

On the derivation of prepositional dative constructions in Irish and Scottish Gaelic

Gary Thoms, New York University DGfS 2021, 25th February

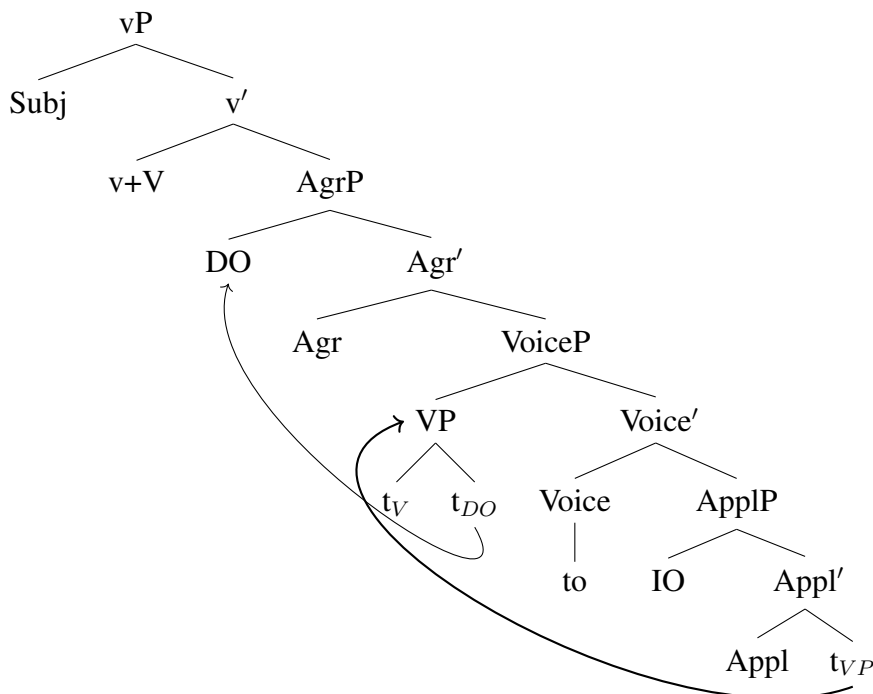
1 Introduction

The dative alternation: are the two constructions derivationally related?

- (1) a. I gave Jo the book. DOC
 b. I gave the book to Jo. PDC
- (2) a. The single base approach: DOCs and PDCs are derived from the same underlying argument structure (Larson 1988, Ormazabal and Romero 2013, 2019, , Collins 2017)
 b. The two base approach: DOCs and PDCs are derived from two distinct underlying argument structures (Green 1974, Oehrle 1976, Marantz 1993, Pesetsky 1995, Pylkkannen 2002, , Harley 2002, Harley and Jung 2015, Harley and Miyagawa 2017, Bruening 2001, 2010,2018)

Collins (2017) defends the single base approach, arguing that the DOC is basic and that the PDC is derived by low VP-fronting (AKA “smuggling”, Collins 2005a,b). The PDC is derived from the DOC by VP-movement of the DO and V over the IO, an instance of *smuggling* (Collins 2005a,b). The DO then undergoes some kind of A-movement from the VP to a position where it c-commands the IO.

(3)



Motivation from an asymmetry of asymmetries: while DOCs show very strong asymmetric c-command properties, for many speakers there is the option of IO>DO c-command with DO-IO order (? , Pesetsky 1995, Takano (1998, 824)).

- (4) DOC: IO asymmetrically c-commands DO
- John gave [every man]_i his_i paycheck.
 - *John gave its_i owner [every dog]_i.
 - I showed the boys each other's pictures.
 - *I showed each other's parents the students.
- (5) PDC: DO c-commands IO and (for some) IO can c-command DO
- John gave [every dog]_i to its_i owner.
 - ?John gave his_i paycheck to [every man]_i.
 - I showed the boys to each other's parents.
 - ?/?I showed each other's pictures to the boys.

IO>DO c-command (for (5b) and (5c)) would be derived by suppressing the object shift step and reconstructing the VP; perhaps the variability in the judgments can be keyed to whether or not a given speaker applies object shift of the DO to Spec, Agr obligatorily.

My goal: to argue in favour of Collins' approach to PDCs, and thus the DOC-centred single base approach, on the basis of data from Irish and Scottish Gaelic.

2 Direct and inverse VO languages

Pearson (2000) notes that in many VO languages, such as English and other European languages, the order properties of the VP-domain are largely identical to what we see in OV languages, such as Dutch or Turkish.

- IO-DO order in DOCs
- Leftward shift of specific/definite objects (of some kind) but not non-specific indefinites
- Order of (largely preverbal) adverbs the same, reflecting c-command/scope (leftward = high scope)

But in other VO languages, in particular V-initial ones (VSO and VOS; Austronesian and American languages), we see something like a mirror image of OV languages, at least with respect to *order*:

- DO-IO order in DOCs
- Rightward shift of specific/definite objects (of some kind) but not non-specific indefinites
- Order of (preverbal) adverbs the same, but postverbal adverbs, occur in reverse of scope order, at least for some portion of the Cinque hierarchy

- (6) DO-IO order in Malagasy ditransitives (also seen in Palauan, Quiaviní Zapotec)

Nanolotra ny dite ny vahiny ny zazavavy
 PAST.offer DET tea DET guest DET girl

'The girl offered the guests the tea.'

(Pearson 2000, 329)

- (7) Rightward shift of Malagasy specific objects
- Nijinja **vary** haingana ny mpamboly
 PAST.cut rice quickly DET farmer
 ‘The farmer harvested rice quickly.’
 - Nijinja haingana **ny vary** ny mpamboly
 PAST.cut quickly DET rice DET farmer
 ‘The farmer harvested the rice quickly.’

(Pearson 2000, 331)

Pearson calls the former “direct VO languages,” and the latter “inverse VO languages.”

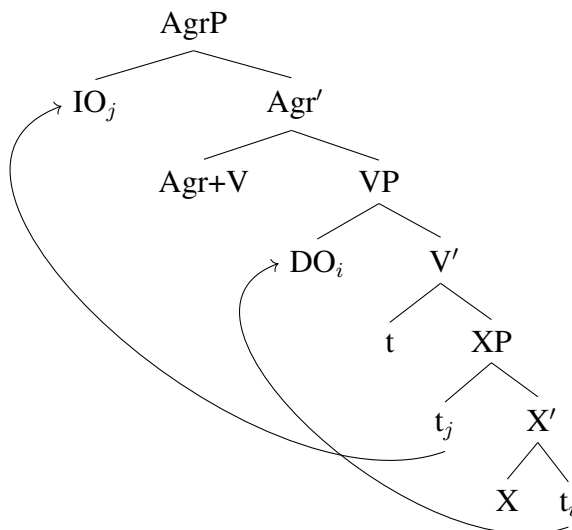
What is particularly striking, though, is that the c-command facts are the same in ditransitives as in English, as IOs asymmetrically c-command DOs.

- (8) IO c-commands DO asymmetrically in Malagasy (same as English, but different order!)

- Nanaseho ny sariny_i ny ankizy rehetra_i Raso. Raso. IO binds into DO
 PAST.show DET picture.3 DET child every Raso
 ‘Raso showed every child_i his/her_i picture.’
- Nanaseho ny ankizy rehetra_i ny reniny_i Raso. Raso. DO can’t into IO
 PAST.show DET child every DET mother.3 Raso
 ‘Raso showed his/her_i mother every child_i.’

Pearson shows that the direct/inverse contrast follows from an analysis whereby the inverse structure of Malagasy is derived by roll-up VP-movement. Note that **deriving basic clause structure with VP-movement is relatively easy to motivate for Malagasy**, since not only the verb but also the object comes to precede the subject, i.e. it is a VOS language (see also Massam 2001).

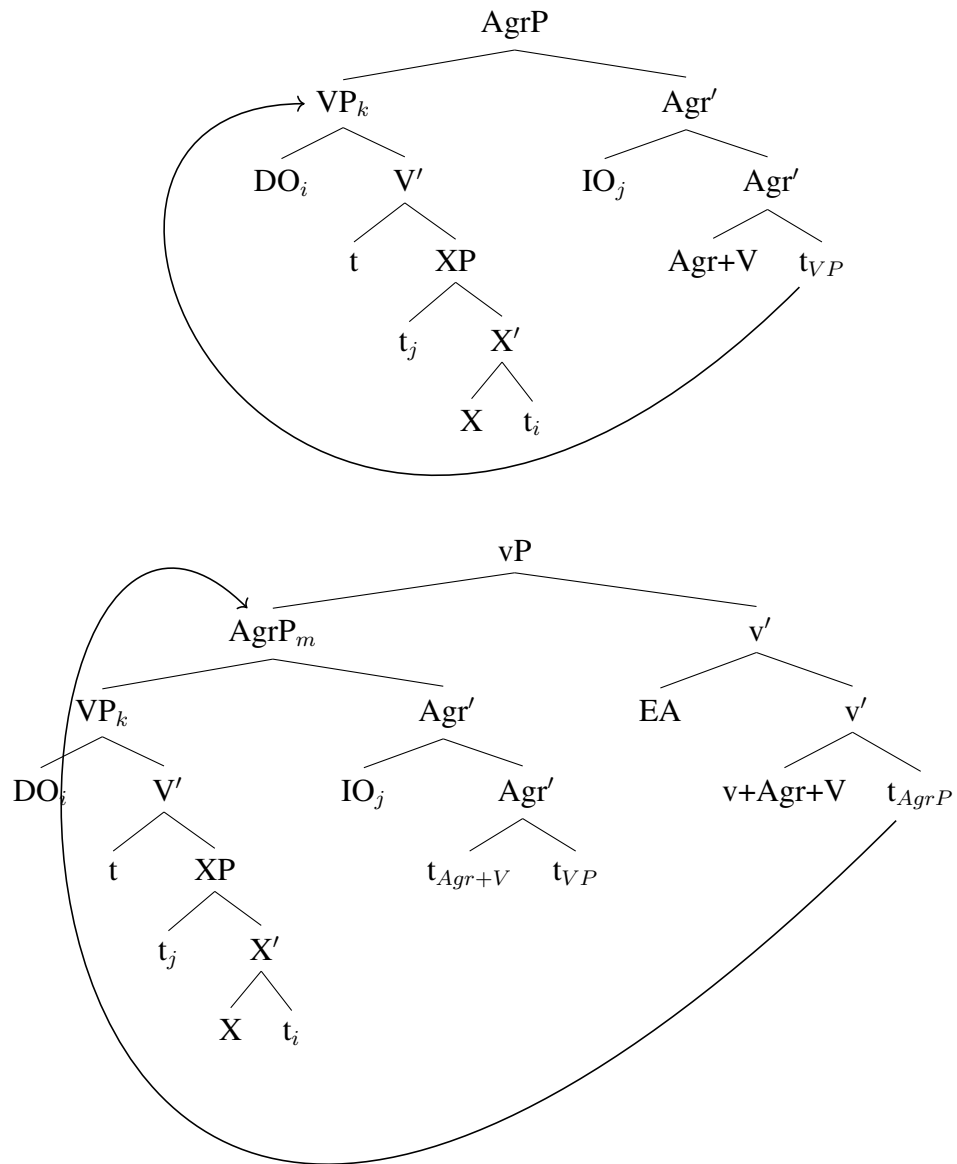
Deriving DO>IO order with IO>DO c-command: Pearson implements this in an analysis of ditransitives where IO and DO are first-merged in a small clause but both raise to higher specifiers which maintain hierarchy. Also compatible with an analysis where the DO remains as a complement to V, or an ApplP-based analysis.



- (9)

In inverse languages, the VP moves a higher specifier of AgrP, deriving DO-IO order, although the DO doesn't c-command the IO, since the DO is embedded in the VP. (This constituent then moves to a specifier above the external argument to derive the V-DO-IO-S order.)

(10)

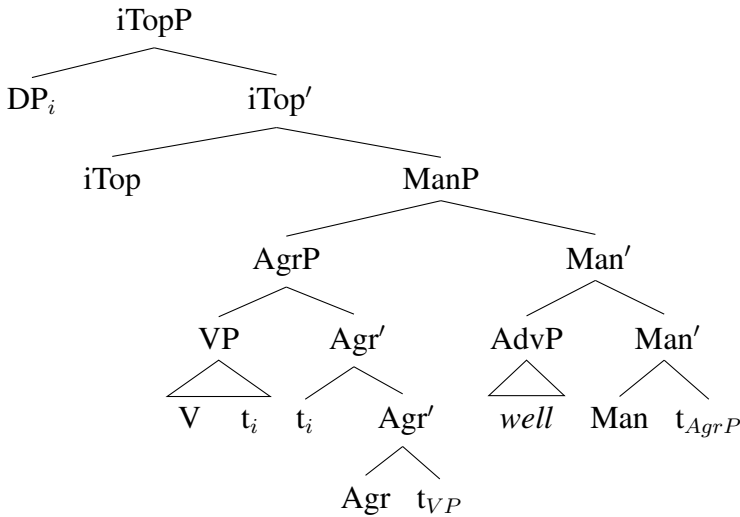


The VP-movement analysis is motivated by the c-command facts alone. But it also gives us a natural

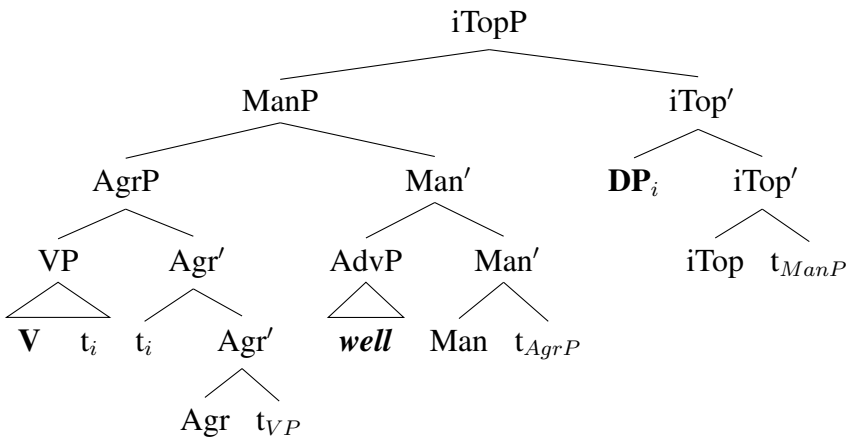
explanation for the other order facts about inverse VO languages too.

‘Rightward’ object shift: definite objects shift leftward out of the VP and over adverbs, and then the VP-projection hosting the adverbs shifts over it (cf. Larson 1988). If the object stays within VP (as is the case with indefinites) it will precede these adverbs.

(11) Step 1: shift object high and leftward to Spec,iTop



Step 2: shift ManP over iTopP



This account also leads us to expect that there will be no ‘inverse OV languages’, which seems to be a welcome prediction. I do not know of any OV languages which rightward shift definite objects, for instance.

3 Irish as an inverse VO language

Irish and Scottish Gaelic (SG) also seem to fit the inverse VO language profile, and they are more like Malagasy than one might have expected. I focus on ditransitive order and object shift here.¹

¹I do not get into adverb order here, as more empirical work is required to establish the core generalizations, but it seems that at least in SG, the order of clause-final adverbs is generally somewhat flexible, while the restricted class of adverbs that occur clause-internally (between subject and object) are more rigidly ordered. This is reminiscent of the Malagasy pattern, although exactly how flexible the clause-final orders are remains to be established more firmly.

3.1 Some basics of Goidelic clause structure

Goidelic (Irish, Scottish Gaelic) is VSO in finite clauses without an auxiliary, AuxSVO in with an aux.

(12) Chunnaic mi Iain.
 see.PST I Iain
 'I saw Iain' VSO, SG

(13) Tha mi a'faicinn Iain.
 be.PRES PRT-see.VN Iain
 'I see Iain' AuxSVO, SG

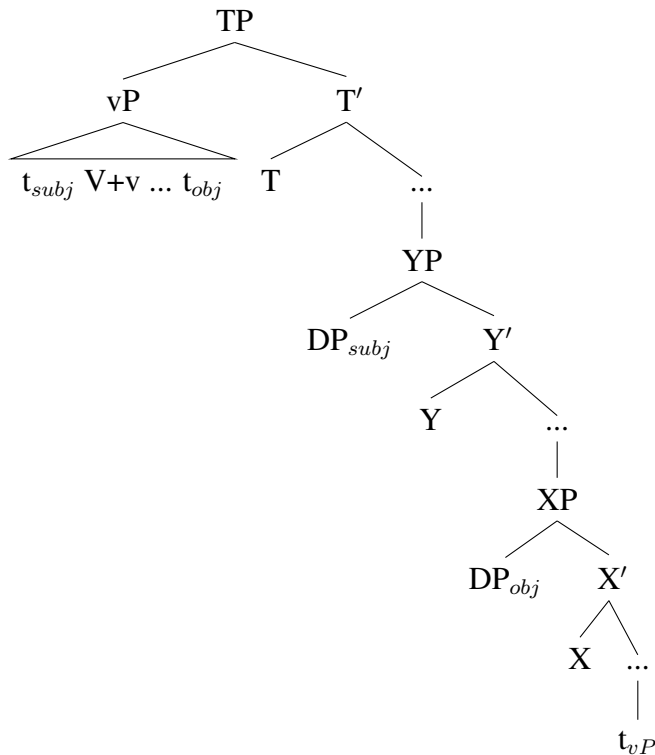
Nonfinite clauses are OV (with variation in overt subject infinitives), there is evidence that the pre-V position for objects is a derived one; for instance, the object can be associated with a floating quantifier to the right of the nonfinite predicate (McCloskey 2017).

- (14) Quantifier float with DO, to right of nonfinite lexical verb
- a. ní hionann sin agus an tAifreann a léamh uilig
 NEG-FIN same that and the Mass PREV read.VN all
 'That's not the same as reading the entire Mass' McCloskey (2017, 264), Irish
- b. Ar cheart domh na véarsaí a rá uilig duit?
 Q should to.me the verses aL say all for.you
 'Should I recite all the verses for you?' Maki and Ó Baoill (2011, 37), Irish

The typical analysis of Irish clause structure is one where V moves to T in finite clauses where there's no auxiliary, but with an auxiliary in T the verb stays in situ (McCloskey 1991, 1996 a.o.). The subject is below TP but external to the vP (McCloskey 1997, 2001).

Note that since subject and object both show up external to the vP in various cases (McCloskey 1997, 2001), it seems perfectly viable that VSO would be derived by remnant vP-movement, in line with Pearson's approach to Malagasy, rather than by 'long' V-to-T.

(15) VSO in finite clauses



We know that Goidelic allows for fronting of nonverbal predicates to the same position, with ‘support’ from a copula (which is distinct from the auxiliary *bith* which translates as *be*).

3.2 Ditransitive order and c-command

Like all the Celtic languages, Irish doesn’t allow DOCs. But these languages do have PDCs, and these have the English-type DO-IO order. The same is seen in SG.

(16) Irish PDCs: DO-IO order

- a. Thug Máire úllaí go leor do Sheán sa tseomra cúil.
gave Mary apples plenty to John in-the room back
‘Mary gave many apples to John in the back room’ (Maki and Ó Baoill, 2008, 441)
- b. Chuir Máire úllaí go leor chuig Sheán sa tseomra cúil.
sent Mary apples plenty to John in-the room back
‘Mary sent many apples to John in the back room’ (Maki and Ó Baoill, 2008, 441)

One might puzzle over why Goidelic lacks preposition-less DOCs, as Jung et al. (2012) do, but I see this as part of a more general tendency in Goidelic to use overt prepositions where other languages might use zero prepositions of some kind of oblique marking (cf. Landau 2010). Thus Goidelic uses Ps

- to introduce aspect (Ramchand 1997)
- to introduce pretty much all arguments of psych predicates (McCloskey and Sells 1988, Adger and Ramchand 2007)
- to introduce many control infinitives (Chung and McCloskey 1987)
- for the the subject position of a number of raising verbs (McCloskey 1984)
- to introduce numerous objects which would be realised with direct marking in other languages

- for possessive predication

As noted by Jung, Carnie and Harley (2012), Irish ditransitives show ‘backwards’ IO>DO c-command properties (contra Harley 2002), and they note that the same is seen in SG. There is no equivocation about the judgments on the backwards binding cases in my experience.

- (17) IO c-commands into DO, IO-DO order (‘backwards binding’)
- a. Thug Seán a_i pheann-fhéinn do chuile bhuachaill_i.
give.PRES John his pen-self to every boy
‘John gave every boy his own pen’ Irish (Jung et al., 2012, 3)
- b. Sgrìobh Màiri a_i bhàrdachd gus a h-uile gille_i.
write.PAST Mary his poem to every boy
‘Mary wrote [every boy]_i his_i poem’ SG (Jung et al., 2012, 4)

For Jung et al.’s SG speaker, this c-command relation is asymmetric, much like in Malagasy, as the DO may not bind into the IO, in that their SG speaker finds (18) unacceptable on the bound reading. But this is subject to variation, as I was not able to replicate this in my own consultation; my speaker found the bound reading acceptable (especially if the PP is changed to *dha ùghdar fhèin*, ‘its own author’).

- (18) DO can c-command into IO with DO-IO order, for some (✓ my speakers, *Jung et al’s speaker)
- %Sheall Màiri a h-uile leabhar_i dha (h-_i) ùghdar.
show.PAST Mary every book to (its) author
‘Mary showed its author every book’ SG (Jung et al., 2012, 5)

As for Irish, the binding from theme to goal is possible at least for some speakers (Donall Ó Baoill, p.c.).

- (19) DO can c-command into IO with DO-IO order (‘forwards’)
- Thaispeáin Máire gach leabhar_i dá_i údar.
Showed M each book to-its author
‘Máire showed every book_i to its_i author’ Irish

In summary, IOs c-command DOs, even with DO-IO order, and DOs can sometimes c-command IOs with this order.

3.3 Rightward direct object shift

3.3.1 Pronoun postposing

Like other inverse VO languages, Goidelic has rightward shift of definite and/or pronominal objects. Weak pronouns undergo *pronoun postposing* (Chung and McCloskey 1987, Adger 2007, Bennett et al. 2016). With pronoun postposing, object pronouns (or the accusative subjects of small clauses) are found to the right of other adverbs and complements, typically sentence-finally.

- (20) Fuair sé __ óna dheartháir an lá cheana é.
get.PAST he from.his brother the-other-day it
‘He got it from his brother the other day.’ Irish (Bennett et al. 2016, 171)

- (21) D'fháisceadh sé __ chuige lena ucht arís agus aríst eile go ceanúil í.
 squeeze.PAST.HABIT he to.him to.his breast again and again other affectionately her
 'He would squeeze her affectionately to his breast time and time again.'

Irish (Bennett et al. 2016, 171)

Bennett et al. (2016) and Adger (2007) analyse pronoun postposing as PF-movement, but I am not willing to accept such a powerful addition to the already overflowing PF toolbox and suggest that its properties should be reconsidered in syntactic terms. I don't get into the whole range of facts here, but rather I will simply focus on the core cases of pronoun postposing.

Important point: while postposed pronouns do end up in all sorts of crazy places, they never end up breaking up another nominal. In fact, it only ever crosses PPs or adverbs (and adverbs are very PP-like in these languages), and occasionally predicates (in the small clause cases).

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(22) a. *... t_i ... D pron_i N ...
 b. *... t_i ... D pron_i Num N ...
 c. *... t_i ... D N pron_i A ...
 d. *... t_i ... D N pron_i Dem ...
 e. *... t_i ... D N pron_i PP ...
 f. *... t_i ... D N pron_i other ...</p> | <p>(23) a. ✓ ... t_i ... PP pron_i ...
 b. ✓ ... t_i ... PP pron_i PP ...
 c. ✓ ... t_i ... PP pron_i AdvP ...
 d. ✓ ... t_i ... Pred pron_i PP ...</p> |
|---|---|

This will be important below!

3.3.2 Rightward shift of DOs in ditransitives

There is also rightward shift of DOs in ditransitives, as noted by Maki and Ó Baoill (2008). In Irish, this applies with quantified DPs and definites, but not bare indefinites (unless they are heavy). The same sort of profile is seen with object shift across various languages (see e.g. Thráinsson 2007). As far as I know, there are no (in)definite restrictions on the IO-DO frame.

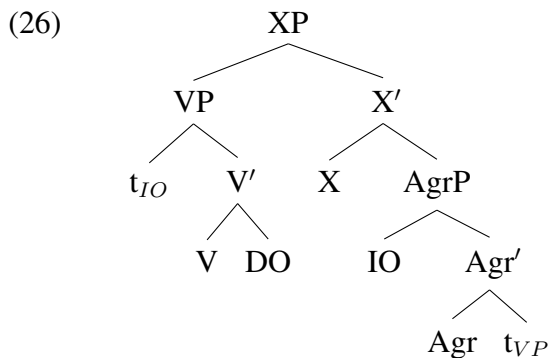
- (24) DO-IO and IO-DO orders with counting quantifier as DO
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Thug Máire úllaí go leor do Sheán sa tseomra cúil.
 give.PAST Mary apples plenty to John in-the room back
 'Mary gave many apples to John in the back room.'</p> <p>b. Thug Máire do Sheán úllaí go leor sa tseomra cúil.
 give.PAST Mary to John apples plenty in-the room back
 'Mary gave many apples to John in the back room.'</p> | <p>Irish (Maki and Ó Baoill 2008, 441)</p> |
|---|--|
- (25) DO-IO and IO-DO orders with definite DO, but not bare indefinite DO
- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>a. Thug Míleó {caisearbhán / an caisearbhán} do Bhinlí.
 give.PAST Milo a-dandelion the dandelion to Binkley
 'Milo gave {a dandelion / the dandelion} to Binkley.'</p> <p>b. Thug Míleó do Bhinlí {*caisearbhán / an caisearbhán}
 give.PAST Milo to Binkley a-dandelion the dandelion
 'Milo gave {a dandelion / the dandelion} to Binkley.'</p> | <p>Irish (Maki and Ó Baoill 2008, 441)</p> |
|---|--|

Maki and Ó Baoill note that this reordering is very much optional, and while the PP-DP order is slightly marked, it is not degraded, and they do not tie it to any particular information structure profile. It seems that it is only the DO which is restricted by definiteness, so it seems clear that this

SG also allows this to some extent, but it is a bit more restricted. I will focus on Irish here.

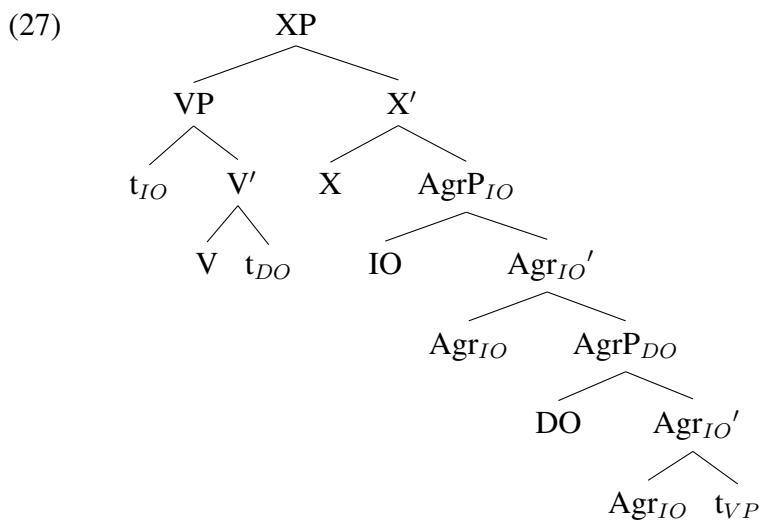
3.4 A VP-fronting analysis

These facts can be captured by a VP-fronting analysis much like Pearson's. The basic ditransitive order is derived by fronting of a VP layer containing just the theme, built from a DOC-type base where the theme is lowest. A simplified case (this will be revised):



The DO would not c-command the IO, but the IO would c-command the DO once the VP reconstructed. Note that the IO must evacuate the VP as it is not moved along with the DO and V.

Rightward shift of the DO to derive IO-DO order: as in Pearson's analysis (and Larson's account of heavy NP shift), the DO raises to some VP-external scrambling position prior to VP-raising over the IO. This position, which I'll just call Agr_{DO}, is below the IO's landing site, which I'll call Agr_{IO}. Note again that the IO is moving!



Prediction: with the IO-DO order, there will be no backwards binding from the DO into the IO, even for speakers who allow it with DO-IO order. This is predicted because the DO is quite low, below the landing site for A-movement of the IO.

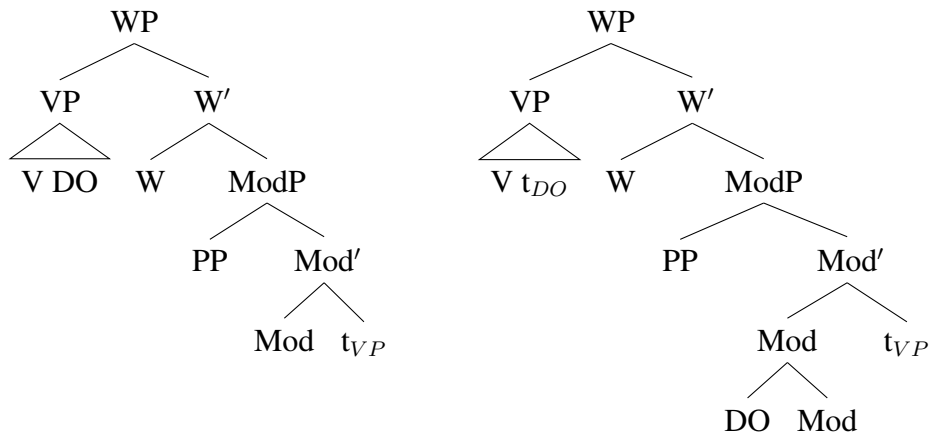
- (28) *Thaispeáin Máire dá_i údar [gach leabhar]_i.
 Showed Maire to-its author each book
 ‘*Máire showed its_i author every book_i’

Such an effect is not predicted at all by an account that derives IO-DO order by true rightward movement.

Pronoun postposing: assume that VP-modifiers are analysed in an antisymmetric fashion, i.e. as specifiers of Mod(ifier)P projections dominated by accompanying WP projections that attract the ModP's complement

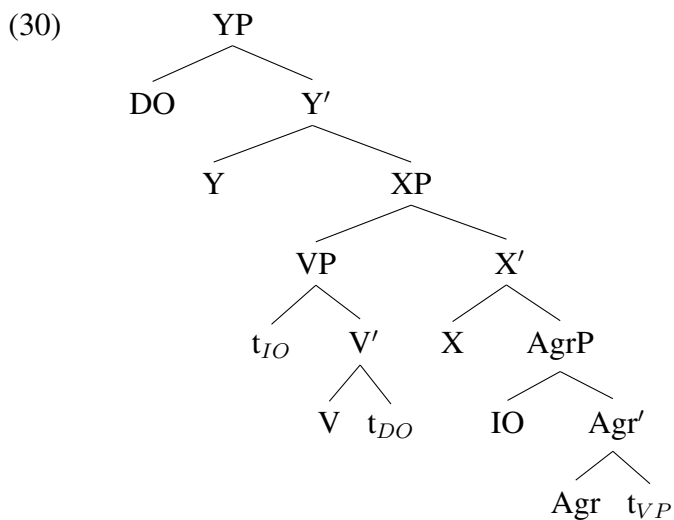
(see e.g. Kayne 1994, Nilsen 2004). Leftward movement of the pronoun to cliticize to one of these empty head positions would derive the right order (cf. Duffield 1995).

(29) a. Simple case b. Pronoun postposing: DO cliticizes to Mod to derive V PP pron order



The fact that pronouns can be distributed in so many different positions can be explained in part by the fact that there are so many such possible landing sites for cliticization, i.e. any of the available empty head positions; the shifted full DP, by contrast, will need to land in an appropriate specifier position, e.g. AgrP_{IO}.

Finally, the difference between my SG consultant and the other speakers wrt DO-IO c-command may be derived in a manner similar to that in Collins (2017): the direct object may optionally undergo string-vacuous object shift, after fronting of the VP, to a position where it may c-command the IO.



It is not unreasonable to believe such an instance of object shift may occur, given that objects shift in other situations in these languages. String-vacuous A-movement is the kind of rule that one might expect to be subject to individual-level variation as well, since the evidence for it might be scarce.

One immediate issue: the IO is a PP, and yet on this analysis it seems to be undergoing some sort of object shift. Why would a PP move like this? PPs don't undergo object shift, so the burden of proof here ought to be fairly high.²

²Jung et al. (2012) argue that the PPs in *give/send*-type PDCs involve low applicatives rather than high applicatives, since they are not readily compatible with unergative predicates (Pylkkänen 2002), so a high applicative analysis won't help here.

4 Object shift of a PP?!?

Key claim: the DO shifts out of the VP prior to VP-fronting in deriving the PP-DP and pronoun postposing cases, but it doesn't cross the IO. But the IO is a low applied argument, so it needs to be undergoing some movement too prior to VP-movement. And it's a PP!

(31) PP-DP order in ditransitives

Thug Máire do Sheán úllaí go leor sa tseomra cúil.
 give.PAST Mary to John apples plenty in-the room back

'Mary gave many apples to John in the back room.'

Irish (Maki and Ó Baoill 2008, 441)

(32) PP-DP orders with pronoun postposing

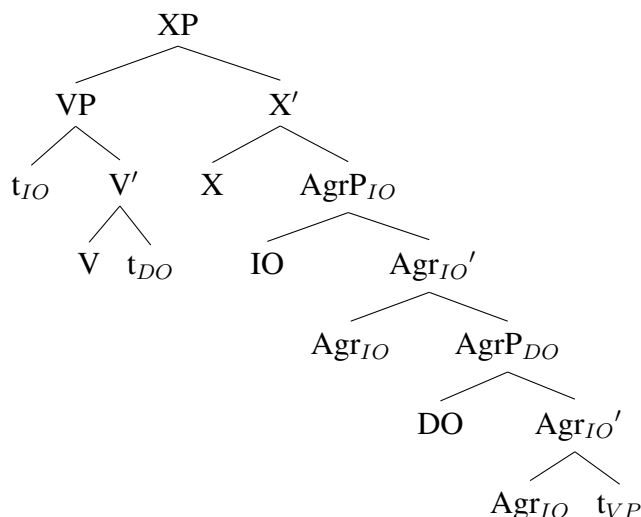
a. Thug Máire do Sheán iad sa tseomra cúil.
 give.PAST Mary to John them in-the room back
 'Mary gave them to John in the back room.'

Irish

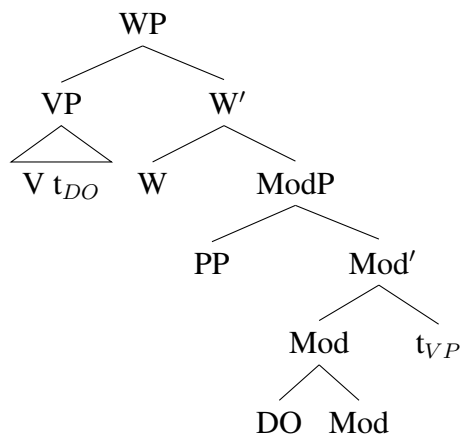
b. Thug Máire do Sheán sa tseomra cúil iad.
 give.PAST Mary to John in-the room back them
 'Mary gave them to John in the back room.'

Irish

(33)



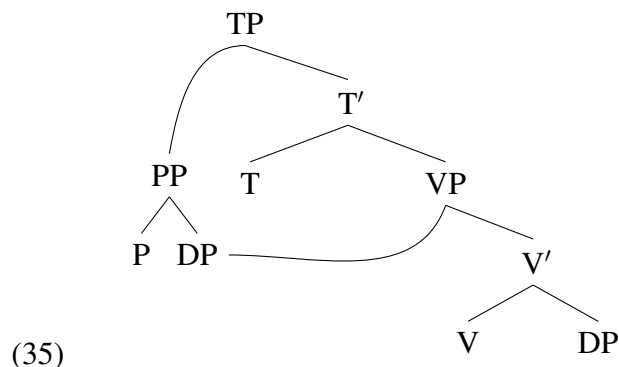
(34)



Why would there be object shift of the IO? Is there any evidence that it moves?

4.1 Why it moves: raising to complement of P

Claim: IOs really are base-generated as DPs in the core VP predication, but they come to be contained in PPs after a step of raising to complement of P. Thus apparent ‘object shift’ of the PP is in fact movement of the DP into the complement of P, and then remerge of the PP into a higher specifier. I assume this is done by **sideward movement** (AKA external remerge).



Is this crazy? Well not in the Goidelic context, as these languages are known to have constructions that look an awful lot like raising to complement of P (McCloskey 1984; McCloskey and Sells 1988), for instance in subject raising constructions where the derived subject is contained in a PP, but it’s a DP (or even an idiom chunk) which is selected in the embedded clause.

(36) B’ éigean do Chiarán teach a cheannach.
 COP.PST must to Ciaran a-house PRT buy.NONF
 ‘Ciaran had to buy a house’ (McCloskey, 1984, 449)

(37) B’ éigean do-n-a ainm a bheith i mbéal na ndaoine.
 COP.PST must to-his name PRT be.NONF in mouth the people.GEN
 ‘He must have been very famous’ (lit. his name must have been in the mouth of the people’) (McCloskey, 1984, 455)

Some degree of raising to P must be possible. Note that the same P is involved in these constructions as in PDCs.

Still too crazy for you? Maybe these aren’t raising to P but rather just raising to dative, with the P being some sort of dative. I don’t buy it, but if you do, then the object shift of my analysis here is less whacky.

4.2 Evidence the IO moves: floating quantifiers

A remarkable fact about PDCs is that the IO may strand a floating quantifier to the right of a pronominal DO which has been postposed.

(38) Postposed pronoun DO é between IO and its FQ
 Thug Máire do na mic léinn é uilig inné.
 gave Maire to the students it all yesterday
 ‘Maire gave it to all the students yesterday’ (Irish)

This cannot be explained by saying that the pronoun has postposed into a position breaking up the DP of the IO, since this never happens – pronoun postposing respects gross constituency, even if it shows up in some weird places between other major constituents (see the end of Appendix 1).

Conclusion: the only plausible analysis is that the FQ is stranded by the IO to the right of the pronoun, which occurs in some position between the derived and base positions of the IO. This motivates the proliferation of object positions for IOs, as otherwise it’s hard to see why this would be possible.

Appendix 1: FQs and short predicate raising

Picking up on the point above regarding FQs, we can show that there is a low position for subjects to the right of the main predicate with intransitive verbal predicates as well. We need to examine nonfinite clauses as in finite clauses the verb would occur in T and so we wouldn’t see the word order effect. As these examples show, *uilig* can show up to the right of the predicate, which indicates that the predicate must be shifting above (at least) the base position of the subject.

- (39) a. Ba mhaith liom **na mic léinn uilig** siúl.
 be.COND good with.me the students all walk
 ‘I would like all the students to walk’
 b. Ba mhaith liom **na mic léinn** siúl **uilig**.
 be.COND good with.me the students walk all
 ‘I would like all the students to walk’
- (Maki and Ó Baoill 2011, 40)

Some more, with passives and APs:

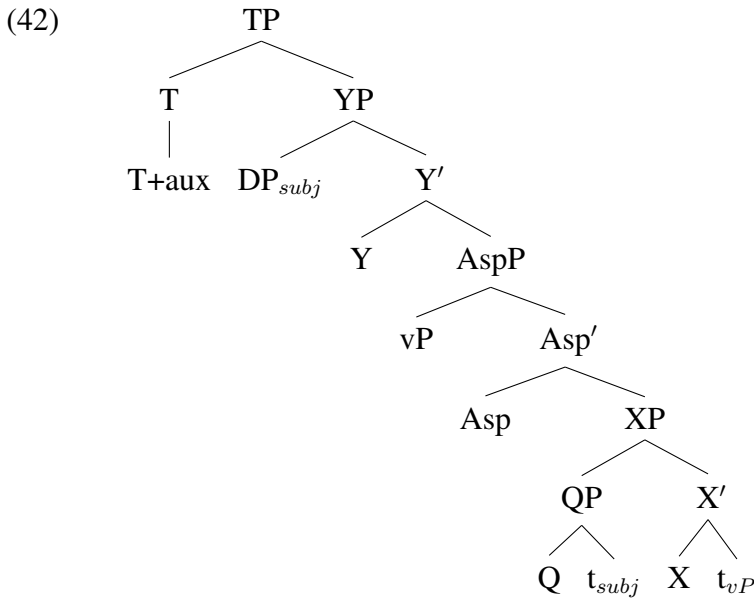
- (40) a. An bhfuil **sibh uilig** sásta anois?
 Q be.PRES you.PL all satisfied now
 ‘Are you all satisfied now?’
 b. An bhfuil **sibh** sásta **uilig** anois?
 Q be.PRES you.PL satisfied all now
 ‘Are you all satisfied now?’
- (Maki and Ó Baoill 2011, 39)
- (41) a. An bhfuil **na prétaí uilig** curtha agat?
 Q be.PRES the potatoes all sown by.you
 ‘Have you sown all the potatoes?’
 b. An bhfuil **na prétaí** curtha **uilig** agat?
 Q be.PRES the potatoes sown all by.you
 ‘Have you sown all the potatoes?’
- (Maki and Ó Baoill 2011, 39)

As McCloskey (2001, 191 fn.16) notes, these examples show that the subject’s base position is to the right of the predicate, and he suggests that the predicates move to some higher position; in the case of the verb, he concretely proposes that the participle moves to Aspect. This is actually a very consequential observation for Irish clause structure; see Appendix 1 for some more elaboration, which has some relevance for the facts we’re engaged with here.

These observations about subject FQs occurring after the predicate are actually very consequential for Irish clause structure in general if we assume that the subject strands its FQ. To get this to work, we need the following ingredients:

- there must be predicate fronting of a constituent that may exclude the *by*-phrase in passives, to derive (41)

- there must be predicate fronting of a constituent containing an adjectival predicate which excludes the external argument, to derive (40).
- to strand the FQ to the right of this fronted vP/PredP, the subject must be first moving out of vP to some Spec,XP position, and then moving from there to its final landing site
- the AspP projection which hosts the fronted vP/PredP must be above the landing site for object shift³
- assuming all of the same business occurs in clauses where the lexical verb ends up moving to T



Some support for this analysis might come from the fact that FQ association from a subject to a postverbal *uilig* is not possible in transitive nonfinite clauses (Maki and Ó Baoill 2011). This is striking since the subject of an intransitive verb could do this.

- (43)
- a. Ba mhaith lio na mic léinn uilig an leabhar a cheannach.
 be.COND good with.me the students all the book aL buy
 ‘I would like all the students to buy the book’
- b. *Ba mhaith lio na mic léinn an leabhar a cheannach uilig.
 be.COND good with.me the students the book aL buy all
 ‘I would like all the students to buy the book’ (Maki and Ó Baoill 2011, 38)

This can potentially be understood in intervention terms, since the derived position for the object – to the *left* of the predicate, following object shift – precedes the derived position for the subject where the FQ is stranded.⁴ But a full analysis of this would require an excursus on SOV in nonfinite clauses, for which there are a number of challenging and intriguing points of variation.

Final note: if predicates are fronting like this, how much does this change how we view the pronoun postposing facts? In work in progress, I argue that most (perhaps all?) of the most troubling cases of pronoun postposing in Irish can be understood as involving pronunciation of pronouns in their very lowest base position. These are positions to the right of small clause predicates which seem to necessitate very weird ‘lowering’ according to Bennett et al. (2016), and which thus push those authors in the direction of

³It seems more likely to me that the fronted vP lands below Asp, since the particle which introduces e.g. the progressive precedes the verbal noun.

⁴For more evidence that the landing site of object shift may be above the subject’s thematic position, see (Jonas, 1996, 170-171) on Icelandic, (McCloskey, 2000) on Irish English. See also Chomsky (1995).

putting pronoun postposing into PF. If I'm right about this alternative analysis, their enrichment of PF may not be required after all.

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