V≥2 and Addressee Agreement in Basque

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The standard current view of verb second (V2) phenomena in Germanic/Breton takes such effects to reflect the interaction of two features: (i) an EPP feature on a high C field head attracting exactly one XP; and (ii) a [uV] feature on this same head attracting the verb (Chomsky 2000, Roberts 2004, Holmberg to appear, Jouitteau 2010, Leu 2010, cf. den Besten 1983). The projection targeted by these movements has often been related to the pragmatics of root clauses—a "Force" or "Speech Act" head—for varieties in which V2 is restricted to root contexts (Emonds 1970, Haegeman 2006, Julien 2008). We illustrate this approach in (1).

This paper discusses two implications of Basque for this approach. First, as Holmberg (to appear) notes, the two movement steps in (1) are, in principle, independent properties, and if so, should vary independently across languages. We show that Basque instantiates one typological possibility predicted by this approach, namely a language with EPP-driven XP movement to the left periphery, but not obligatory verb raising to the C field. Such a language will be a "V≥2" language, where the finite verb cannot be in first position, and may allow multiple (non-topic) constituents to appear between the finite verb and the left edge of the clause. Second, we argue that this XP movement targets a high speech act-related head, as often proposed for Germanic V2. Unlike in Germanic, however, Basque shows a phonetic reflex of this head in the form of addressee agreement on finite verbs.

Basque obeys quite strictly a ban on finite verbs sentence initially (henceforth "*V1"). As shown in (2), initial finite verbs are poor in *yes/no* questions (unlike in Germanic) and declaratives. Word orders which would otherwise violate *V1 can be rescued by insertion of an expletive *ba-* morpheme as in (2a,b); as shown in (2c) expletive *ba-* cannot appear outside clause-initial contexts, that is, where it is not needed (Ortiz de Urbina 1994, 1995). Like Germanic, Basque allows for constituents of different categorial and information structural types to serve as first position elements: (3) and (4) show that foci and negation may be first position elements, but not topics, as in (5), nor a class of preverbal particles, as illustrated in (6) with the evidential particle *omen*. Finally, *V1 does not apply in true embeddings like (7) and (8) where V1 is possible and expletive *ba-* is unavailable.

The fact that first position can be occupied by a broad class of constituents including expletives is in keeping with an approach to *V1 on which an EPP feature is associated with a left peripheral head above the finite verb. Specifically, the inventory of possible first-position elements in root clauses will follow from the assumption of an EPP feature on a SpeechAct head high in the C field together with the sequence of left-peripheral heads illustrated in (9) for root clauses; embedded clauses which do not display *V1 effects, will lack the SpeechAct layer. The EPP feature on SpeechAct attracts the closest XP, in the general case, phrases in specs of FocusP, or PolP. Following Ortiz de Urbina (1994), we assume expletive *ba-* is the spellout of SpeechAct when its EPP feature goes unsatisfied. Preverbal particles, as heads, will not be able to occupy spec, SpeechAct, nor will topics, which target a higher position.

In Basque, direct evidence for a speech act-related head comes from addressee agreement on the auxiliary, that is gender agreement with non-argument interlocutors in informal contexts (Oyharçabal 1993, Miyagawa 2011). We illustrate this in (10), where the auxiliary appears with a –*k* morpheme, when the addressee is male, and with –*n* for female addressees. Crucially, addressee agreement is unavailable in the same true embedded clause contexts where V1 is possible, as illustrated in (11) (Oyharçabal 1993). Evidence that the finite verb does not itself move to SpeechAct comes from the behavior of negative focus contexts like (12). Again, the focused constituent, *Jon*, must count as the first position element. For this constituent to be in a spec-head relation with the finite verb, the auxiliary will need to have right-adjoined to the negative morpheme *ez* on its way to SpeechAct, as in (13). A problem for this approach comes from ellipsis contexts such as (14), where the elided constituent contains a finite verb. The structure in (13) will then require deletion of a non-constituent: the main verb participle and auxiliary but not negation. Hence, in such contexts at least, Aux-raising to the projection hosting the first position XP faces important obstacles.

Facts from Basque therefore support the approach to V2 in (1) in: (i) evidencing an overt speech act head with the same distribution as *V1; and (ii) fulfilling a typological prediction of this approach, namely a "V≥2" language with EPP-movement to "C" but not verb raising.

Sample data:

(1) [$_{SpeechActP}$ XP [$_{C'}$ V+SpeechAct$_{[uV, EPP]}$ [...<V><XP>]]]

(2) a. *(ba-)Dator　　　Jon?　　　b. *(ba-)dator　　　Jon.　　　　c. Jon　(*ba-)dator.
　　　EXPL come.3SG Jon　　　　　EXPL come.3SG Jon　　　　　　Jon　EXPL come.3SG
　　　'Is Jon coming?'　　　　　　'Jon is coming.'　　　　　　　'Jon is coming.'

(3) Nor/JON dator　　gaur?　　　　　　(4) Ez　dator
　　Who/Jon come.3SG today　　　　　　　NEG come.3SG
　　'Who/JON is coming today?/.'　　　　　'(She) is not coming.'

(5) Jon, *(ba-)dator　　　　　　　　　(6) *(Ba-)omen dator
　　Jon　EXPL come.3SG　　　　　　　　EXPL EVID　come.3SG
　　'As for Jon, he's coming.'　　　　　　'(She) is apparently coming.'

(7) [(*Ba)-datorr-en]　astea.　　　　　(8) [(*Ba)-dirudi-en]-ez,　etorri-ko da.
　　　ba　come-comp week　　　　　　　Ba　appear-comp-as, come-FUT aux
　　'the coming week'　　　　　　　　　'It appears he/she will come.'

(9) [$_{TopP}$ Top* [$_{SpeechActP}$ SpeechAct$_{[EPP]}$ [$_{FocP}$ XP$_{[Foc]}$ Foc [$_{PolP}$ *ez* Polarity [$_{EvidP}$ Evid [$_{TP}$ T....]]]]]]

(10) Kotxea garestia　izan-go　d-u-**k/n**
　　car-ABS expensive　COP-FUT　3ABS-root-**ADDRESSEE.MASC/ADDRESSEE.FEM**
　　'The car is going to be expensive.'

(11) *[zetorre-k-en]　　　　　　　astea.
　　　Come-ADDRESSEE.MASC-COMP week.
　　'The coming week.'

(12) JON ez　da　etorri.
　　Jon　NEG AUX come.
　　'It's Jon that hasn't come.'

(13) [$_{SpeechActP}$ *JON* $_{[Focus]}$ [$_{SpeechAct'}$ [SpeechAct-[*ez*-[*da*]]][$_{FocP}$<*JON*>[$_{PolP}$<*ez*>[$_{TP}$<*da*> ...*etorri*]]]

(14) Jon etorri da,　baina Beatriz ez　~~[da etorri]~~
　　Jon　come AUX but　Beatriz NEG AUX come
　　'Jon has come, but Beatriz hasn't come'

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