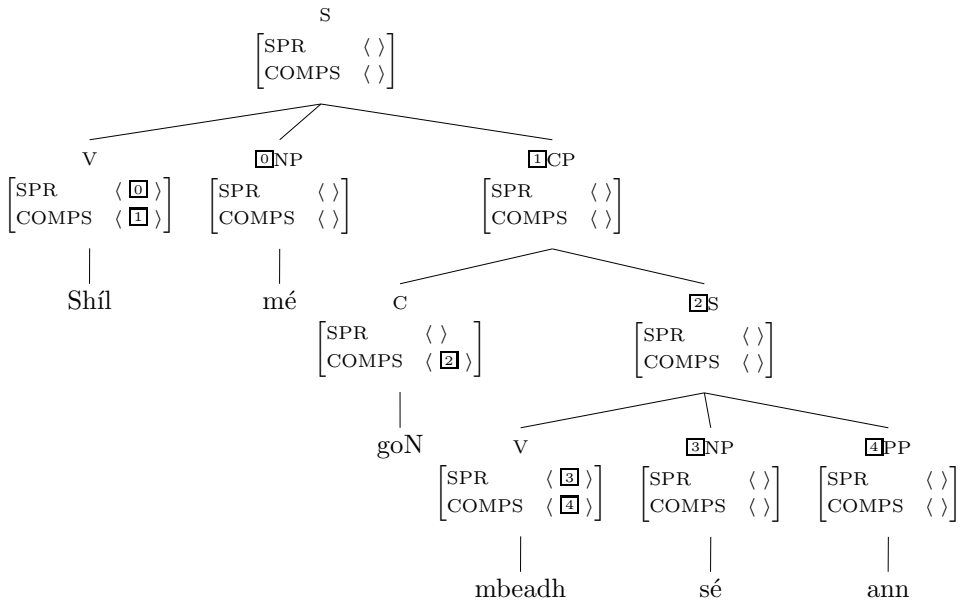
Chapter 14, Problem 4: Irish Complementizers

A. Head-Specifier-Complement Rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle\ \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle\ \rangle \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle \boxed{0} \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \boxed{1}, \ldots, \boxed{n} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \quad \boxed{0}\ \boxed{1}\ \ldots\ \boxed{n}$$

Head-Complement Rule:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \textit{phrase} \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle\ \rangle \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \mathbf{H} \begin{bmatrix} \textit{word} \\ \text{SPR} \quad \langle\ \rangle \\ \text{COMPS} \quad \langle \boxed{1}, \ldots, \boxed{n} \rangle \end{bmatrix} \quad \boxed{1}\ \ldots\ \boxed{n}$$



In drawing this tree, we assume that Irish *ann* is an intransitive preposition like English *there*.

B.

$$\left\langle \text{goN} , \begin{bmatrix} \textit{comp-lxm} \\ \text{SEM} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE} & \text{prop} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORM} & \text{fin} \\ \text{GAP} & \langle\ \rangle \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$$

$$\left\langle \text{aL} , \begin{bmatrix} \textit{comp-lxm} \\ \text{SEM} \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{MODE} & \text{prop} \end{bmatrix} \\ \text{ARG-ST} \quad \left\langle \begin{bmatrix} \text{FORM} & \text{fin} \\ \text{GAP} & \langle\ \text{X}\ \rangle \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle \end{bmatrix} \right\rangle$$

C. In (i) and (ii), there is no gap, so the complementizer is *goN*, which introduces finite clauses with no gap in them. (iii)–(vi) all contain relative clauses, which have gaps in them. In particular, the relative clauses are of the category CP[GAP ⟨ NP ⟩]; this CP is adjacent to an NP that serves as the filler. In (ii) and (iv), the gap is in the most deeply embedded CP, and the filler is at the top level, so all intervening CPs contain a gap and hence must be headed by *aL*. In (v) and (vi), the gap is the subject

of the first verb (translated as 'thought'), so the top CP in the relative clause has a gap in it, but the CP embedded within it contains no gap. Hence, the first complementizer is *aL*, and the second one is *goN*.