

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface	9
Abbreviations and glossing conventions	11
1 The general character of Irish	14
1.0 The position of Irish	14
1.0.1 The Irish speech community	14
1.0.2 The dialects	15
1.0.3 The dialect of this study	15
1.1 Overview of the grammar	17
1.2 Initial mutations	18
1.2.1 Environments for lenition and eclipsis	20
1.2.2 Suppletive forms	24
1.2.3 Combinations	26
1.3 Parts of speech	27
1.3.1 Nouns (and noun phrases)	28
1.3.2 Verbs	28
1.3.3 Verbal nouns	29
1.3.4 Adjectives	30
1.3.5 Adverbs	30
1.3.6 Prepositions	31
1.3.7 Conjunctions	32
1.3.8 Clitics	32
1.4 Inflection	35
1.4.1 Inflection of nouns	35
1.4.2 Verb inflection	37
1.4.3 Analytic and synthetic	38
1.5 Word order	40
1.5.1 Major constituents	41
1.5.2 Other constituents	41
1.5.3 The front of the sentence	46
1.6 Verb-object idioms	47
1.6.1 Frozenness	48
2 Complementation	52
2.0 Introduction	52
2.1 Complement types	52
2.1.1 Finite clauses	52
2.1.2 Verbal noun complements	52
2.2 Syntactic roles of complements	54
2.2.1 Object complements	54
2.2.2 Subject complements	54
2.2.3 Complement objects of prepositions	56
2.2.4 Complements in copula sentences	61
2.2.5 Adverbial complements	62

2.3	Phrase structure status of complements	63
2.3.1	NP status of complements	64
2.3.2	The sentential status of verbal noun complements	66
2.4	Extraposition	67
2.4.1	Subject complements	67
2.4.2	Object complements	69
2.4.3	Extraposition: Conclusion	70
2.5	Equi-NP deletion and word order in verbal noun complements	71
2.5.1	How the initial NP got there	73
2.5.2	Other orders	75
2.5.3	Conditioning of clause forms	78
2.5.4	Verbal noun complements: Conclusion	80
2.6	Raising	81
2.6.1	The fronted NP	82
2.6.2	Raising and prepositions	83
2.6.3	Raising: Conclusion	85
2.7	Modals	85
2.7.1	Modals as main verbs	86
2.7.2	Root modals	87
2.7.3	Epistemic modals	87
2.7.4	Semantics of root and epistemic modals	89
2.7.5	Modals and grammaticalization	90
3	The copula	92
3.0	Introduction	92
3.1	The problems	92
3.1.1	Copula inflection	92
3.1.2	Two verbs 'be'	94
3.1.3	The subpredicate	96
3.1.4	Types of copula sentences	97
3.1.5	Word order	103
3.2	Semantics of the copula	105
3.2.1	Subject and predicate	105
3.2.2	Old and new information	106
3.2.3	Syntactic consequences	107
3.2.4	Focus and emphasis	109
3.2.5	Structural homogeneity of copular sentences	110
3.2.6	Word order variation in identification sentences	112
3.2.7	Emphasis by inversion	116
3.2.8	Copula semantics: Summary	117
3.3	Residual issues	118
3.3.1	<i>Tá sé ina ri'</i>	119
3.3.2	Adjective predicates	120
3.3.3	Inverted forms	121
3.4	Copula: Conclusion	122
4	Superficially simple embedded structures	123
4.0	Introduction	123
4.1	The structure of copula sentences	123

4.1.1 Copula as clitic	123
4.1.2 A copula-predicate constituent	124
4.1.3 The copula as embedding predicate	126
4.2 Preverbal particles	128
4.2.1 The predicate status of the particles	129
4.2.2 Preverbal particles and the non-declarative copula	131
4.2.3 Particles: Summary	135
4.3 Aspect	136
4.3.1 The Aux + V analysis	138
4.3.2 The non-sentential NP analysis	139
4.3.3 Parallels with other complements	141
4.4 Passives	145
4.4.1 The absence of an Irish passive rule	145
4.4.2 Impersonals	146
4.4.3 Stative/perfective passives	148
4.4.4 Outside source of the agent phrase	149
4.4.5 Structure	151
4.4.6 Functional nature of the passive	152
4.4.7 Other passive structures	153
4.4.8 Passives: Summary	156
5 Conclusion	157
Notes	161
Bibliography	173
Index	179

List of Figures

Figure 1 The Celtic subfamily of Indo-European	14
Figure 2 Gaeltacht areas of Ireland	16
Figure 3 Particles as copula forms	132
Figure 4 Particles and copula as separate predicates	133
Figure 5 Declaratives corresponding to questions in Figure 3	133
Figure 6 Order of particle predicates	136

List of Tables

Table 1 Lenited and eclipsed forms of consonants	19
Table 2 Leniting and eclipsing question words	22
Table 3 Dependent verb forms	24
Table 4 Combinations of suppletion/mutation	26
Table 5 The conjugated preposition <i>le</i> 'with'	31
Table 6 Types of case marking	35
Table 7 Future and conditional forms	37
Table 8 Conjugation of <i>bi</i> 'to be'	38
Table 9 Conditional paradigm for <i>glan</i> 'clean'	39
Table 10 Possible complement derivation	72/73
Table 11 Verbal noun complements	80
Table 12 Phonetic results of mergers of particle predicates	137