Truncation feeds intervention: Two clause type effects in Basque[*]

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1   Introduction

- There are two standard approaches to clause type effects in generative literature: ***truncation,*** whereby embedded clauses are structurally reduced relative to root clauses (Haegeman 2006 ; Benincà & Poletto 2004), and ***intervention***, by which non-root clauses have additional material that blocks movement available in root contexts (Roberts 2004, Haegeman 2010a,b, Haegeman 2011, 2012).

Truncation

(1)

   a. $[F_n \ldots [F_2 [F_1]]]$ [(embedded) root contexts]
   b. $[F_{n-x} \ldots [F_2 [F_1]]]$ [non-root contexts]

(2)   ***Intervention***

   a. $[\text{Probe} \ldots [\text{Goal}]]$ [(embedded) root contexts]
   b. $[\text{Probe} \ldots [\text{Intervenor} \ldots [\text{Goal}]]]$ [non-root contexts]

- ***Goal:*** To propose a solution to a longstanding problem concerning two clause-type effects on word order : the (non)availability of T1 in root contexts and the relative position of negation and the verb. The analysis suggests that these two mechanisms interact, that is, that truncation feeds intervention.

2   *T1

2.1. V≥2 in Basque

Basque disallows tense-bearing verbs in sentence initial position (henceforth "*T1") as illustrated in (3) (Altube 1929; Elordieta and Jouitteau 2010; Etxepare and Ortiz de Urbina 2003; Euskaltzaindia 1985 ; Ortiz de Urbina 1989, 1994, Uriagereka 1999).

(3)   a. ***dator**-Ø   emakume-a.
          come-3SG woman-ABS
          'The woman is coming.'
       b. Emakume-a   **dator**-Ø.
          Woman-ABS come-3SG

'The woman is coming.'
c. Ez **dator-** Ø emakume-a
    neg come-3SG woman-ABS
    'The woman is not coming'
d. ***Dator**-Ø emakume-a?
    come-3SG woman-ABS
     'The woman is coming?'

In (3a) and (3d), the tense-bearing verb sits in sentence initial position and the result is bad. (3b,c) show word orders where the verb is shielded from the left edge of the sentence by a subject DP and by negation, which are fine. Other constituents of different categorial and information structural types can also serve as first position elements, illustrated below.

- ***Verb root+Aspect.*** With an open class of analytic verbs, the constituent containing the verb root can be in first position.).

(4)   Etorri-ko da
       come-FUT AUX.
       'S/he will come.'

- ***Foci.*** In the general case, new-information foci appear to the left of the inflected verb and these can be first position elements.

(5)a. GAUR dator-Ø   Jon-Ø.
       today come-3SG Jon-ABS
         'Jon is coming TODAY.'
  b. Jon-Ø GAUR dator-Ø.
       Jon-ABS today come-3SG
         'Jon is coming TODAY.'
  c. JON-Ø dator-Ø gaur.
       Jon-ABS come-3SG today.
         'JON is coming today.'
  d. Nor-Ø dator-Ø gaur?
       who-ABS come-3SG today
         'Who is coming today?'

- ***Polarity morphemes.*** The negative morpheme *ez* and affirmative *ba-* can be first position elements.

(6)   Ez dator-Ø emakume-a
       NEG come-3SG woman-ABS
         'The woman is not coming.'

(7) Ba-dator-Ø emakume-a
       AFF-come-3SG woman-ABS
         'The woman IS coming.'

- However, topics do not count as first position elements:

(8) Jon, *dator-Ø
     Jon come-3SG
     'As for Jon, he's coming.'

- Preverbal yes/no, dubitative and evidential particles can't be first-position elements either:

(9)   *Al dator-Ø?
       Y/N come-3SG
      'Is (she) coming?'

(10) *Omen dator-Ø.
      EVID come-3SG
     '(She) is allegedly coming.'

(11) *Ote dator-Ø?
      DUB come-3SG
     'Is (she) by chance coming?'

Basque thus shares similar properties with Germanic/Celtic/Rhaeto-Romance V2, which allow for elements of different categorial and information structural types to be first position elements (cf. among many others, Holmberg to appear; Jouitteau 2010, Leu 2011). [We'll return to cases in (8) to (11) later on].

- **BUT**: Basque differs from Germanic V2 languages in that the inflected verb in root clauses seems not to appear in strictly second position but rather in $\geq 2^{nd}$ position.

(12) Jon-ek Miren-i   liburu-a eman   dio   (Neutral contexts)
     Jon-ERG Miren-DAT book-ABS give.PERF AUX
     'Jon has given the book to Miren.'

- **"*ba*- support"**
  Ortiz de Urbina 1994, 1995: All *V1 violating contexts rescuable by *ba*-insertion to the left of the tensed V:

(13) Ba-dauzka-t hiru anaia
      ba-come-1SG three brother
      'I have three brothers.' (no verum focus interpretation)

(14) Jon, badator-Ø
      Jon *ba*-come-3SG
      'As for Jon, he is coming'

- No *ba*-support when it's not needed: *ba*-necessarily co-occurs with verum focus in contexts where it's not rescuing a *V1-violation.

(15) Jon-ek   Miren-i   liburu-a   eman   ***ba**-dio.
　　Jon-ERG Miren-DAT book-ABS give.PERF *ba*-AUX
　'Jon has given the book to Miren.' (*without verum focus)

　　We will follow Ortiz de Urbina in treating ba- as an expletive element in the account developed below.

2.2. Sensitivity to clause type

- A second way in which Basque *T1 is partially akin to Germanic V2 is that this restriction interacts with clause type (Ortiz de Urbina 1994, Uriagereka 1999).

- Much discussion on how clause type (and the (non)presence of an overt complementizer) conditions V2 effects in embedded contexts (Heycock 2006, Holmberg, to appear; Holmberg and Platzack, 1995; Truckenbrodt, 2006; Julien, 2008 ; Holmberg and Platzack, 1995; Truckenbrodt, 2006; Wiklund et al., 2009).

- Basque complementizers are always overt, but there is an asymmetry in the availability of embedded T1 depending on the type of complementizer.
- *T1 applies in root clauses (3a,d) and embedded declaratives with the complementizer –*ela*, occurring in complements of verbs of knowing/saying (16). In clauses with the complementizer -*en*, which appears in embedded interrogatives, relatives, factives (in Western varieties), manner and temporal adjuncts, T1 is possible and expletive *ba*- is optional for some speakers, (17) to (21).

➢ Complements of verbs of knowing/saying

(16)　a. *Uste dut [datorr-ela]
　　　　Think aux come.3SG-C
　　　　 'I think that s/he is coming'
　　b. Uste   dut   ba-datorr-ela
　　　 think   AUX   *ba*-come-C
　　　　 'I think that s/he is coming.'

➢ Embedded yes/no questions

(17)　Ez daki-t   [datorr-en (ala ez)]
　　　Neg know.1SG come.3SG- C (or not)
　　　'I don't know whether he's coming (or not)'

➢ Temporal adjuncts

(18)　Egin-go dut [(ba)datorr-en-ean]

do-fut aux ba-come.3SG-C-in
‘I’ll do it when she comes.’

➢ Manner adjuncts

(19) [(*Ba)-dirudi-en]-ez, etorri-ko da
ba-appear-C-as, come-FUT AUX
‘It appears he/she will come.’ (lit. ‘As it appears, he will not come.’)

➢ Relative clauses

(20) [(*Ba)-datorr-en] aste-a
ba-come-C week-ABS
‘the coming week’ (lit. ‘The week that is coming’)

➢ Factives

(21) Jakin/ahaz-tu dut [(*ba)-zatoz-ena]
know.PRF/forget-PRF AUX ba-come.2SG-C
‘I’ve found out/forgotten that you are coming.’ (no verum focus)

- Truckenbrodt, 2006; Heycock, 2006; Julien, 2008; Wiklund et al., 2009 discuss pragmatic correlates of embedded V2 in those varieties which allow for both V2 and non-V2 word orders in the presence of an overt complementizer (e.g. Norwegian and Swedish). In short, some argue that the availability of embedded V2 depends upon the type of the matrix predicate, using Hooper & Thompson’s (1973) predicate classes (Truckenbrodt 2006; Julien 2008), whereas Wicklund et al. (2009) link it to a possible Main Point of Utterance (MPU) interpretation for the embedding (Simons 2007).

- Nevertheless, unlike Germanic embedded V2, Basque *V1 and expletive *ba*-insertion have no pragmatic correlates, i.e. do not vary with Main Point of Utterance interpretation nor Hooper & Thompson’s (1973) predicate classes. Expletive *ba*- is not just possible but obligatory for most speakers in complements of all all five of Hooper and Thompson’s predicate classes, as illustrated in (22)-(26). The example in (22b) is added to show that the relative position of the embedded CP to the left or right of matrix V is not relevant :

(22) *Class A: Strongly assertive*

a.Jon-ek esa-n du [*(ba)datorrela]
Jon-ERG say-perf AUX come-C
‘Jon has said that he is coming.’
b. Jon-ek [[*(ba)datorrela] esan du
Jon-ERG come-C say AUX

(23)   *Class B : Weakly assertive*
   Jon-ek uste   du [*(ba)datorr-ela]
   Jon-ERG think aux ba-come-C
   'Jon thinks that he is coming.'

(24)   *Class C: Non-assertive*

   Jon-ek   ukatu egin du [*/??datorr-ela/ba-datorr-ela]
   Jon-ERG deny   do AUX   come.3SG-C
   'Jon denies that he is coming'

(25)   *Class D: Factives*

   Jon-ek ahaz-tu   du [*/??zatoz-ela/ba-zatoz-ela]
   Jon-ERG forget-PERF AUX   come.2SG-C
   'Jon has forgotten that you're coming'

(26)   *Class E: Semi-factives*

   Jon-ek   jakin du [*/??zatoz-ela/bazatoz-ela]]
   Jon-ERG know AUX   come.2SG-C
   'Jon has found out that you are coming'

- Similarly, the fact that expletive *ba-* is obligatory in embeddings under *deny*–class predicates (24), as well as embeddings under *say*-class (22) and factive predicates (25), suggests that "assertion" is not helpful in drawing the right distinctions.

- In the spirit of standard approaches to V2, according to which V2 is a conspiracy of an EPP feature on a high C-probe and a [uV] on that head (Chomsky 2000; den Besten 1983; Holmberg to appear; Julien 2008; Roberts 2004), we propose that Basque *T1 reflects a PF output condition on Force, namely the need for its left edge (Spec) to have phonetic content, which we formalize in the PF rule in (27). (See Kandybowicz 2009 for an analysis of two syntactic phenomena in Nupe which show phono-syntactic edge sensitivity). Importantly, though, Force is not endowed by [uT], resulting in V≥2 (V2, V3, ...).

(27)   ForceP at PF
   a. If spec, ForceP is vacant at spell-out, move the closest satellite XP into it.
   b. Else: insert *ba-* in spec, Force.

➢ *It seems a PF condition* as this movement does not induce specific pragmatic effects.

➢ *Hypothesis*: in the spirit of Kandybowicz (2009), and drawing from analyses which propose that in some languages the left boundary of an Intonational Phrase is aligned with the highest lexically-filled phrase of the CP phase (Elfner 2012, in press; G. Elordieta 2012; Selkirk 2009, 2011), we propose that the PF condition in (27), which applies in the mapping from syntax to phonology, requires that the leftmost edge of ForceP has phonetic content, in order to be 'visible' to be parsed as an IntP.

➢ Topics do not count as first position elements because they are higher than ForceP (in Basque). Additionally, it is well-known that topics and dislocated elements prosodically conform an IntP on their own.

• Therefore, variation between expletive *ba-* and T1 in embedded contexts seems to correlate partially with the complementizer morpheme. For most speakers, T1 is impossible and expletive *ba-* obligatory in embedded clauses with the complementizer *-ela* ((22)-(26)). In contrast, clauses with the complementizer *-en*, all allow T1 and/or disallow expletive *ba-*.

In section 5 we present an analysis of these effects. We suggest that a clue to the syntax of expletive *ba-* and embedded T1 in Basque comes from the fact that these patterns are distributed similarly to another clause type-sensitive phenomenon, namely V-neg word order variation, which we describe in the next section.

3   Clause type effects on { Neg, VP, Aux} ordering

• Relative order of Aux, VP sensitive to sentence polarity. (Ortiz de Urbina, 1989; Laka, 1990; Uribe-Etxebarria, 1994; Elordieta, 2001, 2008; Haddican, 2004).

(28)   a. **Affirmative main clauses:** VP-Aux.

   b. Negative main clauses: Neg-Aux-VPP.

(29)   *Affirmative main clauses*

   Miren-ek   Jon   ikus-i   du
   Miren-ERG Jon-ABS see-perf AUX
   'Miren has seen Jon.'

(30)   *Negative main clauses*

   Miren-ek   ez   du   Jon   ikus-i
   Miren-ERG neg AUX   Jon-ABS   see-perf
   'Miren hasn't seen Jon.'

• Less well described in the literature is the fact that this word order alternation is sensitive to clause type. (See Laka (1990); Ortiz de Urbina (1992); Artiagoitia (2003); Etxepare (2003) for some discussion).

(31)   *Affirmative relative clauses*

   Eror-i   de-n   etxe-a
   fall-perf AUX-C   house-DET
   'The house that has fallen.'

(32)   *Negative relative clauses*
   a.   Eror-i ez   d-en   etxe-a
         fall-perf neg AUX-C house-DET

'The house that hasn't fallen.

b. *Ez   d-en   eror-i etxe-a
   neg   AUX-C fall-perf house-DET
   'The house that hasn't fallen.'

- VP-Neg-Aux orders correlates partially with the clausal complementizer: VP-Neg-Aux orders are generally bad with the declarative complementizer *-ela*, where most speakers strongly prefer Neg-Aux-VP. VP-Neg-Aux is optional/obligatory in embeddings with *–en,* which appear in embedded relatives, interrogatives, temporal/manner adjuncts, and negative partitive-marked clauses.

(33)   ***Embedded yes/no questions***

Ez   dakit   [%etorri-ko   ez   de-n]/   [ez   de-n
Not know.1SG   come-fut   neg AUX-C/   neg   AUX-C
etorri-ko].
come-fut
'I don't know if she's not going to come.'

(34)   ***Temporal clauses***

 Jon   poztu egin-go da   [hori behar-ko ez   du-en-ean]/
 Jon-ABS   happy do-fut AUX.3SG   that   need-fut neg AUX.3SG-C-in/
 [ez   du-en-ean hori   beharko]

 neg AUX-C-IN   that   need-fut
 'Jon will be happy when he doesn't need that.'

(35)   ***As-manner clauses***

[Zu-k   beharbada jakin-go   ez   duzu-n-ez]/   [zuk   beharbada
 You-ERG perhaps   know-fut neg AUX.2SG-C-as   you-ERG perhaps
 ez   duzu-n-ez   jakin-go], azkenean gobernu-ak   BEZ-a
 neg AUX.2sg.ERG-C-as   know-fut finally,   government-ERG VAT-DET
 igo-tze-a   erabak-i   du.
 raise-nom-DET decide-nom-perf AUX.3SG.ERG
 'As you perhaps don't know (lit. 'will not know'), the government has decided to raise the value added tax.'

(36)   ***Partitive clauses***

Jon-ek   ez du   esa-n   [etorri-ko ez
Jon-ERG neg AUX.3   say-perf come-fut neg
de-n-ik]/   [ez   de-n-ik   etorri-ko].
AUX.3sg-C-part/   neg AUX.3sg-C-part   come-fut

'John didn't say that he is not going to come.'

• By contrast, VP-Neg-Aux is poor with the complementizer –*ela* . Since we want to correlate the availability of T1 and VP-Neg-Aux orders, we show that VP-Neg-Aux availability doesn't correlate with Hooper and Thompson's (1973) predicate classes or Main Point of Utterance interpretation (Simons, 2007).

(37)   *Class A: Strongly assertive*

Jon-ek   esa-n   du *[etorri-ko ez   de-la]/   [ez de-la   etorri-ko].
Jon-ERG say-perf AUX   come- neg AUX-C /   neg AUX-C   come-**fut**
fut
'Jon has said that he will not come.'

(38)   *Class B: Weakly assertive*

Jon-ek   uste du   *[etorri-ko ez   de-la]/   [ez de-la   etorri-ko].
Jon-ERG think AUX   come-**fut** neg AUX-C/   neg AUX-C   come-**fut**
'Jon thinks that he will not come.'

(39)   *Class C: Non-assertive*

Jon-ek   ukatu egi-n du   *[etorri-ko   ez   de-(e)la/ [ez de-(e)la
Jon-ERG   deny do   AUX   come-fut   neg   AUX-C/ neg AUX-C

etorri-ko].
come-**fut**
'Jon denies that he will not come.'

(40)   *Class D: Factives*

Jon-ek   ahaz-tu   du *[etorri-ko ez   de-la]/   [ez de-la   etorri-ko].
Jon-ERG forget-perf AUX come-**fut**
'Jon forgot that he will not come.'

neg AUX-C/   neg AUX-C   come-**fut**

(41)   *Class E: Semi-factives*

Jon-ek jaki-n   du *[etorri-ko ez   de-la]/   [ez de-la   etorri-ko].
Jon-ERG know-perf AUX   come-**fut** neg AUX-C/   neg AUX-C   come-**fut**
    'Jon found out that he will not come.'

The correlation between the two phenomena are summarized in Table 1.

9

Embedding type	C	T1	Neg-Aux-VP	VP-Neg-Aux
Strongly assertives	*-ela*	*ba*	ok	*
Weakly assertives	*-ela*	*ba*	ok	*
Non-assertives	*-ela*	*ba*	ok	*
Factives	*-ela*	*ba*	ok	*
Semi-factives	*-ela*	*ba*	ok	*
Yes/no **questions**	*-en*	*both*	ok	ok
Temporal clauses	*-en*	*T1*	?	ok
As- **clauses**	*-en*	*?/T1*	?	ok
Partitive clauses (some dialects)	*-en*	*?/T1*	?	ok
Relative clauses	*-en*	*T1*	*	ok

Table 1: The distribution of T1 and VP-Neg-Aux orders by embedding type

4   Against a Neg-T-C movement derivation

- Two main approaches to polarity effects, *head-movement approach* and the *predicate fronting approach* (which we will ultimately adopt).

- Ortiz de Urbina (1994) proposes that *ez* is a head that adjoins to T (the auxiliary) and a left-headed C, as in (42). In affirmatives no T-C movement.

(42)   . . . ez du-ela Jon-ek liburu-a irakurr-i.
        . . . neg AUX-C Jon-ERG book-DET read-perf
        '. . . that Jon hasn't read the book.'

(43)   ***Neg-T-C movement (Ortiz de Urbina, 1994)***
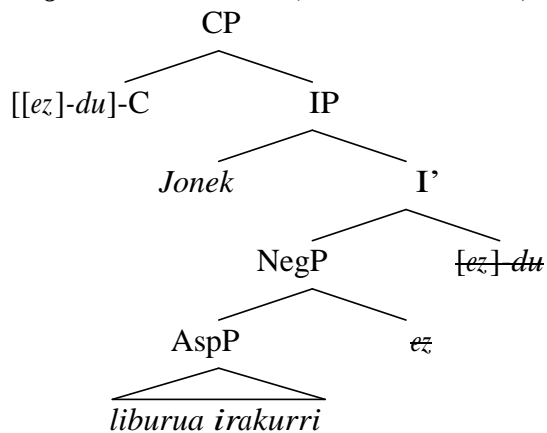
This approach, together with the assumption of variable complementizer lowering to I, accounts for VP-Neg-Aux orders in embedded *-en* clauses. In such cases, the verb does not raise, and the verb, negation and auxiliary all stay in situ in the structure in (43) (Ortiz de Urbina 1994:143, fn.11).
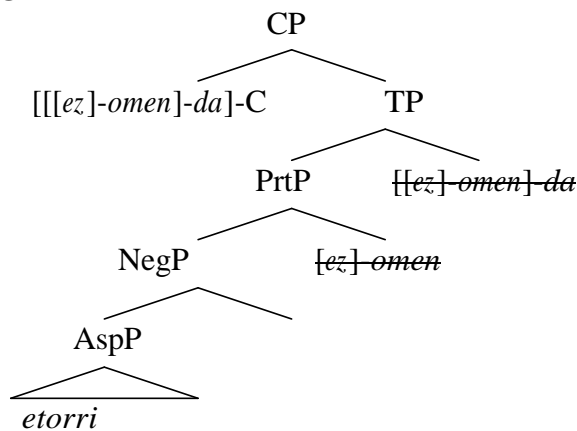
• *A few problems with this approach:*

1. Speech-act/evidential particles. The particles *omen, al and ote*, and the conditional complementizer *ba-*, 'if' obligatorily appear between the verb+aspect cluster and the auxiliary as (44)-(46) in affirmative contexts and between *ez* and the auxiliary in negative contexts.

(44) a. Etorr-i   omen da
          come-perf   EVID AUX
        '(He/she/it) has allegedly come.'
      b. Ez omen da   etorr-i
          neg EVID AUX   come-perf
        '(He/she/it) has allegedly not come.'
(45) a. Etorr-i   ote   da?
          come-perf DUBID   AUX
         'Has (he/she/it) come come by chance?'
      b. Ez ote   da   etorr-i?
          neg DUBID   AUX   come-perf
         'Has (he/she/it) by chance not come?'
(46) a. Etorr-i   ba-da
          come-prf   if-AUX
          'If he/she has come.'
      b. Ez   ba-da etorr-i
          neg if-AUX come-prf
          'If he/she hasn't come.'

Getting the word order right on the approach sketched in (43) requires merging these elements in a surprisingly low position—below T.

(47)   ***Neg-Prt-Aux-C movement***

```
                        CP
                   ╱          ╲
        [[[ez]-omen]-da]-C      TP
                            ╱        ╲
                        PrtP      [[ez]-omen]-da
                      ╱      ╲
                   NegP      [ez]-omen
                  ╱    ╲
               AspP
              ╱    ╲
             etorri
```

2.   *V-T movement with synthetic verbs*. Open class verbs are periphrastic dividing the morphological labor between an auxiliary with tense/agreement morphology and a constituent containing the verb root+aspect. A closed class of verbs are formed synthetically with the verb root and a tense/agreement in a single word, presumably via V-[. . .]-T movement. Such verbs seem to require V-T across negation *ez* on the approach in (43).

(48)   Ez   dato-z
         Neg   come-3PL
         'They aren't coming.'

3.   *Whence the complementizer effect?* This approach offers no insight into what conditions complementizer lowering, i.e. what explains VP-Neg-Aux vs. Neg-Aux-VP.

# 5   { Neg,VP, Aux} ordering as an intervention effect

- What *-(e)n* clauses plausibly all have in common is the presence of an operator– interrogative, relative or temporal–in the left periphery of the clause. Therefore, we propose that intervention effects triggered by these operators are responsible for some properties of these clauses described above (Haegeman, 2010a,b, 2011; Haegeman and Ürögdi, 2010).

- The fact that {Aux, Neg, VP} ordering is variable (within speakers) in *-(e)n* clauses shows that the mere presence of the operator or *-(e)n/-(e)la* morpheme is insufficient for explaining the variation. Some other parameter of variation is needed.

➢ We propose the functional sequence in (49) for (embedded) root clauses, where Neg-Aux-VP appears. Here, "Force" denotes a clause typing morpheme, in whose spec, the interrogative, relative etc. operators are (re-)merged by virtue of agreement.

(49) [$_{TopP}$[$_{ForceP}$ Op$_{[Q]}$ Force$_{[uQ]}$ [$_{FocusP}$ Focus [$_{\Sigma P}$ Σ [$_{FinP}$ Fin [$_{TP}$ T .. . (Neg-Aux-VP)

• Assume *ez* is a negative adverbial merged TP-internally and probed by Σ, a left peripheral head with a [*u*Pol] feature (Laka 1990).

(50)   ***Embedded Neg-Aux-VPP***

    a.   […ez   de-n   joan-go]
         …neg AUX-C go-**fut**
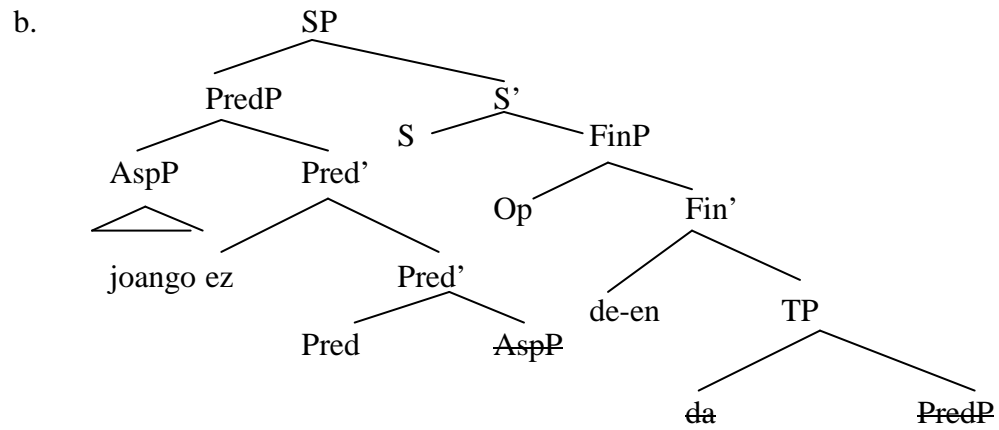   '…whether (he/she/it) hasn't gone.'

    b.
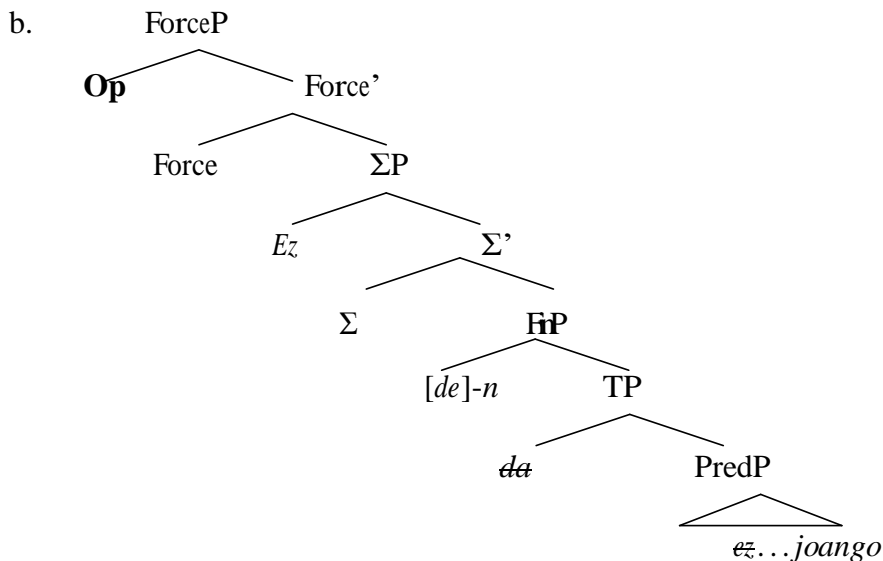
- We propose that the locus of variation governing availability of VP-Neg-Aux vs. Neg- Aux-VP is *truncation*, i.e. whether the clause typing feature is merged as a separate Force head, or whether this feature is merged instead on Fin, the position of the complementizer (Rizzi, 1997). In the latter case, the operator will also be (re)merged in FinP, as in (51). When the operators are in ForceP, as in (49), they will not intervene in *ez* -to- ΣP movement—also an instance of operator movement. When they sit in FinP as in (51), however, they will.

(51) [FocusP Focus [ΣP Σ [FinP Op[Q] Fin-Force[uQ] [TP T … (VP-Neg-Aux)

- We propose that VP-Neg-Aux orders reflect a smuggling repair (Collins, 2005a,b) that applies when the operator sits in FinP, blocking movement to ΣP. The extended VP— here labeled "PredP"—raises with *ez* inside, past the operator in FinP, as in (52). 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.

(52)   Embedded VP-Neg-Aux
  a. . . . joan-go ez de-n
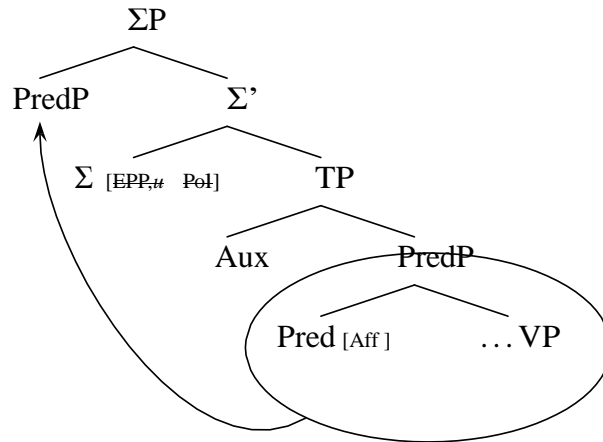   . . . go-fut neg AUX-C
  '. . .whether (he/she/it) hasn't gone.'

  b.

```
                                SP
                  ┌──────────────┴────────┐
                PredP                     S'
          ┌───────┴───────┐      ┌────────┴──────────┐
        AspP            Pred'     S                  FinP
        ╱──╲        ┌────┴────┐         ┌─────────────┴──────┐
                             Pred'      Op                  Fin'
      joango ez         ┌─────┴────┐           ┌─────────────┴────┐
                      Pred      AspP         de-en               TP
                                                          ┌───────┴───────┐
                                                         da             PredP
```

joango ez

Pred A̶s̶p̶P̶

de-en

d̶a̶ P̶r̶e̶d̶P̶

- This same predicate fronting may plausibly be in order in affirmative contexts like (53) (Haddican, 2004; Etxepare and Uribe-Etxebarria, 2009).

(53) Ane-k   Jon   ikus-i   du
     Ane-erg   Jon   see-perf   AUX
     'Ane has seen Jon.'

- Here, in the absence of *ez*, PredP raises to Σ to satisfy the latter's (affirmative) polarity feature. We take this movement to be a kind of predicate fronting (Massam, 2000, 2001, 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.

(54)   *Affirmative   orders*

ΣP
├── PredP
└── Σ'
    ├── Σ [EPP,~~u~~ ~~Pol~~]
    └── TP
        ├── Aux
        └── ~~PredP~~
            ├── Pred [Aff]
            └── . . . VP

- Support for this comes from TP ellipsis sentences, as in (55).

(55) Jon-ek lau galdera jarri ditu, eta Ane-k [ΣP [PredP bi erantzun] Σ [TP ~~ditu~~]
     Jon-ERG four questions put has and Ane-ERG   two answer   AUX
     'Jon has asked four questions and Ane has answered two.'

- Additional support for an affirmative feature in PredP responsible for PredP fronting comes from polarity focus sentences like (56).

(56) [FocP [PredP Etorri] [TP da   Iker]].
                   come   AUX Iker
       'Iker HAS (indeed) come.'

- This approach leads us to expect that other kinds of A'-movement–focus movement in particular–should be sensitive to the presence of these operators.

(57)   *Extraction out of embedded declaratives*

Non   esa-n duzu [utz-i   dute-(e)la liburua]?
where say-perf AUX leave-perf   AUX-C   book
 'Where have you said that they have left the book?'

(58)   *Extraction out of embedded interrogatives*
        */??Non ez daki-zu   [~~non~~ utz-i   dute-(e)n   liburua]?
        where neg know-2.SG   leave-perf   AUX-C   book
         'Where don't you know they left the book?'

(59)   *Extraction out of relatives*
        *Non ikus-i du-zu [Jon-ek ~~non~~ muxu bat ema-n   dio-n   mutil-ari]?
          Where see AUX.2SG Jon-ERG   kiss one give-perf AUX-C boy-to
        'Where did you see the guy that Jon kissed?' (downstairs interpretation).

6   T1 and the deficiency of *–en* clauses

- ❖ Recall that finite embedded clauses with the complementizer *-ela* are root clause-like in disallowing T1 and V-Neg-Aux-C orders. These word orders, however, are optional or obligatory in clauses with the complementizer *-en*.
- ❖ The PF rule in (27) aims to capture the *T1 effects by stating that the left edge of ForceP must be phonetically filled in.

- ➤ Our proposal is to link the two phenomena by proposing that when the operators present in *–en* clauses are merged in Fin, as in (51), T1 is allowed because such clauses lack a Force projection, and hence, (27) does not apply. A weak point of the analysis at this stage is its stipulative character. Evidence is needed in its favour.

- ➤ Some evidence may come from prosody and its effect on the structure of the clause. Interestingly, *-en* clauses in Basque are also defective in other respects; for instance, they are islands not only for extraction, but also for the assignment of focal stress (see (61) below). In short, in certain varieties there is an asymmetry in the assignment of main stress to focalized constituents embedded in subordinate clauses (Elordieta 2002, Arregi 2006). More specifically, whereas it is possible to assign focal stress to an XP embedded in a complement CP headed by *–ela* (the XP in bold in 60), this option is not possible when the intended focus is embedded in a CP headed by an *–en* complementizer (61). In the latter case, the intended semantic focus (*'a big house'* in (61)) cannot receive main stress.

(60)   Lagun-ek esan didate [Mikel-ek   **etxe handià**   erosi dabe-ela]
        friend-ERG say AUX   [Mikel-ERG house big.DET   buy AUX-C]
        'My friends told me that Mikel has bought a big house'

(61)   Lagun-ek galdetu didate   [Mikel-ek **etxe handi(*à)** erosi dabe-en]
        friend-ERG ask AUX   [Mikel-ERG house big.DET   buy AUX-C]
        'My friends asked me whether Mikel has bought a big house'

We take these facts to reflect a structural deficiency of these clauses --the absence of focus---, which in turn will allow for the realization of Force-Fin as a single head, as there will be no intervening heads between them, along the lines of Rizzi (1997 :311).

7   *Conclusion*

- Main claims:
    - ❖ We provide a unified approach to two clause type effects in Basque: *T1 and the relative ordering of Neg, T and V. The analysis also partially reconciles Basque *T1 (V1) with V2.
    - ❖ VP-Neg-Aux orders are derived via smuggling, which obviates intervention by an operator.
    - ❖ Two mechanisms standardly used for modeling clause-type effects—truncation and negation— interact (Haegeman, 2011). That is, truncation of the functional sequence feeds intervention effects.

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