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A Note on Spanish Wh-Movement, in Relation to Topicalization and Left-Dislocation

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0. INTRODUCTION

According to Contreras (1991), who illustrates (1) as evidence for the point, there exists no case of topicalization (focalization) in Spanish, which makes a sharp contrast with the assertion made by Hernanz and Brucart (1987) (henceforth, H&B), who give the examples in (2), saying that topicalization makes obligatory the inversion of the order subject-verb:

- (1)a. *ESTA LECCIÓN María sabe muy bien (Contreras 1991:7a)
- b. *ESTA LECCIÓN sabe María muy bien (ibid.:7b)
- c. *ESTA LECCIÓN sabe muy bien María (ibid.:7c)
- ‘it is this lesson that Mary knows very well’
- (2)a. *UN ANILLO DE BRILLANTES María quiere (H&B:p.77)
- b. UN ANILLO DE BRILLANTES quiere María (ibid.)
- ‘it is a diamond ring that Mary wants’¹⁾

Along the line of Fukui and Speas (1986), Contreras (1991) assumes that only functional categories can project up to the X' level, while lexical categories project only up to the X level. Thus, lexical categories are not equipped with Specifier position. Furthermore, it is assumed that Agr can be parametrized with respect to the feature [\pm lexical], with Spanish marked positive and French and English, for instance, marked otherwise for this parameter. Following the VP-Internal Subject Hypothesis that subjects are base-generated as adjuncts (cf. Koopman and Sportiche 1991), it follows that in the Spanish SVO order, the subject element has moved up from its base position to some other position (which is hypothesized to be the left Agr'-adjoined position). Finally, Contreras (1991) reduces the ungrammatical status of (1a-c) to a slightly modified version of Rizzi's (1990) Relativized Minimality (to be elucidated below).

In this article, I suggest that much the same line of reasoning that seems to be able to explain the behavior of topicalization will also properly account for that of Wh-movement.²⁾ The paper is organized as follows: section 1 presents the outline of Contreras (1991) with the definition system adopted in this paper; in section 2, we deal with V⁰-movement in root [+Finite] clauses, surveying Laka (1993) and H&B (1987) in their methodologies for explicating the topicalization phenomena; in section 3, some aspects of left-dislocation are elucidated in relation to our main theme Wh-movement; in the last section, we will make an ele-

rier, or a potential intervening antecedent governor. In other words, in these putative dialects, it is the adjunct adjacent to and in the same direction (i.e. right or left adjunction) as the immediate antecedent of a trace that functions as a RM barrier (to be elucidated elsewhere). In this article, we will mainly be concerned with examples such as (2a-b).

Also in Wh-movement of thematic arguments, the subject obligatorily appears in postverbal position, as shown in (7), while it is shown in (8)-(9) that some of nonthematic (adjunct) Wh-phrases do not necessitate subject-verb inversion:⁴⁾

- (7)a. *qué trajo el cartero?* (Toribio 1993:p.128)
 b. **qué el cartero trajo?* (ibid.) 'what did the mailman bring?'
 (8)a. *por qué compró Juan ese televisor?* (Arnaiz 1992:6a)
 b. *por qué Juan compró ese televisor?* (ibid.:6b) 'why did Juan buy that TV?'
 (9)a. *cuándo Juan consiguió por fin abrir la puerta ayer?* (Torrego 1984:15c)
 'when did Juan finally get to open the door yesterday?'
 b. *cómo Juan ha conseguido meter allí a su hijo?* (ibid.:15d)
 'how has Juan managed to get his son there?'
 c. **cuándo Juana se fue a Albuquerque?* (Goodall 1993:2e)
 d. **cómo Juana se fue a Albuquerque?* (ibid.:2c)
 'when/how did Juana go to Albuquerque?'

We suggest that the contrast between (7a)- (7b) may be elucidated by the same line of reasoning that properly accounts for that found in (2a)- (2b), namely, by postulating the following derivational stage in (10) for (7b), where the subject NP(*el cartero*_i) adjoined to Agr' constitutes an RM barrier, thus preventing the antecedent NP (*qué*_i) from governing its trace (*t_i*):⁵⁾

- (10) [_{Agr'} *qué*_i [_{Agr'} [_{NP} *el cartero*_i] [_{Agr'} [_{Agr'} *trajo*] [_{T'} *t_T* [_{V'} [_V *t_v* *t_i*] *t_i*]]]]]

2. V⁰-MOVEMENT AND TOPICALIZATION

With Suñer (1994) we assume that in Wh-movement V stops its X⁰-movement at Agr and does not continue to C⁰. Furthermore, it is assumed, along with Laka (1993), that in Spanish there exists an intermediate functional projection between CP and Agr', namely ΣP, which is headed by operator features like [neg(ation)], [wh] and [top(ic)]. As shown in (11), thematic N-words (negative operators) make obligatory the inversion of subject-verb, unlike nonthematic (adjunct) N-words in (12):

- (11)a. *ni siquiera un alma vio Juan en el cementerio* (Toribio 1993:p.149)
 b. **ni siquiera un alma Juan vio en el cementerio* (ibid.)
 'not a soul did Juan see at the cemetery'
 (12)a. *apenas había llegado Juan cuando llamó Pedro* (Toribio 1993:p.149)
 b. *apenas Juan había llegado cuando llamó Pedro* (ibid.:p.150)
 'hardly had Juan arrived when Pedro called'

It is postulated as in Laka (1993) that preverbal N-words have moved to SPEC(Σ), unlike preverbal topicalized elements.⁶⁾ In Laka (1993)'s point of view, verbal elements move further up to Σ in N-words fronting.⁷⁾ This way of reasoning will

properly explain the difference in (11a-b) and also predict (12b) to be ungrammatical, clearly contrary to the facts. We suggest, as shown in (13), that Σ assigned the feature [neg] transmit the feature to Agr only when what is to be fronted is a thematic (argumental) element:

- (13) Hypothesis: Σ transmits its feature [neg] to Agr if and only if
N-words to be fronted are thematic (argumental).

In sum, (11b) contravenes ECP, since the subject NP (Juan_i) adjoined to Agr', to whose head Σ transmits the feature [neg], forms a RM barrier for antecedent government of the original trace (t_i) by the intermediate trace (t_i') adjoined to the same Agr. In (12b), on the other hand, Agr does not inherit the feature [neg], so that the N-word (apenas) moves directly to SPEC(Σ) without landing at Agr'. In (11a) and (12a), the subject (Juan) remains in its base position.

Next we will discuss topicalization in which it is assumed that topicalized elements move via adjunction to both Agr' and Σ P, namely that Σ , assigned the feature [top], obligatorily transmits the feature to Agr (cf. fn.6). This is summarized as follows:

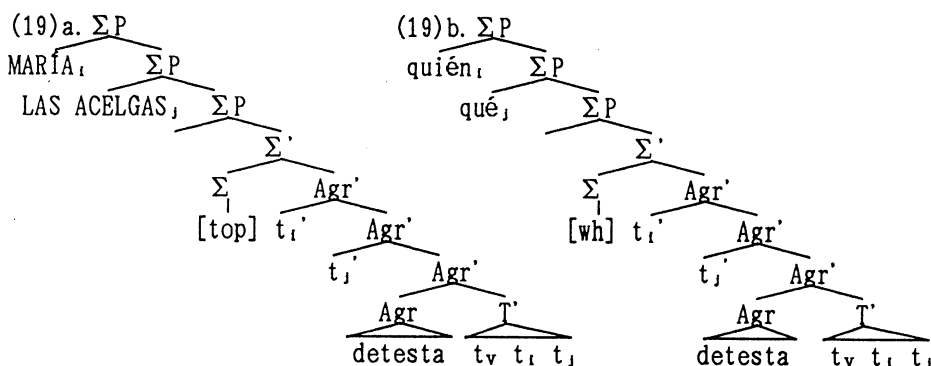
- (14) Hypothesis: Σ , assigned the feature [top] or [wh], obligatorily
transmits the same feature to Agr.

This hypothesis properly accounts for the fact that in topicalization only the order of verb-subject is observed. We assume that V⁰ stops its movement at Agr⁰ in topicalization as in Wh-movement and N-words fronting. Thus, hypothesis (14) predicts the (un)grammatical status of (2a) and (2b) (in (2b), the subject (María) remains in its base position).

H&B (p. 94-103) make it clear that topicalization and Wh-movement are parallel to each other, citing the following examples (cf. also fn.6):

- (15)a. A PEDRO saludó María (H&B:p. 97) 'PEDRO María greeted'
b. a quién saludó María? (ibid.) 'whom did María greet?'
(16)a. *A PEDRO lo saludó María (H&B:p. 97)
b. *a quién lo saludó María? (ibid.)
(17)a. *MARÍA LAS ACELGAS detesta (H&B:p. 97)
b. *quién qué detesta? (ibid.)
(18)a. *UNA POSTAL enviará Juan a quién? (ibid. :p.101)
'A POSTCARD Juan will send to whom?'
b. *LOS EXTRATERRESTRES han aterrizado en dónde? (ibid.)
'THE ALIENS have landed on where?'

This can be shown by the evident similarities which both constructions exhibit: obligatory inversion of the order subject-verb (15), absence of a doubled clitic (16), and the impossibility of the coexistence of double topicalized or Wh-constituents (17).⁹⁾ This parallelism can properly be accounted for by assuming that both kinds of construction are via adjunction to Agr' and Σ P. Take (17a)-(17b), whose respective derivational stages are shown in (19a)-(19b):⁹⁾



The above structures are rejected by ECP, since the intermediate trace (t_j') or the topicalized/Wh-elements (LAS ACELGAS_j, qué_j) constitute a RM barrier, making it impossible to fulfill the antecedent government requirement for the traces (t_i, t_i'). Similarly, ECP predicts (18a-b) to be ungrammatical, even when it is assumed that the feature [wh] transmitted by Σ is deleted at LF, as in LF topicalization (fn.6). It is that at least the topicalized constituents (UNA POSTAL, LOS EXTRATERRESTRES) in the ΣP -adjoined position form a RM barrier, preventing Wh-elements (a quién, en dónde) from antecedent-governing their traces.

Note here that nonthematic N-words move directly to SPEC(Σ) without landing at the adjunction site of Agr'. Our way of reasoning will properly predict examples like (20a-c) in which Wh-movement and N-words fronting are applied at the same time to be grammatical:¹⁰⁾

- (20)a. qué/qué plato nunca ordena Juan en este restaurante? (Arnaiz 1992:20a)
 'what/what dish does Juan never order in this restaurant?'
 b. desde cuál asiento apenas veías la pantalla (Goodall 1993:9a)
 'from which seat could you barely see the screen?'
 c. qué diarios nunca/apenas lee Juana? (Suñer 1994:53a)
 'which newspaper does Juana never/barely read?'

3. LEFT-DISLOCATION (LD) (CLITIC LEFT DISLOCATION (CLLD))

As shown in the difference between Wh-movement (21a) and left-dislocation (21b), we cannot assume Move- α for left-dislocation, otherwise we will improperly predict both examples to be ungrammatical (the ungrammatical status of (21a) can be reduced to the complex NP constraint (CNPC)).

- (21)a. *a quién tienes la seguridad de que nadie ha visto antes? (H&B:p.87)
 'whom do you have confidence that nobody has seen before?'
 b. a María_i, tengo la seguridad de que nadie la_i ha visto antes (ibid.)
 'María, I have confidence that nobody has seen her before'

Let us assume, then, that the nonargument-CP-adjoined position or the ΣP -adjoined position serves as the base-generation site for left-dislocation. Thus, the following examples are accounted for in a straightforward manner.¹¹⁾

- (22)a. los malos, nadie los, quiere (Fontana 1993:p.292)
 b. *nadie los malos, los, quiere (ibid.:p.293)
 'the bad ones, nobody wants them'
 c. preguntaron_[CP1](que)_[CP2]por qué a Paco, nadie lo, aguanta¹²⁾]](Suñer 1994:35c)
 'they asked why Paco nobody can stand him'

In (22c), the adjunct Wh-element (por qué) is located in SPEC(C₂), N-word (nadie) in SPEC(Σ). Consequently, we cannot assume the left-dislocated constituent (a Paco) is base-generated in the Agr'-adjoined position (thus, the only position for the LD constituent being the ΣP-adjoined position). The examples in (22a-b) will be accounted for likewise if we assume that the N-word (nadie) is in SPEC(Σ). Then, the LD constituent (los malos) is thought to be in the ΣP- or CP-adjoined position in (22a), while (22b) cannot be generated (with the result of being judged to be ungrammatical).¹³⁾ Next we will assume that the N-word (nadie) is topicalized, namely that the N-word moves via the adjunction site of ΣP. (22a) can be explained as that in which the LD constituent is base-generated in the CP-adjoined position. (22b) is predicted to be ungrammatical, since, the LD constituent (los malos) in the ΣP-adjoined position forms a RM barrier for the [top] element (nadie) (or its trace), leading to the contravention of ECP.¹⁴⁾

The interaction of Wh-movement with left-dislocation seems to provide evidence for our hypotheses set up so far. The data presented below (with the exception of (25b)), illustrate that thematic Wh-phrases moves through the adjunction site of Agr' and ΣP (cf. hypothesis (14)).

- (23)a. las acelgas, quién las, detesta? (H&B:p.85) 'spinach, who hates it?'
 b. *quién las acelgas, las, detesta? (ibid.) 'who spinach hates it?'
 (24)a. a tus padres, qué les, dijiste? (H&B:p.85)
 'to your parents, what did you tell them?'
 b. *qué a tus padres, les, dijiste? (ibid.)
 'what to your parents did you tell them?'
 (25)a. por qué a Paco, ya no lo, aguanta nadie? (Suñer 1994:35a)
 'why Paco can nobody stand him already?'
 b. cuándo a este hombre, le, levantarán un monumento? (ibid.:35b)
 'when for this man will they erect a monument?'
 c. dónde al mismo Allende, lo, mataron (ibid.:56b)
 'where Allende himself did they kill him'

Given hypothesis (14), we can properly account for the difference between (23-24)a and (23-24)b (the LD constituents which are base-generated in the Agr'- or ΣP-adjoined position forming a RM barrier). However, the same line of reasoning which correctly explains (23)-(24) will predict (25b-c) to be ungrammatical (see fn.4 for the grammatical status of (25a)). This is because the LD constituents (a este hombre, al mismo Allende), which seem to be generated in the adjunction site of ΣP, form a RM barrier for the trace of the adjunct (cuándo, dónde) in the same adjunction site of ΣP.

Returning to the examples in (9), we saw that there exists a dialectal variation with respect to the subject-verb (Agr) inversion. We suggest that in some dialects (which we will call A group) in which the subject-verb (Agr) inversion

is obligatory, the feature [wh] assigned to Σ is obligatorily transmitted to Agr (with the result of Wh-phrases moving through the adjunction site of Agr). On the other hand, in some other dialects (which we will call B group), the feature [wh] is optionally transmitted to Agr when Wh-phrases involved are (nonthematic) adjuncts. It follows that in B group, adjunct Wh-phrases can move without landing at the adjunction site of Agr, thus accounting for the optional subject-verb (Agr) inversion in the group. This parameter is summarized as follows:

- (26) Hypothesis: Σ , assigned the feature [wh], [\pm obligatorily] transmits the same feature to Agr, when Wh-elements are (nonthematic) adjuncts.

How is it that the grammatical status of (25b-c) can be accounted for? Let us assume, in addition to hypothesis (26), that the Agr'-adjoined position also counts as a base position for LD. Consequently, for instance, the derivation of (25b) in which the LD constituent (a este hombre) is base-generated in the Agr'-adjoined position does not contravene ECP in B group, while in A group, the corresponding derivation is predicted to be ungrammatical (contravention of ECP).¹⁵⁾

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

So far we have shown that Relativized Minimality can properly deal with not only topicalization but also N-words fronting and left-dislocation. In this final section, we will discuss seemingly problematic cases for our hypotheses (with a tentative solution to each problem): behavior of non-bare Wh-phrases; Wh-movement in Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS).

In A group we have assumed that Σ , assigned the feature [wh], obligatorily transmits the same feature to Agr (irrespective of whether Wh-phrases are arguments or adjuncts). However, in some dialects of A group (to be called A' group), examples consisting of non-bare Wh-phrases are judged to be a little marginal but basically grammatical as shown in (27b,d):

- (27)a. *qué Juan ha preparado para la comida? (Arnaiz 1992:11a)
 b. ?qué platos Juan ha preparado para la comida? (ibid.:11b)
 'what/what dishes has Juan prepared for the dinner?'
 c. *dónde María ha almorzado el último mes? (ibid.:13a)
 d. ?en qué lugar María ha almorzado el último mes? (ibid.:13a)
 'where/in what place has Maria eaten lunch last month?'
 (28)a. *qué puesto Josefina tiene en la empresa? (Goodall 1993:2a)
 'what position does Josefina have in the company?'
 b. *cuántos caramelos Paco dijo que yo le había dado al niño? (Suñer 1994:50b)
 'How many candies did Paco say that I had given to the boy?'

Our hypotheses properly account for the ungrammatical status of (27a,c) in which there appear bare Wh-phrases, while (27b,d) are predicted to be ungrammatical, contrary to the facts. Additionally, (28a-b) show that the contrast is not observed in B group (28b) and some other dialects of A group (28a). The problem brought about by (27b) and (27d) can be resolved by setting up the following hypothesis :

- (29) Hypothesis: With respect to non-bare Wh-phrases in A' group, Σ , assigned the feature [wh], optionally transmits the same feature to Agr, irrespective of the thematicity of the Wh-phrases.

Thus, non-bare Wh-phrases in (27b,d) can move without adjoining to Agr', properly accounting for the order subject-verb (Agr) in A' group. Given hypothesis (29) together with our hypotheses set up so far, the examples below in (30) and (31) containing a [top] element and a LD element, respectively, will be predicted as follows in all dialectal groups which we are discussing (including A' group) (to be checked elsewhere):¹⁶⁾

- (30) (the corresponding translations omitted)
- a. [*-*-*] qué/qué platos PARA LA COMIDA (Juan) ha preparado (Juan)?
 - b. [*-*-*] dónde/en qué lugar EL ÚLTIMO MES (María) ha almorzado (María)?
 - c. [*-*-*] por qué ESTE TELEVISOR Juan compró?
 - d. [- - -] por qué ESTE TELEVISOR compró Juan?
- (31) (the corresponding translations omitted)
- a. [*-*-*] qué para la comida Juan ha preparado?
 - b. [*-*-*] qué para la comida ha preparado Juan?
 - c. [*-*-*] qué platos para la comida Juan ha preparado?
 - d. [*-?-*] qué platos para la comida ha preparado Juan?
 - e. [*-*-*] para la comida qué Juan ha preparado?
 - f. [*-?-*] para la comida qué platos Juan ha preparado?
 - g. [- - -] para la comida qué/qué platos ha preparado Juan?
 - h. [*-*-*] dónde el último mes (María) ha almorzado (María)?
 - i. [*-*-*] el último mes dónde María ha almorzado?
 - j. [- - -] el último mes dónde ha almorzado María?
 - k. [*-*-*] en qué lugar el último mes María ha almorzado?
 - l. [*- - *] en qué lugar el último mes ha almorzado María?
 - m. [*-?- -] el último mes en qué lugar María ha almorzado?

Finally we discuss the behavior of Wh-movement in Puerto Rican Spanish (PRS). The following examples attest that the inversion of subject-V (Agr) is optional in PRS (32a-c), and that Wh-phrases optionally move through the adjunction site of Σ P (32b-d).¹⁷⁾

- (32) a. qué Iván dijo de so? (Suñer 1994:37a) 'what did Iván say about that?'
 b. cuándo yo no te he complacido? (ibid:36b) 'when did I not please you?'
 c. qué al Rafo, le, han hecho? (ibid:59b) 'what to Rafo have they done him?'
 d. a qué ahora/estos días se dedica? (ibid.:58a)
 'to what does he/she devote him/herself now/these days?'

According to our line of reasoning, (32a-d) will be accounted for by tentatively assuming that, as is the case with relatives clauses (33) containing non-overt operator movement in all the dialects examined, the feature [wh] is not assigned to Σ also in overt Wh-movement in PRS.

- (33) a. el libro_i OP_i que María compró t_i (Contreras 1989:8a)
 b. el libro_i OP_i que compró t_i María (ibid.:8b) 'the book that María bought'

Let us assume that the feature [top] is assigned to Σ in PRS. Given this assumption, (34a-d) below will be judged as follows (to be checked elsewhere):¹⁸⁾

- (34) a. A PEDRO saludó María
 b. A PEDRO María saludó 'PEDRO María greeted'
 c. al Rafo, LA NUEVA no le, han dicho
 'to Rafo THE NEWS they didn't say to him'
 d. *LA NUEVA al Rafo, no le, han dicho
 'THE NEWS to Rafo they didn't say to him'

Under the assumption that V stops its X^0 -movement at Agr also in PRS, it is safe to say that the subject element is generally in SPEC(Agr) (it is to be noted that the subject (María) is right-dislocated (probably adjoined to AgrP). Thus, (34a-b) will be predicted to be grammatical, whether Σ , assigned the feature [top], transmits the same feature to Agr or not. Our hypotheses predict that the contrast between (34c) and (34d), in which there co-appear a [top] element and a LD constituent, is observed not only in PRS but also in all the dialects with which we are dealing.

NOTES

- 1) By the term topicalization we mean focus topicalization, that is, focalization.
- 2) It is to be noted here that in the explanation of Wh-movement, Contreras (1991) adopts different strategy from ours, v.g. Closed Domain Condition (CDC) (cf. Contreras 1991 for the details of CDC).
- 3) We will refer to a potential antecedent barrier because of RM in (4) as an RM barrier. We assume that the Agr complex containing V and T govern the subject in its base position, which is assigned nominative Case by the complex in question, and that V which picks up the gender/number property of the subject in its base position X^0 -moves through T picking up its tense feature to Agr, leading to the realization of a verb affix (desinence).
- 4) As shown in (9), some vacillation is observed according to dialects, with respect to adjunct Wh-phrases (cuándo, cómo) (cf. Arnaiz 1991, Toribio 1993 and Fontana 1993). As far as we know, subject-verb inversion is optional in all dialects in the case of the adjunct (por qué). This seems to mean that the adjunct (por qué) does not move via adjunction to Agr' or adjunction to Σ P (to be discussed later), namely that the adjunct concerned is base-generated in a position above Σ P, for example, in SPEC(C) (cf. Goodall 1993).
- 5) The head of Σ P transmits its feature [wh] to Agr' in matrix Wh-clauses (to be described later in some detail). This means that Wh-elements have to be checked in their Checking Domain, obligatorily moving via adjoining to the Agr' in question (see Chomsky 1992 for the definition of Checking Domain).
- 6) Unlike Laka (1993) who suggests that also topicalized elements move to SPEC(Σ) as in the case of N-words fronting, we assume that S-structure topicalization is via adjunction to Σ P, although we remain neutral with respect to whether the topicalized elements move further up to SPEC(C) or not. In Σ P containing a topicalized element in it, Σ is assigned the feature [topic], which will be later transmitted to Agr at S-structure. On the other hand, the feature [top] transmitted to Agr is deleted in the case of topicalized elements *in-situ* (irrespective of whether it is a thematic or nonthematic (adjunct) that is topicalized at LF), which can adjoin directly to Σ P without moving through Agr', as shown (i)-(iv):
 (i) María detesta LAS ACELGAS (H&B: p. 98) María detests SPINACH
 (ii) Juan visitó Leningrado EN PRIMAVERA (ibid.) 'Juan visited Leningrad IN SPRING'
 (iii) *MARÍA, detesta LAS ACELGAS (ibid.) 'it is María that detests SPINACH'
 (iv) *a quién visitó Juan EN PRIMAVERA? (ibid.) 'whom did Juan visit IN SPRING?'
 In (i)-(ii), the subjects (María, Juan) are located in the Agr'-adjoined position, whose head has its feature [top] deleted at LF, as suggested above. In (iii), María (or its trace) in the Σ P-adjoined position constitutes a RM barrier for LAS ACELGAS which moves via adjunction to the same Σ P. Additionally, (iv) indicates that the Wh-phrase (a quién) moves via adjunction to Σ P (it is to be noted that the subject (Juan) remains in its base position). Needless to say, we have to assume that Σ , assigned features like [topic] and [Wh], L-marks its sister node (Agr').
- 7) We assume, unlike Laka (1993), V^0 ceases its X^0 -movement at Agr, as in Wh-movement.
- 8) As shown below, the appearance of the doubled clitic corresponding to a preposed constituent is characteristic of left-dislocation.
- 9) We remain neutral with respect to whether Wh-elements move further up from the adjunction site of Σ P to SPEC(C) in root contexts.
- 10) Our way of reasoning will reject examples like (i) in which thematic N-words move together with Wh-elements, whose grammatical status is yet to be checked:
 (i) *qué a nadie dio Juan? 'what did Juan not give to anybody?'
- 11) The possibility of Agr' providing a base-generation site for LD is to be discussed later.
- 12) The embedded indirect question CP has the structure like (i) (see Suñer 1992 for the difference between semi-questions and indirect questions):
 (i) [_{CP} OP [_C (que) [_{CP2} WH [_C C [_{Agr} Agr [_T ...]]]]]]

- 13) Even if the LD constituent can be base-generated at the Agr'-adjoined position, as will be postulated below, this constituent forms a RM barrier for the N-word (*nadie*) moving through the adjunction site of Agr' to SPEC(Σ).
- 14) We assume, with Zanuttini (1991:p.123, fn.10), that N-words cannot be left-dislocated.
- 15) We assume that adjunct Wh-phrases other than *por qué* are generated in the position below T'. Given hypothesis (26), together with the supposition that *neg (no)* is located in Σ , (ia) will be predicted to be ungrammatical, in which the LD constituent is in the Σ P-adjoined position (the same constituent forming a RM barrier).
- (i)a. *cuándo a este hombre_i, no le_i levantarán un monumento?
 (i)b. *cuándo no a este hombre_i, le_i levantarán un monumento? 'when for this man will they not erect a monument?'
 The same reasoning will improperly predict (ib) to be grammatical, in which the LD constituent is assumed to be in the Agr'-adjoined position. This problem can be overcome by assuming some rule requiring the adjacency between [+finite] Agr and sentence negative (*no*) as shown in (ii):
 (ii)a. Juan no estudia historia de arte
 b. *no Juan estudia historia de arte 'Juan does not study history of art'
 It is tentatively assumed that in (iia), the subject has adjoined to Σ P after moving through the adjunction site of Agr'. Our hypotheses properly predict (iiaa) to be ungrammatical with the assumption that sentential adverbs like *ahora* (now) and *hoy* (en día) (today), etc. are base-generated in the Σ P-adjoined position (iibb).
 (iii)a. *qué diarios ahora lee Juana? (Suñer 1994:53c) 'which newspaper does Juana read now?'
 b. ahora, Lina lee dos diarios (ibid:fn.27) 'now, Lina reads two newspaper'
 With respect to other types of adverb (specifically, *siempre* (always), *sólo* (only) and *frecuentemente* (frequently)) some vacillation is observed according to dialects as shown in (iv):
 (iv)a. qué diarios *siempre* lee Juana (Suñer 1994:53a) 'which newspaper does Juana read always read?'
 b. *qué siempre *siempre* lee María (Marquis 1992:23b) 'what does María always read?'
 c. en cuál país *sólo* pueden comer arroz? (Goodall 1993:9b) 'in what country can you only eat rice?'
 d. *qué *sólo* leyó Juan? (Zagona 1988:p.156) 'what did Juan only read?'
 e. qué diarios *frecuentemente* lee Juana? 'what newspaper does Juana frequently read?'
 f. *a quién *frecuentemente* trae Juan a la escuela (Caminero 1985:p.117)
 'whom does Juan bring frequently to the school?'
 This variation can be accounted for by assuming that these adverbs in question are base-generated in the Σ P-adjoined position in some dialects, while in other dialects, these adverbs are also generated in SPEC(Σ) (to be more fully elucidated elsewhere).
- 16) The order of judgement (- - - , for instance) is a serial sequence of that in A-A' -B group.
- 17) With Toribio (1993), we assume that PRS Agr is specified as [-lexical], thus having its own SPEC position (A-position). The subject NP (*Iván*, in (32a), for instance) has moved to SPEC(Agr) to be Case-assigned nominative, since Agr [-lexical] cannot assign Case to the subject in its base position.

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