

Expression of the subject of nominalization in Irish

1. Actant marking in non-finite clauses

In Modern Irish, nominalizations can be used independently, or be a part of a periphrastic verb form, or act as sentential complements or adjuncts. Actant marking in a non-finite clause depends on its syntactic position (see e.g. [Ó Huallacháin 1981] for details and [Disterheft 1984, 1985], [Genee 2000], [Lash, forthcoming], [Stáir 1994] for the historical development).

Type I

- (1) ...Tá [teacht an Tiarna] lámh linn.
be.PRS come.NMLZ DEF God.GEN hand with.us
...*The coming of the Lord is at hand* (CCGB: James 5:8)
- (2) Níl s-iad ach ag feith-eamh le [n-a teacht].
be.NEG.PRS NOM-they but at wait-NMLZ with her come.NMLZ
They wait but for her coming. (CCGB: Proinnsias Ó Brógáin, 3057)
- (3) Léire-oidh [déan-amh an ghairdín] ... spiorad bríomhar phobal cheantar an Phoill Ghlais.
reflect-FUT do-NMLZ DEF garden:GEN spirit vibrant people:GEN area:GEN DEF
Poleglass:GEN
The creation of the garden... will reflect the vibrant spirit of the community of the Poleglass area. (CCGB: The Northern Ireland Executive, 3151)

Type II

- (4) an ciotal a d'fhág tú ar an tine [ag imeacht duit]
DEF kettle REL PST leave you on DEF fire at leave-NMLZ you.DAT
the kettle that you put on fire when you were leaving (SS: 362)
- (5) Seo é an t-amhrán a bhí aici [ag cealg-adh an linbh].
here it DEF song REL be:PST at.him at lull-NMLZ DEF baby:GEN
This is the lullaby she was singing to the baby. (SS: 66)

Type III

- (6) Ba mhaith leo [Seán an bhanaltra a phós-adh].
SBJV good with.them Seán DEF nurse to marry-NMLZ
They would like Seán to marry the nurse. (GGBC: 235)
- (7) ...[Tar éis duit-se é a ung-adh].
after you.DAT-MPH he to anoint-NMLZ
...*After you have anointed him.* (CCGB: Acts 4:27)
- (8) Cheann-aigh Seán ticéad [roimh theacht isteach dó].
buy-PST Seán ticket before come.NMLZ inside he.DAT
Seán bought a ticket before coming in. (GGBC: 233)

2. Syntactic properties of subjects in Type III (after [McCloskey 2009])

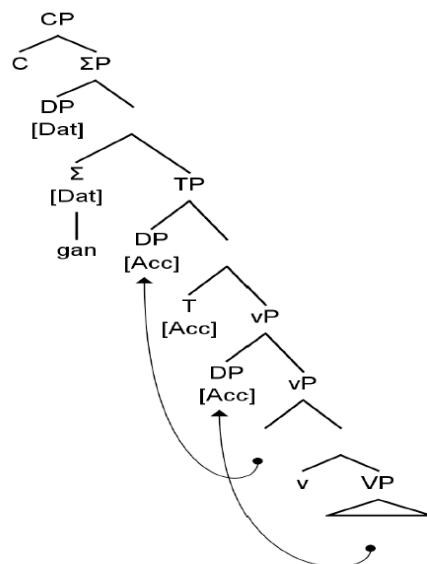
Binding of reflexive and reciprocal pronouns

- (9) a. Bhí brón ar a hathair [tar éis **di** a clann féin a fhágáil].
 be.PST sadness on her father after she.DAT her children REFL to leave-NMLZ
Her father was sad after her having left her own children. (SC)
- b. *Bhí brón ar a hathair [tar éis a clann féin a fhágáil **di**].
 be.PST sadness on her father after her children REFL to leave-NMLZ she.DAT
- c. *Bhí brón ar a hathair [tar éis **í** a clann féin a fhágáil].
 be.PST sadness on her father after she her children REFL to leave-NMLZ

Position of negation

- (10) a. [Tar éis dom **gan** mo leabhar a fháil ar ais]...
after I.DAT not my book to get.NMLZ back
After my not having got my book back... (SC)
- b. [Tar éis **gan** mé mo leabhar a fháil ar ais]...
after not I my book to get.NMLZ back
- c. [Tar éis **gan** mo leabhar a fháil ar ais dom]...
after not my book to get.NMLZ back I.DAT

Non-finite clause of Type III (from [McCloskey 2009, 9])



Subject DP can move either to SpecTP where it gets the direct case, here Acc, or higher –

to SpecΣP (ΣP stands for Polarity phrase) where it is assigned dative.

Masha Shkapa, MOSS, 9 October 2009

3. Some restrictions on High Dative Subjects

1. High Dative Subjects do not occur with verbal nouns derived from stative verbs:

(11) a. Tháinig s-é chugainn [tar éis codlat-a dom].
come.PST NOM-he to.us after sleep-NMLZ I.DAT
He came to us after my having slept.

b. ??Tháinig s-é chugainn [tar éis dom codl-adh].
come.PST NOM-he to.us after I.DAT sleep-NMLZ

2. Full DPs «sound weird» standing between the complementizer and the negation, while pronouns are OK in this position, just as are full NPs in positive sentences:

(12) a. ?[I ndiaidh do Liam gan teacht]...
after DAT Liam not come.NMLZ
When Liam has not come...

b. [I ndiaidh dó gan teacht]...
after he.DAT not come.NMLZ
When he has not come...

c. [I ndiaidh do Liam teacht abhaile ar a 3 a chlog]...
after DAT Liam come.NMLZ home at 3 o'clock
When Liam came home at 3 o'clock...

Abbreviations

DAT dative DEF definite EMPH emphatic FUT future NOM nominative NMLZ nominalizer PL plural PRS present
PST past REL relative SBJV subjunctive

Sources

CCGB Scannell K. Corpas Comhthreomhar Gaeilge-Béarla, <http://borel.slu.edu/corpas/>

GGBC Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí. Baile Átha Cliath, 1960.

SC Seán Ó Connor, informant

SS Síscéalta o Thír Chónaill. Fairy legends from Donegal / Seán O hEochaidh a bhailigh. Baile Átha Cliath, 1977.

References

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