

12 A general problem for the checking view of raising is provided by examples like:

- (i) Under the bed seems to be a good place to hide.
- (ii) Very quickly seems to be the best way to do it.

Presumably neither the PP nor the AdvP have features that need to be checked. It may be that subject-raising differs from object-raising due to the interference of some version of the Extended Projection Principle. Weibelhuth suggests that such subjects contain an empty Determiner on the basis of the fact that they form DP chains in a number of constructions (1989: 40). I have no alternative explanation.

7 A minimalist approach to some problems of Irish word order

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1 Introduction

Recent work in the principles-and-parameters approach to syntactic theory has been concerned with the range of word order variation in the world's languages.¹ It is a tenet of this approach that such variation can be derived from a highly constrained set of simple parameters, interacting with universal principles of natural language. We would like to investigate here how the facts of Irish word order may best be represented within the framework argued for in Chomsky and Lasnik (1993) and Chomsky (1993), and discussed in Marantz (1995). The first section will provide a brief overview of the relevant notions and mechanisms of this framework and the analysis we propose. After this, we will turn to the relevant Irish data, moving on to a discussion of the predictions of our analysis and potential problems it raises. In the final section, we will provide a more detailed refinement of our initial analysis, discussing its import for a feature-driven theory of syntactic variation as in Chomsky (1993).

2 The framework and an initial analysis

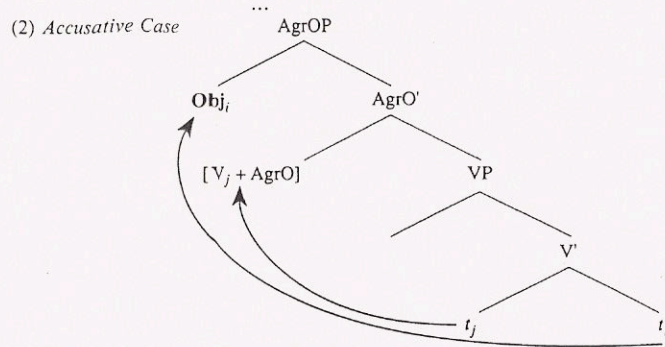
Over the last half-decade, much work in syntax has been devoted to motivating and supporting the claim that all arguments of a verb, and in particular the subject, are base-generated within the maximal projection (VP) of that verb (i.e. the VP-internal subject hypothesis of Fukui and Speas (1986), Kitagawa (1986), Koopman and Sportiche (1991) among many others). This approach entails that in a language such as English, the subject must raise to somewhere within the maximal projection of an Inflectional category to receive abstract nominative Case.

Extending a proposal by Pollock (1989), Chomsky (1991, 1993) has suggested that both structural cases (i.e. nominative and accusative) are realized in a parallel manner, via movement (either overtly: before Spell Out (formerly Surface Structure), or covertly (at Logical Form, the semantic component), of the arguments to positions within the inflectional complex. Specifically, it is suggested that *all* structural case and agreement is the realization of a specifier-head

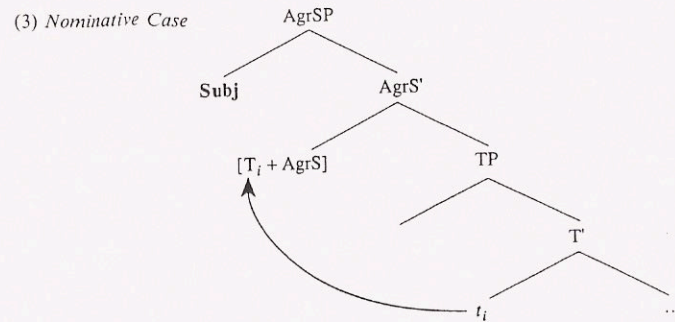
relationship with an appropriate functional (Agr) head. Thus the inflectional complex includes a Tense phrase (TP), and two (non-distinct) agreement phrases (AgrS, AgrO):

- (1) $[_{AgrSP} [_{AgrS} [_{TP} [T [_{AgrOP} [_{AgrO} [_{VPsubj} [V[obj]]]]]]]]]]]$

While some movement may be at LF, the verb must eventually raise to AgrS, adjoining to each of the intervening head positions via head-to-head movement (Travis 1984). NPs must receive Case, so all arguments must raise to the specifier position of one of the agreement phrases at some point in the derivation. As the agreement heads are non-distinct,² the Case with which each is associated is determined by the nature of the element which adjoins to it. The accusative Case, being in some sense a verbal attribute, must be realized in the specifier-head relationship with the complex head [V, AgrO] derived via the first step of the head-to-head movement when the verb is transitive.



By similar logic, head movement of Tense (T) to AgrS will create the complex head [T, AgrS] and nominative Case will be realized in a specifier-head relationship to this head.



Within the bounds of this approach, there are a number of possible derivations which will result in a surface VSO word order. The first possibility is that the verb (or verbal complex) has 'fronted' to an initial complementizer position, in which case the surface positions of the subject and object are not *a priori* evident. This approach is taken in Stowell (1989) and Doherty (1992) and by Carnie, Pyatt and Harley (forthcoming) for Old Irish. A second approach, suggested by Chomsky (1993), is that the VSO order is derived if the verb raises overtly to some inflectional head, but the subject and object remain *in situ*, raising covertly at LF. In what follows, we will suggest that empirical evidence points against both of these approaches for Modern Irish. Specifically, we claim that there is evidence (a) that the initial V in Irish is not in C and (b) that nominal arguments in Irish raise in the overt syntax. The remaining possibility, then, is that Irish tensed V raises overtly to AgrS,³ but that the subject raises only as far as specifier of the Tense phrase.⁴ Determination of the position of the object under this analysis raises issues which will be addressed towards the end of the chapter.

3 Irish

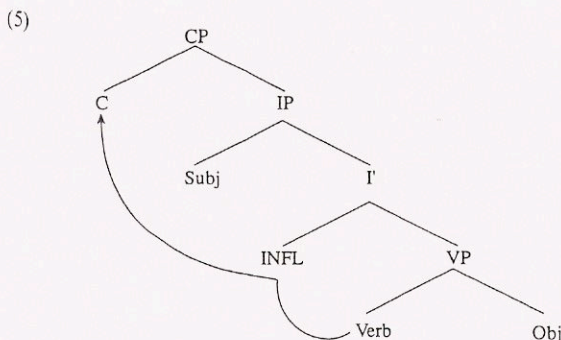
The basic word order in Irish tensed clauses is VSO. The nominative subject follows the verb, and the accusative object follows the subject. Oblique NPs and adverbs⁵ generally follow the arguments of the verb. This is illustrated in (4):

- (4)
- | | | | | |
|----|--|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| a. | Rith | siad. | (VS) | |
| | run.PAST | they.NOM | | |
| | 'They ran.' | | | |
| b. | Chonaic | Seán an madra. | (VSO) | |
| | see.PAST | J.NOM the dog | | |
| | 'John saw the dog.' | | | |
| c. | *Seán chonaic | an madra. | (*SVO) | |
| | J.NOM see.PAST | the dog | | |
| | 'John saw the dog.' | | | |
| d. | Chonaic sé | í. | (VSO showing case) | |
| | saw.PAST | he.NOM her.ACC | | |
| | 'He saw her.' | | | |
| e. | Thóg sé | an teach leis | an ord. | (VSO Obl) |
| | build.PAST | he the house with.DEF | the hammer | |
| | 'He built the house with the hammer.' | | | |
| f. | Beidh Nóra | ag an ndroichead | amárach. | (VSO Adv) |
| | be.FUT N. | at the bridge | tomorrow | |
| | 'Nora will be at the bridge tomorrow.' | | | |

Following work by McCloskey (1983), we will assume that VSO languages do not have an underlying 'flat structure' but are derived from SVO order by movement.

3.1 Against verb to comp raising

An obvious analysis within the bounds of the present framework would be that the subject (and possibly object) raise overtly to the specifiers of respective agreement phrases for Case checking, and the verb obligatorily raises through the inflectional complex and on to C (5).



The well-known 'verb-second' (V2) phenomena (6) of Germanic languages have frequently been analysed as movement of the verb to C with a concomitant restriction that the specifier of the complementizer phrase be filled by some constituent (e.g. den Besten 1990). Part of the motivation for this analysis is the fact that in subordinate clauses V2 order is not permitted, and the order C-SOV is standard (Koster 1975). The hypothesis is that the verb may raise to an empty complementizer position in matrix clauses, but that in embedded clauses, the complementizer position is filled (possibly with a phonologically null complementizer), and the verb cannot raise to it (7) (data from Haegeman 1991).

- (6)
- Karl kaufte dieses Buch gestern.
Karl bought this book yesterday
'Karl bought this book yesterday.'
 - Dieses Buch kaufte Karl gestern.
this book bought Karl yesterday
'Karl bought this book yesterday.'
 - Gestern kaufte Karl dieses Buch.
yesterday bought Karl this book
'Karl bought this book yesterday.'

- d. Was kaufte Karl?
what bought Karl
'What did Karl buy?'
- (7) ... dass Karl gestern das Buch gekauft hat.
... that Karl yesterday the book bought had
'... that Karl had bought the book yesterday.'

If Irish were to have a comparable analysis, that is, obligatory fronting of the verb to C in matrix clauses (although without the requirement that the specifier of the complementizer phrase be filled), then we would expect similarly the order C-SOV or C-SVO in embedded clauses.⁶ This prediction is immediately falsified by the facts of Irish. In fact we only get C-VSO order. The verb still must raise. It cannot move to C since that position is already filled:

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

There is conceptual motivation for rejecting the obligatory V-to-C analysis. Challenging the 'standard' analysis of V2 in Germanic, Travis (1991) and Zwart (1993) suggest independently that V-to-C raising only occurs when some morphological property of C (such as 'topic' or '±wh') must be satisfied. Both authors adduce empirical evidence to support their claim that matrix SVO order in Germanic languages with a non-topicalized subject cannot be derived from V-to-C raising. The conceptual point that these papers (and earlier work along these lines) raise is the following: if movement is motivated solely by morphological properties, then V-to-C raising can be motivated for topicalization or question formation (cf. English 'Aux to Comp Inversion'), but cannot be motivated for non-topicalized declarative clauses. In Irish, there is no property such as topicalization or interrogation which would force overt raising of the verb to C. An analysis involving obligatory V-to-C in simple declaratives is conceptually untenable.

In addition, there is empirical evidence against the V-to-C raising approach. McCloskey (forthcoming) presents comprehensive evidence from the behaviour of IP adjoined and CP adjoined adverbials that the verb in Irish cannot have raised beyond the left edge of the inflectional complex (thus is lower than C). The data are quite complicated and for reasons of space we will not repeat them here. Roughly speaking, McCloskey argues that since IP adjoined adverbs appear to the left of verbs, verbs cannot be higher than the left edge of the inflectional complex.

3.2 Against subject and object *in situ*

The approach suggested by Chomsky (1993) is that the verb raises to some head within the articulated inflectional complex before Spell Out. The subject and object remain *in situ* in the verb phase in the overt component, raising covertly at LF.

- (9) $[_{AgrSP}[_{AgrS}[_{TP}[_{T}[_{AgrOP}[_{AgrO}[_{vp}subj [V [obj]]]]]]]]]]]$

In this section, we will argue that there is empirical evidence that such an approach is also untenable for Irish.

The analysis suggested by Chomsky is not obviously falsifiable by looking solely at tensed clauses, both matrix and embedded. In both cases, the order is C-VSO. As adverbial elements in Irish generally occur following the verb and its arguments, adverb placement cannot be used as a diagnostic for the structural positions occupied by the arguments and the verb.⁷ Turning to non-finite clauses,⁸ however, one immediately notes that VSO order is impossible. In all dialects non-finite clauses may show the surface order OV (where there is a strong pragmatic preference for sentences without overt subjects):⁹

- (10) Ba mhaith liom [(é) an teach a^L thógáil].
COP good with.1SG him.ACC the house.ACC TRANS build
'I would like him to build the house.'

When there is an overt NP or pronoun, the non-finite verb is preceded by both the object and the transitive particle *a^L*.¹⁰ Note that both the subject and object are marked accusative.¹¹ This OV order is also found in the recent perfective¹² (also called the 'after perfect').

- (11) Tá mé tar éis an teach a^L thógáil.
be.PRES I ASP the house TRANS build
'I have just built the house.'

While SOV order in infinitives is obligatory in the northern dialects (Connacht and Ulster), in the southern Munster dialect there is an alternative to (10): a marked SVO order. In this construction, the object may appear postverbally (12b). This option is available only with an overt subject (which takes accusative Case). In either case, the 'transitive' particle *a^L* is present also.

- (12) *Southern: Munster*
a. Ba mhaith liom_i [PRO_i an abairt a^L scríobh]. (PRO O V)
COP good with.1SG the sentence.ACC TRANS write
'I want to write the sentence.'

- b. Ba mhaith liom_{CP} Seán a^L scríobh na habairte]. (SVO)
COP good with.1SG John.ACC TRANS write the sentence.GEN
'I want John to write the sentence.' (formal)

Note that there is a difference in Case-marking of the direct objects in (10) and (12). In the SOV order (10) and (12a), the object bears accusative Case. In the SVO example in (12), the object bears genitive Case. As McCloskey (this volume) points out, while pedagogic grammars mandate the genitive for postverbal objects in this construction, 'this rule is implemented sporadically at best, even by speakers who preserve the genitive regularly in other contexts.' This variation in overt case is curious, though largely orthogonal to present concerns. In particular, the possibility of accusative Case for postverbal objects indicates that these NPs are arguments and that this (postverbal) position *is* the structural object position. Genitive postverbal objects are also evidenced in progressives in formal registers, accusative ones in colloquial ones (see Noonan 1993 for discussion):

- (13) Tá sí ag scuabadh an urláir.
be.PRES she.NOM PROG sweep the floor.GEN
'She is sweeping the floor.'

Returning to the infinitives, it would appear that accusative Case is available for the object to the left of the non-tensed or participial verbs. It, thus, may raise to the specifier of AgrOP (Duffield 1991). The Munster dialects allow a construction whereby the object may remain *in situ*. All dialects have postverbal (genitive) objects in progressives. Our claims so far are:

- (14) a. The object (along with the verb) is *in situ* in progressives and Munster non-finite clauses.
b. The preverbal object in all dialects is raised to the specifier of AgrO.¹³

Extending this somewhat, if the object has raised overtly to the specifier position of AgrOP yet the subject still precedes the object, then the subject *must* have raised past the object.

Taken together, the data and arguments of this subsection entail that the Chomsky-style Subject-and-Object *in situ* analysis cannot be maintained for Irish. In the previous subsection, we ruled out the V-to-C analysis. Let us now present an alternative analysis, for the most part compatible with the framework developed by Chomsky (1991, 1993) and Chomsky and Lasnik (1993), which does capture the basic facts of Irish word order, and also sheds some light on the similarities between Munster SVO infinitives and progressive constructions in all dialects.

4 Our analysis

Consider again the structure of transitive clauses given in (1),

- (1) $[_{AgrSP} [_{AgrS} [_{TP} [T [_{AgrOP} [AgrO [_{VP} subj [V [obj]]]]]]]]]]$

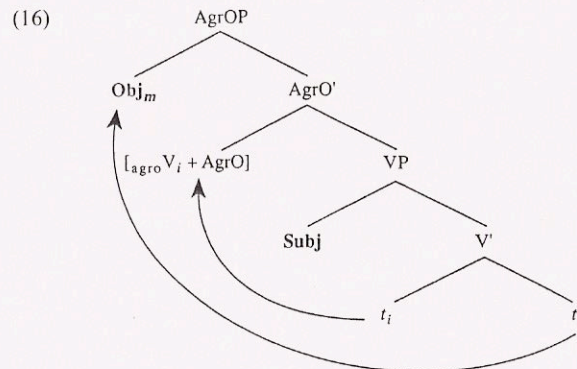
In section 3.1, we showed that derivation of Irish VSO by obligatory V-to-C movement was untenable on both empirical and conceptual grounds. In section 3.2, we argued that there is evidence in Irish pointing to overt raising of the object to specifier position of AgrOP, which would rule out an analysis of raising of arguments at Logical Form. In addition, this entails that the subject must raise past the object in the specifier of AgrO, as the subject linearly precedes the object. Finally, as finite clauses have the verb preceding both the subject and the object, the verb must raise to some position higher than the subject, but lower than COMP. This analysis is detailed in the following sections. In section 4.1, we will derive VSO order in tensed clauses. In section 4.2, we will look at the derivation of non-finite clauses.

4.1 Irish VSO in finite clauses

The analysis we shall pursue here is that the overt movement in Irish consists of head movement $V \rightarrow AgrO \rightarrow T \rightarrow AgrS$, and of NP movement of the object to the specifier of AgrOP and the subject to the specifier position of the Tense phrase (TP).

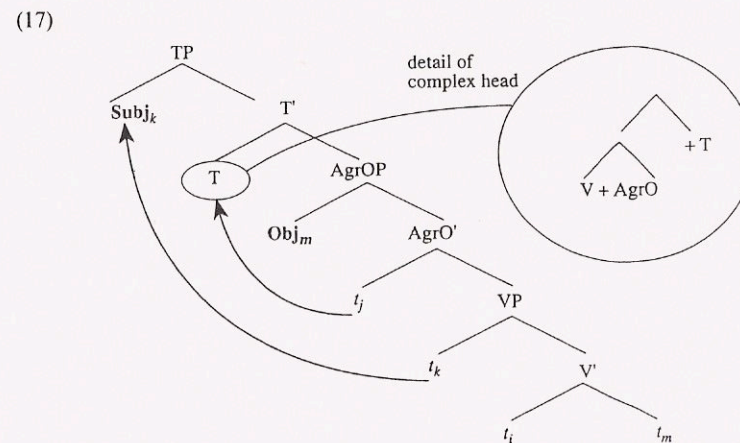
- (15) $[_{AgrSP} [_{AgrS} [_{AgrS} + T + AgrO + V]_i] [_{TP} subj_k [T' t_i [_{AgrOP} obj_m] [AgrO' t_i [VP t_k [V' t_i t_m]]]]]]]$

Let us look at the derivation proposed above in more detail. For the sake of simplicity, we will discuss this in terms of a step-by-step derivation. The first step in the derivation is head movement of the verb to AgrO, creating the complex head $[_{AGRO} V + AgrO]$. The chain created by this step allows the object to raise over the subject to the specifier of AgrO – the next-highest specifier position.



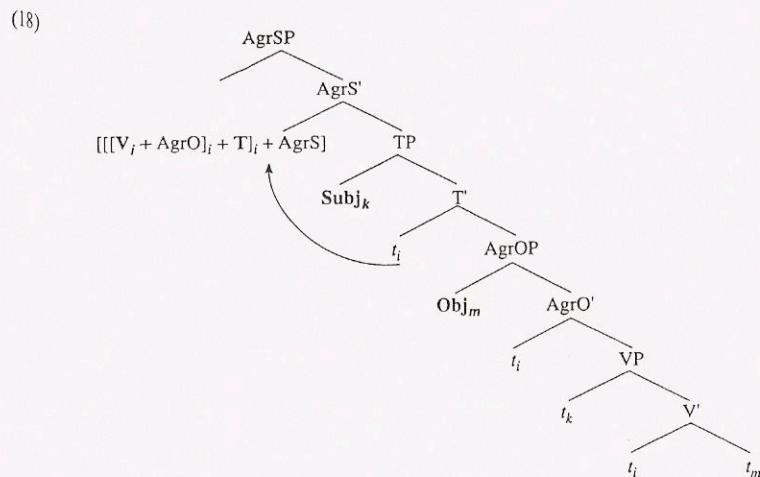
Informally, in order to raise over the specifier of the VP which contains the subject, the verb must raise and adjoin to AgrO. This follows from the Minimality effects discussed by Rizzi (1990) which ultimately can be derived from considerations of Economy (Chomsky 1991, 1993). In particular, this is related to Holmberg's (1986) generalization that verb-raising is required for overt object-raising, and likewise provides a principled account of Baker's (1988) 'Government Transparency Corollary'.

Next, the (complex) head AgrO (containing the verb) raises to Tense (T), creating the complex head $[_T AgrO, T]$, and the subject raises to the specifier of the Tense phrase:



Again, considerations of economy require the head movement in order to permit raising of the subject to 'skip' the intervening specifier of AgrO containing the object.

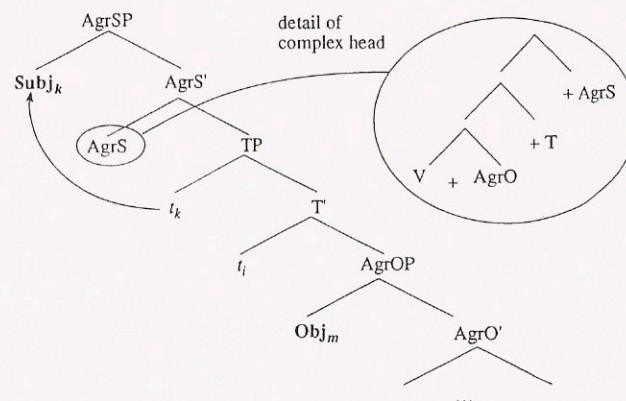
The last overt step is raising of the head T (Tense, containing Tense, AgrO and the verb) to adjoin to AgrS, creating [_{AgrS} T + AgrS].



'Spell Out' occurs at this stage, resulting in 'surface' VSO order.

Finally, covert movement occurs at Logical Form to check agreement features and assign nominative Case to the subject. The subject raises from the specifier of the Tense phrase to the specifier of the AgrSP. Note that this movement only occurs in the semantic component and is never realized in the phonological output:

(19) Covert movement (i.e. at LF)



While this analysis derives the correct word order, it appears somewhat *ad hoc*. Now let us consider how such a derivation might be motivated, using the theory of syntactic features.

4.2 Features

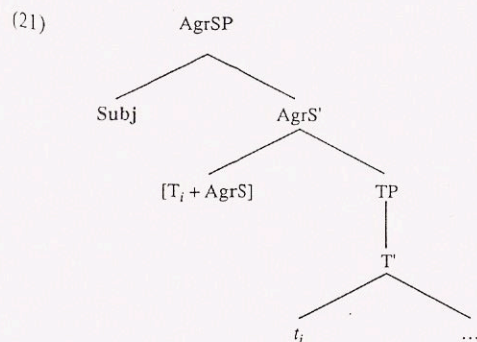
Within the framework being explored here, Chomsky (1993) proposes that each of the heads (Tense and the two Agrs) have N[ominal] and V[erbal] features which may be parameterized with either a 'strong' value or a 'weak' one.¹⁴ Strong features are required to be checked in the derivation by Spell Out (i.e. in the overt syntax), while weak features need not be. The interaction of these features with independent principles (for example, the Procrastinate Principle (Chomsky 1993) requires that if movement is not required to be overt, it will be covert) will dictate whether certain steps of the derivation occur overtly (prior to Spell Out) or covertly (at Logical Form). The N-features correlate with the specifier positions, governing NP movement, and the V-features with the heads, governing head movement.

Consider, for example, how the differences between English and French, discussed in Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1991), are to be represented on this approach. Their proposed feature specifications are given in (20):

(20)

		English	French
AGR	N	weak	weak
	V	weak	strong
Tense	N	strong	strong
	V	strong	strong

Strong features must be checked in the overt syntax. As N-features are correlated with the specifier-head relationship, the specification *strong* for the N-feature of Tense in both languages requires that an NP argument raise to check its features in the specifier-head configuration with Tense. This, in essence, is what ultimately derives the requirement that all sentences have a subject (i.e. the 'Extended Projection Principle' of Chomsky 1981). By hypothesis (Chomsky 1993), both English and French require that Tense raise overtly to AgrS to check its N features. We indicate this by a strong valence for the V-features of Tense, requiring overt raising (head movement) of T to AgrS to check these features. This raising will mean that the structural specifier of the Tense phrase is not licensed for feature-checking, despite its strong N feature. In order for the strong N-features of Tense to be checked, then, an NP-argument (the subject) will have to raise overtly to the specifier of the complex head $[_{AgrS} T + AgrS]$ resulting from the head movement of Tense to AgrS. This is illustrated schematically in (21).¹⁵



There are three distinct head-movement processes in English and French: (1) T moves to AgrS; (2) V moves to AgrO; and (3) $[V + AgrO]$ moves to AgrS. The first movement is overt in both languages as required by the strong V-features of Tense. The remaining movements are governed by the V-features of the Agr nodes. In English, the V-features of Agr are weak and thus only the raising of Tense to AgrS occurs overtly, whereas in French, the V-features of Agr are strong and both of the remaining head movements occur overtly, with all (finite) verbs raising in the visible syntax. Following Pollock (1989) and Chomsky (1991, 1993), this accounts for the differences between the two languages. The only relevant difference between the two languages, then, is in the specification for the V-features of AGR.

In our analysis Irish, like French, has strong V-features of AGR (requiring the verb to raise overtly), and strong N-features of T (requiring that the subject check its Case features in the specifier-head configuration with T), but its remaining

features, including the V-feature of Tense, are weak. This last is the key. In French (and English), we showed that strong V-features for Tense entailed overt raising of Tense to AgrS, rendering the specifier of TP unavailable, and requiring that the strong N-features of Tense be checked in the specifier of the complex Head $[T + AgrS]$ (21). By hypothesis, Irish has weak V-features and thus T need not (and so cannot) raise independently to AgrS. As the N-features of Tense are strong, the NP-argument which will check these features, the subject, thus only need raise as far as the specifier of TP in the overt syntax for checking of the features to be satisfied. Summarizing, the crucial difference between French, which displays SVO order, and Irish, which displays VSO, is that in Irish there is a difference in the valence of the V-features of Tense which correlates with whether or not Tense must raise overtly to AgrS (i.e. independently of the raising of $V \rightarrow AgrO \rightarrow TENSE \rightarrow AgrS$). Note that in Irish T does, in effect, raise overtly to AgrS, but only as a step in the sequence of head movements $V \rightarrow AgrO \rightarrow T \rightarrow AgrS$. This difference correlates with the possibility of checking the N-features of Tense in the specifier of TP (Irish) as opposed to in the specifier of AgrSP (with the complex head $[T + AgrS]$ (French)). The features of English, French and Irish are thus:

(22)

		<i>English</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Irish</i>
AGR	N	weak	weak	weak ¹⁶
	V	weak	strong	strong
Tense	N	strong	strong	strong
	V	strong	strong	weak

To summarize then, the weakness of the V-feature on the Tense node indirectly licenses the specifier of TP as a possible subject position, unlike the specifier of TP in English and French. VSO order, therefore, results from the interaction of two facts: firstly, AgrS's N-features are weak and Tense's N-features are strong, thus allowing NPs to raise only as far as the specifier of TP overtly; secondly, and more interestingly, the specifier of TP is made available by the Tense node's weak V-features.

4.3 Non-finite clauses

As discussed above, we assume that the object in the Munster SVO non-finite clauses and all dialects' progressives is in its base position. AgrO in both progressive and non-finite clauses is unavailable as a Case position. Consider SOV infinitives, with an accusative object. In section 3.2 we claimed that these involved overt raising of the object. It was pointed out in the preceding section that overt raising of the object to specifier of AgrO is only possible if the verb has raised

overtly to AgrO. Thus we must claim that the verb is at least as high as AgrO in this construction.

Following Duffield (1990, 1991) for Irish, and Adger (1994a, 1994b) for a related phenomenon in Scots Gaelic, we assume that the landing-site of the object shift is the specifier of AgrOP, and that the *a^L* 'transitive' particle on the verb is a realization of AgrO, and marks the licensing of accusative Case. Ramchand (1993a) and Guilfoyle (1993) have claimed that this particle is a realization of some VP-internal Aspect head, and that the locus of object shift is to the specifier of this position. We assume that this approach is misguided for the following reasons. Firstly, following work by Adger (this volume), this particle behaves like an agreement morpheme. As discussed in McCloskey and Hale (1984), agreement and overt nominal arguments in Irish and Scots Gaelic are in complementary distribution. Except under very specific circumstances, the presence of an overt nominal argument precludes the appearance of agreement. Interestingly, in the speech of older speakers, the 'transitive' particle behaves in exactly the same way as overt subject agreement. When an overt object NP is present, it takes the form of the default third-person possessive pronoun *a^L* (23a). When no overt object NP is present it is inflected for person and number¹⁷ (23b). When agreement is present no overt NP may surface (23c). (These data are the Irish equivalents to Adger's Scots Gaelic examples.)

- (23) a. Ba mhaith liom na buachaillí *a^L* bhualadh.
 COP good with.me the boys TRANS.3.SG strike
 'I would like to strike the boys.'
- b. Ba mhaith liommo^L/do^L/*a^L*/*a^L*/ar^N/bhúr^N/*a^N* bualadh.
 COP good with.me 1SG/2SG/3M.SG/3F.SG/1PL/2PL/3PL strike.
 'I would like to strike me/you/him/her/us/you/them.'
- c. *Ba mhaith liom na buachaillí *a^N* mbualadh.
 COP good with.me the boys TRANS.3.PL strike
 'I would like to strike the boys.'

This strongly suggests that this is an agreement rather than an aspectual particle (see Roberts and Shlonsky, this volume, for discussion of a similar phenomenon in Welsh). The second argument against this being an aspectual particle comes from the fact that it can co-occur with other aspectual particles. In particular it occurs in conjunction with the recent perfective particle *tar eis*, as seen above in (11), repeated here:

- (11) Tá mé tar éis an teach *a^L* thógáil.
 be.PRES I ASP the house TRANS build
 'I have just built the house.'

Assuming that these constructions are monoclausal, the requirement that two particles be present to indicate a recent present would be quite surprising (see

Adger, this volume, for more discussion). For these reasons, then, we assume that the landing-site of object shift is the specifier of AgrOP.

The next question we must consider is: how is the subject allowed to raise past the object in specifier of AgrOP if the verb has raised no higher than AgrO in the northern dialects?¹⁸ That is, if the verb has not raised past the shifted object, then the specifiers of TP and AgrO should not be equidistant from the base position of the subject, thus the latter should not be able to raise overtly. Watanabe (1993a) offers one solution to this problem, that AgrO excorporates and raises overtly to non-finite T, stranding the main verb in AgrO. Bobaljik (1994) suggests that tying the equidistance clause to overt verb movement is problematic even in the languages for which it was developed and rather that equidistance (or more accurately domains) should be seen representationally, for example, at LF. There are undoubtedly other solutions to this problem, but we leave the matter open for further research.

5 Summary and conclusion

In this chapter we have attempted to account for the facts of Irish word order in the framework of Chomsky (1993). We have shown that both an *in situ* analysis and a V-to-C analysis are inadequate. We claim that Irish, like French, is a verb-raising language, but that, unlike French, it does not require the overt movement of the subject NP to the specifier of AgrSP. Licensed by a weak V feature, Tense does not raise to adjoin with AgrS, thus allowing the subject to remain in Tense's specifier position at Spell Out. It is our hope that this work will stimulate further research into word order phenomena and their link to parametric variation in the features of functional categories.

Notes

- 1 An earlier and shorter version of this chapter was presented at the twelfth Annual Harvard Colloquium in 1992 and appears under the same title in the proceedings of that conference. We would like to thank David Adger, Dónall Ó Baoill, Robert Borsley, Tony Bures, Máire Ní Chiosáin, Noam Chomsky, Nigel Duffield, Danny Fox, Eithne Guilfoyle, Ken Hale, Heidi Harley, Dianne Jonas, Alec Marantz, Jim McCloskey, Máire Noonan, David Pesetsky, Colin Phillips, Elizabeth Pyatt, Ian Roberts, Jan-Wouter Zwart and the participants of the 1994 VSO workshop at MIT for helpful discussions on this material; usual disclaimers apply. Jonathan Bobaljik's work has been supported in part by a Mellon Fellowship and an SSHRC doctoral fellowship. Andrew Carnie's work by a grant from the Alberta Heritage Fund and by a grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.
- 2 In this framework, they are only a collection of relevant phi-features such as person, number and gender.
- 3 More exactly, raising is: V to AgrO; AgrO to T, T to AgrS.

- 4 A related analysis has been independently reached for Arabic VSO by Ouhalla (1994).
- 5 There is an exception to this claim where an adverb intervenes between the subject and the object (see McCloskey, this volume). We will discuss this in more detail below.
- 6 However, see Carnie, Pyatt and Harley (forthcoming), who claim that VSO order in Old Irish (Irish from the eighth century AD) involved at least some verb-raising to C.
- 7 But see note 5.
- 8 The argument has been raised, by both Nigel Duffield (1994) and James McCloskey (this volume), that the NP movement available in non-finite clauses need not be identical to that in finite clauses. Furthering their claim, it might be claimed that since NP movement in this framework is directly related to the verb movement properties and tenseness of a clause, we should predict that the NP movement in non-finite clauses will not be like that of finite clauses. We believe there are two main problems with this kind of objection: the first is metatheoretical, the other empirical. First, the metatheoretical problem: by Occam's razor, we should not complicate the grammar any more than necessary. The null assumption then will be one where the NP-movement properties in finite and non-finite clauses are identical. By claiming that the NP-movement properties 'need not' be identical we are simply complicating the grammar without cause. The second objection comes in the form of an incorrect prediction that might be made by those who claim that NP-movement in tensed and non-finite clauses are different (although it is not made by either McCloskey or Duffield). Given that in non-finite clauses (as will be seen below) there is less verb movement than in finite clauses (i.e. the verb only moves to AgrO, if it moves at all), we would predict less movement in non-finite (SOV) clauses than in tensed (VSO) clauses. This is precisely the opposite of what is evident on the surface: there is obvious NP-movement in the non-finite (SOV) clauses, whereas there is no obvious (i.e. non-string vacuous) movement in VSO clauses. From a theoretical perspective, then, given that there is less movement in non-finite clauses than there is in finite clauses, any movement that appears in a non-finite clause will necessarily appear in finite clauses as well. Any overt movement that occurs in non-finite clauses will necessarily be a *subset* of the movement that can occur in finite clauses. Thus we can, without hesitation, use the evidence from non-finite clauses for determining the (minimum) NP movement in finite clauses.
- 9 Irish apparently always allows subjects of non-finite clauses which surface with accusative Case-marking. Chung and McCloskey (1987) show convincingly that this subject is not receiving Case from the higher clause: in no respect does the embedded subject behave as a matrix object, and with respect to, for example, binding phenomena, it clearly behaves as if it is in the embedded clause at all levels of the derivation. In addition, this accusative Case is always available for the subject, regardless of the matrix predicate.
- 10 This particle also surfaces as *do* in some dialects and registers.
- 11 Full NPs, like those in the examples below, do not show a morphological distinction between nominative and accusative Cases; however, pronouns do.
- 12 See Ramchand (1993a) and Adger (1993 and this volume) for discussion of the related construction in Scots Gaelic. We will discuss their analyses in more detail below.

- 13 There is one set of data in the literature which might be construed as a strong argument against this approach. McCloskey (this volume) points out that there is a very limited set of adverbials that may appear after the subject but before the object:

- (i) Níor shaothraigh Eoghan ariamh pingin.
NEG earned Owen ever penny
'Owen never earned a penny.'

(data from McCloskey, this volume)

McCloskey assumes these are VP-adjoined adverbs. He takes this as evidence in favour of our approach since it shows that subjects must have raised outside (to the left of) VP. It can, however, be taken as evidence against our overt object shift in finite VSO clauses – since the so-called VP adverb is to the left of the object. Note, however, that there are two issues at hand here: the position of the object and the adjunction site of the adverb. We suggest that it is not in fact the first of these issues which should be questioned here; rather, it is the second (following a suggestion by Pilar Barbosa (p.c.) and taken up in Harley 1993). McCloskey's list of adverbs that appear in this position consists entirely of temporal adverbs: *ariamh/riamh* 'ever', *go minic* 'often', *tamall fada* 'long time'. We suggest that these adverbs are not adjoined to VP, rather are adjoined to some segment of TP (probably an AspP (see Adger, this volume, for discussion)) that is dominated by TP and dominates AgrO (contra Ramchand 1993a and Guilfoyle 1993), thus are adjoined higher than AgrO. This is confirmed by the fact that these adverbs appear higher than (and seem to take scope over) aspectual particles:

- (ii) Bhí na sealgairí tamall fada ag amharc orthu
ADVERB ASP V
be.PAST the hunters long-time PROG watching them
'The hunters were watching them for a long time'

(data from McCloskey, this volume)

We suggest that the structure of a sentence like (i) would be something like:

- (iii) [AGRSP V [TP Subj [ASPP Adverb [ASPP ASP [AGROP Object [VP t_{subj} t_{verb} t_{obj}]]]]]]

See Harley (1993) for more discussion.

- 14 See McCloskey (this volume) for an alternative, but related, view of syntactic features for Irish.
- 15 Note that we are using 'strong V-features' somewhat loosely here. If only features of targets can vary in strength as proposed in Chomsky (1993), and not features of the heads which undergo movement (as in the text here), then 'strong V-features of tense' should be taken to mean that whatever set of features conspire to force T to raise to Agr in English 'independently', their make-up is different in Irish. For more on the difference between independent raising of T to AgrS, and such raising as a part of the head chain raising, and in particular an explanation of how such raising renders the specifier of TP unavailable, see Bobaljik and Jonas (forthcoming: section 5).
- 16 We have claimed here that the N features of Agr are weak. We have done this so that there is no requirement that the subject raise overtly to the specifier of AgrSP. In doing this, the reader may have noticed, we have eliminated the trigger for object shift. This is

a problem we do not attempt to resolve here. However, the behaviour of these NPs is suggestive that the assumption the two agreement projections are identical may need revision. We will not pursue this here but leave it for future research. For some ideas, see Ouhalla (1991a, 1994), McCloskey (this volume) and Carnie (forthcoming).

- 17 Duffield (1991) claims that this option is not available for Irish. To our knowledge, he is incorrect in this regard. According to Ó Siadhail (1989), use of agreement is available in the speech of older speakers, especially in the Ulster dialect. Younger speakers tend to prefer using an overt pronominal and the default a^L , but both forms are found. In prescriptive grammars and formal registers, the form with no overt nominal and an agreement particle is preferred.
- 18 Recall from section 3.2 above that in the southern dialects one only gets overt subjects in transitives when the object is postverbal and genitive (i.e. one gets either OV or SVO, but never SOV). We thus limit the discussion here to the northern SOV dialects.

In R. Borsley and I. Roberts (eds) 1996.

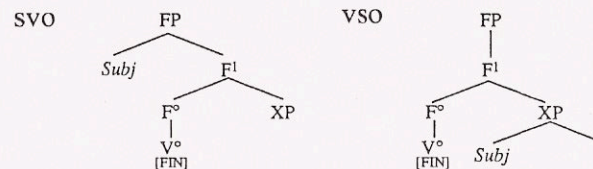
The Syntax of the Celtic Languages. Cambridge.

8 Subjects and subject positions in Irish

James McCloskey

1 Introduction

There now exists a consensus of sorts concerning the analysis of VSO clause structure of the kind found in Celtic languages. The consensus maintains that in this VSO type, the subject occupies a specifier position lower than (and therefore to the right of) the head position occupied by the finite verb. In this respect such languages contrast with the well-studied SVO languages in which the subject occupies the specifier position of the head which hosts the finite verb.



Within this broad consensus, three principal strands of disagreement emerge:

- 1 the issue of what head position the finite verb occupies;
- 2 the issue of what lower specifier position the subject occupies;
- 3 the issue of what mechanism makes the difference between VSO languages of this type and SVO languages.

The present chapter¹ is part of a larger effort to provide answers to these questions for Irish. It assumes the results of two earlier papers (McCloskey 1991b, forthcoming) which tried to establish an answer to the first issue in establishing that verb movement in Irish is not to C^0 , but rather to the highest inflectional position only. If this is granted, then the range of answers which can be given to question 2 narrows – the subject must occupy either the internal subject position (within VP), or else the specifier position of one of the inflectional projections that occupy the space between V^0 and C^0 . This second alternative has the interesting property that it becomes available only if one assumes that INFL is phrase-structurally complex (in the way argued for by Pollock (1989) and in much subsequent work). If the second alternative is right, then something like Pollock's view must