

Syntax Tagging for ChronHib¹

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is ecen doneuch fosisedar dán inna grammatic continola innabhuili doilbthi

“It is necessary for whoever professes the art of grammar that he should collect all the formations,” (K. Aug., Thes. ii, 6 13b1).

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Introduction

This document should be used as a guide to searching for syntactic structure in ChronHib databases as well as a guide for adding syntactic parses to such databases.² All examples cited here are from the Corpus of Old Irish Minor Glosses (Lash, in progress, here abbreviated COIMG). As a preliminary observation and guideline, it should be noted the syntactic analysis provided here is rudimentary. Nonetheless, it is based on established phrase-structure grammar methodologies. For the present purposes, this means phrases are syntactic constituents made up of a head and one or more complements. Determining constituency is no easy matter since constituency tests have not been developed specifically for Old Irish. The constituents proposed here are merely intuitive, and there is much room for improvement.³

The examples are presented using a system of brackets and labels. There are three types of brackets: angled brackets < and >, round brackets (and), and square brackets []. Angled brackets enclose missing letters in the Old Irish or Latin text that can be supplied based on the context. Round brackets are used in the translation of the examples to enclose missing words that can be supplied in the context.⁴ Square brackets enclose phrases.⁵ Phrases are labeled with labels in subscript capitals located to the right of the leftmost square bracket in the phrase. Sometimes the labels are written in bold to draw attention to the phrase which is relevant in the particular context. Word spacing as found in the manuscript (and in the filemaker version of COIMG) is kept where no phrase boundaries intervene. Otherwise, a space that divides words from each other is introduced along with the square brackets that denote a phrase boundary.

1 Adjective Phrases

Most adjectives, except for substantivized adjectives (see section 14) and adjectives acting as interjections (see section 11), head an adjective phrase (ADJP). There are two types, exemplified in 1.1 and 1.2 respectively.

1.1 ADJP

- a. *Governed⁶ by NP or DP*

² It should be noted that the examples provided do not show the POS of any of the elements of the constituent. The annotator should be relied on to recognize which item bears any particular POS and to determine which item is the head of the phrase. Typically, Irish is left-headed (otherwise known as right-branching). But this is not always the case. Where the phrase does not exhibit the normal word order, this will be pointed out, if it is relevant to search and annotation tasks.

³ For some constituency tests, see here: [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constituent_\(linguistics\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constituent_(linguistics)). POMIC (<https://www.dias.ie/celt/celt-publications-2/celt-the-parsed-old-and-middle-irish-corpus-pomic/>) text files may also be consulted for examples of Old Irish constituents.

⁴ Note that in the filemaker version of COIMG, these words are enclosed in square brackets instead, in the gloss field itself and in the phrase-translation field as well.

⁵ In the filemaker version of COIMG, phrases are those words found grouped together in the phrase field.

⁶ The phrase ‘governed by’ is used in a non-technical sense. It is defined here in two ways. First, it is the relation that holds between phrases in which a higher (unembedded) phrase immediately dominates a lower (embedded) phrase. The higher phrase is said to govern the lower phrase. The lower phrase is said to be governed by the higher phrase. Second, ‘governed by’ is the relation that holds between a head and its complements, cf. 1.2 a *et al.*

For the most part, ADJP follows the head of the NP/DP, as in ex. i-v. There are some cases, however, in which ADJP precedes the head of NP, in particular, if the ADJP itself is headed by *uile* ‘all’ or *sain* ‘different’, as in ex. vi-vii. For other adjectives that behave similarly, see GOI §362. ADJP may also precede the head of NP in Latin, as in ex. viii. Whenever the ADJP precedes the head of NP, the NP is left branching (see fn. 2).

- i. [NP loman [ADJP æcorse]]
“twisted cord”
(Berne_Servius.005)
 - ii. [NP-PCOMP letraim [ADJP didenach]]
“last page”
(Armagh_Glosses.015)
 - iii. [NP coictach [ADJP primus]]
“first quinquagenary”
(Armagh_Glosses.027)
 - iv. [DP-PRED in [NP spirut [ADJP adamre]]]
“the marvelous spirit”
(Armagh_Glosses.018)
 - v. [DP-SBJ in [NP membrum [ADJP alind]]]
“the beautiful parchment”
(Laon_Cassiodorus.011)
 - vi. [DP-OBJ inna [NP [ADJP huili] doilbthi]]
“all the formations”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.073)
 - vii. [NP-PRED [ADJP saini] riaglori]
“different regulars”
(Vienna_Bede.070)
 - viii. [PP ex [NP-PCOMP [ADJP noscente] [CONJP et intelligibili] ré]
“from something recognizable and intellible”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.021)
- b. *Non-governed/ non-substantivized*
- i. [ADJP genmnide]
“chaste”
(Augustine-Enchridion.044)
 - ii. [ADJP clithem]
“most hidden”
(Augustine-Enchridion.036)

- iii. [ADJP [COMPOUND-LEFT **rug**] [COMPOUND-RIGHT **il**]]
 “very many”
 (Augustine-Enchiridion.041)

1.2 ADJP-PRED

a. *Single-word adjective phrases governed by the copula*

- i. [VP ... bid [ADJP-PRED **reid**] ...]
 “... will be smooth ...”
 (Berne_Servius.008)
- ii. [VP is [ADJP-PRED **cuilech**]]
 “It is unclean.”
 (Corpus_Christi_Canons.009)
- iii. [CP mad [ADJP-PRED **fír**] ...]
 “if be true”
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.047)
- iv. [NEGP **ni** [ADJP-PRED **moa**] ...]
 “(it is) not more ...”
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.069)
- v. [CP in [ADJP-PRED **fír**]]
 “whether it is true”
 (Vatican_Computus.021)
- vi. [VP-REL(P) **donnatdet** [ADJP-PRED **adblama**] ...]
 “for whom ... are not ready.”
 (Turin_Peter.002)
- vii. [VP am [ADJP-PRED **román**]]
 “I am Roman.”
 (Armagh_Glosses.081a)

b. *Multi-word adjective phrases governed by the copula*

- i. [VP is [ADJP-PRED **huilliu de**] [DP-SBJ **mo fíreicsiu**]]
 “My hope is the greater ...”
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.025)
- ii. ... [VP-SUB **as** [ADJP-PRED **etergnaid dunni**] [DP-SBJ **aní sin**]]
 “...that has been known to us.”
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.08)

- iii. ... [VP-REL(SUBJ) ruptar [ADJP-PRED ardda dun nai]]
 "... that were high to us"
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.022)
 - iv. ... [VP-REL(SUBJ) as [ADJP-PRED immaircide fridliged argument]]
 "what is fitting according to the law of the argument"
 (Vatican_Computus.016)
- c. *Single/Multi-word adjective phrases governed by a null or elided copula*
- i. [ADJP-PRED ísli doib som]
 "low to them"
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.022)
 - ii. [ADJP-PRED hirem]
 "farthest"
 (Leiden_Boethius.007)
 - iii. [ADJP-PRED fochen linn]
 "welcome to us"
 (Laon_Cassiodorus.010)
- d. *Discontinuous Multi-word adjective phrases governed by a copula*

Discontinuous phrases are here indicated by a phrase within curly brackets in two places. The first instance of the curly brackets are empty and show where discontinuous phrase should be interpreted. The second instance of the curly brackets contain the items to be interpreted. In COIMG (filemaker version), discontinuous phrases can be searched by inserting the desired tag in the Syntax field and inserted "((" in the Phrase field.

- i. ... [VP-REL(OBL) bas [ADJP-PRED laigu {}] [NP-SBJ cachmí aescā] {oldoas trichtaige}]
 "... is less by twelve hours only than a space of thirty days."
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.001)
- ii. ... [VP-REL(PP) arndid [ADJP-PRED ísliu {}] [NP-SBJ æscæ] {quam sol}]
 "... for which the moon is lower than the sun?"
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.144)

2 Adverb Phrases

2.1 ADVERBS AS HEAD OF ADVP

All adverbs head an adverb phrase (ADVP).

- a. *Single-word adverb phrases headed by POS adverb*
- i. [ADVP doig]
 'likely'

(Karlsruhe_Augustine.016)

- ii. [ADVP anúas]
‘above’
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.024)

- iii. [ADVP bés]
‘perhaps’
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.082)

- iv. [ADVP statim]
‘regularly’
(Karlsruhe_Bede.007)

b. *Multi-word adverb phrases*

- i. [ADVP sunt sís]
“here below”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.006)

- ii. [ADVP septies in die]
“seven times a day”
(Vatican_Psalter_Commentary.024)

2.2 OTHER POS AS HEAD OF ADVP

Several other parts of speech head adverb phrases:

a. *Single-word adverb phrases headed by POS adjective* (analysis: dat.sg.)

- i. [ADVP nuu]
‘recently’
(Augustine-Enchiridion.118)

b. *Single-word adverb phrases headed by POS adjective governed by a preposition*

- i. [PP cō [ADVP gaīr]]
“until recently”
(Paris_Computus.005)

c. *Single-word adverb phrases headed by interrogative, such as ‘where’, ‘when’*

- i. [ADVP can]
‘whence’
(Augustine-Enchiridion.101)

3 Compounds

3.1 SIMPLE COMPOUNDS

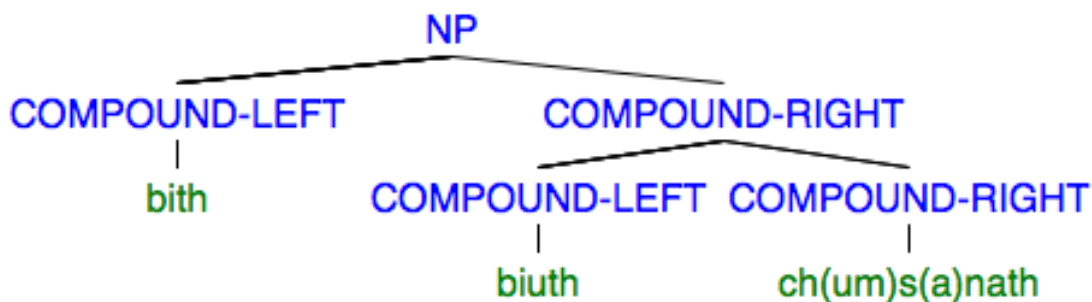
Compounds consist of two elements which are labelled COMPOUND-LEFT and COMPOUND-RIGHT. Together, the two members make up a single phrase which derives its label from the POS label of the right-most item, cf. the ADJP example above in section 1.1 b. iii.

- i. [NP [COMPOUND-LEFT bith] [COMPOUND-RIGHT ingabál]]
“perpetual reproach”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.003)
- ii. [NP [COMPOUND-LEFT slin] [COMPOUND-RIGHT tech]]
“shingle-roofed house”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.091)
- iii. [NP [COMPOUND-LEFT nau] [COMPOUND-RIGHT eirchinniuch]]
“ship’s captain”
(Armagh_Glosses.087)

3.2 COMPLEX COMPOUNDS

Very occasionally, there are more complex examples in which one of the compound members is itself a compound. However, the tagging does not change. The normal compound tags are merely nested within the other tags. Such nested structures are more easily visualized as a tree, as below.

- i. [NP [COMPOUND-LEFT bith] [COMPOUND-RIGHT [COMPOUND-LEFT biuth] [COMPOUND-RIGHT ch<um>s<a>nath]]]
“perpetual rest from the world”
(Vienna_Bede.015)



4 Conjunction Phrases

4.1 CONJUNCTIONS AS HEAD OF CONJP

Some items with POS conjunction head conjunction phrases (CONJP). These items introduce coordination or discoordination (i.e. disjunction).

- i. ... [CONJP ȝ būnni]
“... or four-footed pots”
(Corpus_Christi_Canons.007)
- ii. ... [CONJP uel zezaniæ]
“... or tares”
(Laurentinus_Philargyrius.016)
- iii. ... [CONJP 7 lai griandi]
“... and the solar day”
(Vatican_Computus.014)
- iv. ... [CONJP et interpretatur uisio lucis]
“... and it is interpreted as vision of light”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.149)
- v. ... [CONJP ȝ dorochoir ifiacli]
“... or it fell onto teeth”
(Munich_Sortilegia.013)
- vi. ... [CONJP asse ma]
“...and more”
(Turin_Peter.016)

4.2 CONJUNCTIONS THAT DO NOT HEAD CONJP

A large number of items which are labeled as conjunction do not head CONJP, but rather CP, for which see section 5. These ‘conjunctions’ could also be labeled ‘complementizers’. They introduce subordinate clauses not coordinate clauses or phrases. That is, typically clauses headed by ‘conjunctions’ of this sort are governed by some item in a main clause or by the (head of the) main clause itself.

5 Complementizer/Clausal Phrases

5.1 LIST OF HEADS OF CP

Subordinating conjunctions, or ‘complementizers’, head complementizer or clausal phrases (CP). CPs consist of the complementizer that heads the phrase and a VP(-SUB) (schema 1, below). Sometimes the VP is embedded within a NEGP (schema 2, below).

- i. SCHEMA 1: [CP complementiser + [VP ...]]
- ii. SCHEMA 2: [CP complementiser + [NEGP [VP ...]]]

The following is a list of ‘complementizers’ in COIMG. Actual examples of CPs are found below in 5.2.

- iii. *a* 5 ‘when’
- iv. *acht* 2 ‘save, except that, provided that’ (not in the meaning ‘but’, which is coordinating)
- v. *adas* 2 ‘although, even if’
- vi. *ar* 2 ‘because, for, since’
- vii. *ara* ‘in order that, so that, that’
- viii. *cía* 2 ‘although, even if’
- ix. *co* 3 ‘so that, that, until’
- x. *co* 4 ‘so that’
- xi. *dég* ‘because of (the fact that), in return for (the fact that)’
- xii. *día* 3 ‘if, when’
- xiii. *dús* ‘to see if, whether’
- xiv. *in* 2 ‘question particle’
- xv. *ma* ‘if, according to’
- xvi. *óndí* ‘because (of the fact that)’
- xvii. *quam* (Lat) ‘than’
- xviii. *quandō* (Lat) ‘when’
- xix. *quasī* (Lat) ‘as if’
- xx. *quia* (Lat) ‘because, that’
- xxi. *sī* (Lat) ‘if’
- xxii. *úaire* ‘when, since’
- xxiii. *ut* (Lat) ‘so that, that, as’

Another way of dividing this list is into (a) conjunct particles (*ara*, *co* 3, *día* 3, *in* 2), (b) grammaticalized (pro)nominals or adjectives (*a* 5, *adas* 2, *cía* 2, *ma*, *úaire*), (c) ‘frozen’ phrases (*dús*, *dég*, *óndí*), (d) prepositions used with a special function (*acht* 2, *ar* 2, *co* 4), (e) Latin subordinating conjunctions.

In addition to the above conjunctions (labelled conjunction in POS), the following two items, a pronoun and adjective respectively, may head a CP in the noted meanings.

- xxiv. *quī* (Lat) in the nom.sg.neut. as a subordinating conjunction: ‘since’
- xxv. *fīu* ‘worthy, meet, fitting, worth’, when it glosses a conjunction in the meaning ‘as’

5.2 EXAMPLES OF CP

- i. [CP *co* [_{VP-SUB} *ndib ó kalendis ianuarii*]]
“that it should be from the calends of January.”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.094)
- ii. [CP *quando* [_{VP-SUB} *dixit in semine tuo reliqua*]]
“when he said in your seed, etc.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.061)

- iii. [CP cia [VP-SUB batar degtacrae les]]
“although he had good arguments”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.057)
- iv. [CP ma [VP-SUB d fir in brithemnacht bess in mente]]
“if the judgment that is in the mind be true”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.047)

5.3 MULTIPLE CPS

Sometimes a CP can be governed by a CP. There is no special tag for this situation.

- i. [CP dú [CP in [NEG-SUB nad [VP-SUB nutmaligetar]]]]
“whether they are not unsteady”
(lit. “to see if they are not unsteady”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.049)

6 Deictic Particles

When the distal particle *sin* (Headword *-sin*) or the proximate particle (Headwords *-so*, *-se*) are found as the last element of a DP phrase that consists of a determiner that governs a noun phrase, they head a ‘Distal’ (DIST) or ‘Proximate’ (PROX) phrase respectively. Stressed deictic particles (Headword *sin* 1, *só*, *sé* 2) are nominal heads in their own right. See the examples 14.1b (v), 14.6 (v), 14.8a (v), 14.11 (vi), below.

a. *Non-Nominal Distal Particle sin*

- i. ... [DP-ADV in tucht [DIST sin]]
“... (in) that way”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.041)
- ii. [DP-ADV intan [DIST sin]] ...
“At that time ...”
Cadmug_Gospels.006
- iii. ... [DP-PCOMP sindargumaint [DIST sin]]
“... that argument”
(Vienna_Bede.077)
- iv. ... [DP-COM insp<irto> secht .n. delbich [DIST sin]] ...
“... that septi-form spirit ...”
(Armagh_Glosses.030)

b. *Adverbial particle tall as head of DIST*

- i. [DP indnaithr humaithe [DIST thal]] ...
“that bronze serpent”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.104)

c. *Non-Nominal Proximate Particle so/se*

- i. [PP ar [DP-PCOMP un méit [PROX se]]]
“as far as this”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.070)
- ii. [DP-ADV infecht [PROX sa]]
“this time”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.025)
- iii. [DP-ADV inmécit [PROX so]]
“(to) this extent”
(Augustine-Enchridion.010)

7 Discourse Particles

Discourse particles head a so-called ‘discourse phrase’ (DiscP).

- i. [DISCP aém]
‘indeed’
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.076)
- ii. [DISCP didiu]
‘then’
(Armagh_Glosses.018)
- iii. [DISCP dano]
‘moreover’
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.041)
- iv. [DISCP tamen]
‘yet’
(Laurentinus_Philargyrius.108)
- v. [DISCP immurgu]
‘however’
(Laon_Cassiodorus.013)

8 Irish Infinitival Phrases (*accusativus cum infinitivo*)

The Irish *accusativus cum infinitivo* (often also a *nominativus cum infinitivo*) construction is formed by preposing a nominal phrase to a prepositional phrase headed by *do* that governs a verbal noun. In the database this is viewed as a special right *and* left branching structure with the tag do+VN. In other words, the preposed nominal phrase is viewed as a subconstituent of the do+VN phrase. The fact that the preposed nominal phrase is, at least sometimes, not treated as part of the higher clause is clear from examples (ii) and (iii), especially. In (ii) the verb of the main clause is singular, evn though *di buáir deac* should trigger plural agreement. In (iii)

the head that governs the infinitival *do*+VN phrase is a verbal noun and the preposed nominal phrase *ní* ought to therefore be marked as genitive, contrary to fact. It is facts such as these that motivate the analysis adopted in COIMG. This is not to deny that the boundary between main clause and infinitival phrase was fluid and subject to historical change during the Old Irish and even Middle Irish period. For the tagging of the preposed nominal, see subsections 13.3c, 14.3c, 15.2b. The phrase headed by verbal noun itself is tagged as a NP-PCOMP, in recognition of the fact that *do* was at least originally a prepositional element that governed prepositional complements (see subsection 14.8b).

For expository purposes only, the right and left branching structure proposed for the *do*+VN phrase in COIMG is highlighted by the fact that the head, *do*, is bold in the examples below. Within the database itself, special indication of the head is unnecessary in the Phrase Field, since the tag *do*+VN is only used with a Morph of the Headword *do*. For discussion of this construction and its historical development, see Disterheft (1982, 1984), Gagnepain (1963), Genée (1997), Guilfoyle (1997), and Lash (2012).

- i. ... [_{do+VN} noichtiche colleuth **duárim** inēscu]
 “... to reckon a period of twenty-nine days with a half in the moon”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.002)
- ii. ... [_{do+VN} di huáir deac namma **duthesbuith** iar ndligud slán salto]
 “... that twelve hours only are lacking according to the sound law of the leap”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.005)
- iii. [_{do+VN} ní **dodén**um]
 “to do something”
 (Laon_Cassiodorus.007)
- iv. [_{do+VN} xii horae **do** accomol ad .x.]
 “to add twelve hours to ten; thus, twenty-two.”
 (Vienna_Bede.039)
- v. [_{do+VN} in lethrann sin **do** scribund]
 “to write that couplet”
 (Paris_Gregory_the_Great.001)

9 Focus Particles

There are several particles that introduce focus-like nominal or verbal phrases. They may be termed ‘focus particles’. In the corpus they are tagged as POS: particle, classification: focus. The most common focus particles are *cí* (pl. *cí*) ‘even’, *nammá* ‘only’ (focus where the governing phrase is positive), *acht* ‘only’ (focus where the governing phrase is negative). The Latin particle *tantum* ‘only’ is also counted as an focus particle. Focus particles are parsed as if they head their own phrase, an FP. FPs may be either be the leftmost or rightmost element of the phrases that is delimited by focus.

- a. *FP as left-branch of a phrase*

- i. ... [DP-COM [FP cid] indfretussa]
“... even of the dowry”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.029)
 - ii. ... [NP-APP [FP cid] edon]
“... even that”
(Augustine-Enchiridion.024)
 - iii. ... [NP-OBJ [FP acht] bliadni sláin]
“only ... a whole year”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.083)
 - iv. ... [NP-PCOMP [FP cíth] besti béoa]
“... even living beasts”
(Southampton_Psalter_Glosses.016)
- b. *FP as right-branch of a phrase*
- i. ... [NUMP-PCOMP ndib ñuarib deac [FP nammá]]
“... twelve hours only”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.001)
 - ii. ... [NUMP-APP di huáir deac [FP namma]]
“... twelve hours only”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.005)
 - iii. ... [NP-PRED grammatic [FP tantum]] ...
“... grammar only ...”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.079)

10 Interjections

There are two uses of the tag INTJP.

- a. *Phrases headed by interjections*
- i. [INTJP uup]
‘woe!’
(Bern_Donatus.003)
 - ii. [INTJP he]
‘hey’
(Vatican_Psalter_Commentary.010)
 - iii. [INTJP sirson]
‘hurrah!’

(Vatican_Psalter_Commentary.010)

- iv. [INTJP uch]
‘oh!’
(Laurentinus_Philargyrius.092)

- v. [INTJP naicc]
‘not/no’
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.106)

- vi. [INTJP ate]
‘truly/indeed/no’
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.045)

b. *Phrases headed by other parts of speech acting as interjections*

- i. [INTJP ait]
‘pleasant!’
(Vatican_Psalter_Commentary.001) (*aitt* is an adjective)
- ii. [INTJP ón]
‘thus/so’
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.051) (*ón* is a pronoun)
- iii. [INTJP cair]
‘why’
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.008) (*cair* is an interrogative particle)

11 Negation Phrases

There are two types of negative heads in Old Irish and therefore two types of negation/negative phrases: the main clause negation particle *ní* (also *nícon*) and the subordinate negation particles *ná*, *nad*, *nach*.

11.1 NEGP

NEGP denotes main clauses headed by main clause negation particles: *ní*, *nícon*. Clauses headed by NEGP typically govern VPs.⁷

⁷ This is also the tag used when the negative phrase is embedded within a non-conjunct particle that heads a complementizer phrase, *ma* ‘if’, *cía* 2 ‘although’, and *ar* 2 ‘for’, for instance. The verb phrase governed by such a negative phrase is marked as subordinate (see subsection 17.4.1b). For example:

- i. ... [CP *ma* [NEGP *ní* [VP-SUB *eróima óneuch*]]
“... unless he receive it from someone.”
(Armagh_Glosses.073)
- ii. [CP *air* [NEGP *ní* [VP-SUB *rabæ inspiurt nóib les intansin*]]
“For the Holy Spirit has not been with him then.”

- i. ... [NEGP ni [VP tiagat [NP-SBJ saidai] [PP sech satuirn suas]]]
“... they do not go up past Saturn,”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.029)
- ii. ... [NEGP ni [VP p [PP ar [NP-PCOMP étrud]]]]
“(it be) not for lust”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.032)
- iii. [NEGP ni [VP Ø [ADJP-PRED comarlecti]]]
“It is not to be permitted.”
(Augustine-Enchridion.105)
- iv. [NEGP nicon [VP scithigfar]]
“I will never become tired.”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.062)

11.2 NEGP-SUB

NEGP-SUB denotes a subordinate or relative clauses headed by subordinate clause negation particles: *ná*, *nad*, *nach*. Clauses tagged NEGP-SUB typically govern various types of VP-SUB and VP-REL.

- i. [NEGP-SUB nad [VP-SUB beth [NP-PRED esce]]]
“so that it was not a month”
(Munich_Jerome_Commentary_on_Luke.001)
- ii. ... [NEGP-SUB nád [VP-SUB foirmtigim [NP-SBJ se]]]
“... that I do not envy”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.037)
- iii. ... [CP ar [NEGP-SUB na [VP-SUB p [PP samlid] ...]]]
“... that ... should not be thus”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.062)
- iv. [VP-REL(PP) Ø [VBCOMPLEX(PP) di [NEGP-SUB nach [ADJP-PRED follus]]]]⁸
“to whom it is not clear”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.093)

12 Nominal Phrases

(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.071)

⁸ In general, VP-REL is governed by NEGP-SUB. When, however, the tag of the verbal phrase is VP-REL(PP), NEGP-SUB is tagged as if it were governed by VP-REL(PP). This is because it is only this case that the negative item follows elements that are clearly part of the verbal complex and the verbal complex itself is always governed by VP.

The term ‘nominal phrase’ is an umbrella term for noun phrases (NP), determiner phrases (DP), and numeral phrases (NUMP). These three phrase types are interrelated and have largely the same basic structure. since they are all, ultimately, contain an NP. NP consists of a noun that heads the phrase and a complement. This can be embedded first within a NUMP, consisting of the numeral that heads the phrase and the NP as complement. This structure can then be embedded within a DP. The DP consists of the determiner that heads the phrase and the NUMP as complement. DPs may also just consist of a determiner and an NP complement. The two schemata just described are presented in (a-b), below. Both NPs and DPs may also include an FP as a left-branching constituent (see section 9). This is shown in schema (c-d). DPs may also include a deictic as a right-branching constituent (see section 6). This is shown in (e). Occasionally, a numeral phrase does not govern an NP, as shown in (f-g). Similarly, NP need not be governed by either NUMP or DP, as shown in (h).

- i. [DP determiner [NUMP numeral [NP noun ...]]]
- ii. [DP determiner [NP noun ...]]
- iii. [NP [FP ...] noun ...]
- iv. [DP [FP ...] determiner [NP noun ...]]
- v. [DP determiner [NP noun ...] [deictic ‘phrase’]]
- vi. [DP determiner [NUMP numeral ...]]
- vii. [NUMP numeral ...]
- viii. [NP noun ...]

The above schemata cover the main similarities, differences, and interrelations between the three kinds of nominal phrases. What has been thus far left out is any mention of the kinds of complements allowed within nominal phrase, that is, what is necessary is a specification of the types of phrases that can replace “...” in the schemata above. Largely, this involves listing the complements of NP, since NP is the core element of most of the schemata.

The complement of NP can be any of the following:

- ix. ADJP
- x. NP-COM
- xi. NP-POS
- xii. DP-COM
- xiii. NUMP-COM
- xiv. NP-APP
- xv. NP-ADV (This refers specifically to the stressed demonstratives *sin*, *só*, *sín* after the deictic particle *í* 2, see subsection 14.2b.)
- xvi. PP
- xvii. VP-REL
- xviii. VP-SUB (This refers specifically to predicate-governed subordinate clauses where the governing item is a verbal noun, see 17.4.1a (iv).)

There can be more than one complement of NP, as shown in (xix), where XP-COM (which may be doubled or replaced with NP-POS) refers to any phrasal item with the functional tag -COM, and “...” means that even more complements could be added. Other schemata for more than one complement are possible. The schemata in (xx-xxii) show only some of the various possibilities. Occasionally, the complement(s) and the head of the phrase is/are, as shown in (xxiii), where {} denotes the fact that the complement is separated from the head.

- xix. [NP noun [XP-COM]/[NP-POS] [XP-COM] ...]
- xx. [NP noun [PP] [XP-COM]/[NP-POS]]
- xxi. [NP noun [XP-COM]/[NP-POS] [VP-REL]]
- xxii. [NP noun [PP] [VP-REL]]
- xxiii. [NP noun {}] ... {XP-COM ...}

Since both DP and NUMP typically contain (govern) NP, the complements mentioned in ix-xviii are all also complements of DP and NUMP. Likewise, DP and NUMP may have multiple complements as detailed in xix-xxiii by virtue of the fact that DP and NUMP typically contain NP. In addition, DP and NUMP also may also govern an apposite phrase of the same type:

- xxiv. [DP determiner [NP noun ...] [DP-APP ...]]
- xxv. [DP numeral [NP noun ...] [NUMP-APP ...]]

Examples xvii and xxi-xxii showed that a relative clause (VP-REL) is typically a complement in a noun phrase. When this is so, the noun acts as the antecedent of the relative clause. There is at least two contexts when a relative clause is not a subconstituent of a noun phrase, namely, in cleft sentences or specificational sentences. In these two sentence types the relative clause may be called a “headless” relative clause, meaning that it lacks an antecedent. Instead the relative clause itself functions as a constituent of the clause in its own right. Consider the following schemata and notice that in xxvii and xxviii, VP-REL is not embedded within (governed by) NP, unlike in xxvi. For more information above cleft and specificational sentences, see 17.1b-c. For more on headless relative clauses, see Breatnach (1980), O’Brien (1956), and especially Ó Cathasaigh (1990).

- xxvi. Antecedent governed relative clause:
[NP noun [VP-REL ...]]
- xxvii. Headless relative clause as subject in cleft sentences:
[VP-CLEFT [NP-PRED ...] [VP-REL ...]]
- xxviii. Headless relative clause as subject or appositive in specificational sentences
[VP-SPEC [NP-PRED ...] [VP-REL ...] [DP/NP-APP ...]] or
[VP-SPEC [NP-PRED ...] [DP/NP-SBJ ...] [VP-REL ...]]

13 Determiner Phrases

Determiner phrases are headed by ‘determiners’. This is an umbrella category for items such as the definite article (in 1), possessive pronouns (*mo, do, a, ar, for*), indefinite or interrogative pronoun (*sechi, cia, cid*), quantifiers (*cach, nach/na*). There are a large number of determiner-phrase types, which are exemplified in the various subsections below.

13.1 DP

- a. *Ungoverned phrases headed by a determiner*

- i. [DP in [NP gulpan]]
“the beak”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.027)
 - ii. [DP a [NP ninunn]]
“the same”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.172)
 - iii. [DP mo [NP slántu fadéin]]
“my own well-being”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.026)
 - iv. [DP sechi [NP leth]]
“whichever direction”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.105)
- b. *The non-initial conjunct of a coordinate phrase consisting of two or more DPs or a DP and an NP if the non-initial conjunct is headed by a determiner.*
- i. [NP-SBJ slántu cáich] [CONJP 7 [DP á [NP sonarte]]]
“the well-being of every one and his strength”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.039)
 - ii. [DP ind [NUMP da [NP la]]] [CONJP 7 [DP inna [NUMP IIII. [NP hore]]]
“the two days and the four hours”
(Vienna_Bede.026)
 - iii. [DP-SBJ á [NP nétach]] [CONJP 7 [DP a [NP mbiad]]] [CONJP 7 [DP a [NP ndeug ...]]]
“the raiment and their food and their drink”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.051)

13.2 DP-ADV

Determiner phrases with adverbial meanings are tagged DP-ADV. There are a small number of nouns or substantivized adjectives that are embedded within a DP-ADV. Some are: *cián* (acc.sg. *céin*) ‘far distance, long time’, *cruth* ‘form’, *fecht* ‘time’, *méit* ‘extent’, *tan* ‘time’, *tucht* ‘manner’, *úair* ‘time’ (dat.sg. in the sense ‘turn’). These are exemplified under (a), below. Additionally, dat.sg.neut. adjectives used as citation forms of adverbs are preceded by a determiner and are tagged as DP-ADV. This is exemplified under (b), below.

- a. *General DP-ADV*
- i. ... [DP-ADV in [NP céin [ADJP naili]]]
“... (at) the other time”
(Vienna_Bede.012)
 - ii. ... [DP-ADV in [NP fecht] [PROX sa]]
“... (at) this time”

(Karlsruhe_Augustine.025)

- iii. [DP-ADV in [NP méit] [PROX so]]
“to this extent”
(Augustine-Enchridion.010)
 - iv. ... [DP-ADV in [NP tan] [DIST sin]]
‘then’ (lit. “(at) that time”)
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.071)
 - v. ... [DP-ADV in [NP tucht] [DIST sin]]
“... (in) that way/manner”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.041)
 - vi. ... [DP-ADV a [NP uuair]]
“... in turn” (lit. “(at) his time”)
(Berne_Servius.008)
- b. *Adverbs derived from Adjectives*
- i. [DP-ADV in [ADJP denim]]
“(in a) weak (way)”
(Corpus_Christi_Canons.005)
 - ii. [DP-ADV in [ADJP dilmainiu]]
“more freely”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.092)
 - iii. [DP-ADV in [ADJP docrig]]
‘unshapely’
(Augustine-Enchridion.110)
 - iv. [DP-ADV in [ADJP rembic]]
“a little before”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.104)
 - v. [DP-ADV ind [ADJP óa]]
‘less’
(Karlsruhe_Bede.115)
 - vi. [DP-ADV cách [ADJP díríuch]]
“straight”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.032)

13.3 DP-APP

The -APP in this tag is short for “appositive”. This tag is used in three contexts, as discussed below.

a. *Afterthoughts or clarifications*

DP-APP is used for nominal phrases that function as afterthoughts or clarifications added to already present nominal phrases.

- i. biduo .i. [DP-APP allaithe ñ dedenach diud noichtich] [CONJP 7 phrím archiunn]]
 “*biduo* (i.e. continuing for two days), that is, the last day [at] the end of a period of twenty-nine days and the first following”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.033)
- ii. [DP aní foirbthigther .i. [DP-APP aní forfenar]]
 “that which is perfected, that is, that which is completed”
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.034)
- iii. [VP-SPEC is [NP-PRED sí] [DP-SBJ insin] [NP-APP aram indi [DP-APP acuiretha<r>]]]
 “That is the number in it, what he puts,”
 (Vienna_Bede.077)

b. *The required non-predicate/ non-subject constituent in a ‘specificational’ copular sentence when this is headed by determiner.*

‘Specificational’ copular sentences are copular sentences with three required constituents, beside the copula itself: (a) the predicate (always a pronoun), (b) the subject nominal phrase, (c) a non-predicate/non-subject nominal phrase. The tag DP-APP is used for cases of (c), if the constituent is headed by a determiner and the DP-APP is the third constituent of VP-SPEC (i.e. not in the left periphery, see DP-LEF in subsection 9.5b). More information about specificational copula sentences is found below in subsection 17.1b.

- i. [VP-SPEC hit [NP-PRED é] [DP-SBJ spatia] [DP-APP narree fil á terra usque ad XII. signa]]
 “*Spatia* (i.e. the spaces) are the spaces which are from the earth up until the twelve signs [of the Zodiac].”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.027)
- ii. [VP-SPEC is [NP-PRED sí] [DP-SBJ ind remaisndis] [DP-APP inso]]
 “This is the pre-declaration.”
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.019)

c. *DP-APP as first constituent in a do+VN phrase*

The tag DP-APP is used for the preposed nominal constituent in a do+VN phrase (section 8), if it is headed by a determiner.

- i. [DO+VN [DP-APP in lethrann sin] do scribund]
 “to write that couplet” (lit. “that couplet to write”)
 (Paris_Gregory_the_Great.001)

13.4 DP-COM

Complements that are headed by determiners are tagged as NP-COM. This includes most phrases with a genitive-marked determiner.⁹ There are two types.

- a. *The general case: DP Complement modifies the governing phrase.*
 - i. [PP a [NP-COM mmedón [DP-COM in [NP domuin]]]] ...
“out of the midst of the word ...”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.052)
 - ii. [PP di [DP-COM n [NP chamull [DP-COM in [NP diumsa]]]]]
“from the camel of pride”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.043)
 - iii. [NP-COM scél [DP-COM ina [NP rechto]]]
“of the stories of the law”
(St._Caimín’s_Psalter.001)
- b. *Special case: NP Complement doubles or expands on information in the head of the governing phrase.*
 - i. ... [DP a [NP ndeug [DP-COM inna [NP ní prithchite hiris]]]]
“the drink of those who preach the faith”
(lit. “their drink of those who preach the faith”)
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.051)

13.5 DP-LEF

This tag is used for left-dislocated nominal phrases headed by a determiner. Although most Old Irish clauses begin with either a verb or a conjunction/complementizer particle, some may also begin with a nominal phrase. Such clauses have the general form: DP + VP, or DP + CP. The verb in such cases is not marked as relative, unless relative morphology is triggered by a conjunction/complementizer, where one is present. The lack of relative morphology, in the general case, distinguishes left-dislocated DPs from DPs that function as antecedents of relative clauses. It should be noted that VPs (and CPs) which contain a left-dislocated DP are parsed in COIMG as left and right branching structures. The left branch consists of the left-dislocated DP.

In a more detailed analysis of Old Irish syntax, a distinction could be made between Clitic Left Dislocation and Left Dislocation proper. Clitic Left Dislocation refers to a situation in which a nominal phrase is placed in the left periphery and a corresponding

⁹ Even genitive-marked DPs that are ungoverned are marked as DP-COM:

- i. [DP-COM inna monistre .i. [DP-APP inna coitchennbetath]]
“of the monasteries; that is, of the monastic life”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.210)

resumptive element is found as a ‘place holder’ within the clause, i.e. after the verb. Left Dislocation proper refers to a situation in which the nominal phrase is placed in the left periphery with no resumptive element taking its place within the clause. This fine detail is not necessarily relevant to the tagging of COIMG, however, since there are a few enough examples of any kind of Left Dislocation, so that it is easy for the user to examine each case individually.

In the traditional literature, some left-dislocated DPs are said to be *nominativus pendens*, i.e. ‘hanging nominatives’. This corresponds to the information-structural term Hanging Topic, which may be appropriate for describing the majority of left-dislocated DPs. The term ‘left-dislocated DP’ is preferred here, however, because it is neutral in that it does not presuppose that the function of placing a DP at the left periphery of the clause has anything to do with information structuring, although this may be the case in fact. More research is certainly needed to find out more about the motivation for left-dislocation in Old Irish. Some previous research is found in Mac Cana (1973, 1996) and MacCoisdealbha (1998).

It is perhaps useful to distinguish between DP-LEF in ordinary clauses (examples under (a), below), and DP-LEF as a preposed non-predicate/non-subject constituent in VP-SPEC clauses (examples (b), below). For more information about VP-SPEC, see subsection 17.1b, below.

a. *In ordinary clauses*

- i. [VP [DP-LEF cach [NOMP óin dodgéna samlid]] bid reid riam cach namreid]]
“Anyone who shall do it thus, every rough thing will be smooth before him.”
(Berne_Servius.008)
- ii. [VP [DP-LEF a [NP ní doruthethaig adam hipardus]] robu dithrub ho chríst]
“That which Adam had possessed in Paradise, it was [made] a desert by Christ,”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.013)

b. *As preposed non-predicate/non-subject constituent in VP-SPEC*

- i. [VP-SPEC [DP-LEF in [NP mess duchoaid fordiabul]] is hé rigas forru]]
“The judgment that has gone upon the Devil, it is that which will go upon them.”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.004)

13.6 DP-OBJ

This tag is mostly used for DPs that function as the object in transitive clauses, as exemplified under (a). It is also used for nominal phrases headed by a determiner whose noun is marked as accusative, even if the phrase is not part of an entire sentence, as shown under (b)

a. *DP-OBJ in full sentences*

- i. ... [VP-SUB asrubartmar [DP-OBJ inna [NP clocha bíte inelluch intalman]]]

“... we have mentioned the stones that are in the mass of the earth”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.066)

- ii. ... [CP con [VP-SUB tinola [DP-OBJ inna [NP huili doilbthi]]]]
“that he should collect all the formations”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.073)

- iii. [VP-REL(SUBJ) immefolngat [DP-OBJ ha [NP tristimchel [NUMP-COM deacc ...]]]]
“what consistute its thirteenth circuit ...”
(Vienna_Bede.026)

- iv. ... [VP-SUB ad citaacæ [NP-SBJ rebecca] [DP-OBJ in [NP ní [NP-APP isác]]]]
“... Rebecca first saw that one, Isaac.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.043) (*ad citaacæ* for *cita · accæ*)

- v. [VP roséna [NP-SBJ dia] [DP-OBJ mo [NP láma]] [ADVP hodie]]
“May God bless my hands today!”
(Laon_Cassiodorus.009)

- v. [VP foselgatar [DP-SBJ a [NP brathir]] [DP-OBJ a [NP tunig som]] [PP do [NP-PCOMP fuil]
...]
“His brothers smeared his coat with blood ...”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.103)

b. *isolated (ungoverned), accusative-marked nominal phrases tagged as DP-OBJ*

- i. [DP-OBJ ín [NP naudbirt .i. [DP-COM in [NP cáisc]]]]
“the offering, namely, of the Passover (i.e. the Paschal Lamb)”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.198)
- ii. [DP-OBJ in [NP nerchoimded]]
“the excuse”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.058)

13.7 DP-PCOMP

When the complement of a preposition is headed by a determiner, the complement phrase is tagged as a DP-PCOMP.

- i. [PP iter [DP-PCOMP na [NUMP secht ñairñdrecha]]]
“between the seven planets”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.005)
- ii. [PP ho [DP-PCOMP nai [NP sleidmenaib]]]
“from the slaverings”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.064)

- iii. [PP ér [DP-PCOMP sná [NP súthaib]]]
“after the offsprings”
(Southampton_Psalter_Glosses.040)
- iv. [PP i [DP-PCOMP sin [NP domun]]]
“in the world”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.012)
- v. [PP o [DP-PCOMP nd [NP foras]]]
“from the waxing”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.153)

13.8 DP-PRED

The tag DP-PRED is used for nominal phrases headed by a determiner that act as a predicate. Typically, such phrases only occur in cleft sentences or in Latin. Both of these situations are exemplified below.

- i. ... [VP-CLEFT it [DP-PRED na huili besgna] [VP-REL(SBJ) ata fira per dialecticam]]
“... it is all the disciplines that are true through dialectic.”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.079)
- ii. [VP-CLEFT Ø [DP-PRED cech dason] [VP-REL(OBJ) dombersom bēus]]
“(It is) two words each that he continues to put.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.001)
- iii. [VP-CLEFT Ø [DP-PRED cach rí gaibés fláithíus óc híurusalem] [VP-REL(SBJ) fóthruícther esin lindsen.]
“(It is) every king who assumes the sovereignty at Jerusalem that is bathed in that pool.”
(Southampton_Psalter_Glosses.012)
- iv. [VP [DP-PRED noster figulus] enim est]
“For he is our maker.”
(Augustine-Enchiridion.083)

13.9 DP-SBJ

- i. [VP adcomrad [DP-SBJ a [NP eric]]]
“His *éraicc* has been paid.”
(Paris_Glossae_Divinae_Historiae.044)
- ii. ... [VP dognither [DP-SBJ in [NP chorcur buide]]]
“... the ‘yellow purple’ is made.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.091)

- iii. ... [VP-REL(OBL) as [ADJP-PRED laigu {}] [DP-SBJ a [NP nésca]] {VP-REL(OBL) oldoas trichtaige}]
 "... the (lunar) month is less than an interval of thirty-days"
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.005)
- iv. [VP is [NP-PRED báile {}] [DP-SBJ inso síis] {VP-REL(SUBJ) as incertus}]
 "This below is a place that is uncertain."
 (Armagh_Glosses.003)
- v. [CP a [VP-SUB ndusleicet [DP-SBJ inna rind] ...]
 "when the planets sink (themselves)..."
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.022)

14 Noun Phrases

Noun phrases are headed by nouns, pronouns (independent, interrogative, etc.), pronominal particles such as the *notae augentes*, and substantivized adjectives.

14.1 NP

a. *Ungoverned phrases headed by a noun*

- i. [NP daintech]
 'harrows'
 (Vatican_Glossae_Divinae_Historiae.024)
- ii. [NP sossoiti]
 'supports'
 (Vatican_Glossae_Divinae_Historiae.023) (*sossoiti* for *rossoiti*)
- iii. [NP octh gacha sardua: Lailu]
 "fir pine which is higher than another"
 (Laurentinus_Philargyrius.059) (standardized: *ochgach as ardu alailin*)

b. *NPs governed by a DP or NUMP*

- i. [PP for [DP-PCOMP snaib [NP caircib]]]
 "on the crags"
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.091)
- ii. ... [DP-COM in [NP popoil]]
 "... of the people"
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.088)
- iii. [NUMP-SBJ da [NP boc]]
 "two he-goats"
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.086)

- iv. [DP-SBJ in [NP sen]]
‘that’
(Southampton_Psalter_Glosses.012)
- v. [DP-SBJ in [NP so]]
‘this’
(Karlsruhe_Bede.090)

14.2 NP-ADV

This tag is used in two contexts.

- a. *(Dative) nouns that express an adverbial meaning*

for noun phrases headed by nouns, usually in the dative case, that express an adverbial meaning. This is used for a few Irish expressions with ungoverned dative-marked nouns , and for Latin noun phrases headed by a dative noun.

- i. [NP-ADV aithirriuch]
‘again’
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.056)
- ii. [NP-ADV mbiuth]
‘world’ (in idiomatic phrase comairbirt mbiuth “practice”)
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.080)
- iii. [NP-ADV follibus]
“with bellows”
(Paris_Glossae_Divinae_Historiae.045)

- b. *Demonstratives after the substantivizing “deictic” particle í 2.*

- i. [NP-APP hí [NP-ADV sin]]
“that particular”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.017)
- ii. [NP-APP hí [NP-ADV siu]]
“this particular”
(Laon_Cassiodorus.003)
- iii. [NP-PRED í. [NP-ADV so]]
“this”
(Saint_Omer_Amos.006)

14.3 NP-APP

Like DP-APP, the tag NP-APP is used in three situations, as discussed below.

a. *Afterthoughts or clarifications*

NP-APP is used for noun phrases that function as afterthoughts or clarifications added to already present nouns phrases. The head of the noun phrase can be marked either with the same case as the preceding noun (i) or it may be in the nominative (ii-iii).

- i. ... [_{PP} do [_{NP-PCOMP} suidib [_{NP-APP} tuistib] ...]]
“... to those, parents ...”
- ii. ... [_{PP} o [_{DP-PCOMP} n [_{NP-PCOMP} phapa [_{NP-APP} leo]]]]
“... from Pope Leo”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.221)
- iii. [_{PP} hi [_{NP-PCOMP} tír [_{NP-APP} Cannán]]]
“into the land [of] Canaan”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.047)

b. *The required non-predicate/ non-subject constituent in a ‘specificational’ copular sentence when this is headed by a noun/pronominal.*

As stated above (subsection 13.3b), ‘specificational’ copular sentences are copular sentences with three required constituents, beside the copula itself: (a) the predicate (always a pronoun), (b) the subject nominal phrase, (c) a non-predicate/non-subject nominal phrase. The tag NP-APP is used for cases of (c), if the constituent is headed by a noun or a pronominal item and the NP-APP is the third constituent of VP-SPEC (i.e. not in the left periphery, see DP-LEF in subsection 9.5b). More information about specificational copula sentences is found below in subsection 17.1b.

- i. [_{VP-SPEC} is [_{NP-PRED} hé] [_{DP-SBJ} in [_{NP} gním]] [_{NP-APP} son]]
“That is the deed.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.077)
- ii. [_{VP-SPEC} is [_{NP-PRED} sí] [_{DP-SBJ} insin] [_{NP-APP} aram indi acuiretha<r>]]
“That is the number in it, what he puts,”
(Vienna_Bede.077)
- iii. [_{VP-SPEC} is [_{NP-PRED} ed] [_{DP-SBJ} inso] [_{NP-APP} tosach preceptae iohain]]
“This is the beginning of John's preaching.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.024)

c. *NP-APP as first constituent in a do+VN phrase*

- i. ... [_{DO+VN} [_{NP-APP} noichtiche colleuth] dúárim inġscu]
“... to reckon a period of twenty-nine days with a half in the moon”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.002)
- ii. [_{DO+VN} [_{NP-APP} ní] dodénum]

“to do something”
(Laon_Cassiodorus.007)

14.4 NP-CMP

This tag is used for noun phrases which are headed by a dative-marked noun when governed by a comparative adjective. The phrase is used as the standard of comparison, hence the tag -CMP for ‘comparative’ or ‘comparison’.

- i. [ADJP-PRED maá . [NP-CMP triun]]
“greater than one third,”
(Einsidlensis_Computus.004)
- ii. [ADJP-PRED laigu . [NP-CMP leut]]
“smaller than one half.”
(Einsidlensis_Computus.004)
- iii. ... [ADJP-PRED ardu [NP-CMP a: Lailu]]
“... higher than another”
(Laurentinus_Philargyrius.059)

14.5 NP-COM

Complements that are headed by nouns or pronouns are tagged as NP-COM. Most phrases headed by genitive-marked nouns are tagged in this way. There are two types.

a. *The general case: NP Complement modifies the governing phrase.*

- i. [NP criathar [NP-COM atho]]
“sieve of a drying kiln”
(Berne_Servius.003)
- ii. [PP amail [NP-PCOMP chath [NP-COM sula]]]
“like an eye battle”
(St._Caimín’s_Psalter.006)
- iii. [NP feli [NP-COM termini]]
“feasts of Terminus”
(Vienna_Bede.037)
- iv. [PP ó [NP-PCOMP thosuch [NP-COM bliad<ne> egiptacdae]]]
“from the beginning of the Egyptian year”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.091)
- v. ... [DP-APP a [NP nétach [NP-COM sacaird]]]
“the priest's clothing”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.063)

- b. *Special case: NP Complement doubles or expands on information in the head of the governing phrase.*

In each of the following examples, the complement either doubles the information in the head of the governing phrase (for instance, ex. iv) or it expands upon it (for instance, *mo ... fadéin* ‘my own’ in ex. i).

- i. [DP *mo slántu* [NP-COM *fadéin*]]
“my own well-being”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.026)
- ii. [DP *arriuth aicneta* [NP-COM *fadesin*]]
“their own natural course.”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.024)
- iii. [DP *a edbairt* [NP-COM *fesin*]]
“to offer himself” (lit. more like: “his offering of self”)
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.095)
- iv. [DP *ær creitem* [NP-COM *ni*]]
“our belief”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.062)

14.6 NP-OBJ

This tag is used for NPs that function as the object in transitive clauses.

- i. [VP *toglúaset* [NP-OBJ *chombairt*]]
“They abort offspring.”
(Berne_Servius.001)
- ii. ... [VP-SUB *conmberad* [NP-OBJ *macc*]]
“... that she would bear a child.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.044)
- iii. [NEGP *ni* [VP *tartat* [NP-SBJ *sénus*] [NP-OBJ *breíc*] [PP *im* [NP-PCOMP *anmin*]]]]
“The *sénus* cannot deceive the soul.”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.023)
- iv. [VP *gabis* [NP-OBJ *aili*]]
“He gave thanks.”
(Armagh_Glosses.011)
- v. [VP-IMP *imbir* [PP *fo* [NUMP-PCOMP *dí*] [NP-OBJ *so* [ADVP *sís*]]]]
“Put this below twice!”
(Vatican_Computus.009)

14.7 NP-OBJ2

This tag is only used for dative-marked indirect objects in Latin.

- i. [VP cocquet [NP-OBJ2 mihi] [NP-OBJ2 carnes]]
 “It cooks meat for me.”
 (Vatican_Psalter_Commentary.021)
- ii. [VP [NP-OBJ2 ballenium] faciet [NP-OBJ2 mihi]]
 “It makes a bath for me.”
 (Vatican_Psalter_Commentary.021)

14.8 NP-PCOMP

This tag is used in two contexts.

- a. *Noun phrases governed by prepositions*
 - i. ... [PP cu [NP-PCOMP cenn cicuil griendi]]
 “... to the end of the solar cycle”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.096)
 - ii. [PP leis [NP-PCOMP sem]]
 “with him”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.069)
 - iii. ... [PP du [NP-PCOMP ruin]]
 “according to the secret/mystical (meaning).”
 Turin_Gospel_Commentary.076
 - iv. ... [PP i [NP-PCOMP nucht [DP-COM nach [NP aili]]]]
 “... into someone else's breast”
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.100)
 - v. [PP di [NP-PCOMP sin]] ...
 “thence ...” (lit. “at that ...”)
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.042)
- b. *The phrase headed by the verbal noun in do+VN constructions*
 - i. [DO+VN ní do [NP-PCOMP dénum]]
 “to do something”
 (Laon_Cassiodorus.007)
 - ii. [DO+VN xii horae do [NP-PCOMP accomol ad .x.]]
 “to add twelve hours to ten; thus, twenty-two.”
 (Vienna_Bede.039)
 - iii. [DO+VN in lethrann sin do [NP-PCOMP scribund]]

“to write that couplet”
(Paris_Gregory_the_Great.001)

14.9 NP-POS

When an NP-complement (i.e. a NP headed by a genitive-marked noun) has an animate possessor and the possessum (i.e. the noun that is possessed) denotes a body part (broadly construed, see ex. ii) or a family member, the complement is tagged NP-POS. Note also that NP-POS is used for ‘possessors’ of names as well, see ex. iv.

- i. [NP-SBJ cosa [NP-POS doine]]
“men’s feet”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.046)
- ii. [NP-PCOMP rriucht [NP-POS éssu]]
“Esau’s form”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.060)
- iii. [NP-COM maicc [NP-POS de]]
“son of God”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.062)
- iv. [NP-SBJ <ainm> [NP-POS setche [NP-POS samsóin]]]
“name of Samson’s wife”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.081)
- v. [NP colinn [NP-POS crist]]
“body of Christ”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.097)
- vi. [NP esu [NP-POS nauæ]]
“Joshuah son of Nun”
(Southampton_Psalter_Glosses.002)

14.10 NP-PRED

This tag is used for NPs that are predicates in copular sentences, whether or not there is an overt for of the copula. The most common noun phrases tagged with NP-PRED are those headed by the independent pronouns: *é*, *ed*, *sí*, etc. It is also used to tag the interrogative pronoun in wh-interrogative questions.

- i. ... [VP is [NP-PRED haram foirbthe] [DP-SBJ ind [NP aram [NP-APP séde]]]]
“...the number six is a perfect number”
(Vienna_Bede.008)
- ii. [VP Ø [NP-PRED linn {}] [DP-SBJ insen] {pp óc híurúsalem}]
“That (is) a pool at Jerusalem”

(Southampton_Psalter_Glosses.012)

- iii. [VP-SPEC is [NP-PRED hé] [DP-SBJ ingnám] [NP-APP son]]
“That is the deed.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.077)
- iv. [VP-INT ∅ [NP-PRED cid] [NP-SBJ aes ñesci]]
“What is the moon's age?”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.074)

14.11 NP-SBJ

This tag is used for ungoverned NPs that act as the subject of a VP or non-verbal predicate, such as an ADJP-PRED or NP-PRED.

- i. [NEGP ní [VP ∅ [ADJP-PRED sorche] [NP-SBJ suilse [DP-COM ind [NP ítharni]]]]]
“The light of the candle is not bright.”
(Laon_Cassiodorus.002)
- ii. [CP amal [VP-REL(OBJ) forcantar [NP-SBJ cathchomnidi] [PP ho sacardd] ...]]
“As catechumens are at first taught by a priest ...”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.037)
- iii. ... [VP-REL(OBJ) adchondairc [NP-SBJ som]]
“... that he had beheld.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.101)
- iv. ... [NEGP ní [VP airmi [NP-SBJ siu] [DP-OBJ allae nisin]]]
“... you do not reckon that day.”
(Vienna_Bede.078)
- v. [VP-SPEC is [NP-PRED ed] [DISCP didiu] [NP-SBJ slándliged salto] ...]
“Moreover, the sound law of the leap is ...”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.002)
- vi. [VP-CLEFT is [NP-PRED uera picture] [VP-REL(PRED) robai [NP-SBJ sin]]]
“It is a true picture that that was.”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.072)

15 Numeral Phrases

Numeral phrases (NUMP) are headed by cardinal numerals, and *ala* ‘second’.

15.1 NUMP

The simple tag NUMP is used for cases in which the numeral phrase is embedded directly under DP (ex. i-ii), when the numeral phrase is not the first conjunct of a coordinate

structure (the second two NUMPs marked in ex.iii), and when the numeral phrase is ungoverned (the first numeral phrase in ex. iv-vi, below).

- i. [PP iter [DP-PCOMP na [NUMP secht [NP nairndrecha]]]
“between the seven planets”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.005)
- ii. [PP in [DP-PCOMP na [NUMP dib [NP tóebi]]]]
“in its two sides”
“Leiden_Boethius.007”
- iii. [NP fuar [NP-COM salto [PP as [DP-PCOMP cach óen æscu .i. [NUMP-APP cethir brottæ] 7
[NUMP alarann deac brotto] et [NUMP VIImad rann cethorchat aili deac
brotto]]]]]
“to find a leap out of every single lunar month, to wit, four moments and the
twelfth part of a moment and the forty-seventh part of the twelfth [part] of a
moment.”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.038)

15.2 NUMP-APP

The tag NUMP-APP is used in the same contexts DP-APP and NP-APP: in afterthoughts or clarifications (a), and as the tag for the phrase before *do* in do+VN phrases (b). The third context for the -APP tag, in specificational sentences, is not attested in COIMG.

a. *Afterthoughts or clarifications*

- i. [VP is [ADJP-PRED móu [VP-REL(OBL) oldata [NUMP-SBJ xii horae [NUMP-APP .i. xuiii
horæ]]]]]
“it is more than twelve hours, namely, eighteen hours.”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.120)
- ii. [NP fuar [NP-COM salto] [PP as [DP-PCOMP cach óen æscu .i. [NUMP-APP cethir brottæ]
7 [NUMP alarann deac brotto] et [NUMP VIImad rann cethorchat aili deac
brotto]]]
“to find a leap out of every single lunar month, to wit, four moments and the
twelfth part of a moment and the forty-seventh part of the twelfth [part] of a
moment.”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.038)

b. *NUMP-APP as first constituent in a do+VN phrase*

- i. ... [VP is [ADJP-PRED assu] [PP la [DP-PCOMP sna [NP rímairu]]] [do+VN [NUMP-APP di huáir
deac nammá] du [NP-PCOMP thesbuith] [PP iar [NP-PCOMP ndligud slán salto]]]
“... that the computists deem it easier that twelve hours only are lacking
according to the sound law of the leap”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.005)

15.3 NUMP-COM

The tag NUMP-COM is used for numeral phrases embedded within other numeral phrases or within NPs. In this context, the embedded numeral phrase is a complement, and its may take a genitive form (if one is available morphologically).

a. *Complement of NUMP*

- i. [PP co [PP fo [NUMP-PCOMP ocht [NUMP-COM fichet]]]]
as far as eight times twenty
(Karlsruhe_Bede.258)
- ii. [NUMP-PRED trí [NP mís [NUMP-COM deacc] [NP-COM soli]]]
thirteen solar months
(Vienna_Bede.024)
- iii. [NUMP trí [NUMP-COM noí]]
“three times nine”
(Leiden_Boethius.010)
- iv. [NUMP cethir [NUMP-COM noí]]
“four times nine”
Leiden_Boethius.013
- v. [NUMP .iii. [NUMP-COM trí]]
“three threes”
(Armagh_Glosses.026)

b. *Complement of NP*

NUMP-COM is also used to tag numeral phrases that are complements of NP.

- i. [PP co [NP-PCOMP cenn [NUMP-COM da [NP mís [NUMP-COM deacc]]]]]
“to the end of the twelve (lunar) months”
(Vienna_Bede.026)
- ii. [NUMP-PRED trí [NP mís [NUMP-COM deacc] [NP-COM soli]]]
thirteen solar months
(Vienna_Bede.024)

15.4 NUMP-PCOMP

This tag is used for situations in which the numeral phrase is governed by a preposition.

- i. [PP í [NUMP-PCOMP ndib [NP ñuarib [NUMP-COM deac] [FP nammá]]]]

“by twelve hours only”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.001)

ii. [NUMP fiche [PP ar [NUMP-PCOMP chet]]]
“hundred and twenty”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.231)

iii. [PP fri [NUMP-PCOMP da [NP mí [NUMP-COM deac] [NP-COM grene]]]]
“against twelve solar months”
(Vienna_Bede.026)

iv. [PP a [NUMP-PCOMP dáu [PP hi [DP-PCOMP cach [NP tóeb [PP in quaternario]]]]]]
“Two on each side in the two-square”
(Leiden_Boethius.003)

15.5 NUMP-PRED

This tag is used for situations in which the numeral phrase constitutes the predicate of a copular sentence.

i. [CP ar [VP-SUB it [NUMP-PCOMP di húair in signo]]]
“For they are two hours *in signo*.”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.049)

ii. [VP it [NUMP-PCOMP secht trichit]]
“They are seven thirties.”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.105)

iii. [VP is [NUMP-PCOMP ala laa deacc {}] [DISCP dano] {PP dó ochtimbir}]
“It is then the twelfth day of October.”
(Vienna_Bede.042)

15.6 NUMP-SBJ

This tag is used for cases in which the numeral phrase is the subject of a sentence.

i. ... [VP dobertis [NUMP-SBJ da [NP boc]] [PP leu] [PP dochum [NP-PCOMP Tempuil]]] ...
“... two he-goats used to be brought by them to the Temple...”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.086)

ii. ... [CP cu [VP-SUB tesbat [PP di [DP-PCOMP cach [NP thrichtaigi]]] [NUMP-SBJ di húair deac] [CONJP 7 [NUMP iiii brottae]] [CONJP 7 [NP unga]] [CONJP 7 [NP atom]]]
“... so that to every period of thirty days may be wanting twelve hours and four movements and an ounce and an atom,”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.003)

16 Prepositional Phrases

All prepositions head a prepositional phrase tagged PP. PPs consist of preposition and a complement. Below, the examples are classified according to the complement of the preposition. In COIMG, the particle *a* before a numeral phrase counts as a preposition (see ex. 15.4iv).

a. *Preposition governs a DP (i.e. DP-PCOMP, see 13.7)*

- i. ... [PP i [DP-PCOMP ssa [NP mmuir]]]
“... into the sea”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.106)
- ii. [PP i [DP-PCOMP na [NP riaglaib [ADJP coraib]]]]
“in its proper rules”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.125)
- iii. ... [PP iter [DP-PCOMP na [NUMP secht [NP nairndrecha]]]]
“... between the seven planets”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.005)
- iv. [PP ho [DP-PCOMP naib [NP selib eritib]]]
“from the saliva received”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.064)
- v. ... [PP hi [DP-PCOMP cach [NP tóeb]]] ...
“... on each side...”
(Leiden_Boethius.003)
- vi. ... [PP fo [DP-PCOMP a [NP fuined]]]
“...to its setting”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.130)

b. *Preposition governs an NP (i.e. NP-PCOMP, see 14.8)*

- i. [PP cen [NP-PCOMP dichill]]
- ii. [PP hi [NP-PCOMP foscud]]
- iii. [PP iar [NP-PCOMP súnd]]
- iv. [PP ar [NP-PCOMP ómun [DP-COM inna [NP sín]]]]
- v. [PP di [NP-PCOMP laib sechtmaine]]
- vi. [PP oc [NP-PCOMP tabairt bendachtae foir hirriucht éssu]]

- c. *Preposition governs NUMP (i.e. NUMP-PCOMP, see 15.4)*
- i. [pp i [NUMP-PCOMP ndib [NP ñuarib [NUMP-COM deac] [FP nammá]]]]
“by twelve hours only”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.001)
 - ii. [NUMP fiche [pp ar [NUMP-PCOMP chet]]]
“hundred and twenty”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.231)
 - iii. [pp fri [NUMP-PCOMP da [NP mí [NUMP-COM deac] [NP-COM grene]]]]
“against twelve solar months”
(Vienna_Bede.026)
- d. *Conjugated prepositions*
- i. [pp riam]
 - ii. [pp foir]
 - iii. [pp húan]
 - iv. [pp linn]
 - v. [pp óim]
 - vi. [pp frimm]
- e. *Conjugated prepositions and an accompanying NP-PCOMP consisting of a pronoun/particle*
- i. [pp foe [NP-PCOMP side]]
 - ii. [pp lee [NP-PCOMP fadeissne]]
 - iii. [pp forrae [NP-PCOMP fadisin]]
 - iv. [pp foir [NP-PCOMP fesin]]
 - v. [pp duit [NP-PCOMP siu]]
 - vi. [pp friu [NP-PCOMP som]]
 - vii. [pp dun [NP-PCOMP ni]]

16 Verbal Complex

In COIMG, the term “verbal complex” applies to any sequence consisting of a verbal stem compounding with any of the following: one or more preverbs, a preposition with the relative particle, relative mutations, the dummy preverb *no*, any verbal augment (*ad*, *ro*, *con*), and infixed pronouns. Additionally, the term is used for combinations of a verbal stem and a suffixed pronoun. There are eight tags used for verbal complexes: VBCOMPLEX, VBCOMPLEX-INF(OBJ), VBCOMPLEX-INF(SUBJ), VBCOMPLEX-SUF(OBJ),

VBCOMPLEX(ADVP), VBCOMPLEX(INT), VBCOMPLEX(PP), and VBCOMPLEX(WNP). Each of these are discussed and exemplified in turn below. No “phrases” annotated with any variant of the tag VBCOMPLEX are translated.

16.1 VBCOMPLEX

The tag VBCOMPLEX, with no further qualifying function tag is used for “phrases” headed by lexical preverbs, the dummy preverb *no*, verbal augments, and relative mutations.¹⁰ When relative mutations are found in copular clauses, the verbal complex consists of the copula, the head of the verbal complex, and the predicate, as in ex. vi, below.

- i. [VBCOMPLEX *nutasigthe*]
Armagh_Glosses.051 (head: *nu* < *no* ·)
- ii. [VBCOMPLEX *airmi*]
(Vienna_Bede.078) (head: *ai* < *ad* ·)
- iii. [VBCOMPLEX *do* [VBCOMPLEX *Len_Rel* [VBCOMPLEX *rigni*]]]
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.078) (heads: *do* < *to* ; *Len_Rel*, *ri* < *ro* ·)
- iv. [VBCOMPLEX *tu* [VBCOMPLEX *aidhbung*]]
(Naples_Malsachani.032) (heads: *tu* < *to* ; *aidh* < *ad* · 2)
- v. [VBCOMPLEX *do* [VBCOMPLEX *n* [VBCOMPLEX *aur* [VBCOMPLEX \emptyset chain]]]]
(Karlsruhe_Bede.123) (heads: *do* < *to* ; *n* < *Nas_Rel*, *aur* < *ar* ; \emptyset < *fo* ·)
- vi. [VBCOMPLEX *as Len_Rel nesam*]
(Leiden_Boethius.007) (head: *Len_Rel*)

16.2 VBCOMPLEX-INF(OBJ)

This tag is used for “phrases” headed by infixed pronouns that function as objects (i.e. the vast majority of infixed pronouns). These “phrases” are governed by a phrase labeled as VBCOMPLEX.

- i. [VBCOMPLEX *d* [VBCOMPLEX-INF(OBJ) *agné*]]
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.032) (infix pronoun head: *a*)
- ii. [VBCOMPLEX *nu* [VBCOMPLEX-INF(OBJ) *tasigthe*]]
Armagh_Glosses.051 (infix pronoun head: *t*)
- iii. [VBCOMPLEX *do* [VBCOMPLEX *Len_Rel* [VBCOMPLEX *dgéna*]]]
Berne_Servius.008 (infix pronoun head: *d*)

16.3 VBCOMPLEX-INF(SUBJ)

¹⁰ In the examples, the relative mutations are italicized if they are not overtly realized in the phonology or orthography.

This tag is used for “phrases” headed by infixed pronouns that function as subjects of 1st and 2nd person passive verbs. These “phrases” are governed by a phrase labeled as VBCOMPLEX.

- i. [VBCOMPLEX ad [VBCOMPLEX *Nas_Rel* [VBCOMPLEX-INF(SBJ) domsuiter]]]
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.036) (infix pronoun head: *dom*)
- ii. [VBCOMPLEX fo [VBCOMPLEX-INF(SBJ) mcertor]]
(Naples_Charisius.004) (infix pronoun head: *m*)

16.4 VBCOMPLEX-SUF(OBJ)

This tag is used for “phrases” headed by suffixed pronouns that function as objects.

- i. [VP dligth [VBCOMPLEX-SUF(OBJ) i]]
(Munich_Commentary_on_Pauline_Epistles.007)

16.5 VBCOMPLEX(ADVP)

This tag is used for “phrases” headed by preverbal adverbs of the kind discussed in García Castillero (2014), i.e. *ceta* “first”, *mos* ‘soon’, *nuie* ‘newly’, *caín* ‘well’, *dechmo* ‘best’, *mad* ‘well’, *mí* ‘badly’, *slán* ‘safely’, and *nile* ‘all’.

- i. [VBCOMPLEX(ADVP) slán bee]
(Augustine-Enchiridion.103) (head: *slán*)
- ii. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) fri [VBCOMPLEX(WNP) s [VBCOMPLEX(ADVP) cita
[VBCOMPLEX com [VBCOMPLEX rici]]]]]
(Karlsruhe_Bede.150) (head: *cita* < *ceta*)

16.6 VBCOMPLE(INT)

This tag is used for “phrases” headed by forms of the preverbal interrogative particle *ce*.

- i. [VBCOMPLEX(INT) ciritic]
(Karlsruhe_Bede.124) (head: *ci* < *ce*)

16.7 VBCOMPLEX(PP)

In PP relatives (subsection 17.4.2e), a preposition heads the verbal complex, which, in addition, includes the relative particle *-(s)a-* (whether overt or covert) that heads its own phrase; see subsection 16.8, below.

- i. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) huambí]
- ii. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) forsa robac]

- iii. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) forá mbí]
- iv. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) hi cuiretar]
- v. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) di nach follus]¹¹

16.8 VBCOMPLEX(WNP)

In PP relatives (subsection 17.4.2e), the relative particle *-(s)a-* (whether overt or covert) heads a noun phrase which is a wh-dependency (the term originates in Chomsky 1977; other important references are Ross 1967 and Potts 2002). This noun phrase is incorporated into the verbal complex and is immediately governed by an incorporated preposition (see 16.3). The tag used is VBCOMPLEX(WNP).

- i. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) hu [VBCOMPLEX(WNP) ambí]]
- ii. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) for [VBCOMPLEX(WNP) sa robæ]]
- iii. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) for [VBCOMPLEX(WNP) á mbí]]
- iv. [VBCOMPLEX(PP) hi [VBCOMPLEX(WNP) Ø cuiretar]]

17 Verbal Phrases

Verb phrases are tagged as main clauses (VP, VP-SPEC, VP-CLEFT), interrogative clauses (VP-INT), imperative clauses (VP-IMP), or subordinate/relative clauses (VP-REL, VP-SUB).

17.1 MAIN CLAUSES

a. *VP*

Main clause verb phrases may be headed by a transitive (i), intransitive (ii) or passive (iii) verb as well as a form of the copula (iv) or substantive verb (v). Additionally, verb forms outside of full sentences (i.e. verb forms which are the sole content of the gloss) are tagged as VP (vi).

- i. ... [VP conrotoich [NP-SBJ dia] [NP-OBJ á gnimu] [PP indi]]
 "... God has constructed his works in it."
 (Vienna_Bede.008)
- ii. [VP lingid [NP-SBJ sem] [PP tar áes ñesci] [ADV_P beos] [PP ar chumbri]]
 "He skips over the age of the moon again for brevity's sake."
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.060)

¹¹ This is a copular sentence. As such, it follows the format for verbal complexes in copular sentences as described in 16.1.

- iii. ... [_{VP} ro oingthea [_{PP} iarum] [_{PP} ho christ]]
 “... then they have been anointed by Christ”
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.037)
- iv. [_{VP} ... bid [_{ADJP-PRED} reid] [_{PP} riam] [_{NP-SBJ} cach namreid]]
 “... every rough thing will be smooth before him”
 (Berne_Servius.008)
- v. [_{VP} biid [_{DISCP} didiu] [_{DP-SBJ} a confessio h́isin] [_{PP} dofóisitin pecthae]]
 “That (word) ‘confession’, then, usually is (i.e. means) ‘to acknowledge sins’.”
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.041)
- vi. [_{VP} dúnsit]
 “They closed”
 (Armagh_Glosses.034)

Transitive sentences consist minimally of the verb, a subject and an object; both of the latter two constituents may be incorporated into the verb as personal endings and object infixes respectively. Intransitive and passive sentences consist minimally of the verb and a subject; once again, the subject may be incorporated into the verb. Copular sentences consist minimally of the copula, a predicate, and a subject, the latter of which may be incorporated into the copula as a personal ending. A sentence headed by the substantive verb consists of the verb and the subject, which may be incorporated into the verb as a personal ending. To all of these sentences various oblique or non-argumental elements may be added in the form of discourse particles, prepositional phrases, and adverbial phrases. COIMG, along with POMIC, could be used to investigate the fine details of the placement of any of these items relative to other sentential constituents. For some discussion of this issue, see Lash 2014, Lash and Griffith 2018, and Mac Giolla Easpaig 1980.

b. *VP-SPEC*

Specificational copular clauses are tagged as VP-SPEC. At their simplest, specificational copular clauses have the form in (i), i.e. they consist of the copula, a pronoun (NP-PRED), and two nominal phrases (DP or NP). One of the nominal phrases may also precede the copula, as in (ii).¹² One of the nominal phrases may also be replaced with a headless relative clause (iii-vi) (see section 12, ex. xxvii). For some discussion of the different types of specificational sentence, see MacCoisdealbha (1998) and Lash (2011).

- i. COPULA + PRONOUN + DP1/NP1 + DP2/NP2
- ii. DP1/NP1 + COPULA + PRONOUN + DP2/NP2
- iii. COPULA + PRONOUN + DP1/NP1 + RELATIVE CLAUSE
- iv. COPULA + PRONOUN + RELATIVE CLAUSE + DP2/NP2
- v. DP1/NP1 + COPULA + PRONOUN + RELATIVE CLAUSE

¹² In COIMG, there are no Irish noun phrases that precede the copula, only determiner phrases, which are labelled DP-LEF for ‘left dislocated’. An instance in which the Latin lemma acts as the left-dislocated noun phrase of a specificational sentence is Turin_Gospel_Commentary.081.

vi. RELATIVE CLAUSE + COPULA + PRONOUN + DP1/NP1

The patterns (i-v) are exemplified by (vii-xi). The last pattern, (vi), is not attested in the corpus.

- vii. [VP-SPEC *ba* [NP-PRED *sí*] [DP-SBJ *afálte*] [DP-APP *mó chúitbiúd*]]
 “It was their pleasure to mock me.”
 (Southampton_Psalter_Glosses.019)
- viii. [VP-SPEC [DP-LEF *in bronasnae dombert side ...*] *is* [NP-PRED *hé*] [DP-SBJ *crist ...*]]
 “The firewood that he brought to offer himself, this is Christ...”
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.095) (*bronasnae* for *brosnae*)
- ix. [VP-SPEC *it* [NP-PRED *he*] [NP-SBJ *sidi*] [VP-REL(OBJ) *adrodamarsu*]]
 “It is them whom you have conceded.”
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.033)
- x. [VP-SPEC *iss* [NP-PRED *ed*] [VP-REL(SUBJ) *fil and*] [NP-APP *huile*] ...]
 “This is all that is there...”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.258)¹³
- xi. [VP-SPEC [DP-LEF *in mess duchoaid fordiabul*] *is* [NP-PRED *hé*] [VP-REL(SUBJ) *rigas forru*]]
 “The judgment that has gone upon the Devil, it is that which will go upon them.” (Karlsruhe_Augustine.004)

There are at least two special specificational sentences in COIMG. In the first example the non-predicative / non-subject constituent is an “infinitival phrase”, labelled *do+VN*, instead of a DP, NP, or relative clause. This could be used as evidence that the “infinitival phrase” acts as a nominal in Old Irish. In the second example, the second DP functions simultaneously as a grammaticalized temporal adverbial phrase. The special construction of this sentence arises due to the semantics of *cetne* “same”.

- xii. [VP-SPEC *is* [NP-PRED *ed*] [DISC *didiu*] [NP-SBJ *slándliged salto*] [DO+VN *noichtiche colleuth duárim inġscu*]]
 “Moreover, the sound law of the leap is to reckon a period of twenty-nine days with a half in the moon.” (Karlsruhe_Bede.002)
- xiii. [VP-SPEC *iss* [NP-PRED *ed*] [NP-SBJ *angné cetne foir*] [PP *oc diupirt*] [DP-ADV *intan adcither matin*]]
 “It is the same appearance on it, while waning, (as) when it is seen in the morning.” (Karlsruhe_Bede.135)

c. VP-CLEFT

¹³ This actually may not be a great example. If it were a specificational sentence, the translation should be something like “What is there is everything.” Vatican_Computus.019 is probably an actual example of this structure for specificational clauses.

Cleft sentences are copular sentences which have form in (i). Cleft sentences are the main topic of discussion in DiGirolamo (2018) and Schram (2016); see also MacCoisdealbha (1998).

i. COPULA + PREDICATE + CLAUSE

The predicate may be nominal (NP-PRED), adjectival (ADJP-PRED), or prepositional (PP). In the first two cases, the clause following the predicate is a relative clause (VP-REL). If the predicate is a prepositional phrase, the clause is a main clause (VP). In all cases, the CLAUSE is immediately governed by the VP-CLEFT itself. It is not governed by the nominal, adjectival, or prepositional antecedent (see section 12, ex. xxvii).

- ii. [VP-CLEFT it [NP-PRED na huili besgna] [VP-REL(SUBJ) ata [ADJP-PRED fira] ...]]
 “It is all the disciplines that are true...”
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.079)
- iii. [VP-CLEFT is [NP-PRED hed] [VP-REL(OBJ) tosceuli [DP-SBJ indargumintso]]]
 “This is what this argument ascertains.”
 (Vatican_Computus.004)
- iv. [VP-CLEFT is [ADJP-PRED sain] [VP-REL(OBJ) donadbantar [NP-ADV sensibus] ...]]
 “How it is shown in the senses ... is different.”
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.048)
- v. [VP-CLEFT is [PP amlaid] [DISC ém] [VP cotaucbat [PP doib] ...]]
 “It is thus, indeed, they raise themselves to them...”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.022)
- vi. [VP-CLEFT is [PP airi] [VP conrotoich [DP-SBJ dia] [DP-OBJ á gnimu] [PP indí]]]
 “It is therefore God has constructed his works in it.”
 (Vienna_Bede.008)
- vii. [VP-CLEFT is [PP hosuidib] [VP ropu [ADJP-PRED esartae]]]
 “It is by these that he has been smitten.”
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.067)

17.2 INTERROGATIVE CLAUSES

There are two types of interrogative clauses: ‘normal’ interrogatives (VP-INT) and interrogative cleft sentences (VP-INT-CLEFT).

a. ‘normal’ interrogatives: VP-INT

‘Normal’ interrogatives are generally copular sentences (a. ii-iii, below) or verbal sentences in which the interrogative is the unstressed conjunct particle *ce* (a. i, below). In copular sentences, the predicate is the interrogative pronoun and the rest of the clause is typically the subject.

- i. [VP-INT *ciric*]
 “What does it attain to?” (lit.)
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.124)
 - ii. [VP-INT \emptyset [NP-PRED *cia*] [NP-SBJ *coſſir indersuigtho ſainemil*]]
 “What is the study of the special proposition?”
 (Augustine-Enchiridion.098)
 - iii. [VP-INT \emptyset [NP-PRED *cid*] [NP-SBJ *aes ñesci*]]
 “What is the moon's age?”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.074)
- b. *interrogative cleft sentences: VP-INT-CLEFT*

Interrogative cleft sentences typically consist at minimum of a fully stressed interrogative pronoun as the predicate of a null copula sentence and a second verbal form which is marked as a ‘relative’ verb form in some way. [This needs work.]

- i. [VP-INT-CLEFT [NP-PRED *cī*] [NP-SBJ *hē*] [VP-REL(PRED) *bias*]]
 “Who is he that it shall be?” = “Who shall it be?”
 (Laon_Ms_55.004)
- ii. [VP-INT-CLEFT [NP-PRED *cid*] [NP-SBJ *áes*] [VP-REL(PRED) *díxnigedar*]]
 “What age is (it) that it is?” = “What age is it?”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.080)
- iii. [VP-INT-CLEFT [NP-PRED *cid*] [VP-REL(P) *arñdid íslu æscæ quam sol*]]
 “What is (it) for which the moon is lower than the sun?”
 = “Why is the moon lower than the sun”
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.144)
- iv. [NEGP *nifetarsa* [VP-INT-CLEFT [NP-PRED *cid*] [VP-REL(OBL) *notó*]]
 “I do not know what is (it) that I am”
 = “I don’t know what is wrong with me”
 (Laon_Cassiodorus.015)

17.3 IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

Imperative clauses, tagged VP-IMP, consist at minimum of an imperative verb form (i-ii). Additionally such clauses may consist of oblique complements of the verb (iii and vi, below), the direct object (iv-v), and left-dislocated constituents (vi).

- i. [VP-IMP *aimmded*]
 Let him try!
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.109)

- ii. [VP-IMP léic]
“Release!”
(Laurentinus_Philargyrius.061)
- iii. [VP-IMP cuire [PP huait]]
“Put from you!”
Karlsruhe_Bede.100
- iv. [VP-IMP frecuirthe [NP-OBJ ceill]]
“Think over!”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.114)
- v. [VP-IMP fer [NP-OBJ airli]]
“Give advice!”
(Laurentinus_Philargyrius.062)
- vi. [VP-IMP [PP corrici cíth bestí béoa] indaárben [PP uáinn]]
“Including even living beasts, banish them from us!”
(Southampton_Psalter_Glosses.016)

17.4 SUBORDINATE/RELATIVE CLAUSES

In this section both subordinate and relative clauses will be dealt with as subtypes of non-main clause verbs.

17.4.1 SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

Subordinate clauses, tagged VP-SUB, are used in two different contexts. First, there are ‘predicate-governed subordinate clauses’. These subordinate clauses are directly governed by the head of a superordinate verbal or non-verbal predicate phrase. The second type of subordinate clause is the conjunction or antecedent governed clause. Below, each of these are exemplified in turn. The syntax of some types of subordinate clauses are discussed in Ó hUiginn (1991, 1998).

a. *Predicate-governed subordinate clauses*

Predicate-governed subordinate clauses are governed by verbal predicates (i-ii), non-verbal adjectival or nominal predicates (iii), and noun phrases that are headed by verbal nouns (iv). The head of subordinate clauses of this type typically exhibits relative morphology (i-iv). Moreover, relative nasalization may be involved (i, iii, iv).

- i. [VP. ... asberasu [VP-SUB asnainm dosom animus ...]
“... you would say that *animus* is a name for it ...”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.082)
- ii. ... [VP-REL(OBL) adcosnat [VP-SUB bete in secundo genere] innahí frisairret ...]
“those who keep watch ... strive to be in the second class ...”

(lit. “strive that they may be in the second class”)
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.069)

- iii. ... is [ADJP-PRED airchenn [VP-SUB mbes salt hiciunn ...]
“... it is certain that there should be a leap at the end ...
(Karlsruhe_Bede.001)
- iv. [PP do [NP-PCOMP imthrenugud ... asind fetarlaici [VP-SUB as ninunn tosach
preceptae iohain 7 íssu crist]
“... to confirm from the Old Testament that the beginning of the preaching
of John and (that) of Jesus Christ is the same.”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.031)

b. *Conjunction/ Antecedent-governed subordinate clauses*

The conjunctions listed above in 5.1, i.e. those that head CP, all govern conjunction/antecedent-governed subordinate clauses.¹⁴ Depending on the particular of governing head, the head of the subordinate clause may exhibit independent or dependent (relative) morphology.

- i. [CP ar [VP-SUB gaibim [NP-OBJ ceill] [PP for etargna nach reta] [DP-ADV infecht sa]]]
“For I expect to know something this time.”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.025)
- ii. [CP con [VP-SUB tinola [DP-OBJ inna [NP [ADJP huili] doilbthi]]]]
“that he should collect all the formations.”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.073)
- iii. [CP ci [VP-SUB forrásus [NP-SBJ sa]]]
“even if I have advanced”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.044)
- iv. [CP acht [VP-SUB asrobarthar [DP-SBJ in [NP mí]]]]
“provided that the month is mentioned”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.081)
- v. [CP in [VP-SUB nárdamar [NP-SBJ su]]]
if you have conceded
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.050)

c. *Subordinate cleft clauses*

Some subordinate clauses are also copular cleft clauses. They therefore combine aspects of 17.5ab and 17.1c.

¹⁴ Even if a NEGP (rather than a NEGP-SUB) intervenes between the CP and the subordinate clause, the subordinate clause is still marked as a VP-SUB. See fn. 7.

- i. [CP co [VP-SUB-CLEFT ndib [PP o kalendis ianuarii] [VP doinscanna]]]
 “so that it is from the calends of January it may begin”
 (Vienna_Bede.068)
- ii. [CP ma [VP-SUB-CLEFT d [PP iarnaicniud] [VP adrimther]]]
 “if it be reckoned according to nature”
 (lit. “if it be according to nature it is reckoned”)
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.003)

17.4.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Relative clauses are subordinate clauses which have both an antecedent and a ‘gap’, that is, a missing constituent within the relative clause proper which must be ‘filled in’ semantically by the antecedent. There are six types of ‘antecedent-gaps’ dependencies that are tagged in COIMG: subject, object, oblique, prepositional, and predicate. Each of these are discussed and exemplified below.¹⁵

a. *Subject antecedent-gap dependency: VP-REL(SUBJ)*

Subject antecedent-gap dependencies, otherwise labelled ‘subject relative clauses’ are relative clauses in which the antecedent acts as the subject of the clause. Typically (except in VP-CLEFT and VP-SPEC sentences), the relative clause is a complement of the nominal phrase (DP, NP, NUMP) that serves as its antecedent.

- i. [DP-LEF cachóin [VP-REL(SUBJ) dodgéna samlid]]
 “anyone who shall do it thus”
 (Berne_Servius.008)

¹⁵ Latin relative clauses in COIMG are tagged largely in the same way as Old Irish relative clauses. The only difference is that Latin relative clauses almost always include a constituent corresponding to the gap, in the form of an NP, PP, or ADVP:

- i. ... [VP-REL(SUBJ) [NP-SBJ qui] efficiuntur de tertia parte coaid siirthrosctho]
 “... which are made of the third part of the food of long fasting.”
 (Paris_Canons.002)
- ii. ... [VP-REL(PP) [PP in [NP-PCOMP quo]] canes scillae latrabant]
 “... in which the dogs of Scylla howl,”
 (Laurentinus_Philargyrius.041)
- iii. ... [VP-REL(OBL) [ADVP unde] uinea inciditur]
 “... by which the vine is cut down.”
 (Paris_Glossae_Divinae_Historiae.014)

Also, it should be noted that the Latin relative pronoun *qui* can head both an NP (as in ex. i-iii) as well as a DP, as in ex. iv. When it heads a DP, it governs an overt noun.

- iv. ... [VP-REL(SBJ) [DP-SBJ qui numerus] seruiuit in Ueteri]
 “... which number has served (i.e. has been employed) in the Old [Testament]”
 (Armagh_Glosses.029)

- ii. [DP-SBJ inráithe [VP-REL(SUBJ) dothét foir] ...]
“the season which comes after it”
(Laon_Cassiodorus.010)
- iii. ... [NP-PCOMP neoch [VP-REL(SUBJ) asas á terra]]
“... whatever grows from the earth”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.008)
- iv. [NP athscribend [VP-REL(SUBJ) rucad on phapa leo] ...]
“a rescript which was brought from Pope Leo”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.221)
- v. [DP-LEF in mess [VP-REL(SUBJ) duchoaid fordiabul]]
“the judgment that has gone upon the Devil”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.004)

b. *Object antecedent-gap dependency: VP-REL(OBJ)*

Object antecedent-gap dependencies, otherwise labelled ‘object relative clauses’ are relative clauses in which the antecedent acts as the object of the clause. Typically (except for in VP-CLEFT and VP-SPEC sentences), the relative clause is a complement of the nominal phrase (DP, NP, NUMP) that serves as its antecedent.

- i. [NP imbed [NP-COM naislinge {ón} [VP-REL(OBJ) adchondairc som]]
“the abundance of the vision, {moreover}, that he had beheld”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.101)
- ii. [DP-LEF aní [VP-REL(OBJ) doruthethaig adam hipardus]]
“that which Adam had possessed in Paradise”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.013)
- iii. ... [NP iris [VP-REL(OBJ) fosissetar imbathis]]
“... faith which they confess in baptism”
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.033)

c. *Oblique antecedent-gap dependency: VP-REL(OBL)*

Oblique antecedent-gap dependencies, otherwise labelled ‘oblique relative clauses’ are relative clauses in which the antecedent acts as the oblique (non-argument constituent) of the clause. Typically, the relative clause is a complement of an adverbial or prepositional phrase that serves as its antecedent.

- i. [DP-ADV intan [VP-REL(OBL) forcain unam lineam et unam speram]]
when he teaches a line and a sphere,
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.015)
- ii. ... [PP amal [VP-REL(OBL) noingter iarum ho epscop]]
“... as they are then anointed by a bishop”

(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.037)

- iii. ... [_{PP} fubíth [_{VP-REL(OBL)} doṅniat cercol ocondocbáil]]
“... because they make a circle in the rising.”
(Karlsruhe_Bede.034)
- iv. ... [_{NP-ADV} ærat [_{VP-REL(OBL)} tonimchéla luna innaóenmís]]
“... as far as the Moon goes around in its one month”
(Vienna_Bede.024)

d. *Predicate antecedent-gap dependencies: VP-REL(PRED)*

Predicate antecedent-gap dependencies, otherwise labelled ‘predicate relative clauses’ are relative clauses in which the antecedent acts as the predicate of the clause. Usually the verb of the clause is the substantive verb (or some other verb of existence) which replaces the copula when a predicate is ‘gapped’. In COIMG, the tag VP-REL(PRED) is also used if the verb of the relative clause is a passive verb of speaking and the antecedent acts as a predicate that clarifies the meaning of the subject. In this case, the relative clause could be paraphrased as a non-relative clause with the word *as* before the predicate nominal; see (ii) below for an example.¹⁶ In this case, the antecedent does not govern the relative clause. This is because the relative clause acts as the subject in a VP-CLEFT sentence.

- i. [_{VP-CLEFT} is [_{NP-PRED} uera picture] [_{VP-REL(PRED)} robaisin]]]
“It is a true picture that that was.”
(Karlsruhe_Augustine.072)
- ii. [_{VP-CLEFT} is [_{NP-PRED} gratia dei] [_{VP-REL(PRED)} etercertar an Iohannis hísin]]]
“It is “grace of God” how that (word) “John” is interpreted.”
(paraphrase: “That word “John” is interpreted as “grace of God”)
(Turin_Gospel_Commentary.032)

e. *PP-gap dependency: VP-REL(PP)*

PP-gap dependencies, otherwise labelled ‘PP relative clauses’ are relative clauses in which the antecedent acts as the complement of a prepositional phrase in the relative clause. Typically (except for in VP-CLEFT and VP-SPEC sentences), the relative clause is a complement of an nominal phrase (DP, NP, NUMP) that serves as its antecedent. PP relative clauses are formed differently from subject, object, oblique, and predicate relative clauses because the preposition which governs the gap (and therefore, in a semantic sense, the antecedent) is incorporated into the verbal complex along with a special relative particle (a phenomenon known in syntactic terms as ‘pied-piping’, a term which originated in Ross (1967)). For the incorporated preposition and relative particle see the discussion under VBCOMPLEX(PP) and VBCOMPLEX(WNP) respectively in subsections 16.7 and 16.8, above. The distinction between prepositional clauses and the others is somewhat expected

¹⁶ Compare also the Latin phrase *uisio lucis* in Karlsruhe_Bede.149.

according to Keenan and Comrie's (1977) noun-phrase accessibility hierarchy. For differences between different types of relative clauses, see also de Vries (2001).

- i. [NP dede [VP-REL(P) húambí intelligentia] ...]
 "Two things from which intelligence arises..."
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.021)
- ii. [NP-SBJ lae sœchtmaine [VP-REL(P) forá mbí kalendae Ianuarii]]
 "day of the week on which the calends of January are"
 (Nancy_Computus.001)
- iii. [DP-PCOMP alae frecndairc [VP-REL(P) imbí]]
 ... the present day in which you are.
 (Vienna_Bede.076)
- iv. ... [NP-APP sossad [VP-REL(P) asambí soillse]]
 "... station out of which is light"
 (Karlsruhe_Bede.149)

17.5 Ellision

Sometimes certain elements of a verbal phrase (as well as other phrases) may be elided. Nonetheless, phrases are tagged as if these items were there. For instance, consider the following verbal phrases involving elision. In both examples, there are conjoined phrases: in (i) CP (or VB-SUB-CLEFT) is conjoined with NEGP, and in (ii) VP-SPEC is conjoined with VP-SPEC. Moreover, in both examples, the second conjunct lacks an element that is present in the first conjunct: in (i), the second conjunct contains a VP-CLEFT that lacks a clausal constituent after the predicate, in (ii) the second conjunct contains a VP-SPEC that lacks a subject. Ostensibly, the second cleft in (i) could have been tagged as VP rather than VP-CLEFT and the second VP-SPEC in (ii) could also have been tagged as VP. The tagging that was actually chosen, VP-CLEFT and VP-SPEC, respectively, is because it is clear from the context given in the first conjunct that something has been omitted in the second conjunct. In other words, both conjuncts are of essentially the same type.

- i. [CP ci [VP-SUB-CLEFT d [PP arthucait cláinde [VP dagné nech]] [CONJP 7 [NEGP
 ní [VP-CLEFT p [PP arétrud]]]]] ...
 "Although it may be for the sake of children [that] someone may do it and
 not for lust..."
 (Karlsruhe_Augustine.032)
- ii. [VP-SPEC is [NP-PRED ed] [DP-SBJ inso] [NP-APP tosach preceptae iohain]] [CONJP 7
 [VP-SPEC is [NP-PRED ed] [NP-APP tosach preceptae crist]]]
 "This is the beginning of John's preaching and this is the beginning of
 Christ's preaching."
 (Turin_Gospel_Commentary.024)

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