THE RESURRECTION: RAISING TO COMP?
SOME EVIDENCE FROM OLD IRISH[*]

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Much recent work on deriving VSO word order has moved away from using a verb raising to C° analysis to an analysis using raising to the left edge of the inflectional complex. We argue using facts from enclisis, prosody, and morphology alternations that Old Irish had both raising to C° and raising to the left edge of inflection in its word order derivation.

0.   Introduction

There are two schools of thought over the derivation of VSO order in the generative paradigm. One holds that the verb raises to the highest complementizer position of the matrix clause, in a manner familiar from the V2 languages. The other holds that the verb is not in C° at all, rather it appears on the highest head of the inflectional complex, and the subject appears in some lower structural position. The first of these approaches was popular in the early work in the Government and Binding Framework (Stowell 1989, Deprez and Hale 1986, Hale 1989). The later approach has gained popularity in more recent work (Chomksy 1992, Bobaljik and Carnie 1992, Carnie 1993, Rouveret 1991, Guilfoyle 1990, 1993, Duffield 1990, 1991, Pyatt 1992, McCloskey 1992a, among many others). In this paper we would like to reopen the question of whether V → C° movement can be present in VSO languages. We will argue, on the basis of evidence from Old Irish, that both V → INFL and V → C° can be present in a single language. We will argue that Old Irish had a "filled C°" requirement, giving V → C° movement, but also had V → INFL movement in clauses with filled complementizers.

1.   Two Approaches to VSO order:

German and Dutch stand as typical examples of V2 languages. In tensed clauses without an overt complementizer, the verb must appear in "second position" in these languages. The first position in the sentence is occupied by any constituent. In example (1) below (data from Haegeman 1991), the verb *kaufte* always appears in the second position, any of the other constants (the subject *Karl*, the object *dieses Buch*, or the temporal adverb *gestern*) can appear in the first position. The remaining constituents follow the verb.

(1)   a.   Karl kaufte   gestern dieses Buch
              Karl bought   yesterday this   book
              'Karl bought this book yesterday'

       b.   Dieses Buch   kaufte Karl gestern
   'Karl bought this book yesterday'

c.   Gestern   kaufte Karl dieses Buch
        'Karl bought this book yesterday'

In clauses with overt complementizers, by contrast, there is no V2 ordering. The verb appears in final position:

(2)   Ich dachte daß Karl gestern   das Buch gekauft hat
       I   thought that Karl yesterday the book bought has
       'I thought that Karl bought the book yesterday'

The standard analyses (see, e.g., McCloskey 1992b) of V2 hold that there is a requirement that the complementizer position be filled in tensed clauses. The verb raises to the empty complementizer position in matrix clauses. There is then an additional requirement that the specifier of a matrix complementizer be filled by some element giving the V2 orderings.

(3)

$$[_{CP} \ [\ \ C \ [_{IP} \ \text{subj} \ \ [\ I \ \ [_{VP} V \ \ ] \ ]]]]$$
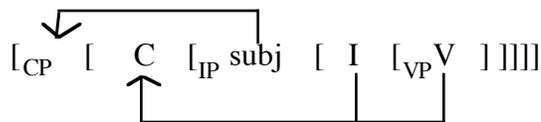
In embedded clauses, however, the complementizer position is filled , and the verb cannot raise to it. Thus V2 ordering is blocked.

An obvious extension of this approach is to posit a set of "V1" languages where the requirement on filling the specifier of CP is not imposed, giving a VSO ordering[1]. In this analysis, a Modern Irish VSO sentence like (4a) would have a derivation as in (4b).

(4)   a.   Leanann   an t-ainmní an briathar i   nGaeilge
              follow.PRES the subject   the verb   in Irish
   'The subject follows the verb in Irish' (Modern Irish)
       b.
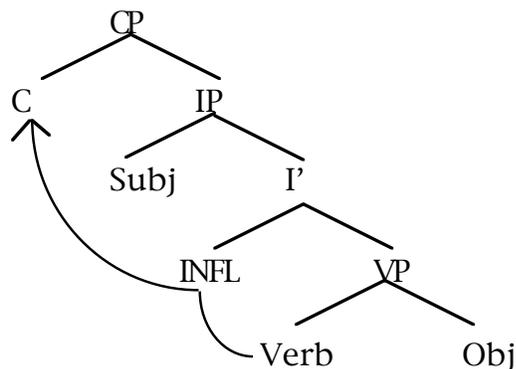
The verb raises through its inflectional complex to C° and all the other arguments stay in their canonical positions. VSO order, under this approach, is thus a 'weak V2' phenomenon:

(5)   *The Weak V2 Hypothesis (V→ C°)*

VSO order is derived via head movement of the verb to C°. There is a requirement that C°s in VSO languages be filled, but the specifier of CP need not be filled

The alternative approach to VSO order has suggested that the verb does not appear in C°, but rather appears at the left edge of the inflectional complex. In Sproat (1983) this is obtained by the adjunction of the verb to IP. In later work (e.g. Bobaljik & Carnie 1992), this is achieved by head movement of the verb to the highest inflectional projection, with shorter movement of the subject to some lower specifier. In this paper we will use INFL as shorthand for the inflectional complex, and leave the subject in the specifier of the VP. This is meant only as shorthand, as we remain agnostic on the actual placement of the subject.

(6)
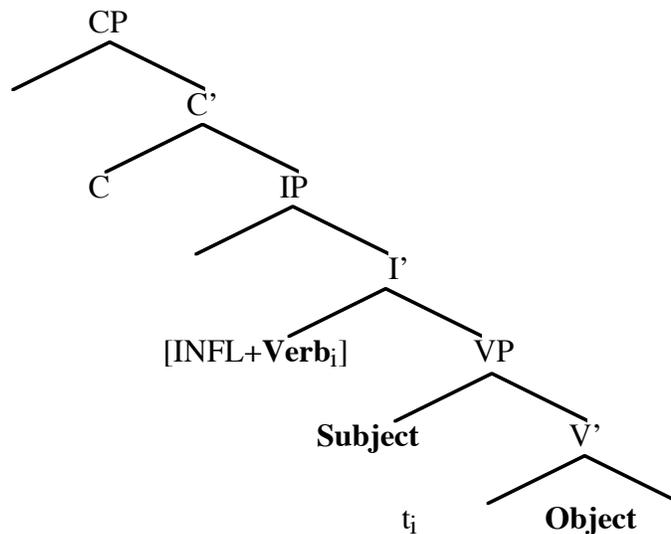
The exact details of how such an approach works are not crucial here and we refer the reader to the above-mentioned works for more details. It is sufficient to note, however, that in an expanded INFL syntax, the verb need not raise to C° to be initial in its clause; instead it can raise to the highest inflectional category with its arguments in the specifiers of lower inflectional phrases. We will call this approach the "left edge of inflection hypothesis":

(7)   *The Left Edge of Inflection Hypothesis (V → INFL)*
        VSO order is derived via head movement of the verb to the highest inflectional head (AgrS). Arguments appear in surface positions lower than this head. There is no (overt) raising to C°.

We will argue that, in Old Irish, at least, both the "Weak V2" system and the "left edge of INFL" system are present. Firstly, however, we present the evidence that has led to the abandonment of the weak V2 derivation for languages like Modern Irish.

2.   Against the weak V2 Hypothesis

There are a strong set of arguments against using the weak V2 approach for deriving basic VSO order in Modern Irish. Firstly, there is the question of word order in embedded clauses with complementizers. Recall that in German, when a clause is embedded, the complementizer position is filled, and V2 order does not arise. If Irish were to have a comparable analysis then we would expect the order

C°-SOV or C°-SVO in embedded clauses. This prediction is immediately falsified by the facts of Irish. In fact we only get C°-VSO order. The verb still must raise:

(8)   Ceapaim   [go bhfaca   sé   an madra]
      think.PRES.1s [that see.PST.DEP he.NOM the dog   ]
                  COMP   V   Subj   Obj
      'I think that he saw the dog.'

The motivation for this verb-first ordering cannot be an obligatorily filled C° requirement, since there is a filled complementizer, thus the verb should not have to raise.

McCloskey (1992b) presents a more complicated argument using the behavior of adverbs showing that the verb is no higher than the left edge of IP in Modern Irish. In English, there is a set of adverbs and adverbial clauses which appear to the right of complementizers but to the left of subjects (data from McCloskey 1992b):

(9)   a.   That ***in general*** he understands what is going on seems fairly clear
     b.   It's surprising that ***most of the time*** he understands what is going on.

These adverbial elements can never appear to the left of the complementizer in English (the following sentence is to be read with the adverb having scope only over the embedded clause, as in the sentence in (9)):

(10) *It's surprising ***in general*** that he understands what is going on.

McCloskey (1992a) argues that the pattern seen above follows from the Adjunction Prohibition of Chomsky (1986):

(11) *Adjunction Prohibition* (after McCloskey 1992b)
     Adjunction to a phrase s-selected by a lexical head is ungrammatical.

Under this principle, adverbials are allowed to adjoin to IPs that are complements to C°, a functional head. However, they are forbidden to adjoin to CPs that are selected by a verbal head, a lexical category. In this sense, then, the adverbials shown above in (9) and (10) can be called IP adjoined adverbs. In contrast, in matrix clauses, where there is no lexical selection of CPs, these same adverbials can appear to the left of a wh-complementizer:

(12) a.   ***When you get home***, what do you want to do?
     b.   ***Next Christmas***, whose parents should we go see.

In Irish, surprisingly, the order of adverbials and complementizers is different. Adverbials appear to the left of both complementizers and subjects in both matrix and embedded CPs (data again from McCloskey 1992b):

(13)   Adverb   C   V S
     Líonaim d'eagla ***dá dtógfainn   mo radharc dóibh***   go   dtitfinn
     Fill.1s   of fear if lift-1s.cond my sight   from.3.s that fall.1.s
     "I fill up with fear that, were I to take my eyes off, then I would fall"

At first glance, it might appear that Irish lacks the Adjunction Prohibition. However, under closer examination it becomes apparent that this is not the case.

Irish does have restriction on adjunction to embedded CPs. Consider the following example (data from McCloskey):

(14) *Ni bhfuair siad amach ariamh ***an bhliain sin*** cé   a bhí ag   goid a gcuid móna
      Neg found they out   ever   that year   who C° was prog steal their turf
        "They never found out who was stealing their turf that year"

In this case, a selected wh-interrogative CP, where you have both a C° and a wh-head marking the left edge of CP, the adverb is illicit to the left of the wh-word. For this case, then, the Adjunction Prohibition holds. This must be accounted for.

       McCloskey suggests that the solution to this paradox is that the adverbs in (13) are IP adjoined, despite the fact they appear to the left of the complementizer. He claims that the C° in Modern Irish lowers to attach to the verb[2] because it requires support as a clitic, as illustrated in (15). I
15)

$$[_{CP} \; C \; [_{IP} \; Adv \; [_{IP} \; I{+}V \; [\; ... \;]]]]$$
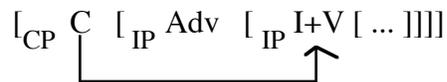
The important and relevant conclusion here, however, is that since these adverbs are IP adjoined and they appear to the left of the inflected verb, then the verb must be no higher than the left edge of the inflectional complex. This serves as fairly strong evidence against the weak V2 hypothesis.

3.   Old Irish: a Language with Two Kinds of Raising.

       Although the complex arguments from adverbial interpretation are not available for Old Irish there is strong evidence that Old Irish has raising to I°, just like Modern Irish. Old Irish has VSO word order in declarative sentences (16)[3]:

(16)   Beogidir   in spirut   in corp
        vivifies-3s the spirit   the body
        'The spirit vivfies the body'

As in Modern Irish, when the complementizer is filled with a particle, the verb is still otherwise clause initial:

(17)   Ní   beir   in fer in claideb
        Neg.C°   carries-3s-conj   the man   the sword
        'The man does not carry the sword.'

This being the case, Old Irish must be a language with raising to INFL in its derivation of VSO order.

       We claim, however, that Old Irish also has a filled C° requirement, using evidence from the placement of enclitic pronouns and phonological behavior of certain verbal elements. This requirement can be met by complementizers, by verbs, or by subparts of morphologically complex verbs. Thus Old Irish is a language that has both raising to C° and raising to the left edge of IP.

3.1   The Cast of Characters

A major difference between Old Irish and Modern Irish lies in the complexity of the verbal system. The morphology of the Old Irish verb includes verbal roots, inflectional endings and a series of preverbal particles. The preverbal particles are of three types: conjunct particles (C), preverbs (P) and object enclitics (E). These particles, the verb and its person/number endings form what is called the "verbal complex". Excluding the enclitics for the moment, there is a strict ordering to these forms (18b). An example of a maximal verbal complex is given in (19).

(18) Old Irish Verbal Complex
     a.   *Conjunct Particles (C)* - negation, question marker, C°s
             Preverbs (P) - Alters verb meaning, adds perfective aspect
             Verb (V)+Subject inflection (S) - The verb root itself and person agreement.
             Enclitics (E) - Object clitics and relative markers

     b.   C > P > V-S

(19) Ní-m• accai   (Ní + m + ad + ci+3sng)
      Neg-me•see-3s   C   (E)   P   V-S
      'he does not see me'

Following Duffield (1991), we assume the conjunct particle position (C) corresponds to the C° position. This explains why it must be ordered before the other preverbal particles. In Modern Irish, the conjunct particles form phonological units with overt complementizers (see Duffield 1991 for discussion):

(20) *go* 'that'   +   *ní* 'neg'   → *nach* 'neg.comp'
     go 'that'   +   *níor* 'neg-past' → *nár* 'neg.past.comp'

Similar facts are found in Old Irish, thus we will assume that the conjunct particles correspond to C° in the older form of the language as well.

Given this cast of characters, we will show how certain morphological, phonological and syntactic processes argue for having both raising of verb to the left edge of IP and to C°.

3.2   Deriving Absolute vs. Conjunct forms

In Old Irish, the verb and its inflection take two different forms depending upon whether or not it is in absolute initial position. These two forms are called absolute and conjunct (21) (examples taken from Strachan 1949):

(21)   Absolute   Conjunct
            berid   -beir   'he carries'
            berait   -berat   'they carry'
            marbfa   -marbub   'I will kill'
            midimmir   -midemmar 'we judge'

The absolute form is used when the verbal root is in absolute first position in the sentence, that is when the inflected verb is not preceded by any conjunct particles, preverbs or pronouns (22). The conjunct form is used when the verb is preceded by a conjunct particle or a preverb (23).

(22) Beirid   in fer   in claideb   (Absolute)
      Carries-3s-abs   the man   the sword

'The man carries the sword.'

(23) Ní   beir/*beirid   in fer   in claideb   (Conjunct)
      Neg carries-3s-conj/*abs   the man   the sword
      'The man does not carry the sword'.

Interestingly the appearance of a verb in its conjunct form is not necessarily a function of the presence of the preverbs or conjunct particles. Rather, the conjunct form is found anywhere that the verb is not in absolute first position. This is the so-called Bergin's law[4]. This principle is especially true in some poetic forms where strict VSO order is not obligatory. Take for example the following lines from the *Énna Labraid Luad Cáich* as cited in Carney (1978):

(24) ... srethaib   sluag **soí**   Crimthan Coscrach cing cét   catha, ...
      ... with lines of hosts won   Crimthan victorious hero hundred battles
      'With lines of hosts, Crimthan the victorious hero, won a hundred battles'
          (absolute: ***soid***)

Conjunct verbal inflection then is a feature of non-initial position.

We claim that this distribution is definable in a systematic way: when the verb has raised to C° it takes the absolute morphology. When the verb is in any other position (either at the left edge of IP or in verb medial order as in the poem fragment above), it takes the more basic conjunct form.

In (23) above, the C° has been filled with the conjunct particle *ní* 'neg' thus blocking the raising of *beir* "carries-3s-conj" to C°. The verb raises through the inflectional heads to the left edge of INFL just like it would in Modern Irish; the inflected verb is thus realized as *beir*. The resultant S-structure is seen in (25).

(25) [$_{CP}$ Ní   [$_{IP}$ beir$_i$+INFL [$_{IP}$ in fer [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ in claideb]]]

In (22), by contrast, there is no overt complementizer or any other type of preverbal particle. Thus the filled C° requirement forces the verb to raise from INFL to C° (26).

(26) [$_{CP}$ Berid$_i$+C°   [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ in fer   [$_{V'}$ t$_i$ in claideb]]]

When the inflected verb *beir* "carries" raises to C°, it actually is incorporating into a null C°. This C-INFL-V complex is then realized as *berid* instead of *beir*. An interesting variation to this pattern occurs in relative clauses. If the null C° is [+wh], then a third form of the verb is used in lieu of the absolute form (27). For example, in the sentence below, the inflected verb of the relative clause *gaibid* "grabs" surfaces as *gaibes* , the relative form of the verb.

(27) Is   oinfer$_i$ [$_{CP}$ Ø$_i$ gaibes$_i$ [$_{IP}$ t$_i$ búaid]]
      cop one-man Op. grabs-3s-rel   victory
      'It is one man who grabs victory.'

The differences between the relative form and the absolute form show that the morphology of the absolute is used to signal which null C° ([±wh]) is present in the complementizer position. Since the verb forms in absolute initial position vary depending upon what type of complementizer is present in the clause, it lends support to the theory that these verbs are in fact in C°.

3.3 Compound verbs and Preverbal Particles

The preverbs are the prepositional components of Old Irish compound verbs. For example, given the basic verb *berid* 'carries', the addition of a preverbal particle shifts the meaning in unpredictable ways: *as•berid* means "says" (literally "out-carry"). Similar forms, such as *shine/outshine* and *blow/blow up*, are occasionally found in English. In Old Irish, however, the use of these particles is quite common, and help to form a large class of Old Irish verbal morphology. We claim that depending upon what other elements appear in the complex, these preverbal particles can behave as if they were either in C° or as if they were combined with the verb in INFL. In particular, it seems that given a compound verb with no conjunct particle, a preverbal particle satisfies the filled C° requirement.

Consider the following compound verb: *as•beir* "says-3s". This is composed of the preverbal particle *as-* and *beir* "carries". However, when this verb comes after a conjunct particle *ní* "neg", the form of the verb is radically changed. In the example below, the form for "say-1s" is *as•biur* when there is no conjunct particle (28), but *epur* when it follows a conjunct particle like *ni* (29).

(28) *as•biur*   in so
     say-1s   this
     'I say this.'

(29) Ní   *epur/*as•biur*   a n-anman   sund
     Neg   say-1s   their names here
     'I do not say their names here.'

Despite the obvious differences between these forms, there is no suppletion here. Instead, rules of stress shift, syncope, provection, reduplication and lenition all interact to muddy the forms.

The domain of application of these phonological rules provides evidence for our analysis. The entire verbal complex forms a single phonological unit that cannot be broken apart by adverbs and other intrusive material. This grouping we will call the "clitic group" - (κ). However, there is a smaller phonological unit, the word (ω) which is the domain of stress and syncope. Consistently, conjunct particles (C) and enclitic pronouns stand outside the phonological word (30a). Preverbal particles (P) on the other hand vary in their position, depending upon what other material is in the clitic group (30b).

(30) a. $[_\kappa$ C $[_\omega$ P (P) (P) (P) V]]
     b. $[_\kappa$ P $[_\omega$ P (P) (P) V]]

For concreteness let us consider the example of stress. Stress in Old Irish is always on the leftmost syllable in the word. This is true of absolute verbs, nouns, and adjectives. When the verb is complex however, either with a conjunct particle or with a preverb, the stress falls on the second non-enclitic morphological unit:

(31) a.   C •**P** (P) (P) (P) V
     b.   C • **V**
     c.   P • **P** (P) (P) V
     d.   P • **V**

There thus appears to be a special "pre-tonic" slot in initial position for a preverb or conjunct particle, which does not participate in the metrical structure of the rest of the verbal complex. We will indicate the division between the pre-tonic position and the rest of the complex with the use of the symbol <•> (following Thurneysen 1946). Usually, the enclitic and any syllabic material it brings with it will be part of the pre-tonic. We can thus describe the distribution of the elements as follows:

(32)   i. Conjunct particles are always pretonic
       ii. If there is no conjunct particle, then the first preverb is pretonic

If we add a conjunct particle to a verb with preverbs, then the previously pretonic preverb joins the rest of the verbal complex and participates in its metrical structure, causing stress pattern to change as seen in (33) below.

(33)   a.   *as•biur*   "say-1s"   /as.**b'ur** /
       b.   *•epur*   "say-1s"   /**e**.bur/;

The underlined syllable is the one that receives the stress. In (33a) the preverb *as* appears in pretonic position and does not participate in the metrical structure of the verb (stress falls on *biur)*. When the conjunct particle is added, the preverb behaves as if it is part of the second element in the complex, and takes main stress. The other phonological alternations (/a/~/e/ and /sb/~/b/) follow from this shift in metrical structure. See McCone (1987) for more details.

As the conjunct particles always fall in the pretonic position, we conclude that the pretonic position is associated with the complementizer head. Since one preverb is required to be pretonic when there is no conjunct complementizer, it follows that a preverb can satisfy the filled C° requirement. When there is no overt complementizer, only the preverb, not the entire inflected verb, raises to C° to satisfy the Filled-C° requirement.

Let us consider a derivation of this type. We will assume that the preverbal particles are reflexes of a Hale & Keyser (1991) type complex VP, or of a Pesetsky (forthcoming) style stacked PP structure. For the purposes of diagramming only, we use a Hale & Keyser type format. We will consider the sentence in (28) with the base form in (34)

(34)   [CP [Ø] [IP [INFL] [VP *pro* [V' as [V' biur [ADVP in so]]]]]]

The preverb *as* raises to C° to satisfy the filled C° requirement. The verbal root *buir* raises to I°, as in modern Irish, accounting for the difference in phonological domains, the two domains correspond to distinct heads: INFL and C°.
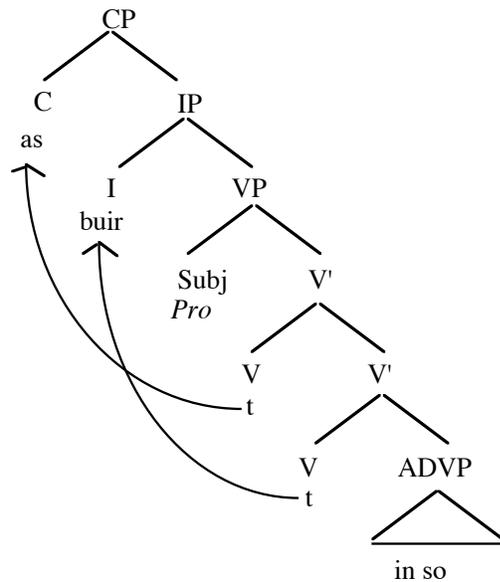
(35)   [CP [as$_i$] [IP [biur$_j$] [VP *pro* [V' t$_i$ [V' t$_j$ [ADVP in so]]]]]]

When a conjunct particle complementizer like *ní* "neg" is present however, the preverb remains in INFL with the rest of the verb putting it into the same metrical unit with the root verb. (36)

(36) [CP Ní [IP[I° epur ($\Leftarrow$ as +biur)]   a   n-anman   sund]]
         Neg   say-1s   their names   here
         'I do not say their names'.

The reader will have noticed that in allowing the two verbal heads (the preverb and the verbal root) to raise to separate functional categories, we have created a violation of the Head Movement Constraint (HMC). Consider (37)

(37)

```
                    CP
                  /    \
                 C      IP
                 as    /  \
                      I    VP
                    buir  /   \
                        Subj   V'
                        Pro   /  \
                             V    V'
                             t   /  \
                                 V   ADVP
                                 t   /\
                                    /__\
                                   in so
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It appears as if the verbal root skips the intermediate preverb on its way to INFL. Similarly, the preverb seems to skip the intermediate Inflectional heads on its way to C°.

This problem is especially acute in the cases where more than one preverb appears, as in (38). In *ad•cosnai* "strives after" *(ad-com-sní)*, the first preverb moves to the C° head, but the other preverb is incorporated with the verbal root *(com + sní → •cosnai)*. This type of example shows that there are cases where the verbal root *does* incorporate into a preverb.

(38)

$$[_{VP} \; [_{V'} \boxed{ad} \; [_{V'} \boxed{com \quad [_{V'} sní \; ...]}]]]$$

to C

to INFL
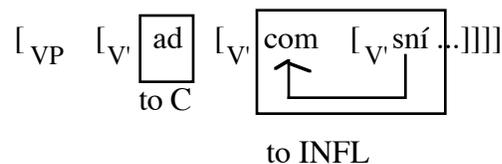
This incorporation suggests a solution to the HMC violation. The verb head-moves from preverb to preverb, skipping none (in compliance with the HMC) incorporating each preverb as it raises. After the verb has raised to the highest projection in the inflectional complex, the filled C° requirement is still not met. In order to satisfy this requirement the first preverb in the string (the least embedded preverb) excorporates and moves into C°. This is illustrated in (39).

(39)
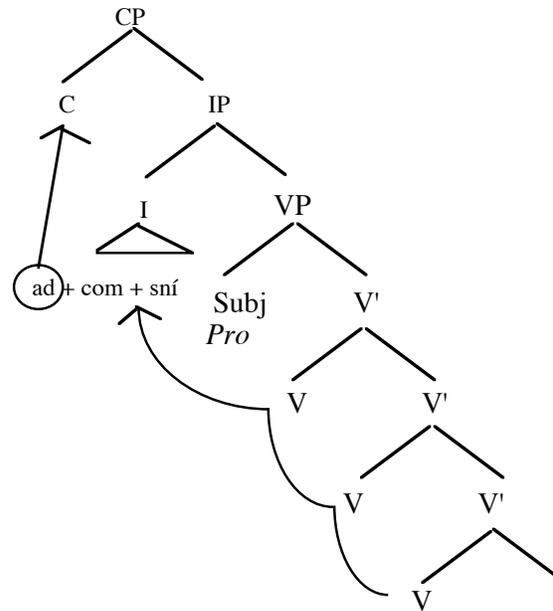
This excorporation account satisfying the requirement on filled C°s, gives good empirical coverage of the phonological distribution of the preverbs.

3.4   Placement of Enclitics

Old Irish has a phenomenon of second position enclitics (E) which include object pronouns, relative pronouns, and conjunctions. The enclitic pronouns are always found after the first morphological element in the verbal complex (40). The following examples are taken from Strachan (1949):

(40) a.   Ní-m• accai   (Ní + m + ad + cí-3sng)
          Neg -me see-3s   C   E   P   V-S
          'she does not see me'

     b.   aton•cí   (ad + (do)n + cí -3sng)
          P-us see -3s   P   E   V-S
          'she sees us'

     c.   bertaigth-i[5]   (bertaig -th +i)
           shake-3s.abs-him   V-   S   E
          'he shakes him

The distribution of enclitics is somewhat puzzling from a syntactic perspective; sometimes they precede the verb (when there is a preverb or conjunct particle), however, other times they follow the verb (when the verb is absolute). This distribution is transparent when we assume that Old Irish had a filled C° requirement. Once we make this claim, then the distribution of enclitic pronouns is straightforward:

(41) Enclitics (E) adjoin to C°.[6,7]

This is true of whether the C is filled by a conjunct particle, a preverb or an absolute verb form.

Let us consider a few derivations. The underlying structure and verb to INFL raising of *bertaigth-i* "he shakes him" is shown in (42).

(42)

[[Ø] [[INFL] [[v' bertaigth i]]]]

The verb raises to the left edge of IP, satisfying its feature-checking requirements. However, the filled C° requirement must still be met, as must the requirement on object pronominal encliticization. So the verb raises to C°, and the object clitic adjoins to it (43):

(43)

With this structure, then, we get the correct absolute inflectional marking and the correct object enclitic placement. Let us now consider the more complicated example of a verb with a preverb such as *aton•cí* "he sees us". The underlying structure will look like (44):

(44) [$_{CP}$[Ø] [$_{IP}$ [INFL] [$_{VP}$ *pro* [$_{V'}$ [**ad**] [$_{V}$ [**cí**] ($_{obj}$-**n**-)]]]]]]

The C° requirement is met by raising the preverb *ad-*. The verb raises, through all of the inflectional heads to the left edge of IP (AgrS), and the object cliticizes to C° (45):

(45) [$_{CP}$ [$_{C+V+E}$ **ad**$_i$-**on**$_j$] [$_{IP}$ [$_{I+V+V}$ t$_i$ +**cí**] [$_{vp}$ *pro* [t$_i$ t$_j$]

Finally, let us consider the complicated case of a verb with both a preverb and a Conjunct particle: *Ní-m• accai* "he does not see me") . The underlying structure:

(46)   [$_{CP}$[Ní] [$_{IP}$ [INFL] [$_{VP}$ *pro* [$_{V'}$ [**ad**] [$_{V}$ [**cí**] ($_{obj}$-**m**-)]]]]]]

The conjunct particle occupies C° and satisfies the filled C° requirement. The pronominal object cliticizes to C°. The verb first incorporates with its preverb then proceeds through the inflectional heads (47) to the left edge of IP:

(47)   [$_{CP}$ [$_{C+E}$ **Ní-t**] [$_{IP}$ [$_{I+V+V}$ **ad** +**cí**] [$_{vp}$ *pro* [...]]

4.   Conclusion

In this short paper, we have attempted to account for the complex and intricate behavior of verbs, preverbs, particles and clitics in the Old Irish verbal complex. We have argued that, contra most current theories of VSO ordering, Old Irish makes use of raising to C° due to a filled C° requirement. The fact that the pretonic and the rest of the complex behave metrically like two words rather than one follows from the fact that the two elements are in different structural positions in the sentence, forming a "clitic group" rather than a single phonological word. The distribution of absolute inflection is now definable in a systematic way: when the verb has raised to C° it takes different morphology. Finally, the position of enclitics is now uniformly accounted for. They always attach to C°, whether this be a preverb, conjunct particle, or the verb itself. The fact that this analysis provides a systematic account for these facts is a strong argument for the raising to C° analysis. Raising to the left edge of INFL is also still required to account for the fact that the verb still precedes its subject even when there is an overt complementizer. The filled-Comp requirement, not active in Modern Irish, thus explains many facts about the Old Irish verbal complex that would otherwise remain mysterious.

NOTES

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[1] We are assuming here, (after McCloskey 1983, Sproat 1983, Duffield 1991, Bobaljik and Carnie 1993) that VSO order is a derived order and that the underlying order of Modern Irish is SVO.

[2] See Bobaljik (1993) for an alternative analyses of these facts.

[3] Throughout this paper we will use the traditional spelling system of Old Irish. We refer the reader to Thurneysen (1980) for the complete details of how Old Irish is pronounced. The old Irish examples have been taken from Strachan (1949), Strachan (1944), McCone (1987) and Thurneysen (1980) who take them from various primary sources.

[4] Bergin's law is usually not phrased exactly this way. In Thurneysen (1980:§513) for example it is articulated as "Simple and compound verbs may be placed at the end of the clause; the form then have conjunct flexion....". However, Carney (1978) argues that the formulation adopted in the text above is more accurate since verbs can appear medially in some poetic registers.

[5] This form is later replaced by *no-s•mbertaigedar*. However, the absolute form continues to be used when there is no object pronoun. We will be concerned mainly with the period when object clitics adjoined after the main verb.

[6] An equally empically adequate account, consistent with the analysis of verb movement to C° proposed here, is found in Duffield (1994). He proposes that there is an extra position between the highest Inflectional position and the C°. This is the "Wackernagalian" head. The pronominal clitics could occupy this position in Old Irish and still be consistent with the analysis of verb movement presented here.

[7] Old English clitics have been analysed as marking the left edge of IP in a similar manner, see, e.g, Pintzuk (1991).

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