Irish Clausal Constituent Structure

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1. Introduction

Irish is a VSO language as shown in (1).

(1)   Chonaic Máire   an cat
       see   Mary   the cat
          "Mary saw the cat."

Consistent with this surface ordering, McCloskey (1980), among others, proposes that Irish clauses have the flat structure representation in (2).

(2)

              S
             / | \
           V NP NP

In this paper I demonstrate that (2) is insufficiently rich and that Irish is underlyingly SVO with a VP constituent formed between the verb and its internal arguments. Evidence for this claim is based largely on a consideration of the progressive and infinitival constructions.

2. Evidence for a VP

McCloskey (1983) shows that Irish has surface VPs. The progressive contains a verb-like element and direct object that pass all tests for constituent status. This construction in its simple form is illustrated in (3).

(3)   Tá mé [ag togail an   ti]
      be-pres I   particle building the house-gen
         "I am building the house."

As indicated in (4), this construction can be the focus of a cleft.

(4)   Is [ag togail an teach] a   bhiodh   me
      cop Prt building the house rel. particle be-cond   I
        "It is building the house that I would be."

The right to be the focus of a cleft in Irish is reserved exclusively for constituents. Similarly, the progresseive construction may be the focus of an "only" construction. This too is a status that is reserved for constituents.

(5)   Ni raibh siad ach [ag togail   an ti]
      neg be-past they but particle building the house-gen.
         "They were only building the house."

This last test also shows that the progressive construction is a maximal category since the focus of an "only" construction must be phrasal.

(6)   Ní   fhaca   mé   tiúir   ach   fear
       Neg-prt see-past   I   three   but   man
                    *I saw three only men."

(7), then, is the suggested representation of these verb phrases.

(7)
```
                        [+V]"
                        /\
                          [+V]'
                          /\
                    [+V]    NP
                          (object)
```

The specification [+V] is adopted on analogy with English. At the same time, Irish participial constructions also possess some noun-like qualities (such as the ability to assign genitive case) and thus cannot bear the feature [-N] that is normally associated with verbal categories. These verb forms, traditionally termed *verbal nouns*, also occur in a wider variety of enviroments (tenseless clauses, for example) than the English -*en* participle. Their unifying characteristics are that they are morphologically derived[1] from tensed verb forms and do not assign accusative case but instead assign some form of inherent case such as genitive (Belletti, 1988).
    As noted, verbal noun forms occur in non-finite clauses.

(8)   ba   maith   liom   [PRO a   thogail   an   ti]
       would   good   with-me   particle building   the   house-gen.
                    "I would like to build the house."

Assuming that finite and non-finite clauses do not differ in their underlying argument structure[2], we can conclude that Irish tensed clauses contain a VP underlyingly

(9)
```
                        VP
                        /\
                          V'
                          /\
                        V   (NP)
```
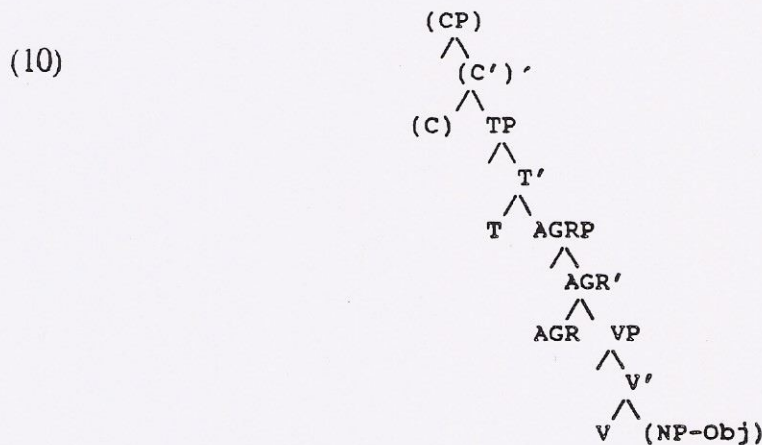
Note that (9), unlike (2), is consistent with, and follows from, an X' schema.

3. Constituent Structure

    I assume after Pollock (1989), that a VP in a tensed clause is dominated by a complementizer phrase (CP), tense phrase (TP) and agreement phrase (AGRP). I also assume that Irish is strictly head initial (McCloskey and Hale, 1984). (10) accordingly is proposed D-structure representation of an Irish clause.

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[1] They are not morphologically regular, however, and must be derived elsewhere than in the syntax.

[2] Presumably the difference between tensed and infinitival clauses has nothing to do with the basic ordering of arguments and is instead the result of a difference in functional categories. For present purposes I will assume this difference to be the presence vs. absence of a Tense Phrase and that selection of a VP in finite clauses and a [+V] or verbal noun form in infinitives is lexically determined.

- 4 -

(10)

```
                              (CP)
                              /\
                            (C')'
                            /\
                        (C)  TP
                            /\
                           T'
                          /\
                         T  AGRP
                           /\
                         AGR'
                         /\
                      AGR  VP
                          /\
                          V'
                         /\
                        V  (NP-Obj)
```

Before discussing variations in surface order I first consider the D-structure positioning of other clausal elements.

3.1. Irish Preverbal Particles

Irish has a set of preverbal particles that indicate concepts such as "indicative, "interrogative" and "negative". These are summarized in the following chart (L=lenites; N=eclipse mutation).

	Indicative	Interrogative	Negative	Neg/Interr.
Pres/Fut	O/Is	anN	n´lL	nachN
Past	doL/baL	arN	níorL	nachN

McCloskey (1978) assumes that preverbal particles are some instantiation of COMP as they are often phonologically incorporated into a complementizer.

(11)   eg Neg-that = Nach

(12)   Ní   raibh   mé   abhaile
         prt-neg be-past   I   home
                    "I was not home."

(13)   Duirt se   nach   raibh   sé   abhaile
         said   he   that-neg be-past   he   home
                    "He said that he was not home."

Past tense wh-constructions, however, provide evidence that complementizers and particles are not in complementary distribution and hence not of the same structural category.

(14)   Cad   a   d'   ith   sé
         what   COMP prt-past eat   he
                    "What did he eat?"

This is paralleled by the copula construction which is usually, although not always, phonologically identical to the particle. In the copula construction, the copula is often incorporated into the complementizer (16-17) but under certain circumstances (18) the two are kept separate.
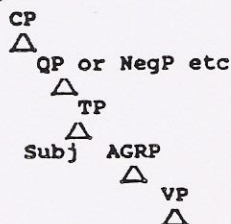
(16)   go + Copula = gur   ,

(17)   Deir   sé   gur   maith   an   fear   é
            says   he   that-Cop good   the   man   he
            "He says that the man is good."

(18)   Go   b'   fheidir leat   é   a   dheanah
            COMP   prt   abilitiy with-you   it   prt   doing
            "I hope your are able to do it." (lit. "that the ability would be with
            you for its doing")

These constructions show that a complementizer and particle must be adjacent for
incorporation (Stetson (1981)) and that they are different lexical items. The structure in (19)
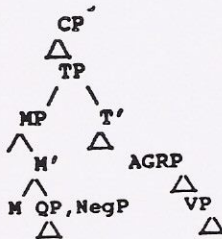accordingly is suggested.

(19)

```
                        CP
                       /\
              wh-word    C'
                        /\
                       C   TP
                     comp  /\
                        PRT  T'
                             /\
                            . . . .
```

At S-structure, wh-words are in spec of CP so that this position must be vacant at D-
structure. Complementizers presumably occur in complementizer position. Finally,
particles are assumed to occur in spec of TP[3] as this position is immediately adjacent to that
of a complementizer.

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[3] This appears to be a violation of X' theory. A tentative although as yet unsupported, solution is that the
fundemental difference between SVO and VSO languages is the occurrence of a Mood Phrase (MP). Whereas
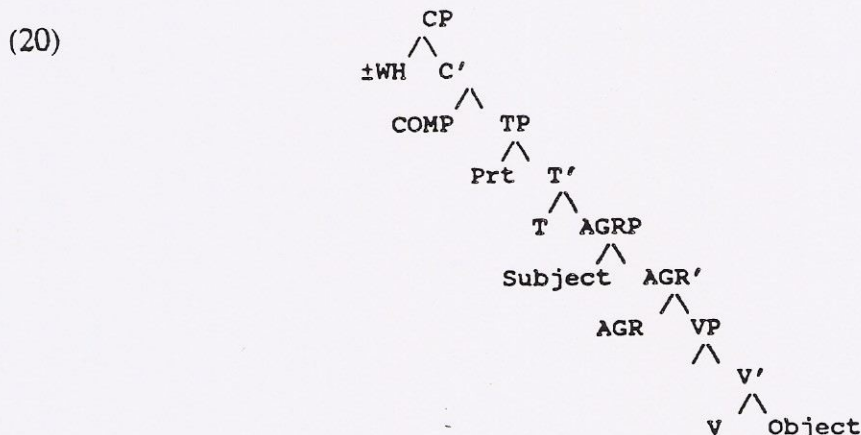English clause structure is represented (roughly) as

```
                        CP
                       /\
                         QP or NegP etc
                          /\
                            TP
                            /\
                       Subj   AGRP
                              /\
                                VP
                                /\
```

Irish, I suggest, has the following structure.

```
                        CP
                       /\
                        TP
                       / \
                     MP    T'
                    /\     /\
                   M'       AGRP
                  /\        /\
                 M QP,NegP    VP
                /\           /\
```

The reasoning here is simple: *mood* is always realized as one phonological morpheme, thus there is some
manner of morphological incorporation of the Neg and Q elements (and presumably other mood elements
such as Indicative (ba) and Imperative (as in the negative imperative particle Ná). This is allowed for under
the above structure. This structure is also consistent with X' theory and furthermore provides an explanation
for word order differences in VSO and SVO languages. I do not pursue this matter further at the present time
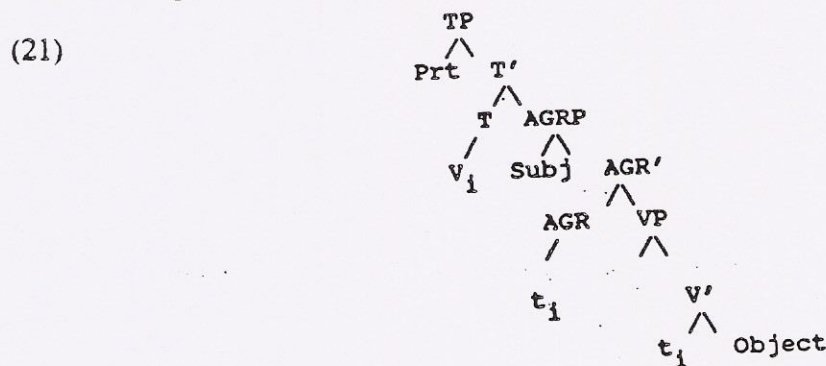
Considering subjects next, these are generally assumed to be generated in spec of AGRP (Pollock (1989)). Assuming that this also holds true of Irish[4], the D-structure representation in (10) is revised as (20).

(20)
```
                    CP
                   /\
               ±WH  C'
                   /\
               COMP  TP
                    /\
                 Prt  T'
                     /\
                   T  AGRP
                      /\
                Subject  AGR'
                        /\
                     AGR  VP
                         /\
                        V'
                       /\
                      V  Object
```

The surface ordering of arguments in Irish now follows in a way that is demonstrated below.

4. VSO Word Order

Irish, like French (Pollock (1989)), is apparently a [+verb movement] language.with verbs moving to T via AGR[5] as in (21).

(21)
```
                 TP
                /\
            Prt  T'
                /\
              T  AGRP
             /   /\
           V_i  Subj  AGR'
                     /\
                  AGR  VP
                 /     /\
               t_i    V'
                     /\
                    t_i  Object
```

---

but leave it as a subject for further research (PRT in this paper is intended as an abbreviation for whatever the particle's maximal projection might be and in this sense does not violate X' theory)

[4]The alternate place for generating the subject is in the specifier position of VP (actually V') as described in Fukui and Speas (1989). A complete analysis of the phenomena discussed in this paper is also possible under the assumptions made in this other work. For expository convenience, however, I will assume that subjects are generated in AGRP.

[5]This treatment bears a great deal of similarity to the currently accepted historical explanation of VSO ordering. Watkins (1963) posits a proto SVO or SOV ordering for Common Celtic. Enclitic preverbal particles in this language were inherited from Proto-Indo European and were fixed (as in all IE languages) in second position. Preverbal particles, on the other hand, were generally found in initial position.

$$\$ \quad P \quad E.........V \quad \$$$

These particles eventually became fused to the enclitics to give the following.

$$\$ \quad P - E.........V \quad \$$$

A general process of univerbation then took place with the verb and preverb becoming more closely linked. Since the enclitic was fixed in second position, the verb then underwent raising.
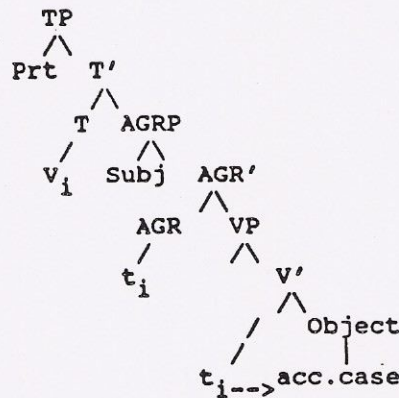
$$\$ \quad P - E \quad V.........\$$$

Historical raising here is reminiscent of the synchronic raising proposed in this paper.

Raising here is consistent with the fact that verbs bear inflectional (tense) and agreement morphology. Unlike French and English, however, Irish subjects cannot raise to spec of TP, either because this position is occupied by a preverbal particle at D-structure or because spec of TP is not a case postion, case assignment in Irish always being to the right (McCloskey (1989)). Nominative case, then, must be assigned rightwards from T so that verb-subject ordering is obtained. This analysis also allows for an account of the "verb phrase" effect found in progressive verb forms as these are derived from a VP at D-structure[6].
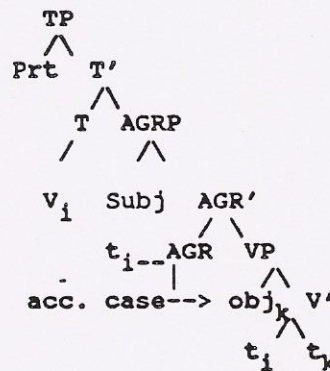
5. Direct Objects

Two possibilities exist concerning the positioning of Irish object noun phrases: i) they remain dominated by VP and are assigned accusative case by trace (22), or ii) they move to spec of VP and are governed by and receive accusative case from AGR[7] (23).

(22)
```
                              TP
                             /\
                          Prt   T'
                               /\
                              T   AGRP
                             /    /\
                           V_i  Subj  AGR'
                                     /\
                                  AGR   VP
                                  /    /\
                                t_i       V'
                                         /\
                                        /   Object
                                       /      |
                                    t_i-->acc.case
```

(23)
```
                              TP
                             /\
                          Prt   T'
                               /\
                              T   AGRP
                             /    /\
                           V_i  Subj  AGR'
                                 /     /\
                               t_i--AGR   VP
                                     |    /\
                             acc. case-->  obj_k  V'
                                                 /\
                                               t_i   t_k
```

Tensed clauses do not provide evidence in support of either hypothesis. A consideration of tenseless clauses in dialects other than the standard literary variety, however, suggests that (23) is essentially correct.

Unlike the standard literary dialect where the preferred word order within tenseless clauses is VO and objects are assigned genitive case (cf. (8) above), in other dialects the infinitive is characterized by OV ordering and accusative case assignment (O Siadhail (1989).
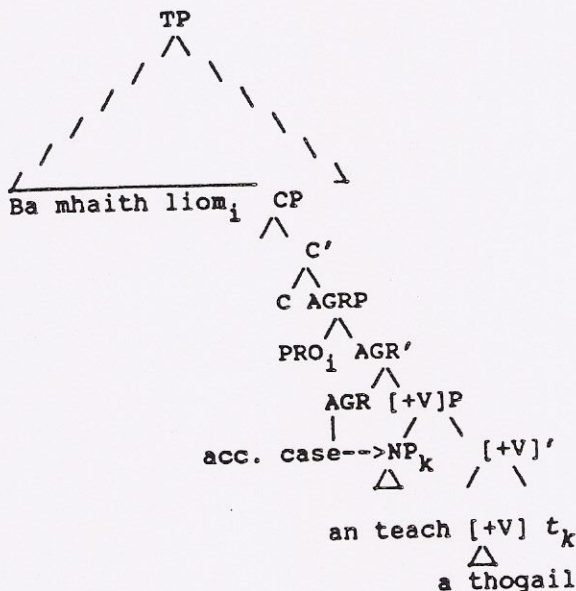
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[6]This construction is discussed further below.

[7]Presumably there is a third alternative where th object moves to spec of VP where it receives case from the trace of V in AGR. We can dismiss this possibility as there is no reason why the NP should move as the lower (VP dominated) trace could also assign case to the object.
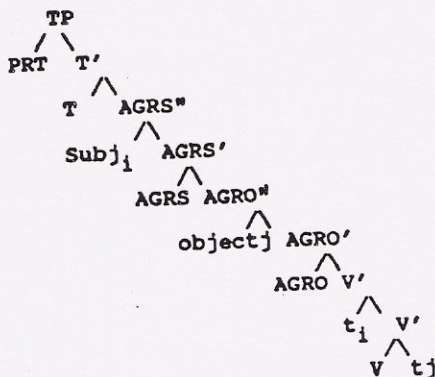
(24) Ba   mahaith   liom$_i$, [S   PRO$_i$ an teach   a   thogail]
     would good   with-me   the house   prt   building
                        "I would like to build the house".

Because the direct object precedes the verbal form (and this never occurs elsewhere), it is reasonable to assume that this position is derived. This is exactly the result that is predicted if an infinitival [+V] fails to assign structural case and the analysis in (23) is correct. Since the object NP cannot take case from the "verb", and since case is required in order for it to be realized, the NP must move into spec of VP where it is governed by and receives case from the AGR morpheme, there being no other position with a potential governor into which it could move[8].

(25)
```
                        TP
                     /  |  \
                   /    |    \
                 /      |      \
               /        |        \
             /          |          \
           /            |            \
         /_____|___          \
        Ba mhaith liom_i      CP        \
                              /\
                             /  \
                            /  C'
                           /   /\
                          /   /  \
                         /   C  AGRP
                        /      /\
                       /      /  \
                      /    PRO_i  AGR'
                     /           /\
                    /           /  \
                   /        AGR  [+V]P
                  /          |    / \
                 /           |   /   \
     acc. case-->NP_k       [+V]'
                   △        /  \
                           /    \
                     an teach [+V]  t_k
                            △
                        a thogail
```
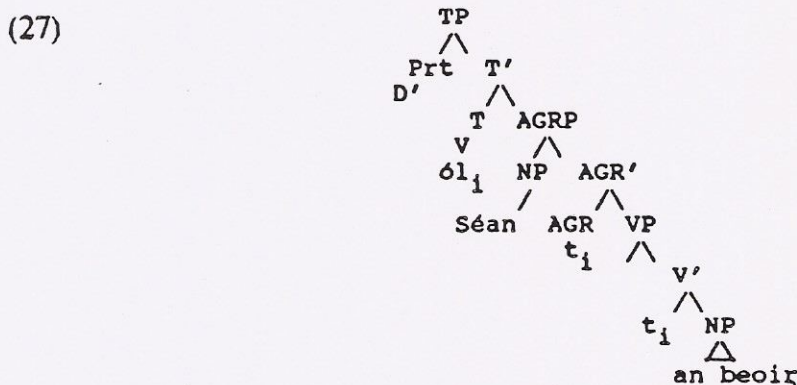
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[8]This analysis requires some revision is subjects are base generated in V˙ as proposed by Fukui and Speas (1989). In this case it is necessary to assume an additional maximal projection (an AGRO" - agreement object - as opposed to AGRS" - agreement subject) in order for the object to have a place to raise to.

```
            TP
           /  \
         PRT   T'
              /\
             /  \
            T   AGRS"
                /\
               /  \
           Subj_i  AGRS'
                   /\
                  /  \
               AGRS  AGRO"
                     /\
                    /  \
                objectj AGRO'
                       /\
                      /  \
                  AGRO   V'
                        /\
                       /  \
                     t_i   V'
                          /\
                         /  \
                        V   tj
```
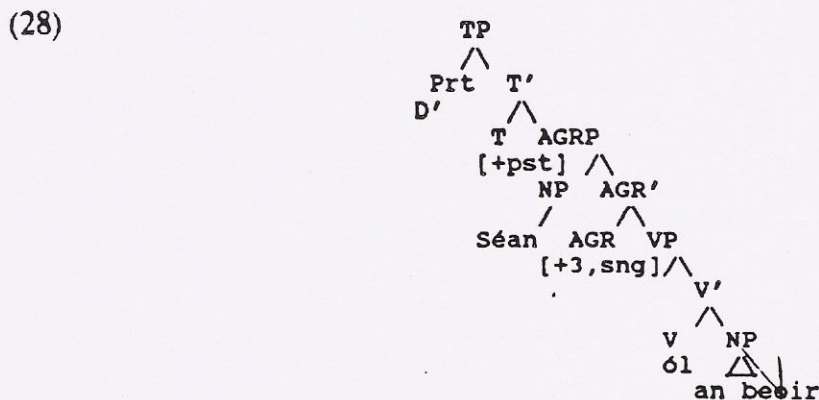
This is in keeping with many of the most recent proposals concerning clausal constituent structure although it is not entirely clear why the subject always raises to spec of AGRS and the object to spec of AGRO.

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It is important to note that accusative case assignment in these instances is not the result of exceptional case marking across a clausal boundary since OV ordering occurs with all matrix verbs and not just those that assign case exceptionally. Furthermore, accusative case is assigned even when there is an intervening CP complex that is expected to block exceptional case marking. To summarize, then, a basic two argument sentence such as (26) will have the D-structure representation in (27).
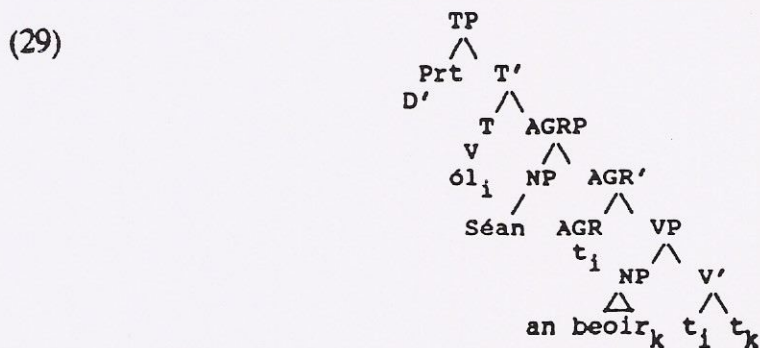
(26)   D'   ól   Séan   an   beoir
          prt-past   drink   Séan-nom   the   beer-acc
          "Séan drank the beer."

(27)

```
                        TP
                       /\
                    Prt   T'
                   D'    /\
                        T  AGRP
                        V   /\
                       ól_i NP  AGR'
                           /   /\
                        Séan  AGR  VP
                            t_i   /\
                                     V'
                                    /\
                                 t_i  NP
                                      /\
                                  an beoir
```

The verb obligatorily raises to AGR and then T

(28)

```
                        TP
                       /\
                    Prt   T'
                   D'    /\
                        T   AGRP
                     [+pst] /\
                          NP  AGR'
                         /   /\
                      Séan  AGR  VP
                          [+3,sng]/\
                                    V'
                                   /\
                                 V   NP
                                ól  /\
                                  an beoir
```

The direct object raises to spec of VP where it receives accusative case from AGR

(29)

```
                        TP
                       /\
                    Prt   T'
                   D'    /\
                        T   AGRP
                        V   /\
                      ól_i NP  AGR'
                          /   /\
                       Séan  AGR  VP
                           t_i   /\
                               NP   V'
                               /\   /\
                          an beoir_k t_i t_k
```

T assigns case to the subject NP which is in its base generated position so that VSO ordering is obtained.
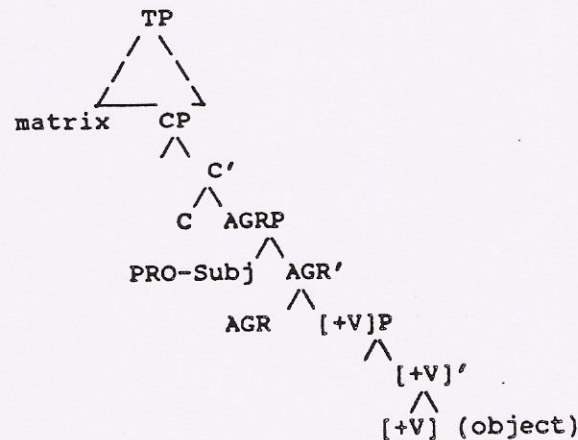
6. Other Constructions

Thus far I have shown that surface VSO word order is derived from an underlying SVO order as a result of such independently motivated mechanisms as move alpha, case assignment and the feature [+/- verb raising]. I will now show that word order in infinitival and progressive verb phrases also follows predictably from these same general assumptions.

6.1. Nontensed Clauses

Tensed and nontensed clauses in Irish presumably differ in that the latter, but not the former, fail to project a TP node.

(30)

```
                    TP
                  / ⟋ ⟍
                /  ⟋     ⟍
             matrix  CP
                    / \
                    C'
                   / \
                 C   AGRP
                    / \
              PRO-Subj  AGR'
                      / \
                    AGR  [+V]P
                         / \
                       [+V]'
                        / \
                     [+V] (object)
```

The absence of a TP node accounts for the fact that infinitives lack tense. A further prediction of this analysis is that "mood" particles should not occur in infinitival structures if, as assumed, these are generated in spec of TP. This prediction is in fact correct.[9]

As noted previously, word order in infinitival clauses is VO in the standard literary dialect and OV in less formal registers. In OV dialects, the object must move in order to receive accusative case from AGR. The verbal element itself does not move since it does not take inflection and instead remains in its D-structure position. Since there is no T node

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[9] There is one exception to the generalization that no "mood" appears in Irish infinitives. This is the negative infinitival.

Ba	mhaith	liom	gan		teach	a	thogail
I	want			neg-comp-def	house	prt	building

"I want to build no house"

This construction, however, bears several features that mark it as being different from a normal infinitive. For example, it can exceptionally casemark.
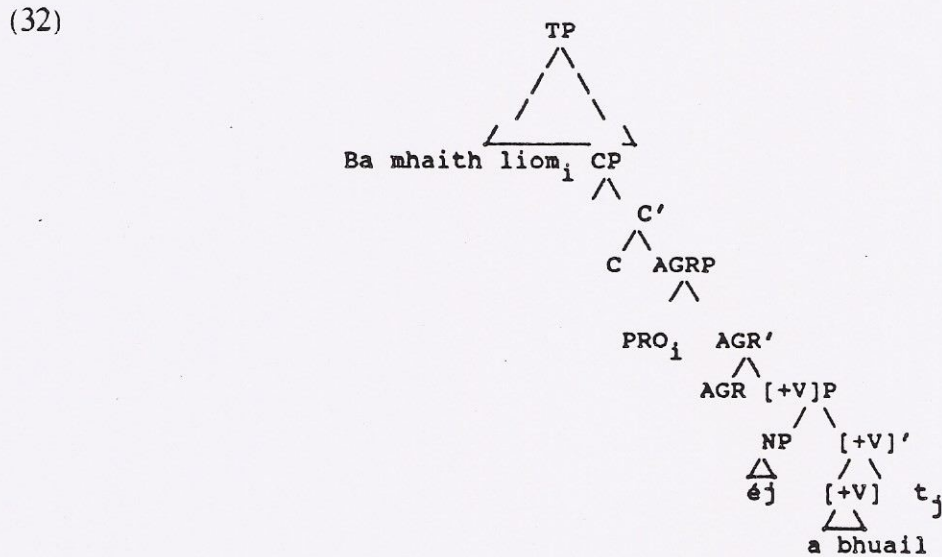
B'	fearr	lin	gan	Séan	teach	a	thogail
we	prefer		neg-comp		house	prt	building

"We prefer for Sean not to buy the house"

Consequently I will assume that this construction has special properties associated with it that explain the negative element. I also note that this construction is remarkably similar to the English "for" construction (eg. I prefer for John to leave) where for apparently assigns case to the subject of an infinitive.. Like *for*, the complementizer *gan* is also a preposition. This preposition has a negative connotation that is associated with it outside of its role as a complementizer (as a preposition it means *without*) so that possibly the negation found in these sentences is inherent to the word itself

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to assign nominative case, the subject of a simple infinitive is always PRO. This analysis is illustrated in (31-32).

(31) Ba mahaith liom$_i$ [$_{cp}$ PRO$_i$ é   a   bhuail]
      I want   him-acc   prt   hit
      "I want to hit him".

(32)

```
                                    TP
                                  / | \
                                 /  |  \
                                /   |   \
                               /    |    \
                         Ba mhaith liom_i CP
                                        / \
                                       /   C'
                                      /   / \
                                     C  AGRP
                                       /  \
                                      /    \
                                 PRO_i   AGR'
                                        /  \
                                    AGR  [+V]P
                                        /  \
                                      NP   [+V]'
                                     / \   / \
                                    é_j [+V]  t_j
                                        /  \
                                     a bhuail
```

Other possible arguments of a verb (i.e indirect objects etc.) have their own case assigners and consequently do not undergo movement.

(33) D'   iarr mé   le   Séan$_i$ [PRO$_i$ an cnapán   a   thabhairt chun Mháire]
      prt   ask   I   with Sean   the ball   prt   give   to   Mary
      "I asked Sean to give the ball to Mary."

Word order in VO dialects follows for the same reasons with the exception that object NPs are assigned inherent genitive case (Belletti (1988)[10].

6.2. *The mysterious infinitval preverbal particle*

To this point I have deliberately avoided discussing the status of the particle that precedes infinitival verbs.

(34)   Is   mian liom   an   cailín sin   a   phosadh
           cop   hope with-me   the   girl   demon.   prt   marrying
           "I hope to marry this girl."

Various researchers (Stenson (1981); McCloskey and Chung (1989) assume that this particle is the Irish equivalent of English *to* (i.e. a phonological realization of the AGR morpheme). This analysis, although consistent with the observation that a variant form of this morpheme is *do*, one of the meanings of which is similar to that of *to*, is flawed in several respects.
    First, this analysis does not provide an adequate account of the positioning of the particle with respect to direct objects. Assuming that the particle is a phonological realization of AGR

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[10]I have no explanation for why an infinitival verb element can assign inherent case in some dialects but not in others, and merely note the existence of this phenomenon.

we incorrectly predict that a raised object in spec of VP should be able to intervene between it and a following participle. Second, unlike with *do*, there is no preposition that corresponds to the more common *a* variant of the particle morpheme At the same time *do* and *a* are homophonous with the Irish possessive clitic pronouns meaning *your* and *his* respectively. Third, *do* and *a* are obligatory in transitive infinitival clauses but do not occur in intransitive structures.

(35)	*Is	maith	liom	an	cailin	sin		phosadh
	I	want		the	girl	dem		marry

"I want to marry this girl."

(36)	Is	maith	liom	an	cailin	sin	a	phosadh
	I	want		the	girl	dem	prt	marry

"I want to marry this girl."

(37)	Is	maith	liom	an	cailin	sin	do	phosadh
	I	want		the	girl	dem	prt	marry

"I want to marry this girl."

(38)	Is	maith	liom	dúl	
	I	want		going	

"I want to go."

(39)	*Is	maith	liom	a	dúl
	I	want		prt	going

"I want to go."

| (40)	*Is	maith	liom	do	dúl
	I	want		prt	going

"I want to go."

This distribution is not expected of an AGR morpheme but is predicted if the preverbal particle is a clitic that is associated with the direct object. This assumption is also consistent with the observation that the particle is optionally realized as the cliticized version of a direct object pronoun (Na mBraithre Críostai: n.d.).

(41)	Is	maith	leis	mé	a	bhualil
	he	want		me-ac	prt	hitting

"He wants to hit me."

(42)	Is	maith	leis	mé	do	bhualil
	he	want		me-ac	prt	hitting

"He wants to hit me."

(43)	Is	maith	leis	mo	bhualil
	he	want		my	hitting

"He wants to hit me."

The evidence suggests, then, that *do* and *a* are cliticized elements that occur in the following structure (after adjunction to the [+V] node)[11].

---

[11] Other structures are possible as , for example, the following

(44)
```
                    [+V]'
                   /    \
              [+V]      (object or trace)
               /\
        clitic [+V]
```
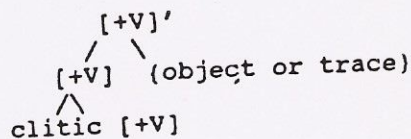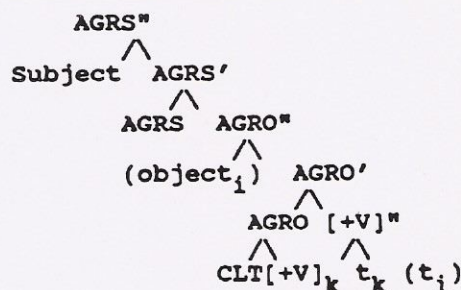
This process takes one of two forms: the "agreeing" clitic which occurs only with pronominal objects and the "nonagreeing" clitic which may occur with any kind of object. In the case of "nonagreeing" cliticization the speaker selects either the 3rd or 2nd person clitic depending upon dialect. Clitic doubling, which does not occur with "agreeing" cliticization, is obligatory.

(45) *Is   maith leis   mé   mo   bhuail
       he   wants   me-acc clt-my hitting
       "He wants to hit me."

(46)   Is   maith leis   mo   bhuail
       he   wants   clt-my hitting
       "He wants to hit me."

(47)   Is   maith leis   Séan   a   bhuail
       he   wants   clt-3rd hitting
       "He wants to hit Sean."

(48) *Is   maith leis   _____ do   bhuail
       he   wants _____   prt   hitting
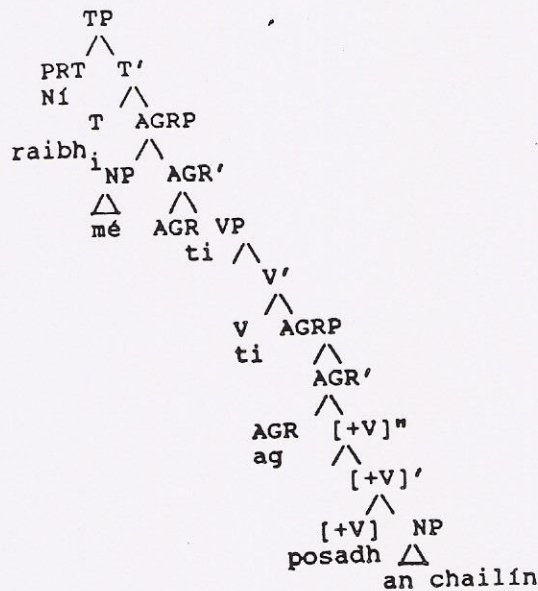   "He wants to hit Sean."

The exact motivation for this patterning is not clear nor is the system of clitic case assignment. I do not pursue these issues further, however, but leave them as matters for subsequent research. At this time, I note only that particles in infinitival clauses function in the manner of clitics rather than AGR morphemes and that cliticization can be characterized as follows.

(49)   A. The non-agreeing clitic does not agree with the direct object (except by coincidence) and does not absorb case, thereby allowing clitic doubling. A default version is chosen depending upon the dialect in question. This form is obligatory with lexical objects and optional with pronominal ones.

```
                    AGRS"
                    /\
           Subject    AGRS'
                      /\
                 AGRS   AGRO"
                        /\
                (object_i)  AGRO'
                           /\
                      AGRO   [+V]"
                      /\      /\
               CLT[+V]_k  t_k  (t_i)
```

This treatment is consistent with the remaining assumptions in the present paper except that the clitic is considered to be some realization of AGRO (but not of AGRS which is the structural equivalent of AGR) and that the verbal element raises to acquire the 'agreement' that the clitic bears.

B. The agreeing clitic always agrees with the direct object. It occurs optionally and only with pronominal objects and absorbs case so that clitic doubling is disallowed.

By way of speculation, a possible reason for why cliticization does not occur with tensed verbs is that clitics can adjoin only to elements that are not [-N] (i.e. those that are either [+N] or [oN] such as nouns or participles).

6.3. Progressive Clauses

The particle that occurs in progressive constructions differs in some significant respects from the infinitival particles *do* and *a*. In addition to being phonologically regular (i.e. /æg/) and consistently non-agreeing, this particle also occurs in both transitive and intransitive clauses. For these reasons, *ag* appears not to be a clitic but a phonological realization of AGR. A sentence such as (50), then, presumably has the D-structure representation shown in (51).

(50)   Ní   raibh mé   ag   posadh   an   chailín
        prt-neg   was   prt   marrying   the   girl-gen.
        "I was not marrying the girl."

(51)

```
                        TP
                       /\
                   PRT    T'
                   Ní     /\
                      T    AGRP
                          /\
                       NP    AGR'
                       △     /\
                      mé   AGR  VP
                               /\
                                V'
                               /\
                              V   AGRP
                          raibh  /\
                                  AGR'
                                  /\
                               AGR  [+V]"
                               ag    /\
                                   [+V]'
                                    /\
                                 [+V]  NP
                              posadh  △
                                   an chailín
```

The main verb *raibh* raises to T through AGR.

(52)

```
                        TP
                       /\
                    PRT   T'
                    Ní   /\
                        T   AGRP
                   raibh_i /\
                        NP   AGR'
                        △    /\
                        mé  AGR VP
                           ti /\
                              V'
                             /\
                            V  AGRP
                           ti  /\
                             AGR'
                             /\
                          AGR  [+V]"
                          ag   /\
                            [+V]'
                            /\
                         [+V]  NP
                        posadh △
                            an chailín
```

The subject is assigned nominative case by T while the object receives genitive case from the [+V] element.

7 Conclusion

In this paper I have shown that word order within Irish clauses follows as a result of move alpha, case theory, a [+/- verb raising] parameter, and cliticization (copy adjunction). In simple tensed clauses, a verb raises in order to get tense and agreement. Because of rightward case assignment and the possible presence of a sentence initial particle, the subject remains in its base generated position and is assigned case by T. Case assignment to objects, on the other hand, appears to necessitate their moving to AGR. The resulting surface word order is VSO.

In tenseless clauses there is no TP node and thus no overt subject or particle. The verbal element does not raise as it does not need agreement or tense. An object may optionally raise to spec of VP to receive accusative case from AGR (OV ordering) or alternatively remain in its D-structure position where it is assigned inherent genitive case (VO ordering). This varies from dialect to dialect. When the infinitival verb form is transitive an obligatory process of cliticization takes place. Finally, in sentences with progressive aspect, the main verb raises in order to acquire tense. The subject is assigned case by T while an object receives inherent genitive case from the [+V] participle. In all relevant instances, surface word order is predictably derived from a structure that is consistent with X' theory.

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