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Nominal Predication in Haitian and in Irish

MICHEL DEGRAFF

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

1. Pronouns as copulas?[1]

This presentation is about the BEARABLE lightness of *be*-ing. Indeed *be* (qua verbal copula) is so light that, cross-linguistically, it disappears more often than not (Benveniste 1966:Ch13,16). For example, certain languages, dispersed across genetic classifications, seem to use pronominal(-like?) morphemes as 'copulas', i.e. in places where more familiar European languages (Germanic and Romance, say) would use a *be*-type verb (see Sec. 2). Among languages manifesting "pronominal copulas" (cf. Benveniste's (1966:189ff) "pronom-copule"), we find Arabic, Aramaean, Haitian, Hebrew, Irish, Turkish, etc. In this vein, there has been some productive (cross-linguistic) investigation on the morphosyntactic requirements of non-verbal predicates, going back as early as Aristotle (see Moro 1997:248ff), then (much!) later to Benveniste (1966), Li & Thompson 1977, etc., finally up to more recent generative treatments by (among many others) Carnie (1995), Déchaine (1993), DeGraff (1992a,b, 1993, 1994b, 1995), Déprez & Vinet (1992), Doherty (1996a,b, 1997), Doron (1986), Heggie (1988), Lumsden (1990), Manfredi (1993), Rapoport (1987), Rothstein (1983), etc.[2]

What unites most of these works is, inter alia, the (explicit or implicit) focus on: (i) non-verbal (in particular, nominal) predication in absence of an overt (verbal) copula; (ii) the obligatory presence of a pronominal(-like) element alongside the subject, with a particular subclass of nominal predicates. One long-standing hunch is that there must be some deep connection between pronominal forms and the syntax of predication; cf. e.g. Benveniste's "pronominal copulas".

One goal of this paper is to capture (aspects of) the pronoun-copula connection in a constrained fashion, i.e. using independently-needed syntactic principles. To this end, Sec. 4 presents my analysis of non-verbal predication in Haitian Creole. Then, in Sec. 5, I take my analysis to one language spoken far-away from Haiti, namely Irish. In particular, I will sketch a preliminary, minimal attempt toward a unified way of thinking about the (quasi?-)pronominal morphemes that obligatorily appear across these two distant languages alongside the subject and certain nominal predicates. The 'distance' between Haitian and Irish is both genetic and typological. Haitian is an SVO French-lexifier creole with isolating morphology, *sans* V-raising (DeGraff 1994a, 1997); but see Déprez & Vinet 1992 and fn. 16. Irish is a VSO Celtic language with rich inflectional morphology and with V-raising (Sproat 1985, McCloskey 1996a,b etc.) If this first effort at a unifed account for Haitian and Irish predication patterns meets with any success, then we might be inching closer toward some deeper understanding of 'pronominal copulas'. Furthermore, my Haitian-inspired analysis of Irish has non-trivial implications for certain ill-understood aspects of Irish morphosyntax and for the theory of movement, e.g. clitics vs. agreement markers, phrasal status of raised predicates, trace licensing, resumptive nominals, scope of (clitic) movement (syntax vs. PF), ...

Before addressing the Haitian and Irish details in Secs. 4 and 5, I illustrate in Sec. 2 the domain under discussion with a (misleading) sample of predication phenomena from more familiar languages, then I proceed with an overview of the Haitian and Irish facts in Sec. 3.

2. Predication — A misleading sample

English is typical of Germanic in that matrix non-verbal predicates in standard registers, unlike verbal predicates, require a form of *be* as support for tense and/or agreement morphology: e.g. *Mary* [Pred *walks to the library*] vs. *Paul* *(*is*) [Pred { *happy* | *in the garden* | *prime minister* | *a doctor* }].

English adjectives, prepositions, nouns, etc., are not morphologically specified to host tense and agreement suffixes. To wit, the ungrammaticality of * *John happy-s*.[3] Romance languages typically behave like English with respect to *be*-support in non-verbal predication.

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[3]This notion of the copula as providing (*be*-)support for morphological inflection goes back to Aristotle's analysis of the copula as "the element which provides the affirmative sentence with the necessary tense specification when this is not realized in direct combination with the predicate" (Moro 1997:250).

Take French for example: *Jean* *(*est*) [Pred { *content* | *au jardin* | (*un bon*) *médecin* }] "J. is { happy | in the garden | (a good) doctor }.[4]

Must all languages use a *be* verb with non-verbal predicates? As already alluded to, the English/French/Ewe sample above is rather misleading. For example, contrast these examples with their *be*-less counterparts in Arabic, Hebrew, Russian, Turkish, Hungarian, Ancient Greek (cf. Benveniste 1966:Ch13,16). The Haitian and Irish data to be discussed below also contrast with the English, French and Ewe data. Furthermore, Ken Hale (1994), inter alios, has noticed that "Equational and identificational predications [*x* is *y*] are expressed by null in Warlpiri, Navajo, and Hopi [...] by a particle in 'O'odham, a verb in English, and by a special tense inflection in Modern Irish". Thus, as Benveniste (1966:189) concluded, the necessity of *be* in e.g. English, French and Ewe only creates the "illusion" that *be*-verbs fulfill some deep, necessary function, i.e. the surfacing of *be* in certain languages might only be the result of superficial morphological idiosyncrasies. Many other linguists (e.g. Hengeveld 1992) have brought forth further diversity in the cross-linguistic expression of predication. Here I'll take a modest stab at understanding what might be SOME of the internal sources of such diversity, focusing on the 'pronominal copulas' of Haitian and Irish.

3. Haitian & Irish non-verbal predication

Predication patterns in Haitian have challenged many scholars.[5] A small subset of the relevant facts are exhibited in (1) and (2). In declarative clauses that show no overt Tense-Modality-Aspect (TMA) marking, the following generalization emerges: (i) AP, (most) PP, and NP predicates are string-adjacent to their subjects, as in (1) — compare with the French, English and Ewe data in Sec. 2 and fn. 4; (ii) DP predicates require the morpheme *se* between subject and predicate, as in (2); (iii) with 'bare' nominal predicates, like *doktè* in (1b), *se* may

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[4] Incidentally French is Haitian's European ancestor. Yet the two languages differ markedly vis-à-vis the syntax of predication (DeGraff 1995). Interestingly, Haitian also parts company with its African ancestors. In Ewe, a representative West-African source, different 'copulas' are needed for different classes of predicates; e.g. *lè* vs. *nye*: *É-lè nyuíe* '3sg-BE well' ("He is well"), *É-lè xo me* '3sg-BE house in' ("He is in the house"), *Ló é-nye tomelā* 'crocodile 3sg+BE aquatic-animal' ("The crocodile is an animal that lives in water") etc. (see Westermann 1930:91). Thus, the representative source languages of Haitian Creole make use of copulas with non-verbal predicates, unlike the Creole itself. This raises fascinating questions with respect to processes of creolization, language change and language acquisition; for related issues (in particular, the role of morphology in creolization), see e.g. DeGraff 1997.

[5]E.g. Faine (1937), Fauchois (1982), Damoiseau 1982, 1987, Lumsden (1990), DeGraff (1992a,b, 1993a,b, 1994b, 1995), Déprez & Vinet (1992), Déchaine (1993), Manfredi (1993), etc. See DeGraff 1992b and fn. 16 for a partial review.

or may not occur.[6]

(1) a.   *Bouki { kontan | nan jaden an }*
            Bouki { happy | in garden the }

        "Bouki is { happy | in the garden }"

    b.   *Bouki (se) doktè*
            Bouki SE   doctor

        "Bouki is a doctor"

(2)   *Bouki *(se) { yon (bon) doktè | doktè a | Tenten }*
          Bouki   SE   { a (good) doctor | doctor the | Tintin

        "Bouki is { a (good) doctor | the doctor | Tintin }"

To recap, what kind of cut does *se* make through the predication data? Via absence vs. presence and non-obligatoriness vs. obligatoriness of *se*, Haitian morphosyntax discriminates between nominal and non-nominal predicates: *se* is allowed with the nominal predicates in (1b) and (2) while producing ungrammaticality with the non-nominal predicates in (1a). Furthermore, *se* discriminates among nominal predicates: it may be absent with bare nominal predicates as in (1b), but it is obligatory with non-bare nominal predicates.

Turning to Irish (data from Carnie 1995, Doherty 1996a,b, etc), its predication patterns show some uncanny parallels with those in Haitian. Irish, like Haitian, discriminates both between non-nominal predicates (as in (3)) and nominal predicates (as in (4)) and between bare nominal predicates (as in (4b)) and non-bare nominal predicates (as in (4a)):

(3)   *Tá   Seán   { cliste | go maith | i nDoire | ag rith }*
        Be.pres John   { clever | well | in Derry | running }

        "John is { clever | well | in Derry | running }"

(4) a.   *Is   *(é   ) Seán an   dochtúir*
          PTCL   3sg   John the doctor

        "John is the doctor"

    b.   *Is   dochtúir (é   ) Seán*
          PTCL   doctor   3sg   John

        "John is a doctor"

Non-nominal predicates generally occur with the "substantive verb" *tá* 'be', as in (3), whereas nominal predicates generally occur with the complementizer "copula particle" *is*, as in (4).[7] Of immediate interest, notice that definite attributive DPs, like *an dochtúir* 'the doctor' in (4a), entail the obligatory presence of a subject-agreeing pronomimal(-like?) morpheme *é*. (I will refer to this morpheme as the 'augment'

following e.g. Doherty's terminology.) This augment, although obligatory with definite nominals like *an dochtúir* 'the doctor' in (4a), is not obligatory with indefinite nominal predicates like *dochtúir* '(a) doctor' in (4b). This is, of course, intriguingly reminiscent of the distribution of Haitian *se*, and begs for a unified analysis.[8]

At this point, I might as well note a number of word-order and morphological patterns in (4) with no counterpart in Haitian Creole — I will address these discrepancies in Sec. 5 when extending to Irish my analysis for Haitian. In (4a) the predicate *an dochtuir* 'the doctor' FOLLOWS the subject *Seán* while in (4b) the predicate *dochtuir* '(a) doctor' PRECEDES the subject *Seán*. In (4a), the augment *é* follows the particle (PTCL) *is*. Together they form a phonological word pronounced [ʃeː] (Doherty 1996a:28). In (4b), the optional augment *é* intervenes between the predicate *dochtúir* '(a) doctor' to the left and the subject *Seán* to the right, with material (e.g. adverbs) possibly preceding the augment (Doherty 1996b).

What properties does Irish *é* in (4) have in common with Haitian *se* in (1b) and (2)? In particular, what are the syntactic mechanisms regulating the (non-)appearance of *se* in (1)–(2) and *é* in (3)–(4)? Following Camacho's intuition (see fn. 8) that the alluring similarity between (1)–(2) and (3)–(4) is not accidental, a unified analysis of Haitian *se* in (2) and Irish *é* in (4) seems most desirable. Given the threatening sharpness of Occam's razor, such analysis should be tried cross-linguistically whenever possible, beyond Haitian and Irish even; but this is for future work. For now, I'll turn to my analysis of Haitian *se*, then extend it to Irish *é*-type augments.

4. Predication in Haitian — The analysis

Here I can only give a synopsis of my analysis for Haitian *se*.[9] Recall the basic schema in (1)–(2). Why is *se* obligatory in (2)? Note that non-bare nominal predicates do not always entail occurrence of *se*: if the predicate is governed by a TMA (e.g. ANT(erior) or FUT(ure)) or NEG(ation) marker (in bold), then *se* is ruled out:

(5)   *Li (* se) **te/ap/pa**   (* se) yon bon doktè*
        3sg   SE   **ANT/FUT/NEG**   SE   a good doctor

        "He/She { was | will be | was not } a good doctor"

The basic observation inspiring my analysis is that *se*, in other contexts, behaves unambiguously like a pronoun, and not like a verbal copula.

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[6]In (1b), I abstract away from the semantic nuances that accompany the (non-)use of *se* with bare nominals; but see fn. 14.

[7]One challenging question that I can't explore here concerns the choice of *tá* vs. *is*; see Carnie 1995 and Doherty 1996a for proposals. Here I'll just assume that the principles determining this choice operate independently from those regulating the (non-)occurrence of *se*, although it is conceivable that the effects of the former interact with the latter (see fns. 14 and 19).

[8]In an auspicious e-mail message (6 March 1992), Jose Camacho wrote: "Irish has almost exactly the pattern Haitian has [...] I haven't found any analyses of the phenomenon, Stenson has only a description, she says it is a "mystery", but maybe your analysis [of Haitian *se* in DeGraff (1992a)] will give some clues." I wrote back: "It would indeed be nice if my analysis would generalize to this case." This paper is a first step in fulfilling this long-overdue promissory note.

[9]For further empirical and theoretical details, please consult DeGraff 1992a,b, 1993, 1994b, 1995. NB: Here I am not considering the morpheme *se* that precedes the moved predicate in clefts; see DeGraff 1992b, 1994a and references in fn. 5.

Typical Haitian verbs FOLLOW TMA and NEG, like *chante* 'sing' in (6a). However *se* cannot surface in such post-TMA/NEG position, as shown in (6b).[10]

(6) a.   *Kòk la   pa   te   [$_{VP}$ *chante   maten   an*]
           rooster the NEG   ANT   sing   morning   the
           "The rooster didn't sing this morning"
     b. * *Li   pa   te   se   yon   bon   doktè*
           3sg   NEG   ANT   SE   a   good   doctor

On the other hand, in structures involving left-dislocation with top-icalized nominals outside of IP, *se* finds itself in pre-TMA/NEG position, which is exactly where run-of-the-mill subject pronouns find themselves. To wit, compare the parallel distribution of *se* and the 3sg pronoun *li* in (7).

(7)   *Jak,   li/se   pa   te   yon   bon   doktè*
         Jak   3sg/SE   NEG   ANT   a   good   doctor
         "Jack, he wasn't a good doctor"

This suggests that *se* in (7) functions as a pronoun, which sits in Spec(IP), just like *li*; both *se* and *li* are co-indexed with the left-dislocated nominal *Jak*. My explanation for the (non-)occurrence of *se* in (1)–(2) rests on the assumption that, there also, *se* is a nominal element co-indexed with a c-commanding nominal, but unlike *se* in (7), *se* in (1b) and (2) is in a position lower than Spec(IP) while *Bouki*, the nominal c-commanding (and co-indexed with) *se*, sits in Spec(IP). More precisely, *se* in (2) is in the position where the subject *Bouki* is base-generated, within a Small-Clause(-like) extended projection of the predicate. It is from within this Small Clause that *Bouki* raises to Spec(IP). In other words, *se* in (1b) and (2) overtly realizes the (illicit) subject trace left behind by *Bouki*. What makes the subject trace illicit in (2), forcing it to be spelt-out as *se*? This question takes us directly to the core of my analysis.[11]

This paragraph and the next are summarized in (8) where ellipses abbreviate further possible structure.[12] Crucial to the explanation are the following three assumptions: (i) Underlyingly, predication is realized within a S(mall)C(lause), with the subject generated internal to the SC; i.e. the subject is first merged with a(n extended) projection of the predicate. (ii) Crucially, such deep subjects are merged with either a NON-MAXIMAL projection of the predicate or with a(n extended) MAXIMAL projection of the predicate. In the former case, the deep subject is dominated by a further projection of the predicate head. Such merger is possible when the SC is headed by a predicative head, as in (1); see (8a)). In the latter case, the deep subject is altogether outside of the predicate's immediate maximal projection. This situation is

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[10]DeGraff 1995 contrasts *se* and French *ce* and *c'est*.

[11]What follows summarizes (and updates) earlier work already cited.

[12]Most likely, Small Clauses have finer structure than what I am assuming here; see e.g. papers in Cardinaletti & Guasti 1995.

forced when the SC is headed by a head that is not inherently predicative, as in (2); see (8b)). (iii) The SC subject overtly raises to Spec(IP) in order to receive Case, satisfy EPP, etc. See Stowell 1989a, Couquaux 1981 and Burzio 1986 for similar analyses for English, French and Italian, and DeGraff 1992a,b 1993 for more detailed argumentation for the two types of SCs illustrated in (8).

Armed with these assumptions, let's now discuss the mechanisms regulating the (non-)occurrence of *se* in (1)–(2). The fundamental claim is that *se* in (2) is a resumptive nominal (Res-N'l). Why is such Res-N'l obligatory in (2)? Because a trace in that position would not be 'licensed', assuming (in pre-minimalist mode) that traces must be head-governed à la Aoun & Sportiche 1983. In (8b) which is the partial structure for the data in (2), X^0 is a functional head, e.g. D(eterminer) or Num(ber), abstracting from linear order within XP. Depending on one's assumptions about SC structure, YP in (8b) is either categorially identical to XP (thus the SC subject is adjoined to XP) or an extended projection of XP (with Y^0 an abstract functional head). Either way, t_i is NOT head-governed by X^0, since X^0 does not m-command t_i: XP dominates X^0, but does not dominate t_i; see Aoun & Sportiche 1983. Thus, realization of t_i as *se* is forced by failure of 'head-government'/licensing of the subject trace under YP. As for the data in (1), their parallel derivations are schematized in (8a). The following configuration obtains in (1)/(8a): (i) X^0 is a lexical and predicative head, i.e. X^0 = Adj^0 or P^0 in (1a) and N^0 in the *se*-less version of (1b); (ii) the subject is generated/merged in Spec(XP). Thus, X^0 head-governs and licenses the trace t_i, which, by economy, need not (and must not) be realized by *se*.[13]

(8) a. [$_{IP}$ **Subject**$_i$ [$_{I'}$ I^0 ... [$_{XP}$ t_i [$_{X'}$ X^0 ...]]]]
     b. [$_{IP}$ **Subject**$_i$ [$_{I'}$ I^0 ... [$_{YP}$ t_i/se$_i$ ... [$_{XP}$ ... [$_{X'}$ X^0 ...]]]]

This analysis makes the straightforward prediction that *se* is not needed with nominal predicates when there is an 'outside' governor. In this vein, compare (2) vs. (5). *Se* in (5) is rendered superfluous because of head-government of the subject trace by the TMA/NEG markers.[14]

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[13]For the corresponding examples in French (and English), the trace left by movement in (8) is always governed, either by the predicate's lexical head (with predicates as in (8a) or by the copula (with predicates as in (8b)).

[14]What about the 'optionality' of *se* with bare nominals, as in (1b)? My analysis leads to the following account. In *Bouki doktè*, the predicate is an NP with subject generated in Spec(NP), as in (8a); in *Bouki se doktè*, the predicate is a DP headed by a null D^0, with the subject generated outside of the predicate DP, as in (8b). There are subtle interpretive differences between the two structures. For example, *Bouki doktè* tends to have a temporary, stage-level flavor (e.g. "Bouki is doctor NOW — he currently practices as such") whereas *Bouki se doktè* describes a characteristic property of Bouki, with an individual-level flavor (e.g. "Bouki is a doctor by profession, although he no longer practices"). See Fauchois 1982, Damoiseau 1982 for relevant observations. Somewhat similar facts obtain in Irish with PP vs. DP predicates in *tá* and *is* clauses, respectively (Stenson 1981:94f)

To sum up, *se* in (1)–(2) is the "last resort" overt realization of the 'unlicensed' tail of an A-chain.[15],[16] What about Irish *é* in (4)?

5. Predication in Irish — The analysis

Recall the two basic schemas in (3)–(4) (=(9)–(10)) for 'non-verbal' predication, with *tá* and *is* (and their inflected variants); cf. Stenson 1981, Ó Siadhail 1989, Doherty 1996a,b, 1997, Carnie 1995, etc. Firstly, *tá* occurs with non-nominal predicates: AP, AdvP, PP, VP, etc:

(9)   Tá   Seán   { cliste | go maith | i nDoire | ag rith }
        Be.pres   John   { clever | well | in Derry | running }

Secondly, *is* is used PRODUCTIVELY only with nominal predicates. With such predicates, there is an 'extra' pronominal(-like?) element, *é*, showing up to the left of the subject. This extra element, the 'augment', has long been a "mystery" (Stenson 1981:96). In the little remaining time, I will try to let the parallels with Haitian *se* shed some light on this mystery.

(10) a.   Is   *(é)   Seán   an dochtúir   "John is the doctor"
           C⁰   3sg   John   the doctor

      b.   Is   dochtúir (é)   Seán   "John is (a) doctor"
           C⁰   doctor   3sg   John

Tá forms are not used with NPs: replacing *is* with *tá* in (10) produces ungrammaticality. Conversely, *is* forms are not used with APs, PPs and VPs, modulo some lexically-determined exceptions; see e.g. Doherty 1996a for sets of PPs and APs that do occur with *is*.

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[15] "Last resort" is used in the sense of Chomsky 1995:Ch2 and Shlonsky 1992. In a pre-minimalist framework, such Res-N'ls provide a minimal escape hatch to ECP violations (cf. Sells 1984). In a framework *sans* government (i.e. an 'anarchist' framework), government might be resuscitated as 'being in the minimal domain of an appropriate (lexical? predicative?) head', i.e. a minimalist account of (a subset of) ECP effects would allow traces to be licensed in such domains.

[16] Déprez and Vinet's (1992) alternative analysis of *se* (hereafter D&V) suffers from a number of fatal flaws. Three central features of their proposal are: (i) Haitian is claimed to manifest overt V-, A-, N- and P-raising into an aspectual head Asp⁰ (D&V:14–19); (ii) adjectival heads MUST move to Asp⁰; hence the ungrammaticality of * Jan fin entelijan 'John COMPL(letive-marker) intelligent'; (iii) *se* in (2) is argued to be underlyingly related to the morpheme *ye*, found in instances of XP-movement of predicates, e.g. *Kisa Bouki ye?* 'What Bouki YE?' ("What is Bouki?"): *ye* is the strong form of *se* (cf. English *Mary is/'s smart* vs. *And smart, Mary is/*'s too!* (D&V:22–25)).

All three assumptions are problematic: First: there is no evidence for predicate-head raising (DeGraff 1997). Second, adjectival heads ARE compatible with aspectual heads, as in: *Jan fin fou* 'J. COMPL crazy' ("John is completely (or has gone) crazy"); cf. D&V's * Jan fin entelijan. Thirdly, *se* is quite distinct from *ye*; e.g. in *Bouki nan jaden an* (from (1a)) where the predicate *nan jaden an* ("in the garden") remains in situ, both *se* and *ye* are ruled out: * Bouki se/ye nan gaden an. Yet, *ye* (and not *se*) MUST surface when the predicate undergoes movement, as in *Nan ki jaden Bouki ye?* "In which garden is Bouki?". This seems incompatible with assumption (iii) above. (See Fauchois 1982, DeGraff 1994b.)

Before trying my Haitian-based Res-N'l analysis on Irish *é*, let us start by laying out (without defending) some central observations and assumptions about Irish morphosyntax.[17] First, a note on word order. Irish is VSO presumably with V-raising to the highest inflectional head within IP (e.g. Sproat 1985, McCloskey 1996a,b, Carnie 1995). I'll be referring to this head as 'INFL$_{high}$' for simplicity, to avoid entering the debate on whether this head is Agr or Tense or something else (see e.g. Bobaljik & Carnie 1996 vs. McCloskey 1996b).[18] Such V-to-INFL$_{high}$ directly accounts for the position of *tá* in (9): *tá*, like English *be*, is verbal and supports the clause's tense and agreement features ('be-support'). Like English *be*, it selects a S(mall)-C(lause) complement. In Irish, this SC complement is an (extended projection of) AP, AdvP, PP, etc., (somewhat) à la Chung & McCloskey 1987. At spell-out, *tá* is in INFL$_{high}$ with the subject to its right, in the Spec of the next inflectional head down, 'Spec(INFL$_{lower}$)', which results in VSO order. In the context of the analysis presented in the previous section, not much else needs to be said regarding the licensing of the subject trace in the *tá*-clauses such as (9): like in Haitian, the subjects of predicates whose heads are inherently predicative (AP, PP, etc) are generated/merged in the minimal domain of these heads and the subject traces are licensed within the SCs, thus *é* is not neeed.[19]

Unlike *tá* in (9), *is* in (10) is taken to be a C⁰ particle (Carnie 1995) and it occurs in two types of clauses with distinct word orders, as instantiated in (10a) and (10b).[20] In both types of *is*-clauses, we find the extra pronoun *é* (the 'augment') to the left of the subject *Séan*; *é* is co-indexed and agrees with *Séan* in person, number and gender. (The form of the augment co-varies with the Φ-features of the co-indexed subject, e.g. *í* is the 3sg feminine form, but I'll be referring to all augments as "*é*(-type) pronouns".) Let's pre-theoretically call the first type of *is* clauses, in (10a), IDENTIFICATORY COPULA CLAUSE (ICC) and the second type, in (10b), CLASSIFICATORY COPULA CLAUSE (CCC), following Stenson 1981, Ó Siadhail 1989, etc. In ICCs like (10a), the predicate is *an dochtúir* 'the doctor', a defi-

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[17] These observations and assumptions are discussed at length in e.g. recent works by McCloskey 1996a,b, Doherty 1996a,b, 1997 and Carnie 1995. Doherty and Carnie also provide comprehensive overviews of previous accounts as well as their own attempts at analyzing Irish *é* (see below). I am indebted to both authors for their perspicuous analyses of Irish, which have given me the cornerstone from which to proceed.

[18] But see Déprez & Hale 1986, Stowell 1989b for arguments that Irish is VSO via V-to-C movement. Carnie 1995 reviews, and expands on, several approaches to (Old) Irish word-order.

[19] There is also the possibility that *tá* itself (or its trace) head-governs through the SC and provides additional licensing for the subject trace, further obviating the need for *é*-type pronouns. I won't explore this possibility; see fn. 7.

[20] Although I suspect that *is* clefts can be accommodated within our analysis, a proper treatment of these fall outside of the scope of this talk. See e.g. Stenson 1981, Ó Siadhail 1989 for the special characteristics of Irish clefts.

nite nominal (a DP) occurring with an article *an* 'the'; *an dochtúir* is 'equated' to the subject *Seán*. Such non-bare nominal predicates require *é*; compare with Haitian (2). In CCCs like (10b), the predicate is *dochtúir* '(a) doctor', an indefinite determiner-less nominal (a bare NP); *dochtúir* 'classifies' the subject *Seán*. With such bare nominal predicates, *é* is 'optional'; compare with Haitian (1b). To summarize, we have the following patterns for (10a) and (10b) respectively:

(11) a. ICC: C^0 'Augment'$_i$ Subj$_i$ Pred
        [in (10a)]   is   *($é/í$/etc.)   DP$_1$ DP$_2$[+def]

   b. CCC: C^0 Pred   'Augment'$_i$ Subj$_i$
        [in (10b)]   is   NP[−def] ($é/í$/etc.)   DP$_1$

In previous treatments, *é*-type pronouns have been been claimed to be agreement morphemes, affixed either on some abstract copula (à la Carnie 1995) or on the copula particle (à la Doherty 1996a). However, there are reasons for doubting these claims. Irish shows robust complementarity between agreement morphemes and overt realization of subjects (McCloskey & Hale 1984): subjects must be null (*pro*) whenever governed by agreement morphology, as in (12b) where 1pl agreement morphology on *chuirfimis* 'put' excludes the overt subject *muid* '1pl' (from McCloskey & Hale 1984:490):[21]

(12) a. *Chuirfeadh*   *Eoghan*   *isteach*   *ar an phost sin*
         put(CONDIT)   Owen   in   on that job

         "Owen would apply for that job"

   b. *Chuirfimis*   (*muid)   *isteach*   *ar an phost sin*
         put(CONDIT+1pl)   we   in   on that job

         "We would apply for that job"

Furthermore, the (affixal) agreement status of *é* is puzzling given its optionality with, and its separability from, bare nominal predicates, as in (10b) (cf. *Is dochtúir cinnte é Seán* "John is certainly a doctor").[22] Hence, let's put the *é*-as-agreement proposal in abeyance and pursue another possibility, namely, that *é* is the counterpart of Haitian *se*.

Looking at the obligatoriness of Irish *é* in (10a)/(11a) with Haitian eyes, my proposal is a straightforward extension of the *se*-as-Res-N'l analysis. It proceeds in now-familiar steps: (i) Irish subjects raise from a SC-internal subject position like in Haitian (see (8)), with the difference that the Irish subject surfaces in Spec(INFL$_{lower}$), a Spec

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[21]Doherty (1996a) addresses this counter-argument, but does not fully dispose of it; see his fn. 27, p. 34.

[22]Carnie (1995) doesn't offer a principled solution to the distribution of *é*-like elements within non-verbal predication, while Doherty (1996a) offers an account which has many problems of its own, as discussed by Carnie. In Doherty (1997), the augment is an 'unsaturator' turning a referential DP into a predicate. But this does not readily explain the augment's obligatory ABSENCE with pronominal subjects, as in *Is* (*mé) *mé/mise an dochtúir* 'PTCL (*1sg) 1sg/1sg.EMPHATIC the doctor' "I (myself) am the doctor"; cf. Stenson 1981:96, Doherty 1997:151,155f. (See fn. 33 and Carnie 1995:164n12.)

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lower than INFL$_{high}$ (as in e.g. McCloskey 1996b, Bobaljik & Carnie 1996). (ii) Exactly like in Haitian, the subject trace is not licensed (i.e. it is ungoverned) whenever the subject is merged/generated outside the (extended projection of the) predicate phrase, as with definite nominal (DPs). (iii) In such cases and in the absence of a SC-external governor, the subject trace must be overtly realized as a *se/é*-type augment.[23]

At this point, there are at least three still-unresolved problems: (A) Why does *é* occur to the LEFT of the DP$_{Subj}$ in (10a)/(11a), instead of orderly remaining within the SC, between subject and predicate, just like its Haitian counterpart?[24] (B) Why does the definite, non-bare, nominal predicate *dochtúir an* surfaces to the right of the subject in (10a)/(11a) while the indefinite, bare nominal predicate *dochtúir* surfaces to the LEFT of the subject in (10b)/(11b)? (C) Why is *é* optional in (10b)/(11b)? Answers to (A)–(C) will rest on: the licensing conditions of subject traces, the function of the augment as realizing unlicensed subject traces, the phonological (PF) status of the Irish augment, and lastly the syntax of Irish VSO-ness, augmented with a provocative new proposal from Carnie 1995 about predicate-raising.[25]

To solve problem (A), let's note at the onset that the Irish pronominal augment in ICCs qualifies for clitic status. In arguing that the augment marks agreement on *is*, Doherty 1996a:28f makes the three following important observations: (i) "the pronominal augment [as in (10a)/(11a)] forms a single phonological unit with the copula [pronounced [ʃeː]]"; (ii) "when [*is*] is omitted [...] the pronominal augment is also obligatorily omitted"; (iii) "the *copula + augment* [*is+é*] sequence acts as a unit for ellipsis..."[26] Assuming that the augment is an enclitic is compatible with Doherty's observations while shunning the pitfalls noted above for the *é*-as-agreement proposal. Descriptively, cliticization of the augment to INFL$_{high}$ results in its placement to the left of the subject, as depicted in (10a)/(11a). But we're now left wondering why the augment MUST cliticize? I will assume that this is related to whatever parameter(s) underly/ies Irish 'VSO-ness': Irish INFL$_{high}$ must be 'lexicalized' (by PF) — via a morpheme bearing, or entering into agreement with, (the subject's) Φ-features. In predication with a definite DP, the sole candidate for lexicalizing INFL$_{high}$ is the Res-N'l in the SC-internal subject position. If this

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[23]See McCloskey & Sells 1988 and McCloskey 1990 for (ECP-motivated) analyses where Irish realizes tails of A- and A-bar chains via resumptive nominals.

[24]As pointed in Carnie 1995:256f, the word order apparently predicted from my Haitian account would be: * *Is Séan é an dochtúir*, with *é* as Res-N'l surfacing inside the SC, to the RIGHT of the subject.

[25]Carnie's proposal can be interpreted as a treatment of how Irish enacts its 'VSO-ness' (or more accurately its PredSO-ness) when there is no V in the structure in clauses with indefinite nominal predicates. My proposal in the paragraph below somewhat extends this treatment in relating yet another kind of movement to Irish 'VSO-ness', in clauses with definite nominal predicates.

[26]For further copious evidence for cliticization of Irish (resumptive) subject pronouns, see Chung & McCloskey 1987:226–228, McCloskey 1990, etc.

explanation is on the right track, then Irish *é* is the syntactic counterpart of Haitian *se* while their word-order differences fall out from independently-motivated properties of the two languages — *é* cliticizes to $INFL_{high}$ while *se* remains in SC. The (partial) derivation in (13) summarizes the analysis for (10a)/(11a) and the answer to (A). In (13), YP is a(n extended) projection of DP_2[+def]; ① is subject-raising at syntax, leaving an ungoverned trace that must be realized as *é*; ② is PF-cliticization of Res-N'l *é* to $INFL_{high}$;[27] ③ is (PF) C^0 lowering à la McCloskey 1996a.[28]

(13)
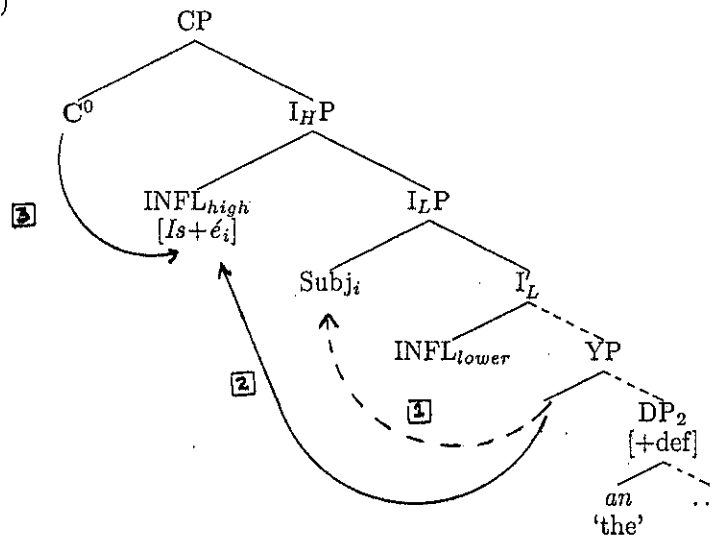
We're now ready to tackle problems (B) and (C). Let's look at (C) first. In CCCs (predication with bare nominals like *dochtúir* in (10b)/(11b)), why is the augment no longer required?[29] Viewing *é* as a Res-N'l has obvious consequences for its distribution in CCCs: With an NP predicate, the subject *Séan* originates within the minimal domain of a predicate/lexical X^0 (it is head-governed, in pre-minimalist terms). Thus the subject trace (after raising of *Séan* to Spec($INFL_{lower}$)), the surface subject position) is licensed as such and need not be overtly realized by a Res-N'l (cf. Haitian (1b) without *se*).[30]

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[27]Crucially traces of PF-movement have different properties than traces of movement at syntax. Among other things, PF-movement traces need not be head-governed.

[28]In (13) and (15), ellipses and dotted branches abbreviate further structure.

[29]CCCs in most dialects are augment-less (Ó Siadhail 1989:224, Carnie 1995:152n1, p.c., Doherty 1997:146n2).

[30]This proposal would also apply to the exceptional cases where the CCC predicate is an AP or PP.

However, although attractive, the story might not be that simple. In fact, there is reason to believe that the CCC predicate may be more complex than NP and that it may project some inflectional layers, which would force the subject to be generated outside of the minimal domain of the predicate head, in an ungoverned position. Thus, in (14), the predicate must have a structure with enough functional structure for genitive Case-assignment to *horses* (cf. Carnie 1995:183 for the Irish data). If so, then the trace of *Séan/Jan* is not governed from within the predicate SC. That this is so seems confirmed by (14b) where the subject trace must be spelled-out by *se*.

(14) a. *Is*   [$_{XP}$ *dochtúir* *capall*]   *Séan*   (Irish)
     PTCL   doctor   horses.gen   John

    b. *Jan*   *(*se*) *doktè*   *shwal*   (Haitian)
      Jan   SE   doctor horse

"John is a doctor of horses"

At this point, I seem to have driven myself in an impasse: Haitian (14b) suggests that the subject trace there is unlicensed; yet if Irish *é* is truly *se*'s counterpart then it is expected to be obligatory in (14a), contra the data. But, wait! There is yet another difference between Irish (14a) and Haitian (14b): the predicate in the former mysteriously surfaces to the LEFT of the subject whereas the predicate in the latter stays in its canonical subject-position. How does the Irish predicate in (14a) gets to its pre-subject position? Is this related to (possible) absence of *é* in CCCs? This takes us to problem (B) about Irish word-order in CCC vs. ICC and to Carnie's radically innovative claims about Irish predicate-raising. Carnie's claims may take us out of our impasse. Before turning to Carnie's proroposal, let me summarize my intuitive lead: Although the complex predicate in (14a) projects some functional head, the subject trace is not overtly realized. Hence, given my analysis so far, there must be some SC-external governor licensing the subject trace in the SC. This SC-external governor seems related to the fact that the CCC predicate surfaces to the left of the subject. My account will connect the word-order facts to the absence of pronominal augments in CCCs (thus, licensing of CCC subject traces) via Carnie's analysis of predicate-raising in CCCs.

What are the sources of the word-order differences between ICCs and CCCs? There is a growing consensus among celticists that the CCC word-order is obtained via predicate-raising; cf. Hendrick 1994, Carnie 1995, Doherty 1996b, etc. What distinguishes among these proposals is the mechanics of such raising. For instance, this is movement to $INFL_{high}$ for Carnie 1995 (cf. Hendrick 1994), but movement to Spec($INFL_{high}$) for Doherty 1996b. If the latter holds, then predicate-raising as XP-movement should have no effect on head-government of the subject trace (and absence/presence of *é*). However in Carnie's (1995:Ch6) analysis, head-movement of indefinite nominal predicates up to $INFL_{high}$ would have direct consequences vis-à-vis licensing of

the subject trace as envisaged in my analysis. Once $INFL_{high}$ is so lex-icalized (by this non-canonical head — see Carnie 1995:Ch6 for details), it (or, most likely, one of its traces) can head-govern into the SC-internal subject position, making the pronominal augment (qua Res-N'l) super-fluous. Thus, if we adopt Carnie's claims regarding Irish predicate rais-ing along with his "derived notions of X^0- vs. XP-ness" (cf. Chomsky's (1994) bare phrase structure), then, given my é-as-Res-N'l analysis, é's absence in (10b)/(11b)/(14a) becomes a side-effect of the (derived) status of the predicate *dochtúir (capall)* as an X^0 governing the subject trace. The situation is summarized in (15) where: YP is, as before, a(n extended) projection of the SC; ① is subject-raising; ② is predicate-raising via X^0-movement à la Carnie — this step crucially provides a head-governor to t_i, making é unnecessary:[31]

(15)
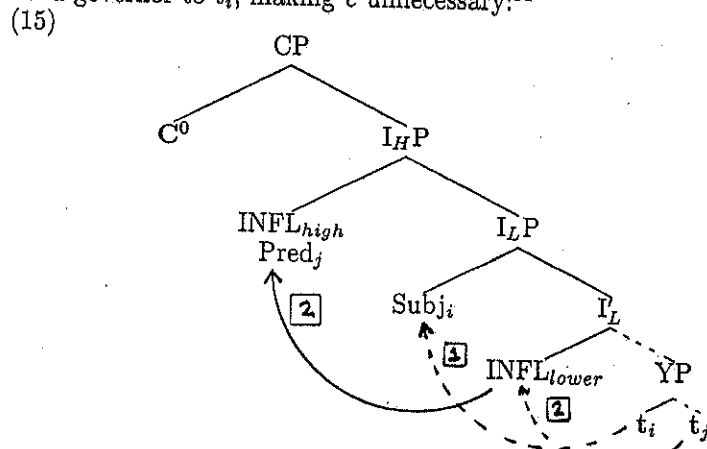
What about é's 'optional' presence in (10b)/(11b)? As noted by Do-herty (1996a,b), é(-like) pronouns in CCCs have different phonological properties than the enclitic augment in ICCs. Unlike the latter, the former need not cliticize on the preceding morpheme; e.g. adverbs may intervene between the predicate and the pronoun in CCCs: *Is dochtúir cinnte é* "He is certainly a doctor" (Doherty 1996b, example (6)). As Doherty (1996a:39n34, 1997:146n2) suggests for the dialects that al-low é in (10b), the pronoun there may well be a resumptive copy of a topicalized (postposed) subject (cf. English *She's a doctor, Mary*).[32]

Unavoidably, I've had to take many shortcuts, ignoring many in-tricate data and staying away from many difficult issues. As stated at the start, this is but a "sketch of a preliminary, minimal attempt". If not all of this proves wrong-headed (or headed by the wrong XPs), I project further details in forthcoming work. In the meantime, com-

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[31]See Doherty 1996b and Legate 1996 for counter-arguments to predicate-raising as head-movement.

[32]This makes CCC é in (10b) quite distinct from ICC é in (10a) (and from Haitian *se* in (2)), but quite like Haitian *se* in (7).

ments welcome![33]

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[CLS = Chicago Linguistic Society; CUP = Cambridge University Press; LI = Linguistic Inquiry; NELS = North-Eastern Linguistic Society; NLLT = Natural Language & Linguistic Theory; WCCFL = See cover]

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[33]In fn. 22, I noted that Irish *Is (*mé) mé/mise an dochtúir* was problematic: there is a ban on augments co-indexed with pronominal subjects, contra the expec-tations of my analysis. (In Doherty's analysis, it is not entirely clear why pronouns should count as "predicative expressions" and not require an 'unsaturator'). How to handle these facts within our current proposal? Pending further details; one could argue for now that this is just a result of haplology, which is a PF constraint against repeating phonologically-identical morphemes — "identity avoidance" (Yip 1995). One repair strategy is the use of a single overt morpheme for double duty. In Irish, pronominal subjects must cliticize onto $INFL_{high}$ (McCloskey & Hale 1984, Chung & McCloskey 1987, etc.). With a DP predicate like *an dochtúir*, the subject trace is realized by a Res-N'l with identical Φ-features as the subject pronoun. Plus, this Res-N'l is an enclitic that in turn also cliticizes into $INFL_{high}$ at PF, as assumed in my proposal. With two identical elements in $INFL_{high}$ we get haplology and only one is pronounced. (See McCloskey & Hale 1984:494ff for evidence that em-phatic suffixes on pronouns, as in *mise (= mé+se* '1sg+EMPH') are compatible with pronominal encliticization.)

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