterion; this possibility is realised in sentences like (61)-(62). Alternatively, the focus particles can be combined with a focus phrase, forming some sort of a quantifier phrase, as in (59)-(60) (on the structure of such sentences, see also Bayer 1990). In this case the phrase with which a particle is combined satisfies the A requirement of the Operator Criterion. Indeed, it can be argued that in English foci accompanied by a focus particle must undergo extraction at some level of representation. First, we have seen that they can be extracted in syntax ((72)-(73)). As far as LF extraction is concerned, Drubig (1994) has argued that in English extraction at LF is obligatory for foci both under the configuration in (59)-(60) and under the configuration in (61)-(62). The evidence for movement given by Drubig concerns locality constraints on focusing in English. I briefly reproduce his arguments below, when I turn to the question of LF movement of focus in Tsakhur. Apart from the locality considerations, an argument for LF movement in (59)-(60) could be based on scope: since focus accompanied by a particle can take either matrix or embedded scope in such sentences, LF movement is required as a disambiguation device.

The English focus particles thus have a dual status with respect to the Operator Criterion: they either head a projection requiring an operator in its Spec, or are combined

with an operator. If my analysis of the Tsakhur focus construction is correct, then the same two possibilities are observed for the Tsakhur focus morphemes as well. The syntactic positions available for the English focus particles and for the Tsakhur focus markers are schematically shown in the diagrams below (the order of heads and dependants in the diagrams should be neglected as it is opposite in the two languages):

(71) A functional head associating with the focused phrase      (72) A focus marker combined with the focused phrase



The schemata in (71)-(72) represent the two options for focus in situ. Let us now turn to extraction of focus. Syntactic extraction, both in English and in Tsakhur, demonstrates the key characteristic of A'-movement in that it can be long, but obeys island constraints. For Tsakhur, this was demonstrated by (28), (34), and (44)-(45). Long extraction of focus followed by the focus particle in English was illustrated in (67)-(68); (73a-b) show that this extraction is impossible out of islands:

(73)a. \*Only Mary do I know the person who invited.

b. \*Only Mary will I be glad if comes.

Extraction of a constituent followed by a focus marker at LF has been argued for English by Drubig (1994), whose main argument I have introduced in section 2: when a focus marker is attached to an element inside an island, the contrastive set of alternatives does not include this element, but rather the island as a whole (cf.(9)). The same can be shown for Tsakhur sentences with an auxiliary within an island. E.g. in the replacive construction in (74) the element replacing the negated constituent should contain the whole adjunct clause (the island) rather than its dependent:

(74)	rasul	fāt'imat	<b>deš</b>	a=r=īnGal	ark'in,
	Rasul.1	[Patimat.2	<b>AUX.NEG</b>	2=come-TEMP]	1.leave.PF
	madinat- <b>o=r</b>	a=r=īnGal // * madinat- <b>o=r</b> .			
	Madinat.2- <b>AUX=2</b> 2=come-TEMP // Madinat.2- <b>AUX=2</b>				

'Rasul left after Madinat came, not after Patimat came.'

To account for (74), we have to admit that at LF, the element interpreted as focus is the whole island. A way to formally accommodate this is to acknowledge that pied-piping takes place at LF. The impossibility to interpret a separate dependent of an island as focus is explained on the assumption that focus moves at LF in (74), and that LF-movement obeys Subjacency.

Another reason to view movement of focus in situ at LF is the need to establish scope relations. In the examples of focus in situ considered so far, it uniformly had matrix scope. However, embedded scope of focus in situ is also possible, as illustrated by (75):

(75) dak<sub>j</sub>-ē            iwho-wo=d            alli-**wo=r**    a=r=i.  
          father-ERG        say.PF-AUX=4        [Ali.1-**AUX=1**1=come.PF]

Father said that [<sub>F</sub> Ali] came.

LF movement of focus enables us to distinguish between matrix and embedded scope of focus in situ in structural terms: LF-movement takes place into a position designated for focus either in the matrix or in the embedded clause. LF-movement thus serves the same purpose as e.g. in (59)-(60), where it is necessary for disambiguation.

To conclude, Tsakhur focus in situ demonstrates the key characteristics which gave reasons to acknowledge LF-movement in English constructions with focus particles. If the hypothesis about LF-movement in those constructions of English is correct, the same hypothesis holds true for Tsakhur focus constructions as well.

The question which still remains to be answered is about the landing site for focus, both in syntax and at the LF. It should be emphasised that the analysis suggested above explains the peculiarities of Tsakhur focus marking we were engaged with independently from the exact location of the landing site for focus. There are reasons to believe, however, that the functional skeleton of Tsakhur sentence should include exactly one landing site for focus, either in syntax or at LF. This is necessary in order to explain

uniqueness of focus. As illustrated by (76), Tsakhur sentence cannot contain two foci, either extracted or in situ, marked by the auxiliary:

- (76) a. \*rasul            fāt'imat- **o=r**            mašina-k<sub>o</sub>a    **wo=r**            a=r=īnGal  
           Rasul.1            [Fatimat.2- **AUX=2**    car-COMIT    **AUX=2**            2=come-TEMP]  
           ark'in.  
           1.leave.PF

Rasul left after [<sub>F</sub> Fatimat] came [<sub>F</sub> by car].

- b.        \*malhamad    **wo=r**            mišleš-ē        **wo=r**            daḱ-i-s  
           Mohammed.1    **AUX=1**            Mishlesh-ESS    **AUX-1**            father-OBL-DAT  
           Gaž-es        īkan.  
           1.see-POT    4.want.IPF

'Father wants to see [<sub>F</sub> Mohammed].'

The ungrammaticality of the sentences in (76) is expected if there is only one projection whose specifier can host focus. Whether or not this projection could be the PolP or the MoodP, depends upon whether Polarity or Mood can check the <+focus> feature in Tsakhur. This question, however, remains unclear. Therefore I tentatively suggest that focus undergoes extraction into the specifier of a special projection designated for checking the <+focus> feature, i.e. the F(ocus)P(hrase). However, as I already said,

nothing hinges on this particular solution for the account of the unusual characteristics of Tsakhur focus.

In this section we have seen that the distribution of the Tsakhur auxiliaries resembles that of the English focus particles in a number of crucial ways. Moreover, Tsakhur focus constructions have demonstrated some of characteristics, e.g. agreement of auxiliaries, locality constraints (and apparent lack thereof with focus in situ) which are difficult to account if we do not analyse the Tsakhur focus construction similarly to English constructions with focus particles. In whatever way the variability of positions in which the English focus particles license focus is accounted for, the variability of positions of the Tsakhur auxiliaries can be accounted for in an identical way. There are, however, an important difference between Tsakhur focus constructions and English constructions with focus particles. I turn to this in the next section.

#### 5.6. Some typological (non-)parallels

In English, the elements which mark focus in the configurations (71)-(72) represent a rather restricted set of focus particles. In Tsakhur, however, focus marking in these configurations is possible for a much larger number of elements. We have observed focus marking by the auxiliaries bearing the meanings of positive and negative polarity, as well as certain modality meaning which we have defined as ‘relevance’. However, we have already mentioned that the set of potential focus markers is by no means exhausted by the auxiliaries. Morphemes with various mood, modality, and tense meanings, nine in

number, may mark focus in the same fashion as the auxiliaries do, as shown by Kazenin (1999b). These include:

- the markers -nī and -jī, which according to Tatevosov (1999) mark their sentence as “out of chain” in a narrative, although do not appear to be absolutely identical in meaning;
- the past tense auxiliary ix̣a;
- the potentialis auxiliary ixes;
- the question markers -nē, -jē, -nī and -jī;
- the habitualis marker -xe.

Some of these markers can coexist within one clause, which suggests that they head different functional projections. The question of exact number and categorial nature of these projections remains rather controversial, but it is anyway clear that the possibility of associating with focus as well as of attaching to a focus phrase is observed for the majority of markers of verbal categories in Tsakhur.

Although I am not aware of any language either in or outside Daghestan which employs such a variety of morphemes for focus marking as Tsakhur does, it is not entirely uncommon cross-linguistically for focus to be marked by elements which at the same time convey meanings of categories like mood, polarity, or tense. This is the case e.g. in Navajo (see Barss et al. 1991) and Sinhala (Sumangala 1992), as well as in a number of other languages. Thus, in Navajo focus in situ is marked by the «assertive» focus particle ga' (77), the «negative» focus particle hanii (78) and the interrogative focus particle -ísh:



(77) Jáan chidí ga' yiyilcho-igí yinishdlá.  
 John car AssFoc wrecked-COMP believe-I  
 I believe that John wrecked [<sub>F</sub>the car].

(78) Jáan chidí hanii yiyilcho-igí yinishdlá.  
 John car NegFoc wrecked-COMP believe-I  
 It is not the car that I believe John wrecked.

Barss et al. (1991) argue that the focused constituent followed by the particle undergoes extraction at LF, where its scope is fixed. In the preceding section we have made a similar suggestion for focus in situ in Tsakhur.

In order to account for the relation between the focus particle and the functional category whose meaning the particle expresses, Barss et al. suggest a coindexation mechanism which assigns same indices to the particle and to the head of the corresponding functional projection. I refer the reader to their discussion of technical aspects of this coindexing and assume that the same coindexing is needed for Tsakhur.

Another interesting point of similarity between Tsakhur and Navajo is the possibility for focus markers to occur inside islands, cf.:

(79) líí hanii nabíilgo'-éę ashkii shik'ihodí'á.  
 [horse NegFoc threw-REL] boy blamed:me

'It is not the boy that [<sub>F</sub>the horse] threw who blamed me.'

Barss et al. (1991) argue that the focus morphemes in such sentences are in fact combined with the whole island, their location after its dependent being but a surface effect. This agrees well with the syntactic view of focus which we adopt in this paper following Drubig (1994) (see section 2 for details), and with our own conclusions about Tsakhur in 5.5.

## **7. Conclusion**

In this paper, I have considered focus marking in one of the Daghestanian languages — Tsakhur. The synchronic analysis of the Tsakhur focus construction argued for in sections 4-5 is based on the assumption that the morphemes which serve for focus marking behave in a similar fashion to the so-called «focus-sensitive» particles in English (only, even, not/n't), i.e. they can either be base generated in combination with the focused constituent, or they can associate with focus, heading some projection above the VP. The difference between Tsakhur and English is that in the former the possibility of following after or associating with focus is realised for markers of remarkably many sentential categories. The proposed analysis helps to explain some otherwise puzzling properties of Tsakhur focus marking, namely agreement in focus constructions and the possibility for focus markers to occur inside islands.

## **REFERENCES**

Aoun, Joseph; and Li, Audrey (1993). Syntax of Scope. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Baker 2001

Barss, Andrew; Hale, Ken; Perkins, Ellavina Tsosie; and Speas, Margaret (1991). Logical Form and barriers in Navajo. In Logical Form and Linguistic Structure: Cross-Linguistic Perspectives. C.-T. J. Huang and Robert May (eds.), 25-47. Dordrecht: Foris.

Bayer, Josef (1990). Directionality of Government and Logical Form: A Study of Focusing Particles and Wh-Scope. Habilitationsschrift, University of Constance.

Beletti, Adriana; and Uriagereka, John (1995). The order of verbal complements: A comparative study. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 13, 489-526

Bittner, Marie; and Hale, Kenneth (1996). Ergativity: toward a theory of a heterogeneous class. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27, 531-604.

Borer, Hagit (1995). The ups and downs of Hebrew verb movement. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 13.

Bošković, Željko (1997). Pseudoclefts. *Studia Linguistica* 51 (3), 1997.

Chafe, Wallace (1976). Given, new, topic, focus of empathy, and point of view. In Ch.Li (ed.) Subject and Topic. N.Y.: Academic Press.

Chomsky, Noam (1977). Conditions on rules in grammar. In Essays on Form and Interpretation, Noam Chomsky, 163-210. Amsterdam: North-Holland.

Chomsky, Noam (1981). Lectures on Government and Binding. Dordrecht: Foris.

Cole, Peter (1987). The Structure Internally Headed relative Clauses. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 5, 277-302.

Culicover, Peter (1991). Topicalization, inversion, and complementizers in English. In Going Romance and Beyond: Fifth Symposium on Comparative Grammar.

- Utrecht: OTS Working Papers, D. Delfitto, M. Everaert, A. Evers, and F. Stuurman (eds.), 91-002, 1-43.
- Dasgupta, P. (1980). Questions and Relative and Complement Clauses in a Bangla Grammar. Ph.D.Diss., New York University.
- Delin, Judy (1994). Aspects of cleft constructions in discourse. Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschungsbereich 340: Sprachtheoretische Grundlagen für die Computerlinguistik, No. 19, University of Tübingen.
- Drubig, Hans Bernhard (1994). Island constraints and the syntactic nature of focus and association with focus. Arbeitspapiere des Sonderforschungsbereich 340: Sprachtheoretische Grundlagen für die Computerlinguistik, No. 51, University of Stuttgart/Tübingen.
- Drubig, Hans Bernhard (1998). Focus and connectedness: towards a typology of focus constructions. Arbeitsbericht, Projekt «Typologie zur Informationsstruktur», DFG-Schwerpunkt: Sprachtypologie, University of Tübingen.
- Göbbel, Edward (1996). Focus movement in Romanian. Arbeitsbericht, Projekt «Typologie zur Informationsstruktur», DFG-Schwerpunkt: Sprachtypologie, University of Tübingen.
- Harris, A; and Cambell (1995). Historical Syntax. Cambridge University Press.
- Higgins, Robert F (1979). The Pseudocleft Construction in English. N.Y.: Garland.
- Horvath, Julia (1986). FOCUS in the Theory of Grammar and the Syntax of Hungarian. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Jackendoff, Ray (1972). Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Jayaseelan, K.A. (1996). Question-Word Movement to Focus and Scrambling in Malayalam. Linguistic Analysis 26, 63-83.
- Kazenin, Konstantin I. (1997a) Focus construction and WH-questions. In Godoberi. LINCOS Studies in Caucasian Linguistics 2, Kibrik, A.E. (ed.), 227-236. München-Newcastle: LINCOS Europa.
- Kazenin, Konstantin I. (1997b) On patient demotion in Lak. In Typology of verbal categories, Leonid Kulikov and Heinz Vater (eds.), 95-115. Tübingen: Narr.
- Kazenin, Konstantin I. (1998a). Focus and directionality in Tsakhur. Ms., University of Tübingen.
- Kazenin, Konstantin I. (1999a). Ličnoe soglasovanie v laskom jazyke: markirovannost' i nejtralizacija [Person agreement in Lak: markedness and neutralization]. In Tipologija i Teorija Jazyka [Typology and Linguistic Theory]. (A Festschrift for A.E.Kibrik), Yakov Testelec and Ekaterina Rakhilina (eds.), 383-399. Moscow: Jazyki Russkoj Kul'tury.
- Kazenin, Konstantin I. (1999b). Fokusnaja konstrukcija [Focus construction]. In Elementy Caxurskogo Jazyka v Tipologichseskom Osvjeshchenii [Elements of Tsakhur in the Typological Perspective], A. E. Kibrik, (ed.), 582-607. Moskva: Nasledie.
- Kazenin, Konstantin; and Testelec, Yakov (1999). Porjadok slov i struktura sostavljajushchix [Word order and constituent structure]. In Elementy Caxurskogo Jazyka v Tipologichseskom Osvjeshchenii [Elements of Tsakhur in the Typological Perspective], A. E. Kibrik, (ed.), 293-346. Moskva: Nasledie.
- Kibrik, A. E. (1975) Nominativnaja / ergativnaja konstrukcija i logicheskoe udarenie v archinskom jazyke [Absolute/ergative constructions and logical stress in Archi].

- In Issledovaniya po Strukturnoj i Prikladnoj Lingvistike [Studies in Theoretical and Applied Linguistics]. Moscow: MGU.
- Kibrik, A. E. (1979). Canonical ergativity and Daghestan languages. In Ergativity: Towards a Theory of Grammatical Relations, Frans Plank (ed.). London, New York: Academic Press.
- Kibrik, A. E. (ed.) (1999). Elementy Caxurskogo Jazyka v Tipologichseskom Osvjeshchenii [Elements of Tsakhur in the Typological Perspective]. Moscow: Nasledie.
- Kiss, Katalin É. (1996). The focus operator and information focus. In Working Papers in the Theory of Grammar, vol.3, no.2. Budapest: Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
- Kiss, Katalin É. (1998). Identificational focus vs. information focus. Language 74, 245-273.
- Koopman, Hilda; and Sportiche, Dominique (1991). The position of subjects. Lingua 85, 211-258.
- May, Robert (1985). Logical Form. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- McCawley, James D. (1986). The focus and scope of only. University of Chicago Working Papers in Linguistics 2, 101-122.
- Mohanan, K. P. (1982). Grammatical relations and clause structure in Malayalam. In The Mental Representation of Grammatical Relations, Bresnan, Joan (ed.), 504-589. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Mohanan, K. P. (1984). Operator binding and path containment condition. Natural Language and Linguistic Theory 2.

- Moser, Megan (1992). The Negation Relation: Semantic and Pragmatic Aspects of a Relational Analysis of Negation. Ph.D.Diss., University of Pennsylvania.
- Ortiz de Urbina, Jon (1995). Verb-second and (residual) verb-first in Basque. In Discourse Configurational Languages, K.Kiss (ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Ouhalla, Jamal (1994). Focus in Standard Arabic. Linguistics in Potsdam 1, 65-92.
- Prince, Ellen (1978). A comparison of wh-clefts and it-clefts in discourse. Language 54, 883-906.
- Pritchett, B. (1992). Parsing with grammar: islands, heads, and garden paths. In Island Effects, Helen Goodluck and Michael Rochemont (eds.). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Rizzi, Luigi (1991). Residual verb second and wh-criterion. Technical Reports in Formal and Computational Linguistics 2. Genève: Faculté des Lettres, Université de Genève.
- Rooth, Mats (1985). Association with Focus. Ph.D.Diss., University of Massachusetts.
- Saeed, John Ibrahim (1991). The Syntax of Focus and Topic in Somali. Kuschitische Sprachstudien, Band 3. Hamburg: Helmut Baske.
- Schaffar, Wolfram; and Chen, Lansun (1998). Yes-No Questions in Mandarin and the Theory of Focus. Arbeitsbericht, Projekt «Typologie zur Informationsstruktur», DFG-Schwerpunkt: Sprachtypologie, University of Tübingen.
- Selkirk, Elizabeth O. (1984). Phonology and Syntax: The Relation between Sound and Structure. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Sumangala, Lelwala (1992). Long Distance Dependencies in Sinhala: The Syntax of Focus and Wh-Questions. Ph.D.Diss., Cornell University.

Taglicht, Josef (1984) Message and Emphasis: On Focus and Scope in English. London: Longman.

Tancredi, Christopher (1990). Syntactic association with focus. Ms., MIT.

Tatevosov, Sergej; and Maisak, Timur (1999). Glagol'nye formy v narrativnom diskurse [Verbal forms in narratives]. In Elementy Caxurskogo Jazyka v Tipologichseskom Osvjeshchenii [Elements of Tsakhur in the Typological Perspective], A. E. Kibrik, (ed.), 715-737. Moskva: Nasledie.

Testelec, Yakov (1998). Word order variations in some SOV languages of Europe. In Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe. Empirical Approaches to Language Typology: EUROTYP 20-1, Anna Siewerska (ed.), 649-680. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Thwing, Rhonda; and Watters, John (1987). Focus in Vute. Journal of African Languages and Linguistics 9, 95-121.

Williams, Edwin (1983). Semantic vs. syntactic categories. Linguistics and Philosophy 6, 423-445.

## NOTES

1. For various help and comments on earlier drafts of this paper, I am indebted to Hans-Bernhard Drubig, Edward Göbbel, Aleksandr E.Kibrik, Henk van Riemsdijk, Yakov G.Testelec, and the two anonymous reviewers of *Linguistics*. I am very much thankful to native speakers of Tsakhur for their kindness and patience during my fieldwork on



Tsakhur in 1995-98, especially to Ismail Mamedov, Taghir Ajwazow, Orudzh Ibraghimov, Ibraghim Dzhafarov, and Adam Saidgasanov.

2. Throughout this paper, I use the following abbreviations: ABS - Absolutive case, ADV - adverb, AFF - Affective case, ALL - Allative case, ATR - Attributive, AUX - auxiliary, COMIT - Comitative case, COMP - complementiser, CONT - Contessive case, DAT - Dative case, EM - epistemic marker, ERG - Ergative case, ESS - Essive case, HAB - habitualis, IPF - imperfect, NEG - negation, NOM - nominative, OBL - oblique stem, PART - participle, PF - perfect, PL - pluralis, POT - potential, Q - question marker, REFL - reflexive pronoun, REL - relative clause, TEMP - temporal clause. Classes are marked by arabic figures (1,2,3,4). Class agreement markers are separated by =, all the other morphemes by the usual hyphens.

3. There seems to be no other construction in Tsakhur where A'-movement of a constituent takes place, it least in overt syntax. However, the description of Tsakhur relativization in Ljutikova (1999) makes one suggest that movement of a zero operator takes place in Tsakhur relative clauses, and that this movement obeys at least the Adjunct Island constraint and the Complex NP Constraint. If this is correct, focus extraction is not the only instance of A'-movement in Tsakhur, and the locality constraints observed for focus extraction hold for the other instance of A'-movement as well.