

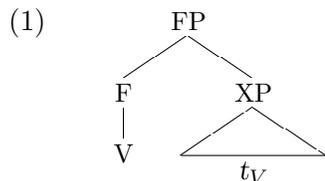
# A Note on Predicates and Heads in Irish Clausal Syntax

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## 1. Introduction

Two lines of thought have dominated recent thinking about the syntax of VSO languages and of VSO clause-structure. An older tradition holds that this clause-type reflects raising of the finite verb to a position higher than, and to the left of, the subject. This view assumes the kind of structures seen in (1):



where F is some closed-class category in what Rizzi (1997) has called the inflectional layer. F is typically identified with a Tense node and XP is some category which (properly) contains VP, including all of its arguments and adjuncts. V raises to combine with F and form a complex head (a ‘finite verb’).

A more recent line of thought explores the idea that verb-initial order reflects the operation not of head-movement but rather of phrasal movement. Specifically, VSO order results when a VP is first voided of all its phrasal sub-constituents, and is then fronted to a left-peripheral position within the inflectional layer. VSO structures, on this view, are as shown schematically in (2):



Here, the arguments of V (DP and XP of (2)) have been extracted from VP before it is fronted. VP-fronting thereby mimics (in terms of linear order) an application of (mere) V-fronting.

This line of analysis emerged independently in work by Felicia Lee, by Diane Massam, and by Lisa Travis and Andrea Rackowski (see for instance the contributions of these authors to Carnie and Guilfoyle (2000) and the editors’ introduction in the same volume). Exploration of this idea has produced a rich vein of work and discussion of the relative merits of the two approaches preoccupied the workshop at the University of Arizona out of which the present volume grew (see, for instance, the contributions of Chung, Holmer, Massam, Oda, and Otsuka to the present volume). That debate in turn has a larger context, in that it represents one sub-theme in a more general debate about the relative roles of head-movement and remnant movement in the determination of word order possibilities.

One of the most attractive features of the VP-fronting analysis has been the understanding that it seems to make available of a correlation which apparently holds in many verb-initial languages. Specifically, what is found in these languages is not so much verb-initial order as predicate-initial order more generally.

However, the non-verbal predicates which occur in initial position are phrases rather than heads. One can tie these observations together by adopting two assumptions:

- (i) In these languages, phrasal predicates front to initial position (perhaps under EPP pressure, however understood).
- (ii) In the case of VP, but not in the case of the other phrasal categories, all non-head constituents must be moved out before predicate-fronting applies.

As long as a reasonable understanding of (ii) can be constructed (why should VP differ from other phrase-types in this way?), the XP-fronting analysis provides a way of understanding why there should be a correlation between VSO order and the appearance in verb-less clauses of initial predicative phrases. The head movement analysis seems to provide no basis for understanding why such a correlation should hold.

A presupposition that runs through much recent discussion of these issues is that the two modes of analysis (verb-raising and remnant predicate fronting) are mutually exclusive alternatives—one or the other must be the right account of verb-initial order (for a given language, if not in general). The present paper challenges that presupposition. It tries to establish the following claim for one verb-initial language (Irish): even if the positioning of non-verbal predicates reflects application of a rule of (phrasal) predicate fronting, one must still postulate head-movement to account for the ultimate position of the finite verb.

Once that conclusion is established, however, it is not obvious what explanatory role the assumption of predicate-fronting plays in the understanding of verb-initial order.

The second half of the paper probes these issues further, using the following logic. If we can establish that head-movement is what places verbs (and, as it turns out, other predicate heads) in initial position in finite clauses, then that movement must of course meet whatever conditions hold in general of head-movement. But that realization in turn provides us with a way of narrowing the hypothesis-space for the analysis of predicate-initial order. If there is movement of the head of such a predicate to a higher position, then the predicate had better not occupy a position from which head-movement is known to be impossible. We thus have a way of eliminating certain analytical possibilities—those which imply impossible head movements. When we follow this reasoning down, what emerges is the following disjunctive (but still useful) conclusion: either there is no predicate fronting at all in Irish, or else predicate fronting is not EPP-driven.

The larger moral, it seems to me, is that the hypothesis of predicate-fronting does not, in fact, provide (initial appearances notwithstanding) an understanding of the kinship between verbal and verbless clauses in Irish. Furthermore, the

hypothesis of predicate-fronting is not obviously useful in accounting for verb-initial orders in the language.

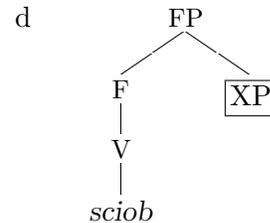
## 2. A Further Step

One of the ways in which head-movement analyses of Irish have been useful has been in the kind of understanding that they yield of a very productive ellipsis process in the language—one that elides all of a finite clause but the verb. This process is illustrated by the dialogue in (3):

(3) a Sciob an cat an t-eireaball de-n luch.  
snatched the cat the tail from-the mouse  
“The cat cut the tail off the mouse.”

b A-r sciob?  
INTERR-PAST snatched  
“Did it?”

c Creidim gu-r sciob.  
I-believe C-PAST snatched  
“I believe it did.”



In (3b) and (3c), nothing survives of the finite clause but the finite verb. When this process is examined in detail, it turns out to mimic all the properties (formal and interpretive) of VP-Ellipsis in English (McCloskey (1991)). In the context of the head-movement analysis, it can be understood as ellipsis of the complement of the functional head to which V raises (that is, ellipsis, of XP in (3d)). On this view, the finite verb ‘survives’ ellipsis because it has raised out of the elided phrase prior to its elimination. And it, in turn then, functions as the required lexical licenser (head-governor) for the ellipsis (McCloskey (1991), Fiengo and May (1994), McCloskey (2003)). Similar ellipsis processes are attested in Modern Hebrew (Doron (1999), Sherman/Ussishkin (1998), Goldberg (2002, 2003)), Ndendeule (Ngonyani (1996)), Portuguese, and Gallego (Martins 1994, 2000). This analysis lets us understand the basic properties of the Irish construction and places it in a reasonable typological context. We can maintain that:

- (i) In English, main verbs do not raise and so never survive VP-ellipsis. In Irish, they do, and therefore survive ellipsis.
- (ii) In Irish, subjects do not raise out of the complement of F, and so do not survive VP-ellipsis.
- (iii) Irish, Hebrew and Ndendeule are alike with respect to the first property; Irish differs from Hebrew and Ndendeule only in the second property.

- (iv) In Irish, there is no raising of V in non-finite clauses and there is therefore no VP-ellipsis in non-finite clauses.

If we were to adopt a VP-fronting analysis of Irish VSO clauses, we would presumably say that what this ellipsis involves is elision of the complement of the head which attracts the VP-predicate. The relevant head on this analysis will be null, and so it is less clear how the ellipsis is licensed. But that is not an issue which we need dwell on here.

The crucial questions rather concern how this process applies in clauses with a nonverbal predicate.

To facilitate that discussion, let me begin by reviewing the basic properties of non-verbal predicational clauses (‘copular clauses’) in Irish. These structures have been the focus of a great deal of work: Stenson (1981): Chap. 3, Ó Sé (1987), Ó Sé (1990), Carnie (1995), Doherty (1996), Legate (1997), Carnie (1997), Doherty (1997a), DeGraff (1997), Doherty (1997b), Legate (1998), Carnie (2000), Adger and Ramchand (2003) They are exemplified in (4):

- (4) a Is comhartha go bhfuil muid pósta an mhalairt fáinní seo.  
 COP sign C are we married the exchange rings.GEN DEMON  
 “This exchange of rings is a sign that we are married.”
- b Is cosúil le taibhse é.  
 COP like with ghost him  
 “He is like a ghost.”
- c Is de bhunadh na h-Éireann í.  
 COP of people the.GEN Ireland.GEN her  
 “She is of Irish extraction.”

In the examples of (4), one can see an NP-predicate, an AP-predicate, and a PP-predicate respectively, preceded by the element *is*, which in the Irish grammatical tradition is known as the ‘copula’. This element must be distinguished from the substantive verb *bí*—very similar to the verb *be* in English—whose morphosyntax is fully verbal and whose syntax, on the surface at least, is very different indeed from that of (4):

- (5) Tá Eoghnaí thíos ar an tráigh.  
 be.PRES down on the beech  
 “Eoghnaí is down on the beach.”

Schematically, then, the structure we are concerned with is that in (6):

- (6) [ Cop XP DP ]

where XP can be any of NP, AP, or PP, and DP appears in the accusative (or common) case.<sup>1</sup> In semantic terms, the property denoted by XP is predicated of the entity denoted by DP (abstracting away from numerous complexities).

A thread which runs through almost all discussion of the syntax of (6) is the idea that the copula itself is an instance of the category T—the inflectional head which provides a specification of Tense and Mood for the sentence (or at least that it occupies the T-position by the end of the derivation). This analysis makes sense of the fact that the copula shows the same tense distinctions (present versus past) as other plausible candidates for the T-position such as preverbal tense-markers, and furthermore that there are many varieties in which the past tense form of the copula is identical to the more general past tense marker (in the Irish of Clear Island, County Cork, for instance):

- (7) a do cheart dúinn guí chun Dé  
 PAST right to-us pray.NON-FIN to God  
 “We should pray to God.” Ó Buachalla (2003): 85
- b do mhairbh sé é  
 PAST kill he it  
 “He killed it.” Ó Buachalla (2003): 69

The copula seems also to be distinct from other left-peripheral heads, such as complementizers and the markers of negation (although see Carnie (1995) for a different view). The syntactic facts here are obscured by certain morphophonological processes which tend to fuse these prosodically insubstantial elements together in many circumstances. However, it is not difficult to find contexts in many dialects in which the copula is clearly distinguished from such elements (see (8)–(12)) and in these cases, the copula always appears to the right of elements from

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<sup>1</sup> Two cautionary notes: First: it is sometimes claimed that only NP is productive in the XP slot of (6), and that the AP-type is lexically and idiosyncratically restricted. I do not know what the empirical basis for this claim is. A quick search of a data-base of attested examples turned up 64 different adjectives in the construction in (6). Second: I follow custom in assuming that nominal predicates are of category NP. This is not obviously consistent with the existence of examples like (i) and (ii):

- (i) Ní aon bhligéardaithe iad  
 NEG+COP any blackguards them  
 “They are no blackguards.” LG 4
- (ii) Is dhá rud éagsúla iad.  
 COP two thing different -PL them  
 “They are two different things.” Doherty (1997b): 139

Probably what needs to be said is that XP of (6) must be of type  $\langle e,t \rangle$  and that this requirement is consistent with the appearance of some, but not all, of the functional structure in the syntactic space between N and D.



For these structures, the natural assumption is that the adjective in question takes a single (clausal) argument as its complement (a conclusion which will be of some importance at a later point in the discussion).

The examples in (14) alternate with those in (15), in which a dummy pronoun appears to occupy the DP-position of (13) and in which the clausal argument appears in absolute right-peripheral position:

- (15) a Is cinnte é go bhfuil an fear leigheasta.  
 COP certain it C is the man cured  
 “It is certain that the man is cured.”
- b Is breá é éisteacht le máistrí léinn  
 COP fine it listen.NON-FIN with masters learning GEN  
 “It’s nice to listen to masters of learning.” AG 115

The alternation in (14)/(15) raises a number of interesting and complex questions having to do with the status of the EPP and the status of expletives in Irish. For our immediate purposes, these questions need not be resolved. We will see evidence at a later point in the paper for the complement status of the CP-arguments in (14).

With this much as background, let us return to the basic question raised earlier—how does the ellipsis process of (3d) apply in the case of predicative copular clauses? The answer is that it applies differently depending on the category of the predicate (Ó Siadhail (1973): 149–150, Ó Siadhail (1989): 245–249, Ó Baoill (1996): 60–63, and especially Ó Searcaigh (1939): 266–270).

Consider first the case of AP-predicates. The pattern we see here is the one illustrated in (16):

- (16) a An cosúil le taibhse é?  
 INTERR.COP like with ghost him  
 “Is he like a ghost?”
- b Is cosúil.  
 COP like  
 “He is.”
- c \*Is cosúil le taibhse.  
 COP like with ghost  
 “He is.”

- (17) a Ná-r cheart do Mháire a bheith ann  
 C.NEG-PAST right to Máire be.NON-FIN there  
 “Shouldn’t Máire be present?”
- b Cha-r cheart  
 NEG-PAST right  
 “She shouldn’t.” Ó Baoill (1996): 61
- c \*Cha-r cheart dithe.  
 NEG-PAST right to-her  
 “She shouldn’t.”
- (18) a An fíor go rabh cás cúirte le déanaí agat?  
 INTERR+COP true C was case court.GEN recently at-you  
 “Is it true that you were recently involved in a court case?”
- b Is fíor.  
 COP true  
 “It is.” D 216
- (19) a An ionann agus teip é?  
 INTERR+COP identical as failure it  
 “Is it tantamount to a failure?”
- b Ní h-ionann.  
 NEG.COP identical  
 “It isn’t.”
- c \*Ní h-ionann agus teip.  
 NEG.COP identical as failure  
 “It isn’t.”

What is important about (16)–(19) is that the pattern observed is essentially that found with finite verbs—the adjective alone (the head) may and must survive ellipsis. The larger predicate (the head along with its arguments and adjuncts) cannot survive.

Nominal predicates behave differently. The question in (20) can be answered as in (21a), but not as in (21b) or (21c).

- (20) An duine de na fearaibh é?  
 INTERR-COP person of the men him  
 “Is he one of the men?”

- (21) a Is ea.  
COP  
“He is.”
- b \*Is duine.  
COP person  
“He is.”
- c \*Is duine de na fearaibh.  
COP person of the men  
“He is.”

The element *ea* in the grammatical (21a) (pronounced variously [a], [e:], [əw] or [əɣ] and spelled either with or without a final *-dh*) is an invariant element whose only function is to support the copula prosodically if it otherwise would have nothing to be dependent on. It also appears, for instance, when the predicative XP undergoes  $\bar{A}$ -movement:

- (22) a Cumadóir ceoil is ea – é  
composer music.GEN C+COP him  
“It’s a composer of music that he is.”
- b ó Chorcaigh is ea – iad  
from Cork C+COP them  
“It’s from Cork that they are.” Ó Buachalla (2003): 84
- c linne is ea – an tigh seo feasta  
with-us C+COP the house DEMON from-now-on  
“It’s to us that this house belongs from now on.” Ó Buachalla (2003): 84
- d de-n RIC a -b ea – cuid mhaith de s-na hoifigh  
of-the RIC C COP.PAST proportion good of the officers  
“It was to the RIC that a large proportion of the officers belonged.” UIMH 4

The crucial contrast between adjectival and nominal predicates then is this: when ellipsis applies to an adjectival predicate, the head and the head alone survives (it both can and must survive). When ellipsis applies to a nominal predicate, nothing survives, not even the head.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> In certain conservative varieties of Cork and Donegal, nouns pattern with adjectives in this respect:

(i) an fil’ é seo athá anseo? Is fil’  
COP.INTERR poet this-one C-be.PRES here COP poet  
“Is this person that is here a poet? He is.” LSUE 287

The facts about PP predicates are more complex, in ways that I do not fully understand at present. They exhibit both of the patterns seen above (see Ó Searcaigh (1939): §381, §383, Ó Siadhail (1989): 246–247, Ó Baoill (1996): 60–62). The ‘nominal pattern’ (in which the head does not survive ellipsis and invariant *ea* provides prosodic support for the copula) is available, as illustrated in (23):

- (23) a An leob an capall bán sin? ’S eadh, go cinnte.  
 COP.INTERR with-them the horse white DEMON COP certainly  
 “Does that white horse belong to them? It certainly does” PCF 161
- b An as Éirinn thusa? Is ea, cinnte.  
 COP.INTERR from Ireland you COP certainly  
 “Are you from Ireland? I certainly am” CM 25

In other cases, however, PP-predicates behave like adjectives, in that the bare preposition (in its agreeing form if it is an agreeing preposition) survives the ellipsis process:

- (24) a an ndeir tú liom go mb’ as Inis Gé Sail Óg Rua?  
 INTERR say you to-me C COP.PAST from  
 “Are you telling me that Sail Óg Rua was from Inis Gé?”
- b B’ as cinnte.  
 COP.PAST from-it certainly  
 “She certainly was.” FCME 39
- c An mar a chéile iad? Is mar.  
 INTERR like each-other them COP like  
 “Are they the same? They are.”

Interpreting these facts is made difficult by a number of complicating factors—the prosodic lightness of many prepositions, the syntactic status of agreeing prepositions, the possibility that many apparently prepositional predicates may in fact be null-headed nominal predicates (see (4c), for example). But the minimal contrast between (23b) and (24b) suggests strongly that for PP-predicates, at least in a range of cases, two patterns are systematically available—the nominal pattern, in which the head does not survive ellipsis and the copula is supported by invariant *ea* (as in (21)), and the adjectival-verbal pattern, in which the head of

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This pattern of variation suggests that the noun-adjective contrast seen in most varieties is not a deep one. For the varieties which have (i), the argumentation in the main text extends to nominal predicates.

the predicate, and the head alone, survives ellipsis. The discussion of Ó Baoill (1996): 60–62 suggests the same conclusion, in that both answer-types are cited systematically there for examples involving PP-predicates).

How should these patterns be understood? Let us temporarily set aside the more complex case of prepositional predicates, and concentrate initially on the contrast between adjectives and nouns. The conclusion in this case must be, it seems, that adjectives occupy a position which is sufficiently high that they are outside the constituent targeted by the ellipsis process (XP of (3d)). Complements of the adjectival head, however, must remain within that constituent. Given our general framework of assumptions, it seems to follow in turn that the heads of predicative AP's must undergo raising. To account for the contrast between (16b) and (16c) (similarly (19b), (19c)), it is crucial that this raising be head movement rather than phrasal movement. The natural conclusion seems to be that adjectives (like verbs) raise to the functional head position which licenses ellipsis (F of (3d)). This is illustrated roughly in (25):



where we can assume that F is T, and that the boxed XP is the target of ellipsis, containing in turn the AP-predicate as a subpart. It is hardly a great surprise that verbs and adjectives should pattern alike in such respects, given other well-known patterns of similarity between the two categories.

Nouns, by contrast, must occupy a position low enough that they are trapped (with their syntactic dependents) within the elided constituent and so do not survive. Hence they are not subject to the head-raising requirement that adjectives are subject to.

This distinction between adjectival and nominal predicates is supported by a further contrast having to do with coordination patterns. Consider (26):

- (26) a Is ceart agus is cóir teacht i gcabhair ar do chomharsa.  
 COP right and COP proper come.NON-FIN in aid on your neighbor  
 “It is right and proper to help one’s neighbor.”
- b \*Is ceart agus cóir teacht i gcabhair ar do chomharsa.
- c \*Is cosúil le taibhse agus éagosúil le duine saolta é.  
 COP like with ghost and unlike with person living him  
 “He is like a ghost and unlike a living being.”

Adjectival heads may not be coordinated independent of the copula. Rather the copula must appear attached to both heads. This I take to be a reflection of the

general requirement that an element may not be coordinated independent of its morphophonological dependents (a reflection in turn ultimately of the Coordinate Structure Constraint). Exactly similar facts hold for verbs:

- (27) a Deir siad gu-r cheannaigh agus gu-r dhíol siad na tithe.  
 say they C-PAST bought and C-PAST sold they the houses  
 “They say that they bought and sold the houses.”
- b \*Deir siad gu-r cheannaigh agus dhíol siad na tithe.

Once again, nominal predicates exhibit different behavior:

- (28) Is cumadóir ceoil agus scríobhnoir nótálta é.  
 COP composer music.GEN and writer noted him  
 “He is a composer of music and a noted writer.”

These observations can be understood in the same terms as those involving ellipsis. If AP-predicates are subject to a requirement that their head must raise and incorporate into a higher functional head, then (26b) is impossible because either no such raising has applied, or else raising has applied from the left conjunct only, in violation of the Coordinate Structure Constraint. For (26a) the best we can do at present is to assume a derivation in terms of Right Node Raising of the complement CP. Whether or not that turns out ultimately to be adequate, the important point for present purposes is the contrast between (26b) and (28), and the more general point that the impossibility of (26b) reflects the general requirement that coordinated elements must bring with them to the coordination all of their phonological dependents.

For nominal predicates, there is no raising requirement and so (28) is possible (in contrast to (26b) and to (27b)).

To account for this pair of contrasts, then, we need to assume that, despite the fact that both AP-predicates and NP-predicates appear in initial position, there is a subtle difference between them. The head of AP, but not the head of NP, undergoes a further raising. The landing site for this movement seems to be indistinguishable from the landing site of the finite verb, since, with respect to the phenomena we are dealing with, raised adjectives pattern identically with raised verbs.

If we assume, as is common, that the head-position to which verbs raise is T, then we have the patterns schematized in (29):

- (29)  $[TP\ T\ [AP\ A\ \dots]] \implies [TP\ T+A\ [AP\ \emptyset\ \dots]]$   
 $[TP\ T\ [NP\ N\ \dots]] \implies [TP\ T\ [NP\ N\ \dots]]$

For PP-predicates, we will assume that head-incorporation is optional:<sup>4</sup>

$$(30) \quad \begin{array}{l} [\text{TP T} [\text{PP P} \dots]] \implies [\text{TP T+P} [\text{PP } \emptyset \dots]] \\ [\text{TP T} [\text{PP P} \dots]] \implies [\text{TP T} [\text{PP P} \dots]] \end{array}$$

When incorporation does not apply but ellipsis does, *ea* is inserted before the ellipsis-site (or trace), by way of mechanisms that seem to be identical to the last-resort mechanism which inserts *do* under similar circumstances in English. That is, the Irish paradigm in (32) emerges as being point for point analogous to the English paradigm in (31), the supporting element (*ea* in Irish, *do* in English) inserted only before an ellipsis-site or a trace ((31c,e), (32c,e)), and only when head raising does not apply ((31h), (32h)).

- (31) a She applied for the position.  
 b \*She did apply for the position.  
 c She did [VP ...].  
 d \*She [VP ...].  
 e ... and open the door she did [VP ...].  
 f \*... and open the door she [VP ...].  
 g She is [VP - [AP very competent]].  
 h She is.

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<sup>4</sup> Heidi Harley notes an intriguing possible connection between the optionality of preposition-incorporation in these cases in Irish and the optionality of particle movement in English (*write your solution up on your own/write up your solution on your own*), which might well also involve, as she points out, optional incorporation of a preposition.

- (32) a Is cumadóir ceoil é.  
 COP composer music.GEN him  
 “He is a composer of music.”
- b \*Is ea cumadóir ceoil é.  
 COP composer music.GEN him
- c Is ea [NP ...].  
 COP  
 “He is.”
- d \*Is [NP ...].  
 COP
- e cumadóir ceoil is ea [NP ] é.  
 composer music.GEN COP  
 “It’s a composer of music that he is.”
- f \*cumadóir ceoil is [NP ] é.  
 composer music.GEN COP  
 “It’s a composer of music that he is.”
- g Is cosúil le taibhse é.  
 COP like with ghost him  
 “He is like a ghost.”
- h Is cosúil [AP ...].  
 COP like  
 “He is.”

This seems like a reasonably coherent account of a rather complex body of observation.

It follows from this conclusion in turn, though, that predicate-fronting, even if extended to the case of VP, cannot provide a complete account of VSO order in finite clauses. What we have just established is that the position occupied by initial phrasal predicates is not such that it can, without further elaboration, provide an understanding of the crucial patterns of ellipsis and coordination. The further elaboration required seems to be head-movement—raising of an adjectival or verbal head to a higher inflectional position.

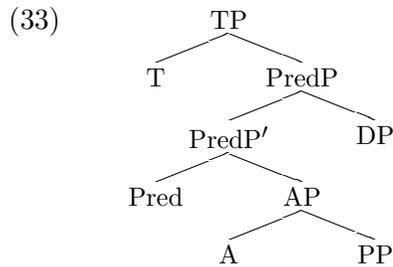
When we get to this point, though, it is not clear what explanatory role the hypothesis of VP-fronting might have, since the real burden of explaining verb-initial order in finite clauses is born not by the hypothesis of XP-fronting, but

rather by the hypothesis of head movement. The origin-site of that movement could just have easily have been the base position of V as its position within a fronted VP.

### 3. The Positioning of Initial Predicates

We can go a little farther in the deductive process. Say we accept the conclusion from the preceding section that V, A, and P undergo head-movement to an initial position in finite clauses—the first two obligatorily, the last optionally. It follows that the origin-site and the landing-site of that movement must be in such a relation that head-movement will be legal. Under what conditions will this be true?

One existing proposal which is fully consistent with the observations of the first half of the paper is the original proposal by Doherty (Doherty (1996), withdrawn in later work) that there is no predicate fronting in these structures, but rather that the ‘subject’ DP occupies a rightward specifier. A simple version of this proposal would assume the structure in (33) for a case of AP-predication<sup>5</sup>:



The head-movements that must be postulated here are movement from A to Pred, and from Pred to T—all of a very routine and well-attested type. Ellipsis is ellipsis of the complement of T, (or perhaps of the complement of Pred<sup>6</sup>), licensed in turn by the presence of appropriate lexical material in T. Pred might well be the position into which the invariant element *ea* is inserted when it is needed to license ellipsis or a trace of  $\bar{A}$ -movement.

And given (33), the command relations are straightforwardly as they ought to be (as observed originally in Doherty (1996)). This is illustrated for Condition

<sup>5</sup> I will set aside for the moment the possibility that there is raising from the most prominent position within the lexical projection to the specifier of PredP. For some relevant observations, see (14) above.

<sup>6</sup> On this alternative, licensing of the ellipsis will work as in an English case like (i):  
 (i) She will apply for the senior position. Will she?

A effects in (34) and for Condition C effects in (35).<sup>7</sup>

- (34) a ba            cuid d- á chéile    sinn  
           COP.PAST part of each-other us  
           ‘‘We were part of each other.’’    AO 82
- b Ba            gar d- á chéile    na bailteacha.  
           COP.PAST close to each-other the towns  
           ‘‘The towns were close to each other.’’    STL 216
- c ba            chomharsain mhaithe dh- á chéile    iad  
           COP.PAST neighbors good to each-other them  
           ‘‘They were good neighbors to each other.’’    BOM 4
- (35) a Is    gar i ngaol dá    chomharsa béal dorais Eoghnaí.  
           COP close in kinship to-his neighbor next-door  
           ‘‘Eoghnaí is closely related to his next-door neighbor.’’
- b \*Is    gar i ngaol do chomharsa béal dorais Eoghnaí é.  
           COP close in kinship to neighbor next-door            him  
           ‘‘He<sub>j</sub> is closely related to Eoghnaí<sub>j</sub>s next-door neighbor.’’

Although I know of no considerations internal to Irish which tell against this proposal, work on Irish predicational structures since Doherty (1996) has been unanimous in assuming that it is wrong. The consensus has been rather that the initial position of XP-predicates is to be accounted for in terms of predicate fronting of one kind or another. The objection normally raised against (33) is that it involves the postulation of a rightward specifier, something which is widely thought to be at odds with typological expectation and with the effort to develop restrictive theories of phrase structure and constituent ordering.

It is not clear to me how much weight to give these considerations (the matter seems to me to be far from clear), and the observations just reviewed about head movement provide, I think, additional cause for worry. If we postulate predicate-fronting, then to accommodate the additional head-raising just documented, we must allow for the possibility of head-movement from an origin point within an XP that has previously undergone movement. This would in principle allow an operation, for example, raising the head of a WH-phrase in the specifier of CP to some higher head-position. If that kind of option is ruled out in principle (and this hardly seems unlikely), we are thrown back to Doherty’s original proposal (33).

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<sup>7</sup> I use reciprocals alone to illustrate the effects of Binding Condition A, because the existence of emphatic and logophoric readings for reflexives raises issues which are very tricky to sort out.

But say we accept for purposes of argument the consensus view that there are no right-specifiers. We are now assuming that the initial position of phrasal predicates is a consequence of predicate-fronting of some kind. On this view, (34) and (35) will be understood in terms of the mechanisms of reconstruction (Carnie (1995), Legate (1997), Carnie (2000): esp. fn. 29), or perhaps by postulation of a subject trace within the fronted predicate, as in Huang (1993).

With respect to head-movement, the crucial thing is that the operation of predicate fronting must place fronted predicative phrases in a position from which movement of the head to a higher head-position will be legal. This consideration places severe restrictions on the range of analytical options that are available. It had better not be the case, for instance, that the fronted XP land in a position which would define it as an island. Head-movement across island-boundaries produces severe ungrammaticality, as witnessed, for instance, by the Topic Island violations in the English examples of (36):

- (36) a \*Might this dish she like?  
 b \*Might on Saturday the Prime Minister resign?

It follows, then, that predicate fronting cannot be an adjunction, since adjunction of XP to YP is known to define XP at least as an island.

That leaves two options (see the papers by Oda, Holmer, and Otsuka in the present volume)—either predicate fronting is movement into a head position, or else it is movement into a specifier position. The first of these two options is pursued in Carnie (1995, 1997, 2000) (though withdrawn in more recent work). The second option has been widely adopted for Irish (Doherty (1997a), Legate (1997), Lee (2000), Massam (2000), Rackowski and Travis (2000)) and for very similar data in Scots Gaelic by Adger and Ramchand (2003). The corresponding hypothesis is widely adopted in the literature on predicate-fronting in verb-initial languages more generally (see, for instance Massam 2000, 2001, Lee 2000, Rackowski and Travis 2000)). This option is most usually associated with the idea that the movement in question is driven by the EPP, and that it therefore targets the specifier of TP. Much of this discussion has, in fact, been framed within a larger set of speculations about the nature of the EPP, and about modes of satisfaction of the EPP.

But at this point we have a dilemma. Further head-movement of the kind documented in the first part of this paper should not be possible from a starting point within the specifier of TP. A phrase in the specifier of TP is neither a complement nor (in the general case) the specifier of the complement of an L-marking (L-related) head. That phrase should therefore be a barrier (an island), and head movement originating from a position within it should be severely degraded

(Baker (1988), Lightfoot and Hornstein (1994), Koopman (1994), Uriagereka (1994)).<sup>8</sup>

In fact the general evidence suggests that the fronted predicate in Irish is not an island.<sup>9</sup> Nominal projections and PP's are opaque to movement in a general way in Irish (McCloskey (1979)) and so NP and PP predicates are unrevealing in the investigation of islandhood in copular structures. No such difficulties obtain in the case of AP, though, and we can point to examples like (37), involving lefting of the complement of an AP-predicate:

- (37) Is liomsa is cosúil – é.  
 COP with-me C.COP like him  
 “It’s me that he’s like.”

The other experiment which can usefully be run involves unaccusative adjectives which take CP-complements (cases like (14) above). These easily allow WH-movement from their complements, as is shown in (38). In (38a,b), the copula clause is in the matrix and its adjectival head in turn embeds a finite complement. In (38c) the copular clause is itself the complement of a bridge verb and its head selects a nonfinite clause. Note that all three examples exhibit the much-discussed successive-cyclic complementizer alternations which are the distinctive signature of WH-movement in Irish.

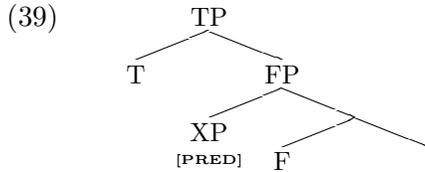
- (38) a an rud a ba chinnte a rachadh t ar sochar dúinn  
 the thing C COP.PAST certain C go COND on benefit to-us  
 “the thing that was certain to benefit us” ACO 179
- b údar is deimhin a thaitneodh t liom  
 author C+COP certain C please COND with-me  
 “an author that it is certain I would like” MCS 53
- c an t-aon rud a shíl sé féin a b’ fhiú t a innse  
 the one thing C thought he-himself C COP.PAST worth tell.NON-FIN  
 “the one thing that he himself thought was worth telling” SB 10

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<sup>8</sup> Uriagereka (1988,1994) discusses a case in Galician in which D cliticizes from the subject of an embedded TP or small clause onto a governing perception verb, but crucially not to a governing complementizer. The analysis is that the perception verb directly selects TP, rendering its specifier transparent. C, not being L-related has no such effect.

<sup>9</sup> See Chung’s paper in the present volume (especially section 3.2) for a larger discussion of this general issue.

The likelihood seems to be, then, that predicate fronting must target a specifier-position below T:



In the structure in (39) XP will not be an island (in virtue of its relation with the L-related head T), and T will be the target for the head movements discussed in the first half of the paper.

But if this much is correct, then predicate-fronting is not EPP-driven, and questions arise about the nature and identity of the category F in (39).<sup>10</sup>

These observations also raise difficulties for the third option considered above—namely that predicate fronting involves adjunction of a phrase to a head. To allow the additional head movement argued for in the first part of the paper in the context of this proposal, one must countenance excorporation. However, the principal arguments in favor of this kind of proposal (see especially Carnie (1995) and Carnie (2000)) involve observations suggesting that the material within the fronted predicate is inert for further syntactic operations (because trapped within a word or word-like syntactic object). The observations about syntactic transparency in (37) and (38) above are clearly also a difficulty for this view.<sup>11</sup>

The point we are brought to then, is this.

Along one analytical path, we assume no predicate fronting for Irish at all (for verbal or for non-verbal predicates). Rather, we assume a rightward specifier

<sup>10</sup> See Carnie (2000): 71–73 for additional arguments against the idea that predicates front to the specifier of TP.

<sup>11</sup> We are left then with the challenge of accounting for the evidence that Carnie has adduced in favor of the head-adjunction proposal (see Carnie (2000): 73–81). There are two principal arguments. The first is that predicates are islands for extraction in a very strong sense—in that they disallow not just movement out but even binding in (binding of a resumptive). We have just seen, though, that AP-predicates at least are not islands for movement. NP-predicates largely disallow movement, but binding of a resumptive into a nominal predicate is at least sometimes possible:

(i) fear ar col ceathrar dó mo mháthair  
 man C.Cop cousin to-him my mother  
 “a man to whom my mother is a cousin”

The example upon which Carnie’s argument is primarily based—Carnie (2000): (30b) p. 76—is indeed very ungrammatical, but it involves a number of complicating factors, only some of which I understand. The second argument is based on the ellipsis phenomenon dealt with in some detail in the first half of the paper. Carnie has re-thought the proposals in more recent work.

at least for non-verbal predicates, as in (39). The word order facts, the binding facts, and the head-movement facts fall into place with no additional assumptions or machinery. The possibility now arises that verbal predicates have rightward specifiers also. Since it is known that subjects of verbal clauses raise out of VP in Irish in the general case (McCloskey (1996), McCloskey (2001)), the question of what their base-position is is not determinable by simple inspection. Following this path, the question of how initial predicates might be related to verb-initial order becomes the question of why verb-initial languages might tend to have rightward specifiers. In a certain sense, of course, the question is trivial, If there is verb-raising to T, and if T has its specifier on the right, then what we have is a verb-initial, subject-final language.

Along the other analytical path, predicates front, but not to the specifier of TP, and probably not under EPP-pressure. An idea one could pursue (following suggestions made by Diane Massam during discussion at the Tucson workshop) is that there is a quite general requirement (or tendency) for predicative XP's to front to a position to the left of, and above, their subjects. The problem of how to ensure that everything but V evacuates VP remains unsolved (as far as I can tell) and, since we still need to appeal to head movement to deal with the facts considered in the present paper, the role of predicate fronting in accounting for verb (and adjective) initial order is diminished. Finally, if this path is pursued, then the kind of head movement which must be postulated to handle the ellipsis and coordination patterns dealt with in the present paper is of dubious legitimacy.

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