Most GB analyses of VSO languages have assumed that these languages have an SVO clause structure in which surface order is derived by leftward movement of V—usually, movement of V to Infl. This paper argues that there is another possible route to VSO-ood, which is instantiated by the VSO language Chamorro. I argue for a view of Chamorro clause structure that consists of three claims: (i) there is a predicate XP constituent separate from the subject; (ii) this predicate XP precedes the subject, in other words, the clause structure of Chamorro is fundamentally VOS; (iii) surface word order is produced not by V Movement, but by adjoining the subject to the right of some projection of a [+V] category, essentially as proposed by Choe (1986) for Berber. Evidence supporting these claims is drawn from proper government in WH-constructions, from the syntax of nonverbal predicates, and from coordination.

1. Introduction

This study has two goals. At the descriptive level, it offers an improved analysis of the clausal structure of Chamorro, a VSO language spoken in
the Mariana Islands. At a more theoretical level, it addresses the question (raised earlier by Choe, 1986) of whether there is more than one mechanism for generating clauses that are superficially VSO.

As a VSO language, Chamorro belongs to a word order type that has received substantial and continuing attention from generative grammarians (see Anderson and Chung (1976), McCloskey (1979), Emonds (1980), Gazdar and Sag (1980), Anderson (1984), Koopman (1984), Travis (1984), Williams (1984), Emonds (1985), Sproat (1985), Choe (1986), Chung and McCloskey (1987), Woolford (1988), and many others). In essence, the challenge has been to build a constituent structure for these languages that both represents their surface word order and allows them to have the same grammatical relations as SVO languages.

Within GB, the response most often given to this challenge has been to assume that VSO languages have an SVO clause structure, and to derive the surface order via leftward movement of V – usually, movement of V to Infl (Emonds (1980), Koopman (1984), Travis (1984), Emonds (1985), and Sproat (1985)). Consider:

(1)

```
S
   \- Infl
   \- NP
   \  V
  /   \-
Kate  NP
```

grew flowers

Note that the featural content of Infl is spelled out more fully in Section 2.2 than in the other Sections.