

Intervention and clause type sensitivity in Basque

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This paper proposes a solution to a longstanding problem concerning clause-type effects on word order in Basque. The analysis lends support to recent approaches to some clause-type sensitive phenomena as intervention effects (Haegeman, 2010a,b).

In Basque, the order of the tense-bearing auxiliary and extended verbal shell is sensitive to polarity (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Laka, 1990; Uribe-Etxebarria, 1994): in root contexts, affirmative clauses are ordered VP-Aux, while negative main clauses are ordered Neg-Aux-VP, as in (1). Less well described in the literature is the fact that this word order variation interacts with clause type. (See Ortiz de Urbina (1992); Artiagoitia (2003); Etxepare (2003) for brief discussion.) For embedded declaratives with the complementizer *-(e)la*, the word order is Neg-Aux-V, as in root contexts (2). In relative clauses, which take the complementizer *-(e)n*, V-Neg-Aux is obligatory (3). In embedded interrogatives, factives and temporal adverbials, also with *-(e)n*, both orders are possible as shown in (4).

What the clause types that allow/require V-Neg-Aux orders have in common is an operator—relative, factive, interrogative, or temporal—in the left periphery. Our main claim is that V-Neg-Aux orders reflect the interaction of these operators with movement of negation on a predicate fronting approach to the polarity sensitive word-order alternation illustrated in (1). Specifically, we propose that *ez* is a negative adverbial merged TP-internally. In root and *-(e)la* clauses like (1b), *ez* moves to a left-peripheral Σ phrase (Laka, 1990), as in (5a). Evidence that *ez* raises as an XP and not a head comes from the fact that it can be a first position element in root clauses, which disallow verb-initial orders (Ortiz de Urbina, 1994). True heads including evidential and speech act particles are never licit first position elements, while all XPs are. In affirmative contexts, in the absence of *ez*, a constituent containing the extended verbal shell—here labeled “PredP”—raises instead (Haddican 2004). We take this movement to be a kind of predicate fronting (Massam, 2010; Coon, 2010, 2012), where the predicate fronts not to satisfy featural needs of T, but rather those of a higher polarity-related head, namely Σ . We illustrate this movement in (5b). Support for predicate fronting comes from ellipsis sentences like (6). Here, the auxiliary in the second sentence is left unpronounced, plausibly as a banal case of TP ellipsis Laka (1990). On alternative approaches that take the affirmative VP-Aux order to reflect a right-headed T taking an extended VP complement to its left, additional bespoke operations are required to derive (6). Support for a polarity feature on PredP responsible for predicate fronting comes from affirmative polarity focus sentences such as (7). Here, the constituent containing the main verb raises to a left-peripheral focus position and co-occurs with an emphatic affirmative interpretation, suggesting the raised verbal constituent is the locus of the affirmative feature.

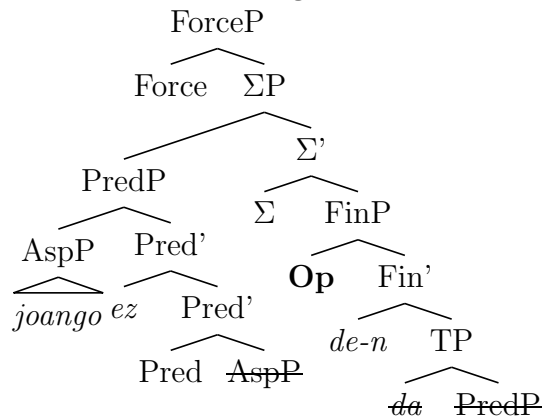
We propose that V-Neg-Aux orders, which only occur in the presence of an operator, reflect a smuggling repair strategy (Collins, 2005), as in (8). PredP raises with *ez* inside, past the operator in FinP, which would otherwise block raising of *ez*. The fact that the main verb and dependents appear to the left of *ez* reflects *roll up*-raising of the complement of Pred to an outer specifier. In those *-(e)n* clauses where the alternative Neg-Aux-V is also possible (see (4)), the operators are optionally merged higher, in ForceP, where they do not intervene between Σ and *ez* (9). The analysis thereby partially reconciles the clause-type sensitivity of Basque {Aux, Neg, V} ordering, with other clause-type effects on fronting operations cross-linguistically (Haegeman, 2010a).

Examples:

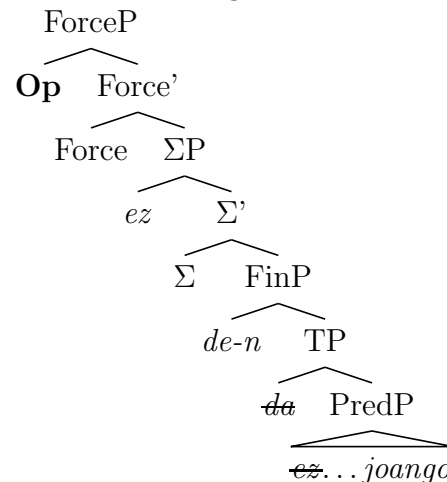
- (1) a. Anek Jon ikus-i du.
 Ane Jon see-PERF AUX
 ‘Ane has seen Jon.’
 b. Anek ez du Jon ikus-i.
 Ane NEG AUX Jon see-PERF
 ‘Ane hasn’t seen Jon.’
- (2) Uste dut ez de-la eror-i.
 think AUX NEG AUX-comp fallen
 ‘I think (it) hasn’t fallen.’
- (3) Eror-i ez de-n etxea
 fall-PERF NEG AUX-comp house
 ‘The house that hasn’t fallen.’
- (4) Ez dakit [joan-go ez de-n]/ [ez de-n joan-go].
 Not know.1SG go-FUT NEG AUX-COMP/ NEG AUX-COMP go-FUT
 ‘I don’t know if she’s not going to go.’
- (5) a. $[\Sigma P \text{ ez } \Sigma [\text{TP AUX } [\text{PredP } \text{ez VP}]]]$ Negatives
 b. $[\Sigma P [\text{PredP VP}] \Sigma [\text{TP AUX } [\text{PredP VP}]]]$ Affirmatives
- (6) Jon-ek kafea erosi du, eta Ane-k [ΣP [PredP liburu-a leitu] Σ [TP ~~du~~].
 Jon-ERG coffee bought has and Ane-ERG book-the read
 ‘Jon bought a book and Ane read a journal.’
- (7) $[\text{FocP } [\text{PredP Hil}] [\text{TP da gure aita}]]$.
 die AUX our father
 ‘Our father HAS (indeed) died.’

(Ortiz de Urbina, 1994)

(8) **Embedded VP-Neg-Aux**



(9) **Embedded Neg-Aux-VP**



Selected references:

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