

5. Control phenomena in Irish

0. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to presenting an overview of control patterns found in Irish non-finite clauses, on the one hand, and to offering an analysis of control in this language within the model put forward for English by Landau (2000), on the other. The chapter begins with an examination of the distribution and characteristic properties of Irish non-finite clauses. Special emphasis is laid on the free alternation of lexical subjects and PRO encountered in many non-finite clauses in this language, and on dialectal variation manifested primarily in word order and Case marking. Section 2 focuses both on OC and NOC in Irish and on two subtypes of OC, namely EC and PC. Section 3 addresses the question of how to account for the lack of complementary distribution between PRO and lexical subjects in Irish. It also presents an analysis of Irish EC and PC within Landau's (2000) model. Furthermore, it offers a new analysis of the dialectal differences attested in Irish non-finite clauses. In section 4 the study of the so-called anomalous control, a control pattern unattested in either English or Polish, is examined, while in section 5 Irish NOC structures are investigated. The chapter closes with the examination of the interpretation of PRO in Irish.

1.0. Properties of non-finite clauses in Irish

The aim of this section is to investigate the characteristic properties and the distribution of Irish non-finite clauses. First, in section 1.1 the only Irish non-finite form, the so-called verbal noun, is examined. Then, the focus shifts to two clause patterns attested for Irish: one with an overt subject and the other with a covert one, i.e. PRO. This is followed by an overview of the distribution of these two clause types. Finally, the dialectal variation manifested in word order, case marking and the use of verbal noun particles is scrutinised.

1.1. Irish non-finite form: the verbal noun

Irish possesses just one non-finite verb form, which in traditional grammars (cf. The Christian Brothers (1980)) is referred to as a verbal noun (henceforth VN). This form is used not only in complement clauses, but also in all the contexts where English uses a gerund, an infinitive or a present participle. The verbal noun is classified as a non-finite form, as it is unmarked for tense and mood. Furthermore, it does not show any voice distinctions. Verbal nouns are often formed by the following endings: *-t*, *-áil*, *-(e)adh* and *-(i)ú*. However, many verbal nouns depart from the regular pattern and assume other endings (for some irregularities in verbal noun formation cf. The Christian Brothers (1980:126-7) and Ó Siadhail (1989:195-8)).

The term 'verbal noun' implies that the non-finite form shows an ambiguous behaviour, i.e. on the one hand, it acts as a noun and on the other hand, it displays verbal characteristics. In fact in the literature there exist two competing approaches to the categorial status of this form: one treating it as a verb (cf. McCloskey (1980a, 1983)) and the other regarding it as a noun (cf. Guilfoyle (1990, 1994) and Duffield (1995)). Let us briefly review the arguments supporting both of these approaches.

Verbal nouns resemble nouns proper in that they show typical nominal morphology, i.e. they can be marked for genitive and can bear plural inflection. These two properties are illustrated in (1a) and (1b), respectively:

(1)

- a. *lá breithe*
day birth-VN-GEN
'birthday'
- b. *orduithe ón rí*
order-VN-PL from-the king
'orders from the king'

Moreover, they allow the same range of modifiers as nouns, i.e. they can be modified by the definite article, adjectives and numerals, as shown in (2a), (2b) and (2c), respectively:

(2)

- a. *Ag éirí ní ba soiléire a bhí an cruthú.* (McCloskey (1983:39))
get-PROG clearer C was the prove-VN
'It was getting clearer that the proof was.'

- b. Beidh feitheamh fada ort.
will-be wait-VN long on-you
'You will have a long wait.'
- c. Níl ach inse amháin ar an scéal. (McCloskey 1983:39)
is-not but tell-VN one on the story
'There is only one telling of the story.'

Just like nouns, verbal nouns may take a complement in the genitive, as shown in (3):^{1 2}

- (3) tar éis iad féin a shábháil na gcéata (Ó Siadhail (1989:256))
after they self PRT save-VN the hundreds-GEN
'after they themselves saved hundreds'

What is more, some verbal nouns require a pronominal direct object to obligatorily appear as a possessive pronoun preceding them.³ This is illustrated in (4a), which closely resembles ordinary nominal possessive structures found in the language (cf. (4b)):⁴

¹ Structures like (3), with the object of the verbal noun in genitive, are typical of Southern dialects, an issue to which we will return in section 1.4.

² The particle *a* is characteristic of Irish non-finite clauses. The exact conditions regulating its use are presented in section 1.4.

³ This is typical of verbal nouns used in progressive structures, but also of some verbal nouns appearing in non-finite clauses. For a comprehensive overview of the various uses of the verbal noun with pronominal complements cf. Doyle (2002:94-97).

⁴ The following abbreviations are used to indicate the sources of Irish data:

- AGL – "An Gleann agus a Raibh Ann" by Séamus Ó Maolchathaigh
 AILT – "Saothar Sheosaimh Mhic Ghrianna, Cuid a Dó---Ailt" by Seosamh Mac Grianna
 AT – "A Thig Ná Tit Orm" by Maidhc Dainín Ó Sé
 ERON – "Eoghan Rua Ó Néill" by Seosamh Mac Grianna
 GSLM – "Gura Slán le m'Óige" by Fionn Mac Cumhaill
 IFDT – "Imtheachtaí Fhear Dheireadh Theaghlaigh" by E. J. Trelawney, translated by Seosamh Mac Grianna
 LAN – "Leoithne Aniar" edited by Pádraig Tyers
 MCL – "Muintir Chois Locha" by Shan F. Bullock, translated by Niall Ó Domhnaill
 NBMO – "Nuair a Bhí Mé Óg" by Séamas Ó Grianna
 POC – "Pádraic Ó Conaire agus Aistí Eile" by Seosamh Mac Grianna
 RMS – "Rotha Mór an tSaoil" by Micí Mac Gabhann
 SAI – "Suiptín an Iolair" by Séamas Ó Grianna

(4)

- a. Is furas liom do chreidbheáil. MCL277
COP easy with-me your believe-VN
'I find it easy to believe you.'
- b. do theach
'your house'

Additionally, verbal nouns pre-modified by possessive pronouns can be followed by the nominal reflexive particle, as can be seen in (5a), (cf. (5b)):

(5)

- a. agus go dtíreach nuair a bhí mé ag dul mo shíneadh féin
and just when C was I at go-VN my stretch-VN self
'and just when I was going to stretch myself' RMS065
- b. mo theach féin
my house self
'my own house'

As for verbal characteristics, clauses with verbal nouns show a distribution similar to that of finite clauses. That this is indeed the case can be seen in (6), where in (6a) the finite complement is used, whereas in (6b) the same verb takes a non-finite complement:

(6)

- a. Ba mhaith le Eibhlín [go rachadh sibh abhaile].
COP good with Eileen C go-COND you-PL home
'Eileen would like you to go home.' (Stenson (1981:66))

SHS – "Scéal Hiúdaí Sheáinín" by Eoghan Ó Domhnaill

SOOT – "Seanchas ón Oileán Tiar" by Tomas Ó Criomhthain

SS – "Scéalta Sealgaire" by Maighréad Nic Mhaicín

The numbers next to the abbreviations are to be understood in the following way:

AGL154 means that the example occurs on page 154 of the text

AGL004 means that the example occurs on page 4 of the text

AGL014 means that the example appears on page 14 of the text

AGL1542 means that the example is the second example cited from page 154 of the text

AGL1543 means that the example is the third example cited from page 154 of the text

AGL154a means that the text following is the first line of a multi-line example found on page 154 of the relevant text

AGL154b means that the text following is the second line of a multi-line example found on page 154 of the relevant text

- b. Ba mhaith le Eibhlín [sibh a dhul abhaile].
 COP good with Eileen you-PL PTC go-VN home
 ‘Eileen would like you to go home.’

It is worth noting that no overt C can appear in Irish non-finite clauses, unlike in their English and Polish equivalents.⁵ Furthermore, verbal nouns, just like verbs, can be modified by adverbials, as shown in (7), where the adverbial *go crua* ‘hard’ modifies the verbal noun *oibriú* ‘work’:

- (7)
 Bhí airgead le saothrú in Albain ag cuid fear na Rosann, ach
 be-PA money with earn-VN in Scotland by some men of Rosses but
 [oibriú go crua ar a shon]. GSLM005 a,b
 work-VN hard for it
 ‘There was money to earn in Scotland by the men of the Rosses as long as they worked hard for it.’

Finally, verbal nouns take the same range of complements as verbs, as is made clear by (8):

- (8)
 a. Dhíol mé an chaora.
 sold I the sheep
 ‘I sold the sheep.’
 b. Ní thaitníonn leat [mé an chaora a dhíol].
 NEG pleases with-you me the sheep PRT sell-VN
 ‘It does not please you for me to sell the sheep.’

In (8b) the verbal noun takes a DP complement in the same way as the finite verb in (8a).⁶

⁵ The categorial status of the particle *gan* used to negate non-finite clauses, which is sometimes analysed as C (cf. Chung and McCloskey (1987)), is discussed in section 3.2.

⁶ The DP complement in (8b) appears before the verb, whereas in (8a) it occupies a postverbal position. In Southern dialects the object may occupy the postverbal position and then it is marked for genitive, as shown in (i) below:

(i) Ní thaitníonn leat [mé a dhíol na caorach].
 NEG pleases with-you me PRT sell-VN the sheep-GEN
 ‘It does not please you for me to sell the sheep.’

To sum up, it has been demonstrated that the Irish non-finite verb form displays ambiguous behaviour. On the one hand, it behaves like a noun, but on the other, it displays verbal characteristics. We would like to suggest that it is possible to reconcile these two apparently incompatible properties of verbal nouns if we assume that they belong to two categories and accordingly show either verbal or nominal properties. In other words, although traditionally called verbal nouns, the forms under consideration are not verbal or nominal at the same time, but exhibit either the former or the latter properties depending on the syntactic position in which they are used. To be more precise, a verbal noun with verbal properties does not behave as a noun, i.e. it lacks genitive and plural forms, it cannot be modified by an adjective, the definite article or a numeral, it cannot be pre-modified by possessive pronouns or post-modified by reflexive particles, and it does not take a genitive complement (cf. footnote 6). However, a verbal noun with nominal characteristics takes DP complements in the genitive, never allows adverbial modification, and the clause containing it can never be replaced with a finite clause.

1.2. Non-finite clauses with and without overt subjects

Irish allows both PRO and lexical DPs to appear in the subject position of non-finite clauses, as shown in (9) below. However, Irish differs from English in that the occurrence of overt subjects in non-finite clauses is not dependent on the presence of an overt C nor is it licensed via ECM by the matrix verb (cf. the discussion below).⁷

(9)

- a. Ba mhaith liom [PRO imeacht].
COP good with-me go-VN
'I would like to go.'
- b. Ba mhaith liom [é a imeacht].
COP good with-me him PRT go-VN
'I would like him to go.'

⁷ The free occurrence of overt subjects and PRO in non-finite clauses is also attested in other Celtic languages, such as Welsh (cf. Borsley (1986) and Tallerman (1998)) and Breton (cf. Tallerman (1997)). However, the conditions under which overt subjects are licensed in these languages differ considerably from Irish.

In (9a) the subject is covert and corresponds to the subject-controlled PRO, whereas in (9b) the overt pronominal subject appears in the same context.

McCloskey (1980a) extensively argues that sentences like (9b) do not represent raising structures. Let us present some of his arguments, as they will have a bearing on the analysis of non-finite clauses carried out in section 3. Using numerous constituency tests, McCloskey shows that the whole sequence, i.e. subject + VN forms a constituent. The tests used by him involve the *ach*-‘only’-construction, as in (10a), clefting, as in (10b), pseudoclefting, as in (10c), all of which target only full constituents.

(10)

- a. ...nuair a bhí sé ag tarraingt ar an aois nach mbíonn daoine
when PRT was he PRT approach-VN on the age not are-REL people
a iarraidh ach [duine éisteacht leo ag caint ar an
PRT want-VN only person listen-VN to-them PRT talk-VN about the
tsaol a bhí ina n-óige acu] (McCloskey (1980a:64))
time PRT was in-their youth at-them
‘when he was approaching the age that people only want a person to listen
to them talking about the time when they were young’
- b. (Deir siad) gur [é a theacht] is ceart. (McCloskey (1980a:68))
say they C him PRT come-VN COP right
lit. ‘They say that it is for him to come that is right.’
- c. Séard a ba mhaith liom [ná mo mháthair a theacht
what PRT COP good with-me PRT my mother PRT come-VN
abhaile].
home
lit. ‘What I would like is for my mother to come home.’

What the above sentences demonstrate is that the subject and the rest of the non-finite clause together form a constituent. This fact is totally unexpected on the raising analysis, according to which the subject of the non-finite clause is raised to the matrix clause and hence ceases to be a constituent of the non-finite complement. Another argument against the raising analysis of sentences like (9b) is based on word order facts. No lexical material can separate the DP from the rest of the clause in cases like (9b), as shown in (11a), where the negative particle characteristic of non-finite clauses, i.e. *gan*, intervenes between the DP and the

rest of the clause. Sentence (11a) becomes grammatical only if *gan* precedes the DP, as in (11b):⁸

(11)

- a. *B'fhearr le Cormac Sorcha [gan a theacht anseo].⁹
 COP-better with Cormac Sarah NEG PRT come-VN here
 'Cormac would rather Sarah didn't come here.' (Stenson (1981:83))
- b. B'fhearr le Cormac [gan Sorcha a theacht anseo].
 COP-better with Cormac NEG Sarah PRT come-VN here
 'Cormac would rather Sarah didn't come here.'

Having dismissed the raising analysis for sentences like (9b), we are left with another alternative, namely the treatment of such structures in terms of ECM. However, this analysis is also untenable, as the distribution of non-finite clauses with overt subjects is completely different from ECM-clauses. McCloskey (1985) argues that the Irish clauses under scrutiny can appear as complements of nouns and adjectives, as illustrated in (12a) and (12b), respectively, neither of which is capable of assigning Case to the DP subject of the non-finite clause:

(12)

- a. Bheadh lúcháir air [iad a bheith i láthair].
 would-be joy on-him them PRT be-VN present
 'He would be delighted for them to be present.' (McCloskey (1985:192))
- b. Bheinn sásta [iad a bheith i láthair].
 I-would-be glad them PRT be-VN present
 'I would be glad for them to be present.' (McCloskey (1985:193))

What is more, non-finite clauses with overt subjects can stand alone, which strongly argues against analysing them as instances of ECM. This is illustrated in (13) from McCloskey (1985:194):

⁸ Examples (11a) and (11b) clearly contrast with true instances of raising. For an example of raising cf. sentence (i) footnote 12.

⁹ There are some varieties and idiolects in which (11a) is grammatical (Jim McCloskey, p.c.). However, even in those varieties and idiolects the DP appearing to the left of *gan* remains within the non-finite clause and does not raise to the matrix one.

(13)

Q: Caidé a chuir sin in do cheann?
 what C put that in your head
 'What put that into your head?'

A: [Tú a bheith 'do luí].
 you PRT be-VN lying-down
 'The fact that you were lying down.'

The distributional facts just presented strongly disfavour the ECM analysis for non-finite clauses with overt subjects in Irish.¹⁰ Sentences like (12) and (13) above make it clear that the subject in question must be marked for Case internally within its clause. The issue of how exactly this Case marking proceeds is addressed in section 3.1.2.

1.3. The distribution of non-finite clauses

Irish non-finite clauses can occur in a much broader range of contexts than the corresponding clauses in English and Polish. In each case two possibilities exist: a clause with PRO or one with an overt subject. Therefore, in the presentation to follow wherever possible two examples are provided the (a) example displays PRO and the (b) one an overt subject.

First of all, non-finite clauses can occur as complements of verbs, as in (14):

(14)

- a. Thairg sí do fhear [PRO a ghabhail go teach a'phobail leis]. SAI168a,b
 offered she to man PRT go-VN to church with-him
 'She offered to a man to go to church with him.'
- b. B'fhearr liom [é féin labhairt]. POC039
 COP-better with-me him self speak-VN
 'I would prefer for him to speak.'

Secondly, non-finite clauses can function as complements of some adjectives. This is exemplified in (12b) as well as in (15) below:¹¹

¹⁰ More evidence based on distribution and supporting the same conclusion is presented in section 1.3.

¹¹ There is also a number of adjectives which take non-finite complements but which are raising predicates, such as, for instance *ceart* 'right', *cóir* 'proper', *dócha* 'likely', etc.

(15)

Tá mé sásta [PRO a bheith anseo].
 am I glad PRT be-VN here
 'I'm glad to be here.'

In fact non-finite clauses can function as complements of the following classes of predicates:

(16)

- 1) modals, e.g. *caithfidh* 'must', *tá ar* 'have to', *is gá do* 'it is necessary', *teastaíonn ó* 'need to', *tig le* 'can/may', *féadann do* 'can',¹²
- 2) aspectuals, e.g. *tosaigh* 'begin', *coinníonn* 'continue', *stad de* 'stop', *stop ó* 'stop, cease',
- 3) implicatives, e.g. *éiríonn le* 'succeed, manage', *teipeann ar* 'fail', *chuaigh de* 'fail', *cinneann ar* 'fail', *cliseann ar* 'fail', *déan dearmad* 'forget',
- 4) desideratives, e.g. *tá faoi* 'intend', *tá sé ar intinn ag* 'intend', *síl* 'think' (in the sense of 'intend'), *socraigh* 'decide', *teastaíonn ó* 'want', *is fearr le* 'prefer', *is maith le* 'like',
- 5) propositional, e.g. *abair* 'say',
- 6) factive, e.g. *taithníonn le* 'like', *tá mé sásta* 'I am glad/content',
- 7) interrogatives, e.g. *tá a fhios agam* 'I know', *fiafraigh* 'inquire', *tá tuairim ag* 'be of opinion/ guess',¹³.

¹² A lot of modals can be ambiguous between raising and non-raising predicates (cf. McCloskey (1984)). For instance, *caithfidh* 'must' is a raising predicate in (i), whereas it represents a non-raising verb taking a non-finite complement with an overt subject in (ii):

(i) *Caithfidh sí [gan ___ a bheith breoite].* (McCloskey (1985:200))
 must she NEG PRT be-VN ill
 'She must not be ill.'

(ii) *Caithfidh [gan í a bheith breoite].*
 must NEG her PRT be-VN ill
 'It must be that she is not ill.'

¹³ Non-finite interrogative complements, just like non-finite questions (cf. (24)), can only refer to place, time, manner or reason, e.g.:

(i) *go bhfuil fhios agatsa [cad ina thaobh í a bheith mar atá sí]*
 C is knowledge at-you-EMPH why she PRT be-VN like be-REL she
 'that you know why she is the way she is' AGL213

The list of predicates presented in (16) above closely mimics the lists provided for English (cf. Chapter II section 1.0) and Polish (cf. Chapter III, section 2.1.3).

Thirdly, the clauses under scrutiny can serve as complements of some nouns, especially psych ones. This is illustrated in (12a) and in (17) below:

(17)

Is cosúil go raibh leisce orthu [PRO an áit a fhágáil].
 COP like C was reluctance on-them the place PRT leave-VN
 'It seems they were loath to leave the place.'

Fourthly, Irish non-finite clauses can appear as complements of some prepositions, as in (18):

(18)

- a. Thug sé crúsga breá dhóibh chun [PRO é líona do dhig]. SOOT044
 gave he big-jar nice to-them for it fill-VN of drink
 'He gave a nice big jar to them for them to fill it with drink.'
- b. an bhfuil tú ag dúil le [mé a bheith inchurtha le
 INTERR are you at expect-VN with me PRT be-VN comparable with
 Domhnall Ó Catháin]¹⁴ ERON017a,b
 Domhnall Ó Catháin
 'Are you expecting me to be equal to Domhnall Ó Catháin?'

Additionally, they can function as complements of complex prepositions, some of which function as subordinators, such as, for instance: *i ndiaidh* 'after, although', *tar éis* 'after, although, despite', *d'ainneoin* 'in spite of, notwithstanding', *de thairbhe* 'as a result of', *le cois* 'in addition to', *mar gheall ar* 'on account of', *d'fhonn* 'in order to', *i leith* 'in the direction of', *ar feadh* 'as soon as', *le linn* 'because, as', etc. For instance:¹⁵

¹⁴ Irish is a language in which pronominal complements within a PP form a single unit with the preposition, yielding what is traditionally called prepositional pronouns. For instance, the preposition *le* 'with' when followed by the 1st person pronominal complement *mé* 'me' has a form *liom* 'with me' (cf. (14b)). Since the pronoun *mé* 'me' in (18b) and the preposition *le* 'with' do not together form a prepositional pronoun, it is evident that the pronoun functions as the subject of the non-finite clause rather than the object of the preposition *le* 'with'.

¹⁵ In (19b) the PRO subject is arbitrary.

(19)

- a. Bhí siad i ndiaidh [PRO an geimhreadh a chaitheamh ag ballaí
were they after the winter PRT spend-VN at walls
Dhroichead Átha].
Drogheaha
'They were after spending winter in place called Drogheaha.' ERON046a,b
- b. D'imeodh an breac fiain tar éis [PRO é a phriocadh leis
go-away-PA-COND the trout wild after it PRT prick-VN with
an bpíce].
the pike
'The wild trout would go away after being pricked with the pike.' AT027

Furthermore, non-finite clauses can sometimes be used as subjects, as in (20):

(20)

- a. is doiligh [PRO a innse caidé is fearr]
COP difficult PRT say-VN what COP best
'It is difficult to say what is the best.' SAI007
- b. Is neamhiontach [an teanga a bheith deacair a fhoghlaim].
COP unsurprising the language PRT be-VN difficult PRT learn-VN
'It is unsurprising for the language to be difficult to learn.' AILT022

The sentences in (20) have the following schematic structure: the copula *is* + the adjective + the non-finite clause. The non-finite clause occupies the subject position in this kind of structure, as confirmed by example (21), where the analogous position is filled by the DP *an teanga seo* 'this language'.

(21)

Is doiligh an teanga seo.
COP difficult the language this
'This language is difficult.'

In addition to that, non-finite clauses may follow the coordinator *agus/is* 'and' to express an action simultaneous with the one in the main clause or to denote a causal relation, for instance:

(22)

- a. Tabharfaidh sé cnáimh le creinneadh dhó is [PRO an tír sin a
will-give it bone to chew to-him and that country PRT
choisint].
defend-VN
'It will give him plenty to do (if he is) to defend this country.'
(Ó Siadhail (1989:285))
- b. Is dóigh gur dhíol agus [é a bheith in Árann].
COP likely C sold and him PRT be-VN in Aran
'I suppose that he did sell, as he was in Aran.' (Ó Siadhail (1989:285))

As has already been noted (cf. section 1.2), Irish non-finite clauses can stand on their own, as can be seen in (23) (cf. also (13)):

(23)

- A – 'Cá bhfuair tú é?' ar seisean. NBMO081a,b
how got you it said he
'Where did you get it?' he said.
- B – 'Tá, [PRO a ghoid]' arsa an gasúr.¹⁶
well its steal-VN said the child
'Well, I stole it, said the child.'

Moreover, non-finite clauses can appear in *wh*-questions referring to place, time, manner or reason (cf. footnote 13). This is exemplified in (24):

(24)

- Ach [cad ina thaobh é a bheith craptha], an dóigh leat?
but why it PRT be-VN wasted COP likely to-you
'But why is it shrunk, do you think?' LAN107

¹⁶ The fact that PRO is present in sentences like (23) is supported by examples such as (i) below, where PRO binds the anaphor:

- (i) A – Cad a dhéanfaidh tú leis an hata?
what PRT will-do you with the hat
'What will you do with the hat?'
B – Tá, [PRO_i a chur orm_i féin].
well its put-VN on-me self
'Well, I will put it on.'

What is more, Irish, unlike Polish and in a way similar to English, possesses relative non-finite clauses. For instance:

- (25) fear [an airgid a dhéanamh] (Ó Siadhail (1989:286))
man the money PRT make-VN
'the man to make money'

Finally, non-finite clauses can be used as adjuncts expressing purpose, as in (26) below:

- (26) D'éirigh siad [PRO a cheol an amhráin]. (Ó Siadhail (1989:280))
rose they PRT sing the song-GEN
'They rose to sing the song.'

To recapitulate, what distinguishes Irish non-finite clauses from their Polish and English equivalents is that they can stand on their own and can be used as adverbials introduced either by coordinators or by subordinators. In all other respects they seem to behave in a way similar to non-finite clauses in the other languages analysed.

1.4. Dialectal variation

There exists considerable dialectal variation in Irish non-finite clauses, which manifests itself especially in word order, case marking and the use of the non-finite particle.^{17 18} Let us examine each of these three differences in turn.

As regards word order, non-finite clauses in all Irish dialects, in contradistinction to finite clauses, are never verb initial. However, the dialects differ with respect to how this non-verb initial word order is realised. Northern dialects diverge from Southern ones in that only the former allow both the subject and the object to precede the verbal noun in non-finite clauses, whereas the latter

¹⁷ There exist three major groups of Irish dialects, i.e. Ulster, Connacht and Munster. Members of the first two are often referred to as Northern dialects, whereas Munster dialects are called Southern dialects.

¹⁸ These dialectal variations were first discussed in McCloskey (1980a); later, they were examined by Chung and McCloskey (1987), Noonan (1994), Carnie (1995), Duffield (1995) and Adger (1996).

permit only one element, either the overt subject or object, in front of the verbal noun.¹⁹ The word order patterns available in Northern dialects are presented in (27):

(27) Northern Word Order Patterns

- a. I ndiaidh [iad imeacht]. S+V
 after they leave-VN
 ‘after they left’
- b. Ba mhaith liom [PRO imeacht]. PRO+V
 COP good with-me go-off-VN
 ‘I would like to go off.’ (Ó Siadhail (1989:254))
- c. Ba mhaith liom [sibh an doras a phéinteáil]. S+O+PRT+V
 COP good with-me you-PL the door PRT paint-VN
 ‘I would like you to paint the door.’ (Ó Siadhail (1989:257))
- d. Ba mhaith liom [PRO an doras a phéinteáil]. PRO+O+PRT+V
 COP good with-me the door PRT paint-VN
 ‘I would like to paint the door.’ (Ó Siadhail (1989:257))

Sentences (27a) and (27b) exhibit an intransitive verb in the non-finite clause preceded by a respective overt or covert subject. Examples (27c) and (27d) contain a transitive verb in the non-finite complement which is preceded both by a subject (overt or covert) and object.

In Southern dialects analogous word order patterns are attested for two sequences, namely PRO+V (cf. (28b)) and PRO+O+PRT+V (cf. (28d)). The pattern with an overt subject and an intransitive verb is handled as in (28a) and the one with an overt subject and a transitive verb is realised as in (28c):

(28) Southern Word Order Patterns

- a. Ba mhaith liom [é a fhanacht]. S+PRT+V
 COP good with-me him PRT stay-VN
 ‘I would like him to stay.’

¹⁹ In Northern dialects object DPs always precede the verbal noun, while non-finite complement clauses are obligatorily extraposed. Non-finite complement clauses are also extraposed in Southern dialects, as can be seen in (i) from Doyle and Gussmann (1991:374):

(i) An bhfeádfá a rá liom cá bhfuil Seán?
 C could-2SG PRT say-VN to-me where is John
 ‘Could you tell me where John is?’

- b. Ba mhaith liom [PRO fanacht]. PRO+V
 COP good with-me stay-VN
 'I would like to stay.' (Carnie (1995:89))
- c. Ba mhaith liom [sibh a phéinteáil an dorais]. S+PRT+V+O
 COP good with-me you-PL PRT paint-VN the door-GEN
 'I would like you to paint the door.'
- d. Ba mhaith liom [PRO an doras a phéinteáil]. PRO+O+PRT+V
 COP good with-me the door PRT paint-VN
 'I would like to paint the door.'

(28a) is different from (27a) in that it places the particle *a* in front of an intransitive verb; an issue to which we will soon return. (28c) shows that the object must follow the transitive verb.²⁰ The order S+O+PRT+V, commonly found in Northern dialects (cf. (27c)), is only marginal in Southern dialects (cf. McCloskey (1995)). Thus, it seems that only one overt item (either the subject or object) can appear in front of the verbal noun in Southern dialects. This restriction may lead to ambiguities in cases like (29) below. Depending on whether the preverbal element is treated as a subject or as an object, two interpretations can follow:

- (29)
- Ba mhaith liom [tú a phósadh]. (Guilfoyle (1994:144))
 COP good with-me you PRT marry-VN
 'I would like to marry you.' PRO+O+PRT+V
 'I would like you to get married.' S+PRT+V

This kind of ambiguity does not arise in Northern dialects, where these two interpretations are handled by means of two different syntactic structures, as indicated in (30a) and (30b) below:

- (30)
- a. Ba mhaith liom [tú a phósadh]. PRO+O+PRT+V
 COP good with-me you PRT marry-VN
 'I would like to marry you.'

²⁰ McCloskey and Sells (1988: footnote 7) note that SVO structures in Southern Irish are quite infrequent and restricted to formal registers. These dialects commonly use finite clauses to replace structures like (28a) and (28c).

- b. Ba mhaith liom [tú pósadh]. S+V
 COP good with-me you marry-VN
 'I would like you to get married.'

As far as case is concerned, it is worth pointing out that only third person pronouns display a distinction between marked (or nominative) case and unmarked (or accusative) case.²¹ In fact pronouns have two sets of forms, the so-called *s*-forms, used in the subject position (hence called nominative), and the *s*-less forms, used in all other sentence positions (hence called accusative). These two sets of forms are listed in (31):

(31)	nominative	accusative
masc.	sé	é
fem.	sí	í
plural	siad	iad

Case marking of subjects and objects in non-finite clauses varies across dialects. In Northern dialects both preverbal subjects and objects bear accusative, e.g.:

- (32)
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|---------|---------|----------|----------|------------|-----|
| Ba | mhaith | liom | [é | /*sé | iad | /*siad | a |
| COP | good | with-me | him-ACC | /*he-NOM | them-ACC | /*they-NOM | PRT |
| phéinteáil]. | | | | | | | |
| paint-VN | | | | | | | |
| 'I would like him to paint them.' | | | | | | | |

Likewise, Southern dialects show accusative case marking on preverbal subjects and objects, as in (33a) (example (28a) repeated for convenience) and (33b):

- (33)
- a. Ba mhaith liom [é /*sé a fhanacht].
 COP good with-me him-ACC /*he-NOM PRT stay-VN
 'I would like him to stay.'
- b. Ba mhaith liom [PRO iad /*siad a phéinteáil].
 COP good with-me them-ACC /*they-NOM PRT paint-VN
 'I would like to paint them.'

²¹ Other pronouns and lexical DPs do not show this case distinction. Lexical DPs, on the other hand, can be marked for genitive.

Although the account of case marking in non-finite clauses just presented can be commonly found in the literature (cf., for instance, McCloskey (1980a), McCloskey (1985) and Chung and McCloskey (1987)), recently some objections have been voiced against it. It has been argued by Carnie (1995), Harley (2000) and Doyle (2002) that the two distinct pronominal forms (cf. (31)) do not in fact reflect a nominative vs. accusative contrast, but rather correspond to two different morphological realisations of pronouns found in two distinct environments. The *s*-form is typically associated with the position immediately following the finite V, whereas the *s*-less form occurs elsewhere.^{22 23} Under this approach, the distinction between pronominal *s*- and *s*-less forms is not syntactic in nature but rather morphological. Hence, the claim that preverbal subjects and objects in non-finite clauses such as (32) and (33) are marked for accusative appears to be questionable. It seems to be more adequate to say that these pronouns assume *s*-less forms only as a consequence of the fact that they do not follow a finite verb. The issue of case marking of subjects and objects in non-finite clauses will be returned to in section 3.

²² Doyle (2002:53) observes that *s*-less forms can occur in the subject position of coordinate structures such as (i) below:

(i) Tá seisean agus ise /*sise ag caint.
are he-sF-EMPH and she-s-less-EMPH/*she-sF-EMPH PRT talk-VN
'He and she are talking.'

The above example, however, can be viewed as an instance of left conjunct agreement (cf. McCloskey (1986)), and hence as not bearing on the issue of pronominal case realization. If *s*-forms (nominative case) reflect agreement, then the *s*-form shows up on the leftmost conjunct in (i) due to left conjunct agreement, whereas the *s*-less form on the second conjunct remains unaffected.

²³ There exist some structures which behave in a way departing from this generalization. One such structure corresponds to possessive constructions in Connacht Irish, such as (i) below, where the *s*-form appears without a preceding finite verb (Jim McCloskey, p.c.):

(i) a teach sise
her house she-sF-EMPH
'**her** house'

Secondly, in copular sentences the *s*-less form is used, as in (ii) below, in spite of the fact that the copula may be inflected for tense and can therefore be classified as a finite verb form:

(ii) Is é an fear sin an sagart.
COP he-s-less the man that the priest
'That man is the priest'.

Such structures remain problematic for the approach advocated in the main body of this chapter.

One more point needs to be mentioned in connection with the form of pronominal objects in non-finite clauses. As has already been noted, pronominal objects typically appear in these clauses in their *s*-less form. However, under some circumstances they can occur in a completely different form. These forms, which we will refer to as object pronominals, are attested for all pronouns and are listed in (34) below:²⁴

(34)	singular	plural
1 st	do mo	dár
2 nd	do do	do bhur
3 rd masc.	á ^L	á ^E 25
fem.	á	

The forms listed above are different from the *s*-less forms in (31) in that they function as proclitics on the verbal noun. The contrast between these two sets of pronouns is illustrated in (35), where (35a) exhibits an *s*-less pronoun, while (35b) contains an object pronominal:

- (35)
- a. D'ith tú é.
ate you it-*s*-less
'You ate it.'
- b. Tá tú á ithe.
are you ob.pron.-3SG.MASC eat-VN
'You are eating it.'

Object pronouns are used as complements of verbal nouns, as in (36):²⁶

- (36)
- a. Stad sí [á ithe].
stopped she ob.pron.-3SG.MASC eat-VN
'She stopped eating it.' (Doyle (2002:94))
- b. Ba mhaith liom [Seán á léamh].
COP good with-me John ob.pron.-3SG.MASC read-VN
'I would like John to read it.' (Doyle (2002:96))

²⁴ The forms in (34) are characteristic of the standard written dialect.

²⁵ L stands for lenition and E for eclipsis.

²⁶ Doyle (2002:96) notes that in cases like (36b) the preverbal subject is obligatory.

Having presented dialectal variation in word order and case marking in non-finite clauses, let us now turn to the particle found in these clauses. As can be seen in the majority of sentences presented so far, the particle in question is realised as *a*, which triggers lenition on the following verbal noun. The exact conditions regulating the use of this particle are different in Northern and in Southern dialects. In the former the particle occurs only with transitive verbs (cf. (27) above), whereas in the latter the particle *a* is used if either the subject or the object precedes the verbal noun (cf. (28) above). Furthermore, in Northern dialects, *a* appears exceptionally in front of two intransitive verbal nouns *goil* ‘go’ and *teacht* ‘come’, as in, for instance, (37):

- (37)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|---------|------|-------|-------|-----------|
| Ba | mhaith | liom | [PRO | a | ghoil | abhaile]. |
| COP | good | with-me | PRT | go-VN | home | |
| ‘I would like to go home.’ | | | | | | |

The Southern equivalent of (37) is (38) below, in which no particle precedes the verbal noun:

- (38)
- | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|---------|------|-------|-----------|
| Ba | mhaith | liom | [PRO | dul | abhaile]. |
| COP | good | with-me | | go-VN | home |
| ‘I would like to go home.’ | | | | | |

However, in all dialects the particle is used in front of the verbal noun *beith* ‘be’, as in (39):²⁷

- (39)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------|---------|------|-------|--------|-----------|
| Ba | mhaith | liom | [PRO | a | bheith | abhaile]. |
| COP | good | with-me | PRT | be-VN | home | |
| ‘I would like to be home.’ | | | | | | |

Furthermore, in Northern dialects the particle *a* optionally precedes a verbal noun if the verbal noun is followed by a CP complement. This is illustrated by

²⁷ It is also possible to interpret *a bheith* as a single unit, corresponding to the verbal noun of the verb *bí* ‘be’. This analysis may be justified by the fact that *beith* never occurs on its own as a verbal noun.

(40a), where no particle appears in front of the verbal noun and by (40b), where the particle is present in front of the same verbal noun.

(40)

- a. Dhiúltaigh said creidbheáil [go bhfuil an domhan cruinn].
 refused they believe-VN C is the world round
 ‘They refused to believe that the world is round.’ (Ó Siadhail (1989:259))
- b. Is doiligh a chreidbheáil [gurab é sin a’ dearcadh atá ag
 COP difficult PRT believe-VN C-COP it that the outlook is at
 muintir a’bhaile seo].
 people at town this
 ‘It is difficult to believe that this is the outlook which the people of this
 town have.’

Finally, the verbal noun in the complement of aspectual verbs in Connacht and Munster is preceded by the particle *ag*, as can be seen in (41):

(41)

- Thosaigh sé [ag foghlaim Béarla].
 began he PRT learn-VN English
 ‘He began learning English.’ (Ó Siadhail (1989:278))

However, Ulster Irish uses the particle *a* in the same context. This is illustrated in (42):

(42)

- Stad mé [a theagasc Gaeilge ar chor ar bith dó].
 stopped I PRT teach-VN Irish at all to-him
 ‘I stopped teaching him Irish entirely.’ (McCloskey (1980a:87))

The data presented in this section are summarised in Table 1 below:

Table 1

Dialect	Intransitive	Transitive
Northern	PRO+V S+V	PRO+O+ a +V S+O+ a +V
Southern	PRO+V S+ a +V	PRO+O+ a +V S+ a +V+O-GEN

2.0. Typology of control in Irish

This section focuses on the typology of control in Irish. In section 2.1 the distinction between OC and NOC is examined. Section 2.2 investigates two subtypes of OC, namely EC and PC in Irish.

2.1. OC and NOC in Irish

The criteria that have been used to distinguish OC from NOC in English and Polish are listed in Chapter II, section 2.1 (cf. also Chapter IV, section 2.2) and are repeated for convenience in (43) below:

- (43)
- a. Arbitrary control is impossible in OC, possible in NOC
 - b. Long-distance control is impossible in OC, possible in NOC
 - c. Strict reading is impossible in OC, possible in NOC
 - d. *De re* reading is impossible in OC (only *de se*), possible in NOC.
- (Landau (2000:31))

Let us check how these criteria can be applied to Irish data. It seems that Irish OC shows the properties typical of OC in English and Polish. That this is indeed the case can be seen in (44) below:

- (44)
- a. Ba mhaith liom₁ [PRO_{1/*arb} fanacht].
COP good with-me stay-VN
'I would like to stay.'
 - b. Shíl Máire₁ gur mhaith le Seán₂ [PRO_{*1/2} a dhul abhaile].
thought Mary C good with John PRT go-VN home
'Mary thought John would like to go home.'
 - c. B'fhearr le Seán₁ [PRO_{1/*2} bonn a fháil].
COP-better with John medal PRT get-VN
'John would prefer to get a medal.'

The above sentences show that OC PRO in Irish must have an antecedent (cf. (44a)), which must be local (cf. (44b)). Furthermore, Irish OC PRO has the *de se* reading only (cf. (44c)). Test (43c) cannot be applied to Irish, as VP-ellipsis is not possible in non-finite clauses in this language (Jim McCloskey, p.c.). Conse-

quently, Irish equivalents of the English sentences with ellipted VP, as in (45a), do not ‘drop’ the VP at all, as can be seen in (45b):

(45)

- a. John must leave and Mary must too.
- b. Caithfidh Seán fágáil agus caithfidh Máire fágáil freisin.
 must John leave-VN and must Mary leave-VN too
 ‘John must leave and Mary must too.’

Just like in English and in Polish, c-command by an antecedent is not necessary for OC to arise in Irish. This is illustrated in (46):

(46)

- Is é mo₁ ghnó [PRO₁ ord a choinneáil anseo].
 COP it my business order PRT keep-VN here
 ‘It is my job to keep order here.’ (Stenson (1981:62))

It might seem that in (44) the antecedents do not c-command PRO, as they appear as complements within a PP. This, however, is contradicted by the fact that prepositional complements can bind anaphors, as shown in (47):

(47)

- Tá bród ar Sheán₁ as₁ féin.
 is pride on John out-himself
 ‘John is proud of himself.’

Since the anaphor in (47) is bound by the prepositional complement, it looks as though the latter must c-command the former. On the basis of the grammaticality of (47) we conclude that the PP-boundary does not block the c-command relation not only in (47), but generally, i.e. also in control cases like (44).

Furthermore, it seems that OC in Irish, in a way analogous to OC in English and in Polish, does not exclude control by split antecedents. This is exemplified in (48):

(48)

- a. Chuir Seán₁ ina luí ar Mháire₂ [PRO₁₊₂ a chéile a ní].
 put John in-the pressure on Mary each other PRT wash-VN
 ‘John persuaded Mary to wash each other.’

- b. Bhí Seán₁ ag iarraidh a chur ina luí ar Mháire₂
 was John PRT want-VN PRT put-VN in-the pressure on Mary
 [PRO₁₊₂ pógadh sa leabharlann].
 kiss-VN in-the library
 'John wanted to persuade Mary to kiss in the library.'

In both (48a) and (48b) PRO is controlled simultaneously by the matrix subject and by the prepositional complement, in spite of the fact that *persuade* is a typical OC verb.

One more remark has to be made in relation to OC in Irish. There exist some cases in which PRO must be disjoint from the matrix subject due to the intervention of Condition B of the BT. This situation is reminiscent of similar structures found in English (cf. example (77a) in Chapter II) and Polish (cf. examples (26c) and (27b) in Chapter IV) and is illustrated in (49) below:

(49)

- a. Is maith leis₁ [PRO_{*1/2} 'chuile short a dhéanamh dhó₁].
 COP good with-him everything PRT do-VN for-him
 'He likes one to do everything for him.' (Ó Siadhail (1989:257))
- b. Ar mhaith leat₁ [PRO_{*1/2} an carr beag a ghléasadh duit₁]? SS192
 COP good with-you the car small PRT fit-out-VN for-you
 'Would you like to have the little car to be set up for you?'

If PRO in (49a) and (49b) were controlled by the matrix subject, it would bind the co-indexed pronoun, in violation of Condition B. In order to avoid this violation PRO must be disjoint in reference from the matrix subject, yielding a NOC structure. However, if Condition B does not intervene, the predicate in (49) triggers only OC, as confirmed by (50):

(50)

- Is maith leis₁ [PRO_{1/*2} 'chuile shórt a dhéanamh].
 COP good with-him everything PRT do-VN
 'He likes to do everything.'

Alongside structures like (49), there exist in Irish the so-called anomalous control constructions. The term 'anomalous control' was first used by McCloskey and Sells (1988) to refer to structures such as (51):

(51)

Caithfimid *pro*₁ [*PRO*₁ foighid a bheith againn₁].
 we-must patience PRT be-VN at-us
 ‘We must be patient’.

In (51) *PRO* must be co-referential with the matrix subject, in spite of the fact that it binds a co-indexed pronoun in its clause, thus violating Principle B. A full treatment of anomalous control is presented in section 4. For the time being, however, it is sufficient to note that in (51), as argued by McCloskey and Sells (1988, footnote 11), at least two maximal projections, i.e. VP and PP, separate the pronoun from *PRO* and hence protect it from violating Principle B. In this respect sentences like (51) resemble similar structures in English, as in (52):

(52)

He₁ has no money on him₁.

The important observation made by McCloskey and Sells (1988) is that the co-reference between *PRO* and the prepositional complement in sentences like (51) is only possible if the prepositional object corresponds to a notional subject, otherwise it is banned (cf. section 4.1, examples (143a) and (143b)). This explains the contrast between (49) and (51), where only the latter exhibits a notional subject acting as a prepositional complement.

As for NOC *PRO* in Irish, it systematically contrasts with OC *PRO* with respect to the tests listed in (43), as evidenced by (53):²⁸

(53)

- a. Creideann Seán go bhfuil sé tábhachtach [*PRO*_{arb} a bheith sláintiúil].²⁹
 believes John C is it important PRT be-VN healthy
 ‘John believes that it is important to be healthy.’

²⁸ Non-finite subject clauses must be obligatorily extraposed, as demonstrated in (53), and additionally supported by (i) below:

(i) Cuirfidh sé Seán₁ ina thost [*PRO*₁ é₁ féin a bhréagnú mar sin].
 will-put it John silent him self PRT contradict-VN like this
 ‘It will make John silent to contradict himself like this.’

²⁹ In addition to being arbitrary, *PRO* in (53a) may be controlled by *Seán* ‘John’. There exist cases where *PRO* can be arbitrary in the absence of any potential controller, as in (i):

(i) Ní féidir [*PRO*_{arb} imeacht]. (Ó Siadhail (1989:256))
 not can leave-VN
 ‘One cannot leave.’

- b. Creideann Seán₁ go síleann Máire₂ go bhfuil sé tábhachtach [PRO₁ é₁
believes John C thinks Mary C is it important him
féin a bheathú i gceart].
self PRT feed-VN properly
'John believes that Mary thinks that to feed himself properly is important.'
- c. Creideann Seán₁ go bhfuil sé leadránach /tábhachtach [PRO_{1/arb} bonn
believes John C is it boring /important medal
a fháil].
PRT get-VN
'John believes getting a medal is boring/important.'

(53a) shows that NOC PRO does not need to have an antecedent, (53b) demonstrates that the antecedent of NOC PRO does not need to be local and finally, (53c) illustrates the fact that NOC PRO can have a *de re* reading. Once again the ellipsis test in (43c) cannot be applied here for the reasons already stated.

It has been argued in Chapters II and IV that interrogative complements both in English and in Polish only apparently instantiate NOC, but in fact represent OC. Let us check whether the same can be said of Irish interrogative complements. One such case is given in (54a):

(54)

- a.*Níl a fhios ag Seán₁ [cén uair PRO é₁ a chur in
is-not its knowledge at John what time him PRT put-VN in
aithne].
acquaintance
'*John₁ doesn't know when to introduce him₁.'

The above sentence clearly contrasts with (54b) below:

(54)

- b. Níl a fhios ag Seán₁ [cén uair is ceart PRO é₁ féin a
is-not its knowledge at John what time COP proper him self PRT
chur in aithne].
put-VN in acquaintance
'John doesn't know when it is proper to introduce himself.'

The ungrammaticality of (54a) results from the fact that PRO in the interrogative complement has the matrix subject as its antecedent and therefore binds the co-indexed pronoun in violation of Principle B. No such violation arises in (54b),

where the anaphor appears in the interrogative complement instead of the pronoun. Thus, the ungrammaticality of (54a) indicates that PRO in Irish interrogative complements must be obligatorily controlled.

Another point worth considering relates to whether implicit control in Irish represents OC or NOC. Implicit control is exemplified by (55) below:

(55)

Is doiligh [PRO a bheith cóir].
COP difficult PRT be-VN honest
'It is difficult to be honest.'

The above example seems to exhibit NOC. However, NOC in (55) is only apparent and in fact this sentence illustrates OC by an implicit argument. That this is indeed the case becomes clear by comparing sentence (55) with the following ones:

(56)

Is doiligh do Sheán₁ [PRO_{1/*arb} a bheith cóir].
COP difficult to John PRT be-VN honest
'It is difficult for John to be honest.'

(57)

Dúirt tú₁ gur dhoiligh do Sheán₂ [PRO_{*arb/*1/2} a bheith cóir].
said you C difficult to John PRT be-VN honest
'You said that it would be difficult for John to be honest.'

(56) shows that the adjective *doiligh* 'difficult' can take an overt argument and when it does, it is this argument that controls PRO. (57), in turn, suggests that control in cases like (56) is obligatory, as it is always the closer antecedent, i.e. the argument of *doiligh* 'difficult', that controls PRO and control by a more distant antecedent, i.e. the matrix subject, is banned. Since sentence (55) with the implicit argument closely resembles the sentences in (56) and (57) with an overt argument, it seems justified to claim that the former, just like the latter, is an instance of OC, not NOC. This conclusion is additionally confirmed by sentences like (58) below:

(58)

Deireann dochtúir₁ go bhfuil sé tábhachtach [PRO_{*1} a bheith sláintiúil].
say doctors C is it important PRT be-VN healthy
'Doctors say it is important to be healthy.'

In (58) PRO cannot be controlled by *dochtúirí* ‘doctors’, neither can this DP be understood as the implicit argument of the predicate *tábhachtach* ‘important’. The only possible controller for PRO in (58) is the implicit object. Thus, (58) behaves on a par with (57), except that the argument of the adjective is left unexpressed. The analogy between these two sentences strongly supports the claim already made that implicit control should be classified under OC.

In addition to implicit control found in sentences like (55), Irish, in a way similar to English and Polish, often displays implicit control with object control verbs, as in (59) and (60):

- (59) D'orduigh sé₁ [PRO_{*1/2} uaigh a dhéanamh dó₁]. SHS208
 ordered he grave PRT make-VN for-him
 ‘He ordered someone to dig a grave for him.’

- (60) Níor leig muid₁ [PRO_{*1/2} solas ar bith a lasadh]. IFDT077
 NEG let we light any PRT light-VN
 ‘We didn't allow anyone to light the light.’

Sentence (59) differs from (60) in that the former contains a pronoun co-referential with the matrix subject within the embedded complement, whereas the latter does not. Despite this both examples behave in the same way with respect to control. Since both *orduigh* ‘order’ and *leig* ‘allow/let’ are double object verbs, the most salient controller for PRO in the above sentences is the unexpressed indirect object. Thus, both (59) and (60) represent OC by the implicit indirect object.

As for adjuncts, they typically exhibit control by the matrix subject, as in (61):

- (61) Rinne Seán₁ é [chun PRO₁ airgead a fháil].
 did John it for money PRT get-VN
 ‘John did it to get money.’

Object control into the adjunct is sometimes possible, as can be seen in (62):

- (62) Chuir sé₁ fios ar an dochtúir₂ [chun PRO₂ é₁ a leigheas].
 put he knowledge on the doctor for him PRT heal-VN
 ‘He summoned the doctor in order to heal him.’

In (62) object control is forced by the presence of the pronoun *é* ‘him’ co-referential with the matrix subject.

To recapitulate, it has been demonstrated that OC and NOC in Irish show properties analogous to those exhibited by these control types in English and in Polish. It has further been argued that control into interrogative complements and implicit control should be subsumed under OC, as has been done for English and Polish. Finally, it has been shown that Irish non-finite adjuncts typically exhibit OC by the matrix subject.

2.2. EC and PC in Irish

Irish OC, in a way analogous to OC in English and in Polish, can be divided into two categories, namely EC and PC. As noted earlier, the former obtains when the reference of PRO is coextensive with that of its antecedent, whereas the latter takes place when the reference of PRO includes its antecedent, though is not identical with it. EC is exemplified in (63) below and PC in (64):

(63)

Caithfidh Seán₁ [PRO₁ a dhul anseo].
must John PRT go-VN there
‘John must go there.’

(64)

Ba mhaith le Seán₁ [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].
COP good with John to-gather here
‘John would like to gather here.’

In (63) PRO must be controlled by the matrix subject, while in (64) PRO is controlled by the matrix subject and some other individuals salient in the context. Thus, the former represents EC and the latter PC. Example (64) sounds more natural when put in context, for instance, it sounds natural in the following setting: The people in the office want to gather to talk about the pay rise in the hall, but John would like to gather here. The predicate *caithfidh* ‘must’, present in (63), can never be used with collective predicates such as *cruinnigh* ‘gather’ and hence can never give rise to PC, as demonstrated in (65):³⁰

³⁰ The fact that *cruinnigh* ‘gather’ is a collective predicate is supported by the following data:

(i)*Ba mhaith liom [é cruinniú anseo].
COP good with-me him gather-VN here
‘*I would like him to gather here.’

(65)

*Caithfidh Seán₁ [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].
must John gather-VN here
'*John must gather here.'

The above sentence becomes grammatical only if the controller of PRO is plural, as in (66):

(66)

Caithfidh [Seán agus Máire]₁ [PRO₁ cruinniú anseo].
must John and Mary gather-VN here
'John and Mary must gather here.'

The claim that (64) is an instance of PC is supported by the following data:

(67)

*Ba mhaith le Seán₁ [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo gan é₁].
COP good with John gather-VN here without him
'*John₁ would like to gather here without him₁.'

In (67) PRO must be co-referential with the matrix subject, since it binds the pronoun co-indexed with this subject and hence triggers a Condition B violation. This underlies the ungrammaticality of (67).

EC and PC in Irish, just like EC and PC in English and in Polish, occur with specific classes of predicates. While EC appears with modals (cf. (63)) and implicatives, PC is restricted to desideratives, factives, interrogatives and propositionals (cf. (16) in section 1.3). The impossibility of PC with the former group of predicates is illustrated in (68), whereas fully legitimate instances of PC with the latter group of predicates are presented in (69).

(ii) Ba mhaith liom [iad cruinniú anseo].

COP good with-me them gather-VN here
'I would like them to gather here.'

The predicate under scrutiny can co-occur only with a plural subject, as in (ii), but not with a singular one, as in (i), which strongly argues for treating it as a collective predicate.

(68)

- a. *Is ceart do Sheán₁ [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].
 COP right to John gather-VN here
 ‘*John should gather here.’ *modal*
- b. *D’éirigh le Seán₁ [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].
 rose with John gather-VN here
 ‘*John managed to gather here.’ *implicative*

(69)

- a. B’fhearr le Seán₁ [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].
 COP-better with John gather-VN here
 ‘John would prefer to gather here.’ *desiderative*
- b. Tá Seán₁ sásta [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].
 is John happy gather-VN here
 ‘John is happy to gather here.’ *factive*
- c. Níl a fhios ag Seán₁ [conas PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].
 is-not its knowledge at John how gather-VN here
 ‘John doesn’t know how to gather here.’ *interrogative*
- d. Dúirt Seán₁ [PRO₁₊ cruinniú anseo].
 said John gather-VN here
 ‘John said to gather here.’ *propositional*

The aspectual predicates, such as *tosaigh* ‘begin’, are not mentioned above since they seem to be raising verbs and therefore do not take a non-finite complement with the PRO subject. What is common to the predicates in (68) is that their complements never show independent tense specification. That this is indeed the case can be seen in (70) below:

(70)

- a. *Ba cheart do Sheán₁ inniu [PRO₁ bualadh le Máire amárach].
 COP right to John today meet-VN with Mary tomorrow
 ‘*Today John should meet Mary tomorrow.’ *modal*
- b. *D’éirigh le Seán₁ inniu [PRO₁ bualadh le Máire amárach].
 rose with John today meet-VN with Mary tomorrow
 ‘*John has managed today to meet Mary tomorrow.’ *implicative*

Since it is impossible to use two conflicting time adverbials, one referring to the present and one to the past, in the main clause and in the non-finite complement

in all the sentences in (70), we conclude that these embedded complements are in fact untensed and hence have to be interpreted as simultaneous with the action in the matrix clause. In contradistinction to the predicates illustrated in (68), the ones present in (69) allow their complements to have an independent tense specification, as confirmed by (71):

(71)

- a. B'fhearr le Seán₁ inniu [PRO₁₊ bualadh le Máire amárach].
COP-better with John today meet-VN with Mary tomorrow
'John would prefer today to meet Mary tomorrow.' *desiderative*
- b. Tá Seán₁ sásta inniu [PRO₁₊ bualadh le Máire amárach].
is John happy today meet-VN with Mary tomorrow
'John is happy today to meet Mary tomorrow.' *factive*
- c. Níl a fhios ag Seán₁ inniu [conas PRO₁₊ bualadh le Máire amárach].
is-not its knowledge at John today how meet-VN with Mary tomorrow
'John doesn't know today how to meet Mary tomorrow.' *interrogative*
- d. Dúirt Seán₁ inné [PRO₂₊ cuairt a thabhairt air₁ amárach].³¹
said John yesterday visit PRT pay-VN on-him tomorrow
'John said yesterday to pay him a visit tomorrow.' *propositional*

The above data allow us to conclude that Irish PC-complements, unlike EC-complements, are tensed. In this respect Irish EC- and PC-complements mimic the behaviour of the analogous complements in English and Polish. The exact relationship between the presence or absence of tense in Irish non-finite complements and the respective possibility or impossibility of PC will be investigated in section 3.2.

The final point to be mentioned in relation to PC in Irish is that PRO appearing in this control type is only semantically plural and hence can co-occur with collective predicates (cf. (64) and (69)), but syntactically it is singular. This observation is suggested by the fact that PC PRO is incompatible with items that are syntactically plural, such as plural anaphors, as shown in (72):³²

³¹ The verb *deir* 'say/tell' exhibits indirect object control and PRO in (71d) is controlled by the implicit indirect object of this verb.

³² The predicate *cas le* 'meet' is collective. The same is true of the predicate *in éineacht* 'together', as shown in (i):

(72)

*Ba mhaith le Seán₁ [PRO₁₊ castáil ar a chéile₁].
 COP good with John meet-VN on each other
 ‘*John would like to meet each other.’

The above sentence becomes grammatical only if a syntactically plural DP controls PRO, as in (73):

(73)

Ba mhaith [le Seán agus Máire]₁ [PRO₁₊ castáil ar a chéile₁].
 COP good with John and Mary meet-VN on each other
 ‘John and Mary would like to meet each other.’

To sum up, Irish EC and PC show striking similarities to the analogous control types in English and Polish. Firstly, they are limited to specific predicate types: EC appears with those predicates whose complements are untensed, whereas PC is encountered only with those predicates whose complements are tensed. Secondly, for PC to arise a non-finite complement must contain a semantically plural predicate, but it can never exhibit a syntactically plural element.

3.0. OC in Irish – an analysis

This section focuses on three basic issues. Firstly, in section 3.1 the question is addressed of what underlies the lack of complementarity between PRO and overt subjects in Irish non-finite clauses (cf. section 1.2). Secondly, in section 3.2 the licensing of the two subtypes of OC, described in section 2.2, i.e. EC and PC, is investigated within Landau’s (2000) model. Finally, in section 3.3 an attempt is made to account for the dialectal variation found within Irish non-finite clauses described in section 1.4.

3.1. PRO and overt subjects in Irish non-finite clauses

It has been noted in section 1.2 that Irish allows PRO to alternate with lexical subjects and it has further been observed that this alternation is not limited to subcategorised positions (cf. (13)). It has also been argued, following McClos-

-
- (i) B’fhearr le Seán₁ [PRO₁₊ dul ann in éineacht].
 COP-better with John go-VN there together
 ‘John would prefer to go there together.’

key (1985), that overt subjects in Irish non-finite clauses are not licensed either via raising or via ECM.³³ Before addressing the question of what actually is responsible for the lack of complementarity between overt subjects and PRO in Irish non-finite clauses, let us present a brief overview of the state of the art on this topic.

3.1.1. Former analyses

It was first suggested by McCloskey (1985) that the licensing of overt subjects in Irish non-finite clauses is dependent on the presence of a clause-internal mechanism that assigns Case to these subjects. No such mechanism is available in English and therefore the two languages differ in the freedom with which they allow overt subjects in non-finite clauses. McCloskey further speculates as to what kind of mechanism this might be. He hypothesises that either Irish non-finite clauses possess the ability to assign accusative Case to their subjects (cf. also Chung and McCloskey (1987)), or, more generally, Irish possesses a default rule which assigns accusative Case to any DP which does not get Case in any other way.^{34 35} The idea that Irish possesses a default rule assigning accusative to all DPs that do not otherwise get Case is developed by McCloskey (1986), who argues that nominative Case is assigned under government from Agr and whenever this condition is not satisfied, accusative must be assigned by default.³⁶ Typical contexts where accusative is assigned include, among others, subjects of non-finite clauses. McCloskey and Sells (1988) argue that the rule assigning accusative (or default) Case to the subject of a non-finite clause must be op-

³³ In this respect Irish differs from English and from Romance languages. The latter, as observed by Mensching (2000), license overt subjects in non-finite clauses via ECM in languages with accusative subjects like French, via government by infinitival I (or T) in languages with inflected infinitives like Portuguese (cf. Raposo (1987)), or via Aux-to-C in languages with postverbal subjects like Italian (cf. Rizzi (1982) and Roberts (1993, 1994)).

³⁴ This kind of reasoning is based on the assumption that non-finite subjects bear accusative Case (for an alternative view cf. section 1.4).

³⁵ McCloskey (1985) argues that Latin and Classical Greek pattern in the same way as Irish and therefore they also have means of assigning Case to the non-finite subject internal to its own clause. Goldbach (2003) argues that the subject of Latin *accusativus cum infinitivo* structures is licensed by the MoodP, which forms a syncretic category with T and which encodes the fact that these structures express some sort of modality.

³⁶ McCloskey (1986) argues that genitive is not assigned under government, but by means of the context sensitive rule stated in (i):

(i) NP → [+GEN] / [_{NP} N' --] __

tional, since lexical subjects alternate with PRO and PRO is not assigned Case. Consequently, wherever the rule assigning Case to the subject applies, it is responsible for the presence of an overt subject and wherever it does not, PRO is licensed.³⁷

Within the MP, the basic idea that Irish has at its disposal a clause-internal mechanism to assign accusative to the lexical subject within a non-finite clause is maintained, although it is updated to meet the requirements of the new approach to Case checking in general and to Case checking of PRO in particular. For instance, Noonan (1994) suggests that in non-finite clauses AgrS can check either null Case or the default accusative.³⁸ When the former situation obtains, AgrS licenses PRO in its specifier position, whereas under the latter scenario, AgrS licenses an overt subject in its specifier. This explains why PRO and lexical subjects are not mutually exclusive in this language.³⁹

A different approach to the free distribution of PRO and lexical subjects in Irish non-finite clauses is put forward by Harley (2000). She argues that the account of the distribution of PRO in terms of null Case should be replaced with one couched in terms of the EPP. She suggests that in languages such as English the EPP is operative both in finite and in non-finite clauses, the difference lying in the fact that T in the former has a [+overt] EPP feature, whereas in the latter it has a [+null] EPP feature. The [+overt] EPP feature is checked by an overt DP, while the [+null] EPP feature is checked by PRO. This predicts that PRO appears only in the subject position of non-finite clauses in English. Harley argues that Irish differs from English in that, firstly, the EPP seems to be inoperative in this language, as argued by McCloskey (1996b, 2001) (cf. section 3.3.2) and, secondly, PRO does not seem to be restricted to non-finite clauses, but may also be found in finite ones, such as impersonals (cf. Stenson (1989) and Bondaruk and Charzyńska-Wójcik (2003)). Since PRO can appear in finite clauses it behaves like any other DP in that it is Case marked. On the basis of the fact that the EPP does not apply to Irish, Harley is led to conclude that there are no

³⁷ In fact McCloskey and Sells (1988) argue that *wh*- and NP-traces can function as subjects of Irish non-finite clauses. The former, being Case marked, are licensed in the same way as lexical subjects, while the latter, being Caseless, are licensed in a way analogous to PRO.

³⁸ Noonan (1994) states explicitly that this suggestion is valid only for Northern dialects. Her analysis for both Northern and Southern dialects is presented in detail in section 3.3.1.

³⁹ Tallerman (1998) derives the free variation between lexical subjects and PRO in Welsh non-finite clauses by claiming that only lexicalised AgrS checks Case of the overt subject in its specifier, whereas non-lexicalised AgrS checks the null Case of PRO in its specifier.

restrictions on the distribution of PRO and overt DPs in this language. This, according to her, is responsible for the lack of complementarity between PRO and overt DPs both in non-finite and finite clauses. Although Harley's analysis attempts to explain the free distribution of PRO and overt DPs in Irish non-finite clauses and in this respect goes beyond purely stipulative accounts like that of Noonan (1994), it is far from being unproblematic. The very claim that the inactivity of the EPP in a language presupposes the free occurrence of PRO and DPs seems questionable. What the inactivity of the EPP predicts is only that the [Spec, TP] position must not be filled in a particular language, but it tells us nothing about the sentence positions that either PRO or overt DPs must appear in. Furthermore, Harley's analysis is not without problems even for English. She notes that under her understanding of EPP checking, one is forced to assume that the [+null] EPP feature may be checked not only by PRO but also by traces of A-movement, since raising out of non-finite clauses is perfectly licit. It can further be checked by *wh*-traces, since extraction out of the subject position of a non-finite clause is possible. However, *wh*-elements can be equally well extracted out of the subject position of finite clauses, and hence Harley must assume that *wh*-traces can also check the [+overt] EPP feature. The conclusion that *wh*-traces can check both kinds of EPP features is surely unwelcome and considerably weakens her proposal.

3.1.2. A new proposal

Before presenting our proposal as to how PRO and overt subjects are licensed in Irish non-finite clauses, we would like to consider two issues: 1) the similarity between Irish non-finite clauses and English gerunds, and 2) what position (A or A') is associated with the subject of Irish non-finite clauses. Let us first consider the first issue. The lack of complementarity between PRO and lexical subjects found in Irish non-finite clauses appears to be reminiscent of the situation found in English clausal gerunds. In a way similar to Irish non-finite clauses, English clausal gerunds exhibit either an overt subject or PRO, as shown in (74):

(74)

Mary was happy with [PRO/him/John winning the prize].

Subjects of Irish non-finite clauses can correspond to the quasi-argumental *sé* 'it' co-occurring with weather predicates, as in (75a), in a way similar to English

quasi-argumental *it*, which can also function as the subject of the gerundive clause, cf. (75b):⁴⁰

(75)

- a. Níor mhaith liom [é sneachta a chur amárach].
 NEG good with-me it snow PRT put-VN tomorrow
 'I wouldn't like it to snow tomorrow.' (Duffield (1995:17))
- b. You may count on [it snowing tomorrow].

The grammaticality of the above sentences indicates that the subject of Irish non-finite clauses and that of English gerunds are not thematically constrained. The similarity between the two structures might indicate that whatever analysis is suggested for English clausal gerunds may be directly applicable to Irish non-finite clauses. This is the idea that is pursued in this section. There is, however, an important difference between English gerunds on the one hand and Irish non-finite clauses on the other. The latter, but not the former, can be used as independent sentences (cf. section 1.2).⁴¹

The second point to be considered before turning to the analysis proper is whether the subject of Irish non-finite clauses occupies an A- or A'-position. There exist in the literature two arguments in support of the claim that the subject in question occupies an A-position. First, the subject can bind an anaphor, as can be seen in (76):

(76)

- Níor mhaith liom [iad₁ a chéile₁ a phósadh].
 NEG good with-me them each other PRT marry-VN
 'I wouldn't like them to marry each other.'
 (Chung and McCloskey (1987:211))

⁴⁰ In fact true expletives, such as *there*, can also function as subjects of gerunds, as in (i) below. Since Irish lacks true expletives (cf. McCloskey (1996b)), no parallel structures can be provided for this language.

(i) You may count on [there being a lot of people at the party].

⁴¹ Even English absolute constructions, such as (i) below, cannot be used on their own, but need some preceding clause to which they act as a kind of afterthought.

(i) Mark thought he would win, he/him being the best at running.

Second, if the subject of the non-finite clause occupied an A'-position, then it would give rise to the Weak Crossover (henceforth, WCO) effects in cases like (77) from Noonan (1994):

(77)

- a. *Ba mhaith liom [a₁ máthair gach cailín₁ a fheiceáil].
 COP good with-me her mother every girl PRT see-VN
 'I would like her mother to see every girl.'
- b. Ba mhaith liom [gach cailín₁ a₁ máthair a fheiceáil].
 COP good with-me every girl her mother PRT see-VN
 'I would like every girl to see her mother.'

In (77a) the quantified object is bound by the pronoun to its left, yielding the WCO effects and thus making this sentence unacceptable. (77b), unlike (77a), is grammatical, which gives us grounds for claiming that the subject under scrutiny does not trigger WCO effects and therefore occupies an A-position.

In order to account for the lack of complementarity between PRO and lexical subjects in Irish non-finite clauses we would like to suggest that Irish non-finite clauses can represent the following two types: 1) non-finite clauses with anaphoric Agr and 2) non-finite clauses with non-anaphoric Agr. We further assume, in the spirit of Chomsky (1995b, chapter 4, 2000, 2001a, b), that Agr does not project a separate projection but appears as a composite part of T, which we mark after Landau (2000) as T-Agr. We also assume that PRO in Irish, just like in English (cf. Chomsky and Lasnik (1993)), bears null Case. Anaphoric T-Agr has the ability to check null Case and hence licenses PRO, whereas non-anaphoric T-Agr checks nominative Case and therefore licenses lexical subjects.⁴² Consequently, Irish non-finite clauses come in two types:

⁴² McCloskey (1997, 2001) notes that Irish non-finite clauses can also have an overt subject which appears as a complement of the preposition *do* 'to', as in (i):

(i) Indiaidh dona Coláistí Ullmhúcháin druidim. (McCloskey (2001:180))
 after to-the Colleges Preparation close-VN
 'after the Training Colleges closed'

Such structures are briefly mentioned in section 3.3.2 but are not thoroughly discussed. For an in-depth analysis the reader is referred to McCloskey (2001, 2002).

(78)

- a. Non-finite clauses with a PRO subject which exhibit anaphoric Agr in T checking PRO's null Case.
- b. Non-finite clauses with overt subjects which exhibit non-anaphoric Agr in T checking the nominative Case of the subject.

The postulation of two types of Agr in Irish, one anaphoric and one non-anaphoric, basically follows Borer (1989:73), who argues that the former type of Agr is found in English infinitival clauses, while the latter is characteristic of English gerunds. If anaphoric Agr in T co-occurs with an overt subject, the derivation crashes, as the null Case of T-Agr is unchecked and so is the Case of the overt subject. If non-anaphoric Agr in T appears with a PRO subject, then the null Case of PRO cannot be checked and neither can the Case of T-Agr. As noted by McCloskey (1980b:348), there exist some predicates, such as *déan iarracht* 'try' and *féach le* 'try', which function only as control predicates.⁴³ We suggest that they subcategorise only non-finite complements with anaphoric Agr in T and therefore never allow lexical subjects within their non-finite complements. However, the majority of the predicates listed in (16), such as, for instance, *is maith le* 'like' and *tá sásta* 'be glad', subcategorise non-finite clauses with both types of Agr in T and hence can host either PRO or overt subjects in their non-finite complements (cf. (9a), (9b), (12b) and (15)). Under the analysis just presented, the difference between English and Irish non-finite clauses boils down to the fact that English infinitival clauses always exhibit anaphoric Agr (and non-anaphoric Agr is limited to gerunds), whereas Irish allows both kinds of Agr in its non-finite clauses. In other words, English, unlike Irish, possesses only option (78a) and hence lacks the ability to license overt subjects in its infinitival clauses.⁴⁴

The analysis just outlined of how the licensing of PRO and lexical subjects proceeds in Irish non-finite clauses maintains McCloskey's (1985) insight that there exists a clause-internal mechanism responsible for the freedom with which these two types of subjects occur in the clauses under investigation. In a way similar to Chung and McCloskey (1987), we suggest that this mechanism relates

⁴³ McCloskey (1980b: 348) mentions also modals like *caithfidh* 'must' and *ba cheart do* 'should' as predicates which never take a non-finite complement with an overt subject. These predicates, however, are ambiguous between the raising and control use (cf. footnote 12).

⁴⁴ However, English can license overt subjects in infinitival clauses via ECM and in clauses introduced by the *C for* (cf. Chapter II, section 4.0).

to Case, although the exact details of how this mechanism works are different in the two accounts. Furthermore, in our analysis, overt subjects in non-finite clauses are marked for nominative, unlike in McCloskey (1985) and Chung and McCloskey (1987), where they are treated as bearing accusative Case (cf. section 1.4).

3.2. *EC and PC in Irish – an analysis*

In Chapter II, an account of EC and PC in English has been offered couched within Landau's (2000) model. In Chapter IV Landau's model has been adopted for the analysis of Polish EC and PC. Let us now check whether the same analysis can be applied to Irish EC and PC.

The basic assumptions made by Landau (2000:31) are listed in (79) below (cf. (60) in Chapter II and (82) in Chapter IV):

(79)

- a. DPs, including PRO, enter the derivation with valued ϕ -features.
- b. Functional heads enter the derivation with unvalued ϕ -features.
- c. Semantic plurality (SP): +/- on DPs, +/-/ ϕ on functional heads.
- d. Matching: ϕ (i.e. no SP) and [-SP] are non-distinct on functional heads.
- e. PRO and infinitival Agr are anaphoric.
- f. PRO, being anaphoric, cannot value unvalued functional heads.

Landau's assumption (79e) is very similar to what has been postulated for Irish non-finite clauses in section 3.1.2, namely that they can host anaphoric Agr.⁴⁵ Alongside anaphoric Agr non-finite clauses can also contain anaphoric PRO. This assumption, together with (79c), plays an important role in deriving PC in Landau's system. Landau does not postulate a separate projection for Agr, but in the way suggested in the previous section, he claims that Agr is a composite part of T, called T-Agr. Additionally, Landau assumes that tensed clauses possess an uninterpretable T feature in C which has to be checked via T-to-C movement. Since EC-complements are untensed, they do not have the uninterpretable T

⁴⁵ As noted in section 3.1.2, the postulation of anaphoric Agr in non-finite clauses in English and in some other languages (though not in Irish) is originally due to Borer (1989).

feature in C and hence do not trigger T-to-C movement. PC-complements, on the other hand, are tensed and therefore host an uninterpretable T feature in C which is checked by T-to-C movement. T-to-C movement is crucial in deriving PC in Landau's model. The consequence of adopting T-to-C movement for deriving the difference between EC and PC, as has been noted in Chapters II and IV, is that all non-finite clauses have to be treated as CPs.

Let us first check whether it is justified to claim that Irish non-finite clauses have the categorial status of CP. Certainly clauses introduced by overt *wh*-words, such as (24), are CPs. Chung and McCloskey (1987) treat non-finite clauses as CPs (S' in their system) on account of the fact that they may be negated by *gan* 'without' (cf. (11b)), which, according to them, represents a prepositional complementiser, equivalent to the English *for*.⁴⁶ However, the treatment of *gan* as a C has been challenged in the literature by Duffield (1991, 1995). He argues that *gan* is a negative specifier generated in [Spec, NegP]. He observes that the negative *gan* is different from the homophonous preposition *gan* in that only the latter triggers lenition, whereas the former does not trigger any mutation. Besides, Duffield observes that if *gan* were indeed a C, it would, in accordance with his Mutation Hypothesis, trigger eclipsis.^{47 48} He also argues that *gan* is a specifier of NegP, not the head Neg, on the basis of the fact that *wh*-extraction is possible out of non-finite clauses with *gan* but not out of small clauses with *gan* (cf. footnote 46). Duffield argues that if *gan* were treated as an A'-specifier, then *wh*-extraction across this specifier would violate the Relativised

⁴⁶ Chung and McCloskey (1987) note that *gan* can also be used to negate small clauses.

⁴⁷ Duffield's Mutation Hypothesis is reproduced in (i) below:

(i) Mutation Hypothesis (finite clauses)

a. A lexicalised C⁰ node triggers Eclipsis.

b. A lexicalised T⁰ node triggers Lenition. (Duffield (1995:122))

The Mutation Hypothesis stated above gives rise to many problems, some of which are mentioned in Doherty (1996b).

⁴⁸ Duffield's other argument against treating *gan* as a C is based on dubious word order facts. He notes that alongside sentences such as (i), one can also find those like (ii):

(i) Ba mhaith liom [gan Máire an fear sin a phósadh]. (Duffield (1995:154))

COP good with-me NEG Mary the man that PRT marry-VN

'I wouldn't like Mary to marry that man.'

(ii) Ba mhaith liom [Máire gan an fear sin a phósadh].

COP good with-me Mary NEG the man that PRT marry-VN

'I wouldn't like Mary to marry that man.'

However, the word order in which *gan* follows the subject, as in (ii) is extremely rare (this fact has been pointed out to us by Jim McCloskey (p.c.)). Therefore it seems questionable to draw from it far reaching consequences as regards the status of *gan*.

Minimality of Rizzi (1990), but no such violation would arise if A-movement operated in the same context. He further notes that the former scenario can be found in the case of *wh*-movement out of small clauses, as schematised in (80):

- (80)
* [... [_{CP} XP_i [_{NegP} *gan* Neg [_{t_i}...]]]]

The latter scenario takes place in the case of extraction out of non-finite clauses, as schematised in (81):

- (81)
[XP_i... [_{TP} _{t_i}' [_{NegP} *gan* Neg [_{t_i}...]]]]

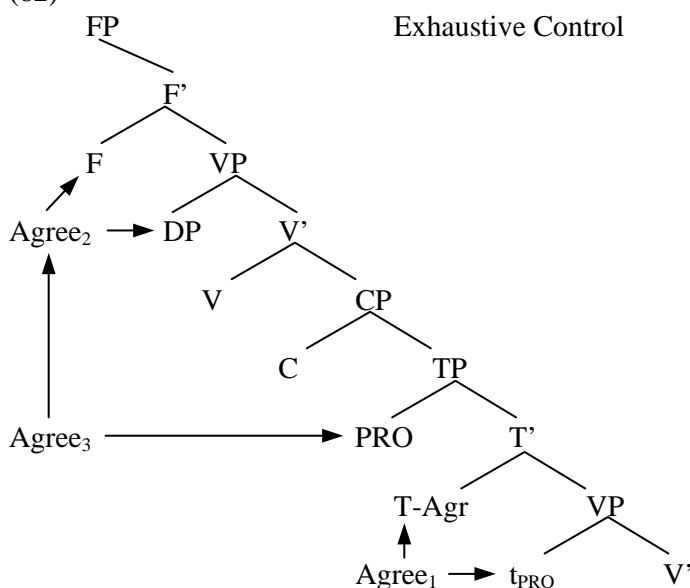
In (81) [Spec, TP], which is an A-position, serves as an escape hatch through which extraction proceeds without triggering Relativised Minimality violations. However, the account just presented is based on the not entirely innocent assumption that an A-position can function as an intermediate landing site for *wh*-movement. More recently, McCloskey (2002) argues that *gan* occupies the head position of the projection called ΣP, whose specifier is filled with the subject preceded by *do* (cf. footnote 42) and which is situated above the TP but below CP.⁴⁹ We will not attempt to discriminate between these two alternative views, as it is sufficient for our purposes to establish that *gan* is not a C. This, in turn, makes us conclude that it is justified to claim that only non-finite clauses with a filled [Spec, CP] are CPs and that others could represent a category smaller than CP, i.e. TP.

It seems that Landau's analysis of EC in English can be straightforwardly applied to Irish only if all Irish non-finite clauses are regarded as CPs, contrary to what has been said in the previous paragraph. Under this assumption, the derivation of EC proceeds in the same way as in English and Polish and is schematised in (82):

⁴⁹ In fact McCloskey (2002) argues that ΣP appears also in finite clauses, where its head functions as the landing site for V-movement. We will come back to the question of how McCloskey justifies the presence of ΣP in section 3.3.2.

(82)

Exhaustive Control



In (82) PRO is anaphoric (cf. (79e)) and hence can be targeted by Agree. In fact PRO takes part in two Agree operations, namely Agree₁ with T-Agr of its own clause to guarantee that there is a feature match between it and the embedded T-Agr and Agree₃ with F (corresponding to either T or *v*, depending on whether subject or object control is involved, respectively) to guarantee that PRO and its controller match in features, including semantic plurality. F undergoes another Agree operation, called Agree₂ in (82), with the DP controlling PRO, from which F inherits its ϕ -features and semantic plurality. Since PRO in (82) is directly targeted by Agree, no feature mismatch is possible between PRO and its antecedent and hence no collective predicate can be used in the embedded clause with the PRO controlled by the semantically singular DP, as in (65) and (68). Just like in English and Polish, for Irish the PIC has to be modified as in (83) (cf. (62) in Chapter II and (84) in Chapter IV) to make PRO a possible Goal for Agree:

(83)

Modified PIC

In a structure [...X...[_{YP}...Z...]], where YP is the only phase boundary between X and Z, Z is accessible to X:

- i) Only at the head or edge of YP, if Z is uninterpretable.
- ii) Anywhere in the YP phase, if Z is interpretable. (Landau (2000:69))

PRO has interpretable features (cf. (79a)) and therefore, in conformity with the modified PIC, it can be targeted by Agree even though it does not appear at the edge of the CP-phase. Since EC-complements are untensed (cf. (70)), C does not contain an uninterpretable T feature and therefore no T-to-C movement operates.

The derivation of PC in Irish seems to be more complex. Since Landau's account of how PC works in English is crucially based on T-to-C movement, it is worth checking whether this operation has any independent motivation for Irish. In English the motivation for T-to-C movement comes from *yes-no* questions. In Irish *yes-no* questions are formed by placing the interrogative C *an* in front of the so-called dependent form of the verb, as in (84):

(84)

An gceannaíonn tú arán anseo?
 INTERR-C buy you bread here
 'Do you buy bread here?'

In questions like (84), no overt T element can be detected and therefore they tell us nothing about whether T-to-C movement has taken place or not. Let us look at the past equivalent of (84) given in (85):

(85)

Ar cheannaigh tú arán anseo?
 INTERR-C-PA bought you bread here
 'Did you buy bread here?'

Ar is commonly treated (cf. Chung and McCloskey (1987)) as a sequence of the complementiser *an* followed by the past inflection *-r*.⁵⁰ In fact Chung and McCloskey (1987) suggest that *-r* is generated under I (or T in our terminology). They also propose that V in Irish moves to I and that C-I-V form a single phonological unit.⁵¹ There are two possible scenarios under which this unit can be formed, namely either V first moves to I and then both undergo movement to C, or V moves to I and then C lowers onto I. McCloskey (1996a) extensively argues that the second scenario is correct for Irish. McCloskey's main argument

⁵⁰ The same inflection surfaces on other Cs used in the past, e.g. the subordinating C *go* is realized in the past as *gur* and the embedded negative C *nach* as *nár* (cf. Chung and McCloskey (1987:218)).

⁵¹ V movement in Irish is restricted to finite clauses only, an issue to which we will return in section 3.3.2.

against V movement to C is based on the placement of sentential adverbs, such as *an chéad Nollaig eile* 'next Christmas', which must appear to the left of C, as shown in (86) from McCloskey (1996a:59):^{52 53}

(86)

Deiridís [an chéad Nollaig eile [go dtiocfadh sé aníos]].
 they-used-to-say the first Christmas other C would-come he up
 'They used to say that next Christmas he would come up.'

It cannot be claimed that the adverb in (86) is adjoined to CP, since this kind of adjunction is banned by the Adjunction Prohibition of Chomsky (1986b) stated in (87):

(87)

Adjunction to a phrase s-selected by a lexical head is ungrammatical.

Since the complement CP in (86) is s-selected, adjoining any material to it would violate the principle in (87). Example (88) (from McCloskey (1996a:65)) below supports the claim that the Adjunction Prohibition is valid for Irish.

(88)

*Ní bhfuair siad amach ariamh [_{CP} an bhliain sin [_{CP} cé a bhí ag
 NEG found they out ever the year that who C was PRT
 goid a gcuid móna]].
 steal their turf
 'They never found out who was stealing their turf that year.'

In (88) the adverbial *an bhliain sin* 'that year' is adjoined to the complement CP, yielding ungrammaticality, which can be straightforwardly attributed to the Adjunction Prohibition. Since (86) is grammatical, in contradistinction to (88),

⁵² Other arguments McCloskey (1996a) adduces to support the claim the V in Irish moves only as high as I are based on Heavy NP Preposing and Narrative Fronting. These arguments go along similar lines to that based on the placement of adverbials and therefore are not presented here.

⁵³ The idea that C is the ultimate landing site for V movement in Irish is advocated by Stowell (1989) and Doherty (1996a). On this approach, Irish is a kind of underdeveloped V2 language. However, as noted by Bobaljik and Carnie (1996), Irish, unlike prototypical V2 languages, such as German, exhibits V-movement even in embedded clauses. This fact strongly argues against treating Irish V movement in a way analogous to V2.

the adverb it hosts cannot be adjoined to CP. Thus, sentences like (86) give rise to a paradox: on the one hand, the adverbial appears to the left of the complementiser, but on the other, it cannot be adjoined to CP. McCloskey (1996a) suggests the following solution to this paradox: the adverb in (86) is adjoined to IP and C is lowered onto the I+V complex, which is responsible for the fact that the adverb appears to the left of C. This analysis is schematised in (89):

$$(89) \quad [_{IP} \text{ Adv } [_{IP} \text{ C+I}^0\text{+V}^0 \dots]]$$

On the other hand, any analysis assuming the movement of the complex V+I to C (cf. footnote 53) would fail to account for the paradox just pointed out. Consequently, it seems justified to follow McCloskey and assume that V (alongside with I) in Irish does not raise as high as C. A theoretically problematic aspect of McCloskey's account is the postulation of the operation lowering C onto I. McCloskey argues that C lowering onto I takes place at PF and PF traces are not subject to any principle, including the c-command condition on traces, which renders his account unproblematic.⁵⁴

The discussion of V movement in Irish just presented allows us to conclude that Irish does not have V movement to C, which implies the lack of T-to-C movement in this language. Since any independent motivation for T-to-C movement is missing in Irish, just like in Polish (cf. Chapter IV section 4.1.2), it seems far-fetched to claim that this kind of movement underlies the derivation of PC. Therefore it seems necessary to derive PC in Irish by some other means.

An alternative derivation of PC presented in Chapter IV, section 4.1.2 for Polish is based on binding, instead of T-to-C movement. It is argued there that anaphoric Agr is different from anaphoric PRO in that its anaphoricity is not licensed via Agree, but via binding. In tensed non-finite clauses the binding domain for anaphoric Agr is extended to the matrix clause, in which there are

⁵⁴ Toyoshima (2000) argues that postulating C lowering is unnecessary for Irish if C is generated as a verbal inflection, together with tense and negation. He claims that head movement does not represent adjunction to X^0 , but is a movement to [Spec, XP], in the same way as XP-movement. Under this analysis, the complementiser-inflected verb moves to [Spec, IP] to check its tense feature. The C-feature of the inflected verb must also be checked. Toyoshima argues that this checking is accomplished covertly and therefore the complementiser-inflected verb remains within IP. This derives the required order with sentential adverbs as in (86). This account is problematic within the most recent version of the MP (cf. Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b)), in which covert operations do not exist (cf. Chapter I, section 1.0).

two potential binders, i.e. the matrix T-Agr and the matrix *v*, depending on whether subject or object control is involved. The binding domain extension in Polish gets independent support from the fact that overt anaphors in non-finite clauses can be bound not only by the subject of their own clause, i.e. PRO, but also by the matrix subject (cf. (93) in Chapter IV). For this account to be applicable to Irish, it has to be demonstrated that anaphors in Irish non-finite clauses extend their binding domain to the matrix clause. This, however, does not appear to be the case, as evidenced by (90) from Chung and McCloskey (1987:213):

(90)

*Shíl siad₁ [a chéile₁ a bheith breoite].⁵⁵
 thought they each other PRT be-VN ill
 'They thought that each other was ill.'

The above example is ungrammatical, which gives us grounds for claiming that the binding domain of the anaphor must not be extended to the matrix clause. In fact the anaphor must be bound in its own non-finite clause, as shown in (91) from Chung and McCloskey (1987:211):

(91)

Níor mhaith liom [iad₁ a chéile₁ a phósadh].
 NEG-COP good with-me them each other PRT marry-VN
 'I wouldn't like them to marry each other.'

However, sentences like (92) might cast doubts on the claim that Irish non-finite clauses do not extend the binding domain for anaphors.

(92)

Dúirt Seán₁ le Máire₂ [PRO₂ bricfeasta a dhéanamh di₂ féin/dó₁
 said John to Mary breakfast PRT make-VN to-her self/to-him
 féin].
 self
 'John said to Mary to make breakfast for herself/*himself.'

In (92) both the object controlled PRO and the matrix subject can bind the reflexive. However, only in the former case does the reflexive represent an ana-

⁵⁵ Jim McCloskey (p.c.) observes that some speakers accept sentences like (90).

phor, whereas in the latter it corresponds to a logophor, which in Irish are subject to much less stringent licensing conditions than anaphors. Thus, sentence (92) represents only an apparent counterexample to our claim that binding domain extension is not operative in Irish non-finite complements.

Another argument against the binding domain extension affecting non-finite complements may be obtained from the binding of pronouns. As pointed out by Chung and McCloskey (1987), pronouns, when used in non-finite clauses, may be bound by the DP in the matrix clause. In this respect they contrast with anaphors. This is illustrated in (93) from Chung and McCloskey (1987: 214):

(93)

Bhí sé₁ sásta [é₁ a bheith ar an gCoiste].
 was he glad him PRT be-VN on the committee
 ‘*He₁ was glad for him₁ to be on the committee.’

Examples like (93) clearly demonstrate that the binding domain for the pronoun, just like for the anaphor, is the non-finite clause and therefore the pronoun may be bound outside this domain without violating Principle B of the BT. Nonetheless, there exist sentences like (94), which disallow co-reference between the pronoun in the non-finite clause and the subject DP in the matrix clause.

(94)

Ba mhaith le Seán₁ [é_{*1/2} carr a cheannach].
 COP good with John him car PRT buy-VN
 ‘John₁ would like him_{*1/2} to buy a car.’

The question is why (94) contrasts in grammaticality with (93). The explanation we would like to offer is that the former, unlike the latter, is an instance of obviation. In (94) the subject of the embedded clause must be obligatorily disjoint in reference from the matrix subject, however, the object pronoun in such sentences may be co-referential with the matrix subject, as demonstrated in (95):⁵⁶

⁵⁶ In finite complements the embedded subject may be co-referential with the matrix one, as shown in (i):

(i) Dúirt Seán₁ [gur cheannaigh sé₁ carr].
 said John C bought he car
 ‘John₁ said that he₁ had bought a car.’

(ii) Marek₁ chce [żeby PRO_{*1/2} kupić samochód].
Mark wants so-that to-buy car
'Mark wants for somebody to buy a car.'

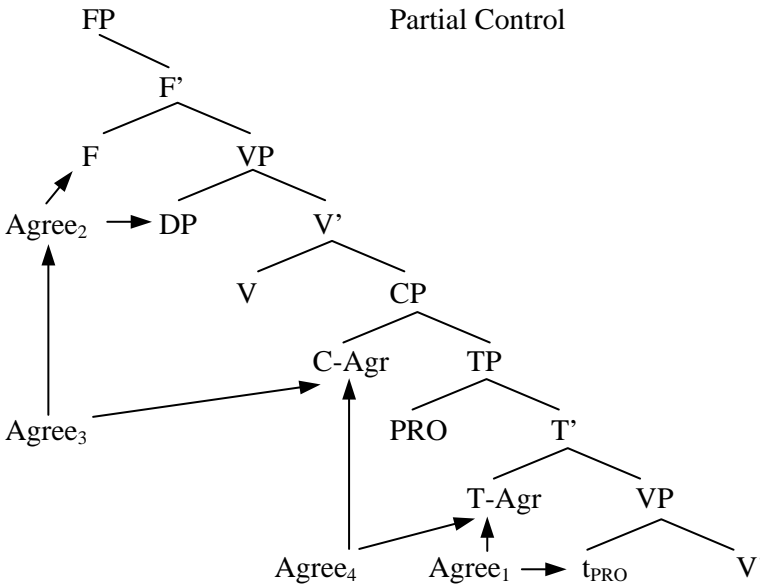
(98)

[DP_i T-Agr_{1i}...[_{CP} [_{TP} pronoun_j T-Agr_{2j} [_{VP}...pronoun_i]]]]
 pronominal

In (98) no violation of Condition B takes place, since the downstairs T-Agr is not bound by the upstairs T-Agr, as the two bear distinct indices. Thus, obviation in Irish, in a way analogous to obviation in Polish, is accounted for by appealing to the binding of the embedded pronominal T-Agr and not to the binding of the pronoun itself.⁵⁸

It has been argued so far that neither T-to-C movement nor binding domain extension is well motivated for Irish. Therefore it seems necessary to look for some other way of deriving PC in this language. The third alternative considered in Chapter IV, section 4.1.2 and based on Landau (2000, fn. 32) is that C contains inherent Agr features and for this reason C can be targeted by Agree from the matrix T-Agr or *v* in PC-complements, in which T is contentful, but not in EC-complements, in which T is null. Within this range of assumptions, PC in Irish would arise under the circumstances schematised in (99):

(99)



⁵⁸ This account of obviation in Irish is sketchy and does not cover the complexity of the phenomenon.

As (99) indicates, four Agree operations are necessary to derive PC: the first one, between PRO and the downstairs T-Agr ensures that the two match in their features (i.e. ϕ -features and semantic plurality), the second Agree operation obtains between F and the DP controller of PRO and guarantees that they match in their features, the third Agree holds between F and C equipped with Agr features and is responsible for the fact that there is a feature match between these two elements and finally, Agree₄ between C and the downstairs T-Agr ensures the feature match between them. PC arises under the circumstances schematised in (100):

(100)

[Agree₁ T-Agr _{ϕ} , PRO₊], [Agree₂ F₋, DP₋], [Agree₃ F₋, C₋], [Agree₄ C₋, T-Agr _{ϕ}]
PC Configuration

None of the Agree operations in (100) gives rise to feature mismatch. In Agree₁ PRO is [+SP], whereas T-Agr is unspecified for semantic plurality, hence the two items show no opposing feature values. In Agree₄ C is [-SP] and T-Agr is unspecified for semantic plurality and again no feature mismatch arises, as [-SP] and [ϕ SP] on functional heads count as non-distinct (cf. (79d)). This accounts for sentences like (64) and (69). Just like in English and Polish, the downward shift, as in (101) is disallowed, since it would yield feature mismatch, as can be seen in (102):

(101)

*Ba mhaith leis an Dáil [PRO]₁ carabhat a chaitheamh].
COP good with the parliament tie PRT wear-VN
'*The parliament would like to wear a tie.'

(102)

*[Agree₁ T-Agr _{ϕ} , PRO₋], [Agree₂ F₊, DP₊], [Agree₃ F₊, C₊], [Agree₄ C₊, T-Agr _{ϕ}]
PC Configuration

Agree₄ in (102) yields a mismatch between [+SP] C and T-Agr unspecified for semantic plurality (only [-SP] and [ϕ SP] count as non-distinct on functional heads, cf. (79d)) and therefore this derivation is illicit and sentences like (101) ungrammatical.

The two remaining PC configurations arise if the features of PRO match the features of its controller. This situation is schematised in (103):

(103)

- a. [_{Agree1} T-Agr₊, PRO₊], [_{Agree2} F₊, DP₊], [_{Agree3} F₊, C₊], [_{Agree4} C₊, T-Agr₊]
PC Configuration
- b. [_{Agree1} T-Agr_φ, PRO₋], [_{Agree2} F₋, DP₋], [_{Agree3} F₋, C₋], [_{Agree4} C₋, T-Agr_φ]
PC Configuration

The above configurations closely resemble EC (cf. (82)), since the features of PRO are identical with the features of its controller. However, unlike in the case of EC, PRO in (103) is not directly targeted by Agree. The two scenarios outlined in (103a) and (103b) arise in sentences (104a) and (104b), respectively:

(104)

- a. Ba mhaith leis na páistí₁ [PRO₁ cruinniú anseo].
COP good with the children gather-VN here
'The children would like to gather here.'
- b. Ba mhaith leis an stiúrthóir₁ [PRO₁ carabhat a chaitheamh].
COP good with the director tie PRT wear-VN
'The director would like to wear a tie.'

Since examples (104a) and (104b) contain a desiderative verb in the matrix clause, their non-finite complements are tensed and hence represent PC-configurations. However, in contradistinction to cases of prototypical PC (cf. (69)), PRO in (104) matches its controller in all its features, including semantic plurality, as in instances of EC (cf. (63) and (66)).

What still needs to be accounted for is how PC arises with the verb *geall* 'promise', as in (105):⁵⁹

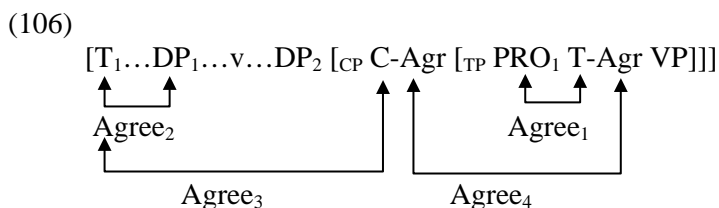
(105)

- Gheall Seán₁ dá mhac₂ [PRO₁₊ amhrán a cheol].
promised John his son song PRT sing
'John promised his son to sing a song.'

⁵⁹ The treatment of *geall* 'promise' as a PC predicate is supported by the fact that its complement can have independent tense specification, as shown in (i):

(i) Gheall Seán₁ dá mhac₂ inné [PRO₁ amhrán a cheol amárach].
promised John his son yesterday song PRT sing tomorrow
'John promised his son yesterday to sing a song tomorrow.'

The schematic representation of (105) is given in (106):



The application of $Agree_3$ in (106) is problematic, as it targets $C-Agr$ skipping two potential closer Goals, namely v and DP_2 . This violation of the MLC can be accounted for, as has been done for analogous English structures, by appealing to the PMC, which legitimates a violation of the MLC by the second operation once the first one has satisfied it. Since $Agree_2$ complies with the MLC, another application of Agree, i.e. $Agree_3$, can target a more distant Goal without inducing the MLC violation. Thus, the derivation of subject control with *geall* ‘promise’ in Irish turns out to be unproblematic.

The derivation of PC in Irish just presented is similar to that offered by Landau (2000) for English, except that it does not rely on T-to-C movement, a process without theory-external motivation for Irish, but instead appeals to Agr features located in C. Thus, in our account and in Landau’s analysis PC can arise if Agr features are present in C. What is different is the way in which these features are associated with C. Just like in English, PC in Irish arises if PRO itself is not anaphoric. It is the embedded T-Agr which is anaphoric, and PRO’s anaphoricity is only parasitic on this anaphoric T-Agr.

3.3. An account of dialectal differences

It has been observed in section 1.4 that there exist considerable dialectal differences as regards word order and the presence or absence of the particle in non-finite clauses. The exact patterns for Northern and Southern dialects are depicted in section 1.4 and are repeated below for convenience.

(27) Northern Word Order Patterns

- a. I ndiaidh [iad imeacht]. S+V
 after they leave-VN
 ‘after they left’

- b. Ba mhaith liom [PRO imeacht]. PRO+V
 COP good with-me go-off-VN
 ‘I would like to go off.’ (Ó Siadhail (1989:254))
- c. Ba mhaith liom [sibh an doras a phéinteáil]. S+O+PRT+V
 COP good with-me you-PL the door PRT paint-VN
 ‘I would like you to paint the door.’ (Ó Siadhail (1989:257))
- d. Ba mhaith liom [PRO an doras a phéinteáil]. PRO+O+PRT+V
 COP good with-me the door PRT paint-VN
 ‘I would like to paint the door.’ (Ó Siadhail (1989:257))

(28) Southern Word Order Patterns

- a. Ba mhaith liom [é a fhanacht]. S+PRT+V
 COP good with-me him PRT stay-VN
 ‘I would like him to stay.’
- b. Ba mhaith liom [PRO fanacht]. PRO+V
 COP good with-me stay-VN
 ‘I would like to stay.’ (Carnie (1995:89))
- c. Ba mhaith liom [sibh a phéinteáil an dorais]. S+PRT+V+O
 COP good with-me you-PL PRT paint-VN the door-GEN
 ‘I would like you to paint the door.’
- d. Ba mhaith liom [PRO an doras a phéinteáil]. PRO+O+PRT+V
 COP good with-me the door PRT paint-VN
 ‘I would like to paint the door.’

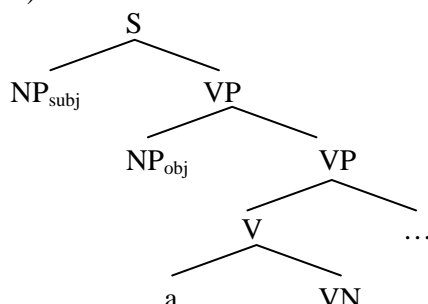
It is the purpose of this section to account for these dialectal differences in a principled way. However, before turning to our analysis, let us present a brief overview of some former available analyses.

3.3.1. Former analyses

McCloskey and Sells (1988) focus on the derivation of S+O+PRT+V orders in Northern dialects. They argue, following McCloskey (1980a), that the particle *a* and the verbal noun together form a constituent. The object moves from its

original position within the VP to adjoin to the VP in the manner sketched in (107) below, while the subject occupies the [Spec, S] position.⁶⁰

(107)



(McCloskey and Sells (1988:149))

Since the particle *a* occurs only in transitive structures (cf. (27c) and (27d)), McCloskey and Sells argue that *a* assigns unmarked (or accusative) Case under government to the object NP, which otherwise would be Case-less, as verbal nouns are incapable of assigning structural Case.⁶¹ This account, though adequate for the data analysed, creates some problems. First of all, as pointed out by Guilfoyle (1994), it introduces a new mechanism of Case marking, namely via adjunction to an A'-position. This mechanism is otherwise not attested in Irish or cross-linguistically. Secondly, Duffield (1995) points out that on McCloskey and Sells' analysis *a* has to be treated as an exceptional Case assigner, since, unlike other Case assigners in the language, it assigns Case to the left. Thirdly, McCloskey and Sells' account is applicable only to Northern dialects and cannot be extended to Southern ones.

The dialectal differences encountered in Irish non-finite clauses have attracted a lot of attention among the linguists working in the Minimalist Program. What is common to the majority of the available analyses is postulating a split VP structure for Irish.⁶² This idea figures prominently in Guilfoyle (1994), Noonan (1994), Carnie (1995) and Duffield (1995). The basic motivation behind introducing the split-VP in Irish is that in Northern dialects both subjects and objects move from within the VP, while the V itself moves only to AgrO. This

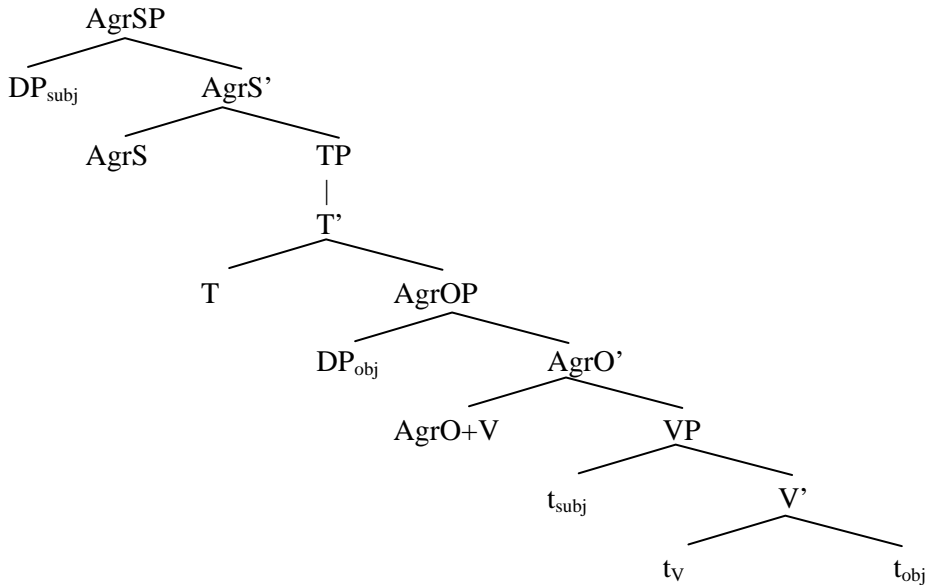
⁶⁰ A similar account is found in Chung and McCloskey (1987).

⁶¹ Intransitive verbs that require the particle *a* are listed in section 1.4. The verbal noun, though it does not assign structural Case, can assign inherent genitive (cf. (28c)).

⁶² Earlier analyses, not based on the split VP hypothesis, are evaluated in Carnie (1995, chapter 3); due to space limitations we do not present them here.

leads to a violation of the Shortest Movement, since the subject moves across the object, as schematised in (108):

(108)



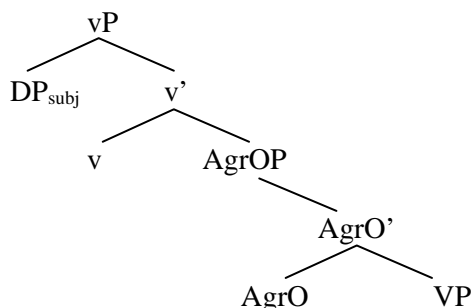
In (108) there is no further V movement to T, which would make [Spec, AgrO] and [Spec, AgrS] equidistant for the subject DP and thus would legitimise the movement of the subject past the object.^{63 64} One way of dealing with this problem is suggested by Watanabe (1993). He argues that in Irish non-finite sentences, like the one schematised in (108), AgrO exorporates and raises overtly to T stranding the V in AgrO. This movement makes [Spec, AgrO] and [Spec,

⁶³ If the verb moved to T, the resulting order would be S+V+O-ACC, which is not attested in any Irish dialect. Thus, Irish seems to constitute an exception to Holmberg's generalization in that it has object shift in the absence of V movement in non-finite clauses.

⁶⁴ In (108) both AgrS and AgrO are treated as separate projections, in accordance with early minimalist assumptions. This reflects the projection system used by Guilfoyle (1994), Noonan (1994), Carnie (1995) and Duffield (1995). In (108) the subject DP appears in [Spec, AgrSP]. An alternative approach is possible, which is in line with what Bobaljik and Carnie (1996) propose for Irish finite clauses, namely the subject might occupy [Spec, TP] and move to [Spec, AgrSP] covertly to check its agreement features.

AgrS] equidistant for the subject DP. Another way of avoiding the Shortest Movement violation in cases like (108) is to adopt the split VP hypothesis, originally due to Travis (1992). According to this hypothesis, there exists a functional projection internal to VP (AgrOP or AspP), which is sandwiched between the light verb projection and the lexical verb one, as shown in (109):

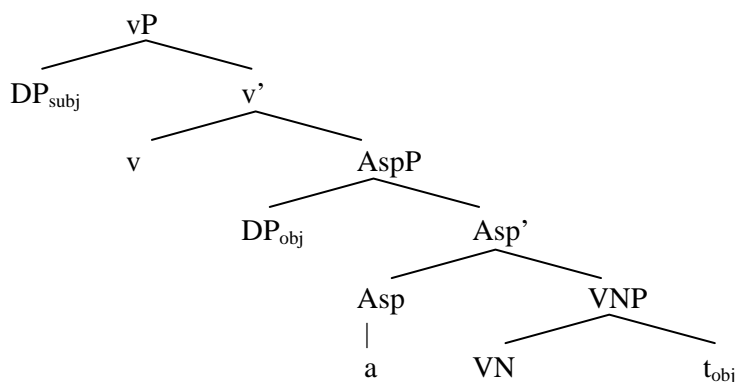
(109)



In (109) the subject DP is generated higher than the object DP; therefore the former never moves past the latter and hence the equidistance problem never arises.

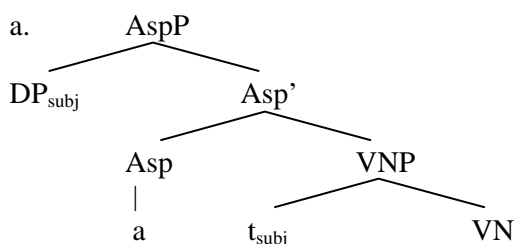
Various linguists adopt the split VP hypothesis for the analysis of Irish non-finite clauses in different ways. Let us briefly present the main points of four analyses, i.e. Guilfoyle (1994), Noonan (1994), Carnie (1995) and Duffield (1995). Guilfoyle (1994) argues that the particle *a* is in fact a head of AspP and the shifted object moves to Spec of AspP. The S+O+PRT+V order present only in Northern dialects is generated in her system in the way sketched in (110):

(110) Northern dialects: S+O+PRT+V (cf. example (27c) above)

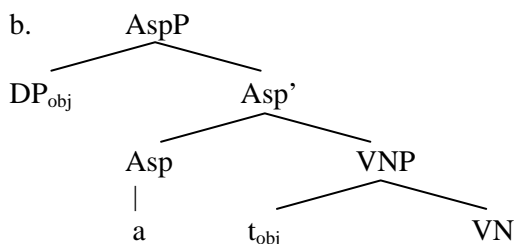


The movement of the object in (110) is forced by the necessity for the object DP to have its Case checked. It cannot have its Case checked in situ, as the verbal noun, being a noun with an argument structure like a verb, has no ability to check Case. As for Southern dialects, they allow only one element to occur in front of the particle *a*, either the lexical subject (not PRO) or the object, yielding orders such as S+PRT+V and O+PRT+V. Guilfoyle (1994) argues that in Southern dialects the light verb projection is absent and consequently, there is no position for a true external argument. She takes this to be the major difference between the two dialect groups. She suggests that in Southern dialects both the lexical subject and object move to the same sentence position, i.e. [Spec, AspP], as in (111):

(111) Southern dialects: S+PRT+V (cf. example (28a) above)



O+PRT+V (cf. example (28d) above)

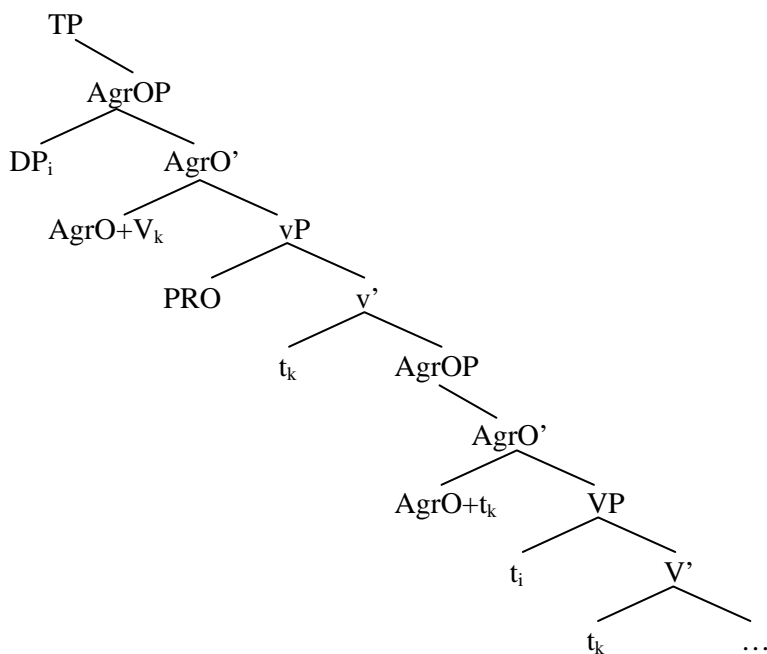


In (111a) and (111b) *a* checks Case of either the subject or the object, but it cannot check the Cases of both and hence the order S+O+PRT+V cannot come into being in Southern dialects. Guilfoyle does not have any position where PRO could appear in (111b) and consequently, she assumes that control in such cases represents control by an implicit argument, as proposed by Williams (1987) for English nominals. The main problem with this analysis is that external arguments in Northern and in Southern dialects are generated in distinct structural positions and only in the former is the subject generated in its thematic position,

whereas in the latter the subject occupies the same position as the object, which obliterates the difference regarding the way they get assigned their theta roles.

Noonan's (1994) analysis of non-finite clauses in Northern dialects is identical with that put forward by Guilfoyle (cf. (110)), except that she treats *a* as a head of AgrOP, not of AspP. For Southern dialects she proposes a structural representation with two AgrOPs, one internal to VP and one VP-external, as presented in (112):

(112) Southern dialects O+PRO+PRT+V (cf. example (28d) above)

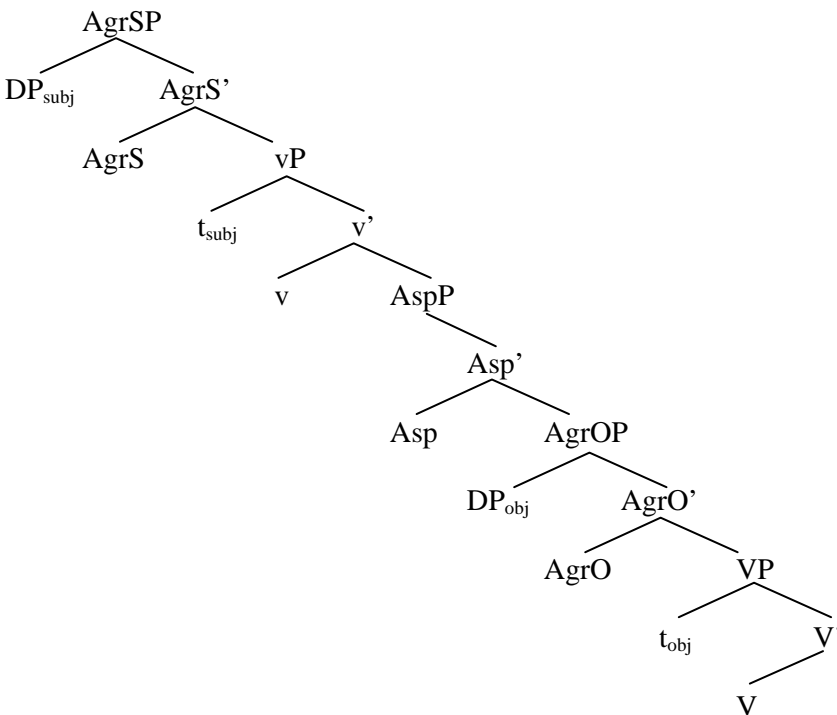


Noonan assumes that PRO remains in situ until LF. The raising of the object across PRO in (112) is licit since the raising of V to the VP-external AgrO makes [Spec, AgrOP] and [Spec, vP] equidistant for the object DP. If the subject is overt, then it must raise to [Spec, AgrOP] (VP-external) to check the strong AgrO-features; the object cannot move to this position, as its movement would violate the Shortest Movement, so it remains in situ and appears marked with genitive Case. Thus, Noonan's analysis is similar to that of Guilfoyle is assuming that in Southern dialects both lexical subjects and objects compete for the same structural position. Noonan (1994) manages to avoid the problem created by Guilfoyle's analysis, since in her system subjects, no matter whether lexical or PRO, are generated in their thematic position in both groups of dialects. How-

ever, her analysis raises new problems. First of all, she is forced to postulate a different inventory of functional projections for Northern and Southern dialects, the former has just one AgrOP, internal to VP, while the latter has two AgrOPs, which is not a particularly attractive solution. Secondly, a clear disadvantage of this analysis is the multiplication of AgrOP projections, which does not seem to have any empirical justification and only serves to derive the correct results.

Carnie's (1995) analysis is very similar to that of Noonan (1994), except that he avoids the complication of an extra AgrOP. His analysis of Northern dialects is basically that of Guilfoyle (1994) and Noonan (1994) and the only difference is that within VP there is an additional functional projection AspP stacked between vP and AgrOP, as in (113):⁶⁵

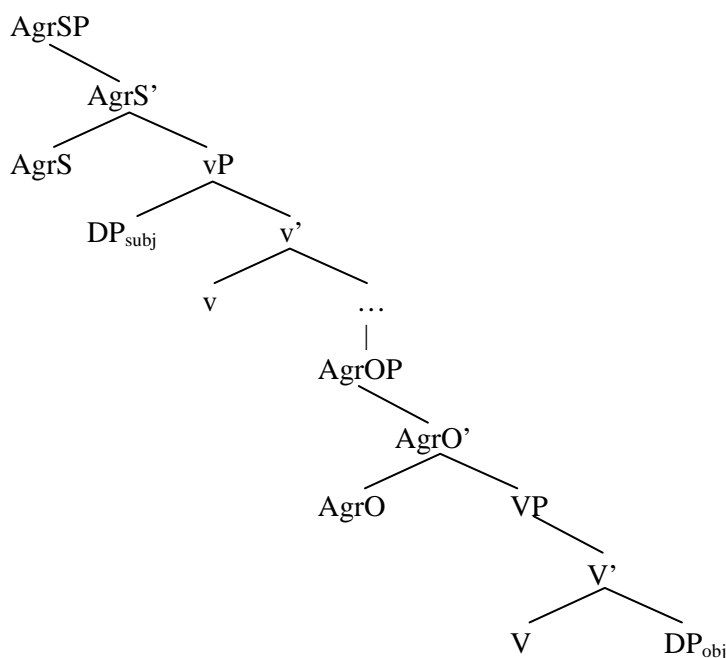
(113) Northern dialects: S+O+PRT+V (cf. example (27c) above)



⁶⁵ The head of AspP may be filled by the particle *ag* 'at', commonly used in progressive structures.

In (113) the light verb raises to AgrS licensing the subject in [Spec, AgrSP] and the lexical verb raises to AgrO licensing the object in [Spec, AgrOP]. For him the difference between Northern and Southern dialects lies in whether the lexical V incorporates into the light *v* in non-finite clauses or not. Carnie argues that this kind of incorporation takes place when V+Agr is necessary to license overt subjects in Southern dialects. This is illustrated in (114):

(114) Southern dialects: S+PRT+V+O (cf. example (28c) above)

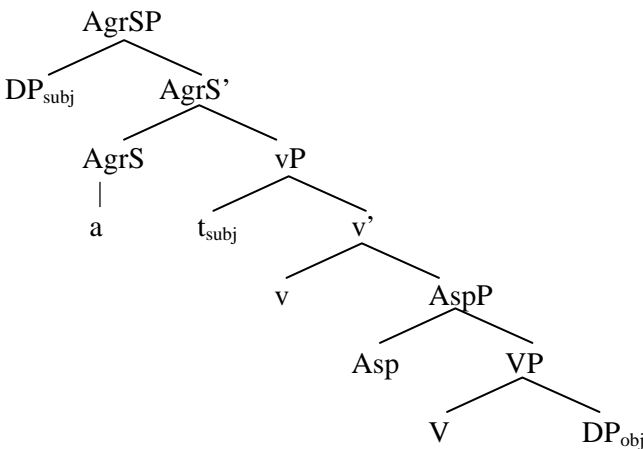


In (114) V incorporates into *v* and they together raise to AgrS, which is realised as *a*. The subject moves to the [Spec, AgrSP] position, where it is assigned accusative Case by *a* in AgrS. In this configuration the object cannot move to [Spec, AgrOP] as the verb has only one set of object ϕ -features to check, these features can be checked only once and the object prefers to check them as close to the verb as possible (preferably in an overt specifier-head relationship). When PRO appears in the subject position, V does not need to incorporate into *v*, but raises only to AgrO and the object raises to [Spec, AgrOP] for Case checking. Carnie's analysis differs from that of Guilfoyle (1994) and Noonan (1994) in that in his account overt subjects and objects do not compete for the same structural position. What is problematic in Carnie's analysis is that two distinct mechanisms are necessary to license overt subjects in Northern and in Southern

dialects, namely *v* movement to AgrS in the former and V incorporation into *v* in the latter. Furthermore, although Carnie does not make it explicit, his analysis requires that *a* be generated in AgrS if the subject is overt and in AgrO if the subject is covert, i.e. PRO. However, no justification whatsoever is provided for why this should be the case.

Duffield's (1995) treatment of the sequence S+O+PRT+V attested in Northern dialects is analogous to that of Noonan (1994), except that for him the particle *a* is a head of AspP, not of AgrOP (cf. Guilfoyle (1994)). As for Southern dialects, he suggests that the particle *a* occupies the head of AgrSP and is capable of checking accusative Case. When an overt subject is present, it moves to [Spec, AgrSP] for Case checking, as shown in (115):

(115) Southern dialects: S+PRT+V+O (cf. example (28c) above)



In order to derive the O+PRO+PRT+V order Duffield must assume that PRO is unable to check N-features of AgrS, prior to Spell-Out. Consequently, these features must be checked by object DP. Thus, for Duffield, just like for Guilfoyle and for Noonan, overt subjects and objects in Southern dialects end up in the same structural position. Another assumption that Duffield has to make is that N-features of AgrS are strong in non-finite clauses in Southern dialects but weak in finite clauses.⁶⁶ This, he himself, admits is highly stipulative and he leaves it without any further explanation. Another problematic question is that for his account to go through Duffield must assume that PRO is Case-less, which

⁶⁶ This assumption is necessary to avoid generating S+V+O order in finite clauses, which is never attested in Irish.

leaves PRO as an exception to the Visibility Condition. The same problem is characteristic of other analyses discussed in this section.

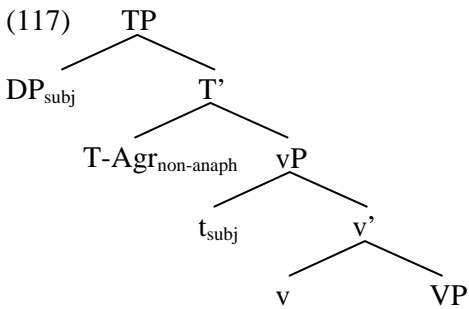
The four approaches to dialectal differences in Irish non-finite clauses, as has already been noted, rely on the split VP hypothesis. McCloskey (1997, 2001) argues that this hypothesis makes wrong predictions for Irish when confronted with data like (116):

- (116)
- | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|-------|------------------------|
| le linn é a | fhágaint | dhom | (McCloskey (1997:224)) |
| when it | PRT leave-VN | to-me | |
| ‘when I leave it’ | | | |

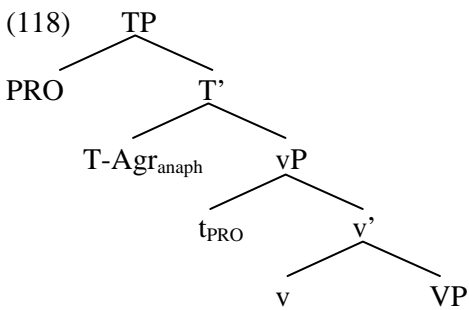
In the above sentence the subject is marked with the dative preposition *do* ‘to’ (cf. footnote 42) and the shifted object appears to its left. Under the split VP hypothesis this order of the object with respect to the subject should never arise, as the subject is generated above the position to which the object shifts. Consequently, data like (116) cast serious doubts on the split VP hypothesis. Therefore, it seems worthwhile to try to develop an analysis of the dialectal differences under scrutiny without making recourse to the split VP. This is attempted in the next section.

3.3.2. A new approach to dialectal differences

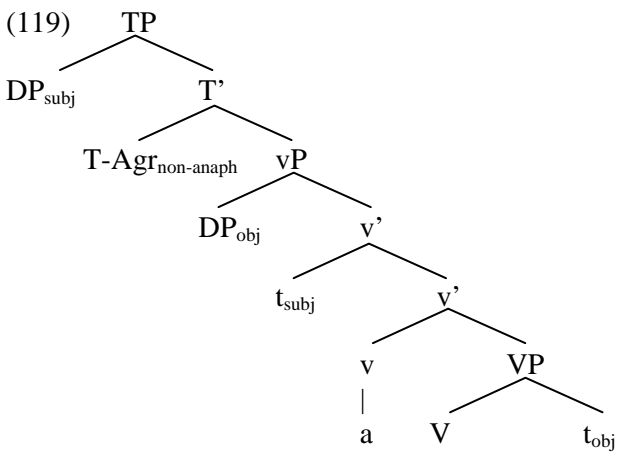
Our analysis of non-finite clauses in Northern dialects is modelled on McCloskey (2002). Following McCloskey and Sells (1988) we assume that the particle *a* in Northern dialects is a transitivity marker, which heads a light verb projection and checks the Case of the direct object. The subject, either PRO or a lexical one, has its Case checked by the appropriate Agr in T. To recall, it has been suggested in section 3.1.2 that PRO is licensed by anaphoric Agr in T checking null Case, while lexical subjects are licensed by non-anaphoric Agr in T checking nominative Case (cf. (78)). The order S+V, as in (27a), arises when Agr in T is non-anaphoric and hence is capable of checking the nominative Case of the subject (cf. (78b)). This is illustrated in (117) below, in which the subject originates within the vP-shell and subsequently undergoes movement to [Spec, TP], where it has its nominative Case checked by non-anaphoric T-Agr in the spec-head configuration.



The order PRO+V, as in (27b), comes into being when T is anaphoric and hence checks the null Case of PRO, as in (118):



As for the order S+O+PRT+V, as in (27c), it arises when the particle *a* in *v* checks the Case of the object and non-anaphoric Agr in T checks the nominative Case of the subject, as in (119):



In (119) V moves to the light verb and the object moves to the external specifier of *v*. A similar situation arises in the sequence PRO+O+PRT+V, as in (27d), except that Agr in T is anaphoric and hence checks the null Case of PRO.

The trees in (117)–(119) demonstrate that both subjects and objects undergo overt movement in Northern dialects. The account presented so far implies that movement is triggered by the necessity to check Case. Another alternative worth considering is that movement is motivated by the necessity to check the EPP feature of *v* or T. We will return to the question of which of these two alternatives is valid for the two dialect groups analysed.

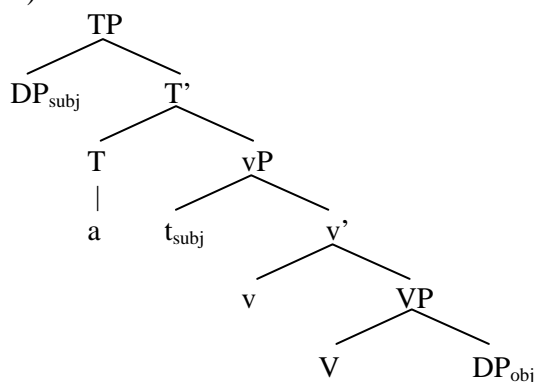
In Southern dialects the situation is different. The particle *a* can no longer be treated exclusively as a transitivity marker, as, in the presence of the overt subject, it does not check the Case of the object and does not trigger its overt movement. The analysis we would like to advance is based on the following assumptions:

(120)

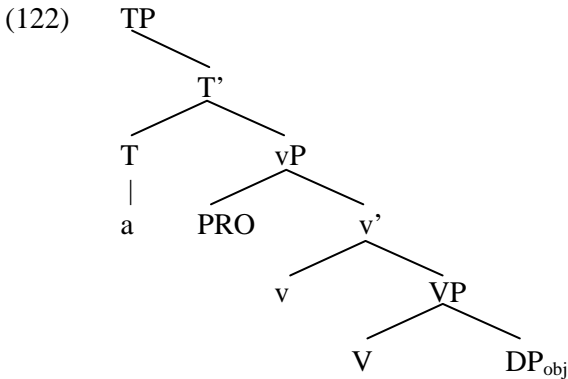
- a. The particle *a* always has a Case feature to check.
- b. The particle *a* can appear in *v* or in T, when it appears in *v*, it checks the Case of the object and when it appears in T, it checks the Case of the subject.
- c. PRO is licensed by anaphoric Agr in T, which checks its null Case =(78a)).
- d. Overt subjects are licensed by the particle *a*, which is an overt realization of non-anaphoric Agr in T (cf. (78b)).

Under the assumptions in (120), the S+PRT+V+O order, as in (28c), arises if *a* is in T, as shown in (121):

(121)

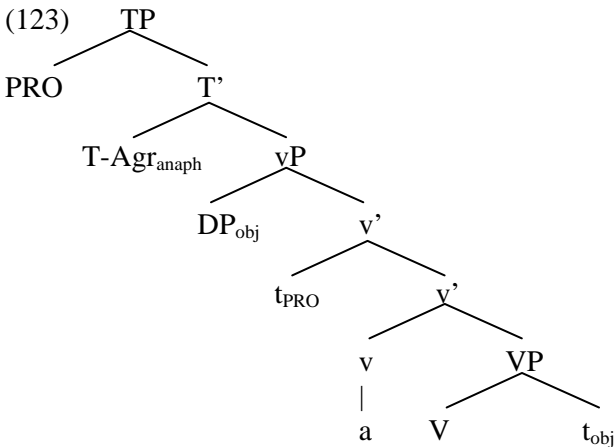


The order PRO+PRT+V+O is excluded, as PRO, bearing null Case, cannot check the Case of *a* in T and cannot have its own Case checked. The Case feature of *a* cannot be checked via Agree with the in-situ object DP, as in (122). This operation would trigger a Defective Intervention Effect, since PRO is a closer potential Case checker. Alternatively, the object DP in (122) cannot move to check the Case feature of *a* in the presence of a closer potential Case checker, i.e. PRO.



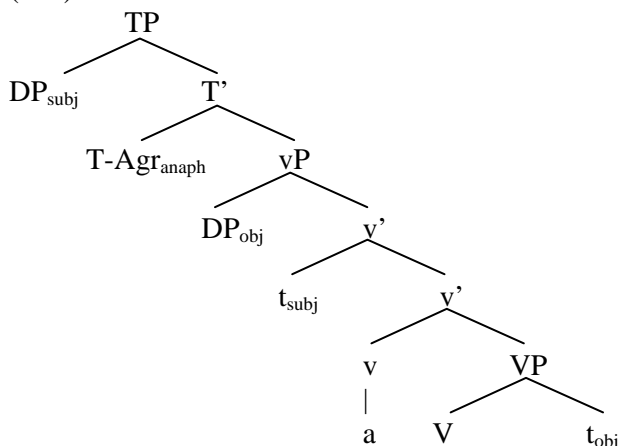
What has to be emphasised is that *v* in (121) must lack the ability to check Case, as the DP object in such sequences is marked for genitive, not accusative, an issue to which we will return. We assume that the genitive Case of the object in (121) is checked by the verbal noun.

The order PRO+O+PRT+V, as in (28d), arises if *a* appears in *v*, as in (123):



In (123) the object checks the Case feature of the particle *a* in *v*, whereas PRO checks the null Case of anaphoric Agr in T. Unlike in Northern dialects (cf. (119)), the order S+O+PRT+V does not occur in Southern dialects, as in this configuration, schematised in (124) below, T is not filled by *a* and hence cannot license an overt subject (cf. (120d)), the only kind of subject that can co-occur with it is PRO, as in (123).

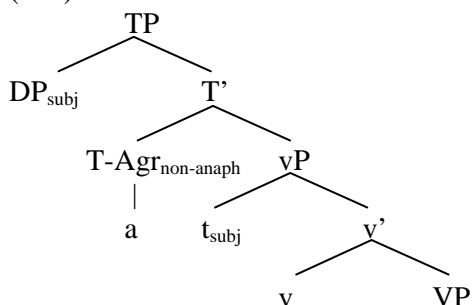
(124)



Thus, in (124) both the overt subject and anaphoric T-Agr have their Case unchecked causing the derivation to crash.

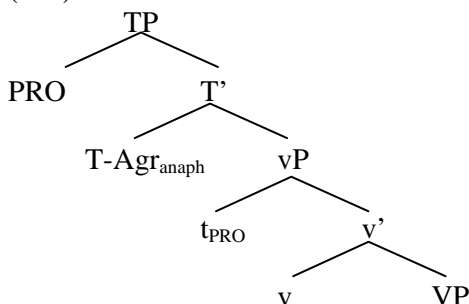
The order S+PRT+V, as in (28a), arises in Southern dialects when the particle *a* functions as non-anaphoric Agr in T and hence, in accordance with (120b, d), checks the nominative Case of the subject. This is illustrated in (125) below:

(125)



Finally, the order PRO+V, as in (28b), results if T-Agr is anaphoric and therefore capable of checking the null Case of PRO. The particle *a* does not surface in this order, as its occurrence in T-Agr would cause the derivation to crash, on account of the fact that *a* would not be able to check the null Case of PRO (cf. (120c, d)). The particle *a* cannot appear in *v* either, since the verb in this case is intransitive (cf. (120a, b)). The resulting structure is presented in (126):

(126)



Let us now return to the issue of what motivates movement in non-finite clauses in Northern and in Southern dialects. As for the Northern dialects, the account we have presented so far has been based on the assumption that movement is motivated by the necessity for the subject and the object to check their Case. However, an alternative line of analysis is possible, namely, it may be suggested that the subject and the object check their Case in situ via Agree with the appropriate head (T or *v*, respectively) and they move in order to satisfy the EPP feature of the respective T or *v*. This latter alternative is in line with the most recent version of the MP, in which movement is motivated entirely by the necessity to check EPP features, understood as the filled specifier position of T (obligatorily) and *v* or C (optionally), and in which EPP checking is divorced from Case checking (cf. Chapter I, section 1.0). However, adopting the latter alternative might be problematic when confronted with McCloskey's (1996b, 2001) claim that the EPP is inactive in Irish. McCloskey supports this claim by pointing out a number of subjectless constructions in this language, including salient unaccusatives like (127), impersonal passives derived from unaccusative verbs like (128) and semi-lexicalised expressions like (129):

(127)

Nearthaigh ar a ghlór.
strengthened on his voice
'His voice strengthened.'

(McCloskey (2001:170))

(128)

nuair a bhí tráite síos uaidh (McCloskey (2001:164))
 when C was ebbed down from-it
 ‘when the tide ebbed from around it’

(129)

Tá thiar orm (le mo chuid oibre).
 is back on-me with my share work-GEN
 ‘I am behind (with my work).’

McCloskey (1996b) argues that the above sentences do not involve movement of any argument to the canonical subject position and neither do they show an empty expletive. Hence, they are truly subjectless and thus support the claim that the EPP is inactive in Irish.⁶⁷ McCloskey calls such sentences minimal clauses, which represent just TP (with an unfilled specifier) taking a VP complement. However, besides truly subjectless clauses like those in (127)-(129), there exist sentences with an overt subject raised from within VP. One such example is given in (130), which instantiates perfective passive:

(130)

Tá sé críochnaithe againn. (McCloskey (2001:171))
 is it finished by-us
 ‘It has been finished by us.’

If subject raising does not take place, this sentence becomes ungrammatical, as can be seen in (131):

(131)

*Tá críochnaithe sé againn. (McCloskey (2001:171))
 is finished it by-us
 ‘It has been finished by us.’

⁶⁷ McCloskey (2001) provides additional arguments that the EPP does not hold for Irish. One such argument is based on Raising, extensively studied in McCloskey (1986). Raising in Irish is optional, which McCloskey (2001) takes to be a clear indication of the inactivity of the EPP in this language.

Additional evidence for subject raising out of its thematic position within VP can be obtained from adverbial distribution and quantifier float. These processes are illustrated in (132) and (133), respectively:

(132)

Ní bhfuair aon bhean riamh roimhe greim láimhe air.
 NEG took any woman ever before-it grip hand-GEN on-him
 'No woman had ever before taken his hand.' (McCloskey (2001:171))

(133)

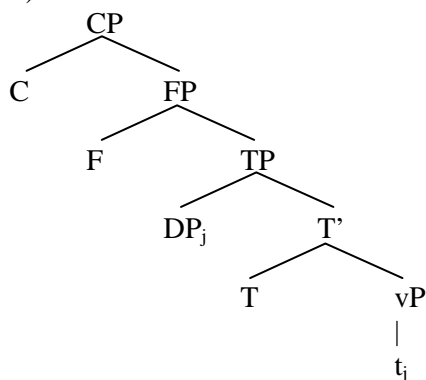
An bhfuil na préataí curtha uilig agat?
 INTERRU are the potatoes sown all by-you
 'Have you sown all the potatoes?' (McCloskey (2001:174))

In (132) the subject appears to the left of the adverbial attached to the edge of VP, which supports the claim that the subject has raised out of VP. In (133) the quantifier *uilig* 'all' is stranded in the original subject position within VP, while the subject itself has moved to a higher position. The question is what position the raised subject moves to. McCloskey (1996b) argues that this position does not correspond to [Spec, TP], as the EPP does not apply in Irish. In fact the [Spec, TP] position is typically associated with expletive and Irish lacks true expletives, which implies that the [Spec, TP] position is unrealised in Irish. An alternative suggested by McCloskey (1996b) is that the subject moves to [Spec, AgrSP], which is generated below TP, but above VP.⁶⁸ In subjectless clauses like (127)-(129) AgrSP is not projected at all.

McCloskey (2002) attempts to reconcile his earlier findings with the idea that the EPP does in fact operate in Irish. He argues that Irish postverbal subjects actually appear in the same structural position as their English equivalents, i.e. [Spec, TP]. To make this suggestion compatible with the VSO word order of Irish finite clauses, he proposes that there is an extra functional projection below CP and above TP, as in (134):

⁶⁸ Adger (2000) puts forward an account of where the subject in Irish is situated without making recourse to AgrSP. He argues that the subject raises to a right-adjacent position to T, i.e. a position adjoined to VP, where it checks its uninterpretable Case feature under adjacency with T.

(134)



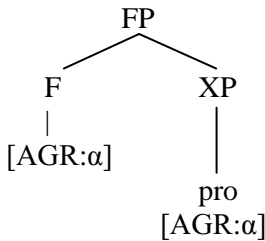
FP corresponds to the Σ P postulated, among others, by Laka (1990) and Zanuttini (1997). The head Σ may be filled by Neg in negative clauses or by *gan* in non-finite clauses (cf. section 3.2). McCloskey justifies the presence of Σ P by arguing that dative subjects found in non-finite clauses, i.e. subjects preceded by *do* 'to' (cf. footnote 42), appear in its specifier. Dative subjects typically occur to the left of *gan* and in this respect differ from other subjects of non-finite clauses, which normally follow *gan* (cf. footnote 48). From this McCloskey (2002) concludes that dative subjects must appear in a structural position higher than other subjects and he suggests that this position corresponds to [Spec, Σ P].⁶⁹ McCloskey argues that if one accepts the claim that the EPP operates in Irish and that Irish postverbal subjects appear in [Spec, TP], then some phenomena can be given a straightforward account.⁷⁰ Firstly, Irish postverbal subjects have the same semantic properties as English preverbal subjects, for instance, in both languages bare plurals in subject position (outside VP) have generic readings, just like subjects of individual level predication in these two languages. The identical semantic properties of subjects in Irish and in English strongly argue for treating them as occupying the same structural position, i.e. the EPP-related, [Spec, TP] position. Another phenomenon that McCloskey (2002) explains by appealing to the EPP in Irish concerns the placement of emphatic and reflexive clitics that can attach onto overt or covert pronominals. Normally null pronominals, licensed in the configuration schematised in (135) (cf. McCloskey and Hale (1984)), are not

⁶⁹ McCloskey (2001) argues that dative subjects appear as complements within KP, which occupies the [Spec, TP] position. [Spec, TP] is a higher position than that of other subjects occupying [Spec, AgrSP].

⁷⁰ However, he leaves aside the treatment of subjectless clauses such as (125)–(127).

forced by agreement to raise, as illustrated in (136) reproduced after McCloskey (2002):

(135)



(136)

- a. i ndiaidh iad mo mholadh – sa agus mo mhuintir
 after they 1SG praise-VN EMPH and my people
 ‘after they praised me and my people’
- b. ár dteach beag compórdach – na
 1PL house small comfortable EMPH
 ‘our comfortable little house’

Emphatic clitics, such as *–sa* and *–na* in (136) above, can attach to overt DPs, as in (137):

(137)

mo leabhar –sa
 my book EMPH
 ‘**my** book’

They can also appear with inflected verb forms, which take *pro* as their subject, as shown in (138):

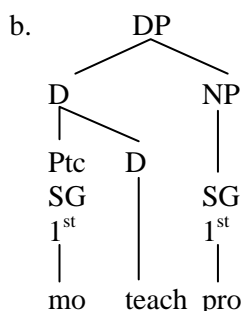
(138)

chuirfinn –sé
 I-would-put EMPH
 ‘**I** would put’

Furthermore, these clitics can co-occur with possessive pronouns within a DP, such as (139a), whose structure is schematised in (139b).

(139)

- a. [_{DP} mo teach]–sa
 my house EMPH
 ‘**my** house’



The structure in (139b) has been adopted after McCloskey and Hale (1984:513). The empty pronoun in (139b) is licensed by the agreeing possessive pronoun. The situation analogous to that found in (139) arises in (136), where the emphatic clitic also attaches onto the empty pronoun within a DP and thus marks the position where the pronoun occurs. Just like in (139b), the empty pronoun in (136) is licensed by the possessive pronoun, which, nonetheless, does not trigger the raising of the null pronoun. However, the sentences in (136) contrast with the following ones:

(140)

- a. Cuirim –se i gcónaí mo hata ar mo chloigeann.
 put-PRES-1SG EMPH always my hat on my head
 ‘I always put my hat on my head.’ (McCloskey (2002))
- b. *Cuirim i gcónaí –se mo hata ar mo chloigeann.
 put-PRES-1SG always EMPH my hat on my head
 ‘I always put my hat on my head.’

The null pronoun in (140a), licensed by the agreement morpheme on the verb, must raise, as confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (140b). This raising cannot be triggered by agreement, as sentences (136) make clear, but seems to be motivated exclusively by the EPP.⁷¹

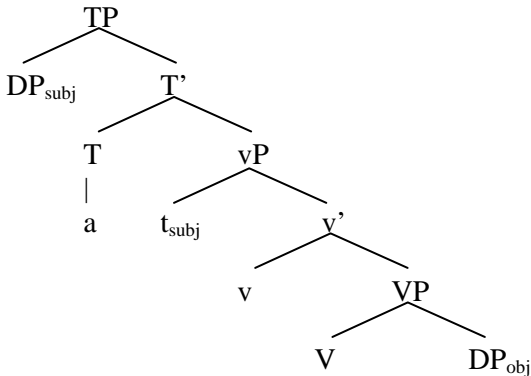
⁷¹ An alternative explanation for the ungrammaticality of (140b), not considered by McCloskey (2002), might relate to the fact that clitics attach only to certain hosts.

If one concurs with McCloskey (2002), rather than McCloskey (1996b, 2001), then movement of the subject and object in non-finite clauses in Northern dialects can be perceived as driven by the necessity to check the EPP feature of T and v, as already suggested. The question is whether the claim that movement takes place only to check the EPP-feature of either T or v can be maintained for Southern dialects. The case crucial to determine this is (28c), with the structure in (121), repeated for convenience.

(28)

- c. Ba mhaith liom [sibh a phéinteáil an dorais]. S+PRT+V+O
 COP good with-me you-PL PRT paint-VN the door-GEN
 ‘I would like you to paint the door.’

(121)



In this case the object has its Case checked in situ (presumably by the verbal noun), if v had an EPP-feature, then the object would have to move to its specifier, yielding the order S+PRT+O+V. Since this order is unattested, we might conclude that v, when empty (i.e. unfilled by *a*), lacks the EPP-feature. This, however, is merely a stipulation, as it remains unclear why there should be any connection between the presence of the lexical material in v and its EPP-feature. To avoid this stipulation we might assume that Move, at least in Southern dialects, takes place not only for EPP-checking but also for Case checking. This kind of motivation for movement is offered in earlier versions of the MP (cf. Chomsky (1995b)) and its presence in many languages, including Irish, is argued

Consequently, the adverb *i gcónaí* ‘always’ in (140b) might not count as an appropriate host for the clitic *-se*.

both by Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001) and by Legate and Smallwood (2001). Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2001) argue, following their earlier work, namely Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (1998), that the EPP in Irish is checked by means of V movement to T, not by the Move/Merge of XP in [Spec, TP], and therefore the raising of the subject from within the VP cannot be motivated by the EPP, but follows from the necessity for subject to check its Case. Legate and Smallwood (2001) note that the primary motivation for treating the EPP-feature as the one triggering movement is the possibility for [Spec, TP] to be filled with an expletive. Irish lacks expletives (cf. McCloskey (1996b)) but in spite of this shows overt subject movement. As a result, Legate and Smallwood conclude that subject raising in Irish is not triggered by the EPP feature of T, but by Case. Since expletives lack Case, the absence of expletives in Irish follows from the fact that movement to [Spec, TP] is Case-driven and not EPP-driven.

If we adopt the approach according to which movement in non-finite clauses, at least in Southern dialects, is motivated by Case, then we can easily explain why the object does not move in (121); it checks its Case in situ, so there is no motivation for its movement. In (123), however, the movement of the object is triggered by the necessity to check Case. The object in (123) does not check its Case in situ, as the verb lacks a Case feature, which in this case is associated with the transitivity marker *a* in *v*. Consequently, the assumption that movement might be for Case reasons, allows us to explain why the object does not move in (121) without resorting to any additional stipulations. Additionally, this approach correctly predicts that wherever movement occurs in Irish, the element that moves has its Case checked.

The analysis of non-finite clauses in Southern dialects just presented allows us to maintain the claim that PRO and lexical subjects are generated in the same structural position and in this respect is advantageous in comparison with Guilfoyle's (1994) account. Additionally, we are not forced to postulate any functional heads intervening between *v* and *V*, which is favourable in the light of the evidence presented by McCloskey (1997, 2001) and which makes our analysis superior to those offered by Guilfoyle (1994), Noonan (1994), Carnie (1995) and Duffield (1995). Guilfoyle's, Noonan's and Duffield's analyses, appealing to competition for the same Case position between the subject and the object in Southern dialects, relied on the assumption that subjects and objects of non-finite clauses bear accusative case. This, however, does not seem to be justified, as the *s*-less pronominal form does not necessarily have to correspond to accusative, but is simply the Case form found in positions other than the one immediately after the finite verb (cf. section 1.4). This problem is overcome in our

analysis, where subjects of non-finite clauses are regarded as bearing nominative Case licensed by non-anaphoric Agr in T.

A potential problem that our analysis creates concerns the fact that PRO in (123) must be allowed to move across the object in [Spec, vP] to check the Case of T; the movement of the object is blocked by the fact that it is 'frozen in place' after its Case has been checked in [Spec, vP].⁷² This gives rise to the 'old' equidistance problem of why the subject can leave the vP in spite of the lack of V movement to T (cf. section 3.3.1). Exactly the same problem arises in Northern dialects where the subject regularly moves across the object (cf. (119)). This problem is avoided in some former analyses by postulating the split VP for Irish (cf. section 3.3.1), which itself is highly problematic (cf. the end of section 3.3.1). The solution we would like to offer is based on Chomsky's (2000, 2001a, b) concept of equidistance according to which specifiers of the same head are equidistant from all higher material.⁷³ Since in (123) and in (119) both the subject and the object occupy the specifier position within the same vP, movement of the former over the latter does not violate equidistance and is therefore perfectly legitimate.

Another apparently problematic issue concerns the fact that in the analysis just sketched *v* must lack a Case feature unless filled by *a* (cf. (121) with (123)). This, in turn, suggests that *a* in Southern dialects can function as a transitivity marker (cf. (120b)). Another function that *a* can have in these dialects is that of the overt realisation of non-anaphoric Agr, which is capable of licensing overt subjects (cf. (120d)). Consequently, in our analysis the ambiguous status of *a* is responsible for word order patterns found in Southern dialects distinct from those attested in Northern dialects, where the particle is always located in *v*. This idea is slightly similar to that proposed by Carnie (1995) (cf. section 3.3.1).

Finally, the analysis of dialectal differences just presented requires that the particle *a* in Southern dialects fill just one position at a time, i.e. either *v* or non-anaphoric Agr in T. It can never lexicalise these two positions simultaneously, as this would give rise to the untested pattern S+a+O+a+V. In fact, we have to assume that non-anaphoric Agr in T is present only when lexicalised by *a*, otherwise it is absent or replaced by anaphoric Agr in T (cf. (124)), which cannot check the nominative Case of the lexical subject.

⁷² In other words, the object ceases to be active, since its Case feature is valued.

⁷³ Chomsky's exact formulation of equidistance can be found in Chapter I section 1.0.

4.0. Anomalous control

4.1. What is anomalous control?

The term *anomalous control* was introduced by McCloskey and Sells (1988) to denote structures whose prepositional object must be co-referential with the matrix subject.⁷⁴ In anomalous control (as well as in many other control structures (cf., for example, (27b, c, d)), the matrix subject often corresponds to a prepositional object within a prepositional pronoun, cf. *liom* ‘with me’ in (141a) below and *duit* ‘to you’ in (141b) below. When these subjects are co-referential with prepositional objects occurring in non-finite complements to predicates referring to mental or physical states, as in (141a), and ones expressing possession, as in (141b), they give rise to anomalous control.

(141)

- a. Níor mhaith liom₁ [ocras a bheith orm₁].
COP-NEG good with-me hunger PRT be-VN on-me
‘I wouldn’t like to be hungry.’ (McCloskey and Sells (1988:144))
- b. Ba chóir duit₁ [carr a bheith agat₁].
COP proper to-you car PRT be-VN at-you
‘You should have a car.’ (McCloskey and Sells (1988:145))

Anomalous control also arises in passive perfective structures where the agent prepositional complement is controlled by the matrix subject, as in (142a), and in constructions with the preposition *le* ‘with’, as in (142b):

(142)

- a. Ba chóir duit₁ [na leabharthaí seo uilig a bheith léite agat₁].
COP proper to-you the books these all PRT be-VN read at-you
‘You should read all these books.’ (McCloskey and Sells (1988:146))
- b. Caithfidh tú₁ [fear maith a bheith leat₁].
must you man good PRT be-VN with-you
‘You must have a good man along with you.’
(McCloskey and Sells (1988:145))

⁷⁴ The existence of such structures is reported by McCloskey (1980b), who does not refer to them as anomalous control.

The structures in (141) and (142) are anomalous in that it is the prepositional object, not the embedded subject, that is controlled by the matrix subject. McCloskey (1980b) notes that this type of control is restricted to prepositional complements that correspond to notional subjects, and can never be found with ordinary prepositional arguments.⁷⁵ The contrast between (142) and (143) below illustrates this point.

(143)

- a.*Ba chóir duit₁ [bród a bheith ar do mháthair asat₁].
 COP proper to-you pride PRT be-VN on your mother out-of-you
 ‘*You should for your mother to be proud of you.’
 (McCloskey and Sells (1988:147))
- b.*Caithfidh tú₁ [Ciarán labhairt leat₁].
 must you Ciaran speak with-you
 ‘*You must for Ciaran to speak with you.’
 (McCloskey and Sells (1988:146))

The sentences in (143), where the controlled element within the PP is an argument of the adjectival/verbal predicate, are unacceptable, in contradistinction to the sentences in (142), which are perfectly legitimate, as control in their case obtains between the notional subject within the PP and the notional matrix subject.

4.2. McCloskey and Sells’ (1988) analysis

Anomalous control has not attracted a lot of attention in the literature and the only available analysis of this construction is McCloskey and Sells (1988). Let us briefly present its main points.

McCloskey and Sells (1988) suggest that anomalous control turns out not to be so anomalous if one posits the presence of a PRO subject in sentences like (141) and (142) above, which is controlled by the matrix subject and is co-referential with the prepositional object. Under this analysis, sentences (141) have the representations in (144) and sentences (142) – the representations in (145).

⁷⁵ Both McCloskey (1980b) and McCloskey and Sells (1988) do not elaborate on the question of what entities the term *notional subject* is meant to refer to.

(144)

- a. Níor mhaith liom₁ [PRO₁ ocras a bheith orm₁].
 b. Ba chóir duit₁ [PRO₁ carr a bheith agat₁].

(145)

- a. Ba chóir duit₁ [PRO₁ na leabharthaí seo uilig a bheith léite agat₁].
 b. Caithfidh tú₁ [PRO₁ fear maith a bheith leat₁].

McCloskey and Sells draw an analogy between anomalous control structures, such as (141) and (142), and non-finite clauses with overt subjects like (146) below.

(146)

Níor mhaith liom [sibh₁ eagla a bheith oraibh₁].
 COP-NEG good with-me you-PL fear PRT be-VN on-you
 'I wouldn't like you to be afraid.' (McCloskey and Sells (1988:156))

In (146) obligatory co-reference obtains between the embedded structural subject and the notional subject within the PP. McCloskey and Sells argue that a similar kind of co-reference occurs in anomalous control structures; the difference between (146) on the one hand, and (141) and (142) on the other, lying in the presence of the overt subject in the former and the covert subject, i.e. PRO, in the latter. The analogy between sentences like (146) and anomalous control structures such as (141) and (142) is strengthened by the fact that the notional subject restriction mentioned in section 4.1 is also valid for non-finite clauses like (146), as shown in (147), which is parallel to (143b):

(147)

*Níor mhaith liom [Seán₁ mo mháthair labhairt leis₁].
 COP-NEG good with-me John my mother speak-VN with-him
 'I wouldn't like my mother to speak to John.'
 (McCloskey and Sells (1988:155))

In (147) the co-reference between the embedded clause subject and the prepositional argument of the verb leads to ungrammaticality, unlike in (146), where the prepositional object corresponds to the notional subject.

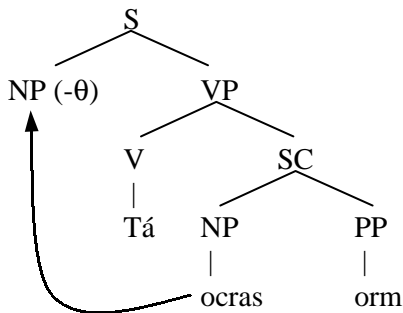
The representation in (144a) is problematic since, as McCloskey (1980b) points out, in sentences like (148) below the DP *ocras* ‘hunger’ is indeed the surface subject.⁷⁶

(148)

Tá *ocras* orm.
is hunger on-me
‘I’m hungry.’

Since *ocras* ‘hunger’ functions as a subject in structures like (148), McCloskey and Sells (1988) run into the problem of having two subjects in sentences like (144a): one being PRO and the other *ocras* ‘hunger’. They solve this problem in the following way: they argue that the DPs like *ocras* ‘hunger’ originate within a small clause, a complement of the verb *tá* ‘be’, and then raise to the non-thematic subject position in cases like (148). This is illustrated in (149) below:

(149)



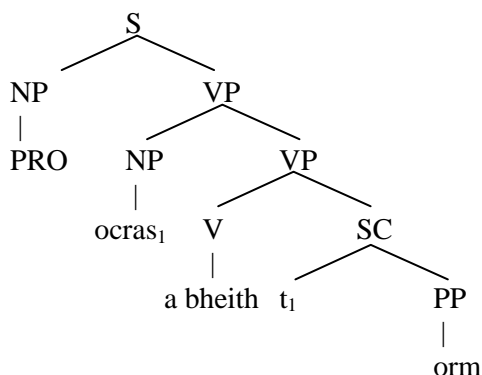
In (149) the symbol SC stands for a small clause. The DP *ocras* ‘hunger’ raises from the subject position within the small clause to the non-thematic subject position in the matrix clause. This way, McCloskey and Sells account for the fact that *ocras* ‘hunger’ functions as the surface subject in such cases.⁷⁷ In sentences like (144a), however, *ocras* ‘hunger’ starts within a small clause

⁷⁶ McCloskey’s (1980b) evidence to support the claim that *ocras* ‘hunger’ functions as a subject in sentences like (148) is based on relativisation and on the fact that it is impossible to insert any material between the verb and *ocras*. For details cf. McCloskey (1980b).

⁷⁷ The verb *tá* ‘is’ must move above the landing site of *ocras* ‘hunger’ to derive the correct word order.

complement of the verbal noun *bheith* 'be', from where it raises into the matrix clause object position. The exact representation of (144a) is provided in (150):

(150)



In (150) the DP (NP in McCloskey and Sells' analysis) *ocras* 'hunger' raises from within a small clause to a position adjoined to VP, which in McCloskey and Sells' analysis corresponds to the object position in non-finite clauses (cf. section 3.3.1). By postulating the representation in (150) for (144a), McCloskey and Sells successfully handle the 'double subject' problem. In fact they posit similar representations for sentences like (146), except that the embedded subject position is filled with the lexical subject, not PRO.

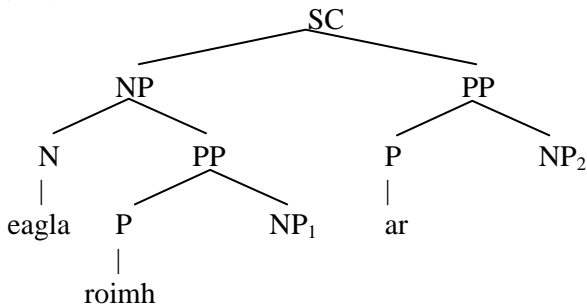
Another problem for McCloskey and Sells' account is that there is no theta-role available for the PRO subject in cases of anomalous control such as (144a) and for overt subjects in cases like (146). In order to solve this problem McCloskey and Sells suggest that in such constructions the verb *tá* 'be' (or its verbal noun *bheith*) assigns no theta role. In fact the only theta-assigning element in cases like (144a) is the predicate DP *ocras* 'hunger', which assigns the role of Experiencer to its prepositional object. They further suggest that this Experiencer theta-role is split between two elements, namely the PRO subject and the prepositional object. McCloskey and Sells observe that psychological predicates like *eagla* 'fear' used in (146) can have a more complex structure, as shown in (151):

(151)

Tá eagla orm roimh an bhás.
 is fear on-me before the death
 'I'm afraid of death.'

In (151) the Experiencer role is assigned by the predicate *eagla* ‘fear’ within the PP *orm* ‘on me’, while the Theme role is assigned within the PP *roimh an bhás* ‘before the death’. McCloskey and Sells suggest that the complex phrase in (151) has the following structure:

(152)



They argue that the inner PP corresponds to the internal argument of the predicate *eagla* ‘fear’, while the outer PP is its external argument. Since it is always the external argument that is controlled in anomalous control structures (cf. (144) and (146) above), the notional subject restriction mentioned in section 4.1 gets a natural explanation.

McCloskey and Sells (1988) account for the anaphoric relationship holding between PRO and the prepositional object in anomalous control structures by suggesting that there is an A-chain between PRO and the prepositional object.⁷⁸ They adopt Rizzi’s (1986) idea that A-chains can be formed not only via movement. They note that postulating non-movement A-chains terminating in a pronoun removes asymmetry from the system, in which A’-chains terminating in a pronoun are regularly found in resumptive pronoun constructions.⁷⁹ They observe that A-chains terminating in a pronoun can also be found in raising structures, such as (153) below:

⁷⁸ McCloskey and Sells assume that this chain is formed at D-structure, as thanks to its formation the PRO subject receives a theta-role from the DP predicate. If the chain is not formed at D-structure, a violation of the Theta Criterion ensues.

⁷⁹ In Irish A’-chains with resumptive pronouns are formed via movement (cf. McCloskey (1990)), whereas in other languages these chains do not result from movement (cf. Engdahl (1985)).

(153)

ní fhéadfadh a hubh san gan bolath an éisc a
 NEG can-COND her egg DEM without smell the fish-GEN PRT
 bheith ann
 be-VN in-it
 ‘that one’s egg couldn’t but smell of fish.’

(McCloskey and Sells (1988:177))

In (153) the A-chain is formed between the DP *a hubh san* ‘one’s egg’ and the pronoun within the PP *ann* ‘in it’.

McCloskey and Sells (1988) observe that all anomalous control constructions are built around the verb *tá* ‘be’ (cf. (141) and (142)). On their analysis, this verb constitutes an exception to Burzio’s (1986) Generalisation, as it assigns Case to the object in non-finite clauses (adjoined to VP, cf. (150)) without assigning a theta-role to the subject.⁸⁰

McCloskey and Sells note that anomalous control structures are restricted to Northern dialects and can never be found in Southern dialects. They argue that this fact supports their analysis. Since in Southern dialects only one overt DP can appear in front of the verbal noun (cf. section 1.4), structures like (146) are never attested in these dialects. The only possible Southern version of (146) is a sentence like (154):

(154)

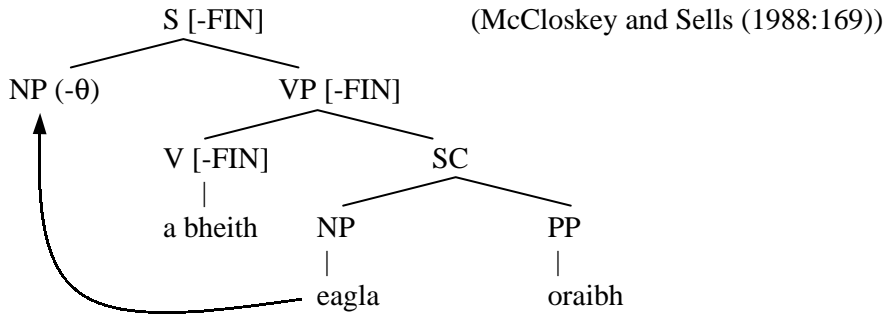
Níor mhaith liom [eagla a bheith oraibh].
 COP-NEG good with-me fear PRT be-VN on-you
 ‘I wouldn’t like you to be afraid.’ (McCloskey and Sells (1988:169))

For structures like (154) McCloskey and Sells propose two alternative analyses: either *eagla* ‘fear’ moves from within a small clause to the non-thematic subject position, as in (155), or it adjoins to VP, as in (156).

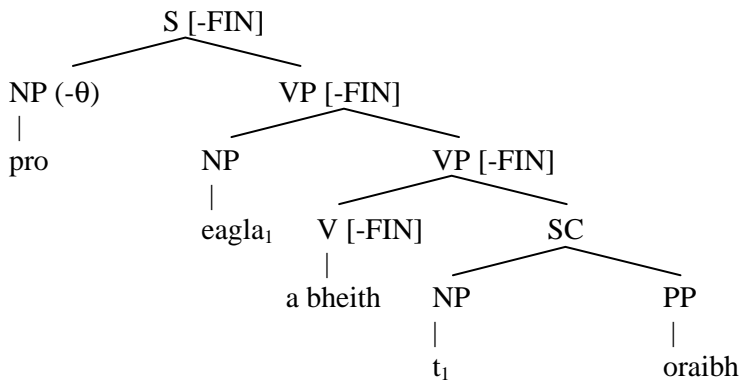
⁸⁰ The fact that the verb *tá* ‘be’ is indispensable for anomalous control to arise is confirmed by the impossibility of this type of control in small clauses without this verb, as in (i) below:

(i)*Ba mhinic [mé eagla orm].
 COP often me fear on-me
 ‘I was often afraid.’

(155)



(156)



The subject position in (156) is filled by a null non-thematic element, called *pro*. McCloskey and Sells admit that they lack evidence in favour of either of the two analyses presented above.

Finally, McCloskey and Sells (1988) observe that postulating PRO within clauses such as (144) and (145) has a welcome consequence, as it makes possible to claim that all types of DP can occur as subjects in anomalous control structures. It has been shown in (146) that overt lexical subjects are possible in this position. The same is true of traces of A- and A'-movement, as can be seen in (157):

(157)

- a. Ní thiocfadh libh₁ [t₁ fear ní b'fhearr a bheith libh₁].
 NEG could with-you man better PRT be-VN with-you
 'You couldn't have a better man along with you.'

(McCloskey and Sells (1988:157))

- b. Cé₁ a ba dóichí [t₁ fhios a bheith aige₁]?
 who PTC COP-COND most-probable knowledge PRT be-VN at-him
 ‘Who would most probably know?’ (McCloskey and Sells (1988:157))

In (157a) the trace of A-movement occupies the subject position in the embedded clause, whereas in (157b) the embedded clause subject position is filled with the trace of A'-movement.⁸¹ Both (157a) and (157b) represent cases of anomalous control.

4.3. Anomalous control – an analysis

The analysis of anomalous control we would like to offer is basically an updated version of McCloskey and Sells' account. One crucial difference between their analysis and the account advanced here lies in the way co-reference is established between the prepositional complement and the embedded subject (either the PRO subject, as in (144) and (145), or the overt one, as in (146)). To recall, McCloskey and Sells link these two positions in terms of a non-movement A-chain. The stand we would like to defend is that these two positions are related by means of movement. Our account is based on Kayne's (2002) idea that co-reference is obtained when two co-referential elements are merged together.⁸² Kayne (2002:135) suggests that sentences like (158a) and (158b) below should be derived from the representations in (159a) and (159b), respectively:

- (158) a. John₁ thinks he₁ is smart.
 b. John tried PRO to solve the problem.
- (159) a. thinks [John he] is smart
 b. tried to [John PRO] solve the problem

In (159a) *John* and the co-referential pronoun are merged as a single constituent and afterwards *John* moves into the theta-position of the matrix verb to yield

⁸¹ Irish possesses a special kind of raising, i.e. the embedded subject can raise to the prepositional complement position, as in (i) below. Such constructions are analysed in detail in McCloskey (1984).

(i) Ní thig le Ciarán₁ [t₁ a bheith i bhfad ar shiúl].
 NEG come with Ciaran PRT be-VN far away
 ‘Ciaran can't be far away.’ (McCloskey (1984:466))

⁸² An account of resumption in the case of A'-movement along similar lines can be found in Boeckx (2003).

(158a). In (159b) *John* forms a constituent with the co-referential PRO and subsequently it moves into the specifier of the matrix verb, where it is assigned a theta role, yielding (158b).

When applied to the anomalous control data in Irish, Kayne's account predicts that in sentences like (144a) and (146), repeated for convenience below, PRO and the overt subject form a constituent with the prepositional complement, as shown in (160a) and (160b).⁸³

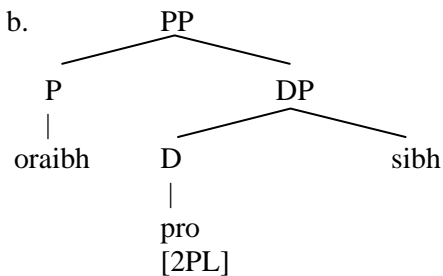
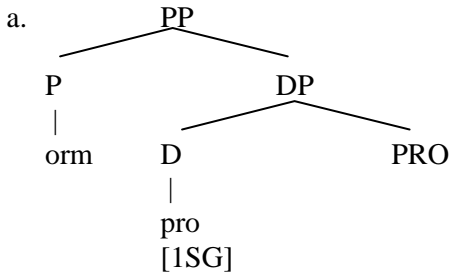
(144)

- a. Níor mhaith liom_i [PRO_i ocras a bheith orm_i].
 COP-NEG good with-me hunger PRT be-VN on-me
 'I wouldn't like to be hungry.'

(146)

- Níor mhaith liom [sibh_i eagla a bheith oraibh_i].
 COP-NEG good with-me you-PL fear PRT be-VN on-you
 'I wouldn't like you to be afraid.' (McCloskey and Sells (1988:156))

(160)



⁸³ The remarks made in relation to (144a) are also valid for (144b) and (145).

The structure in (160a), corresponds to the relevant part of the embedded clause in (144a), while (160b) represents the relevant part of the non-finite clause in (146).⁸⁴ The prepositional complement in (144a) and (146) is *pro*, whose ϕ -features are reflected in the form assumed by the preposition. In (160a) the prepositional complement *pro* is merged with PRO, which guarantees their co-reference, whereas in (160b) *pro* is merged with the pronoun *sibh* 'you-PL', which establishes the co-reference between the two. The representation in (160b) might seem problematic as *pro* and overt pronouns do not normally co-occur in Irish.⁸⁵ However, the representation in (160b) only captures that fact that that *pro* and the pronoun in (146) are co-referential, and is not meant to suggest that they can co-occur within the same projection. Exactly the same situation holds in (159b), where *John* and PRO start off as a single constituent in spite of the fact that PRO and overt subjects do not co-occur in English. In other words, *pro* in (160a) and (160b) functions as a pronominal double, just like the pronoun *he* and PRO in the English examples (158a) and (158b). As for the representation in (160a), PRO is generated as a specifier within a DP complement of a preposition. This is a special position for PRO, which normally originates in [Spec, vP] (cf., for instance, (123)), and is restricted to cases of non-reflexive co-reference, that is, to cases in which PRO determines the reference of the pronominal object but its own reference is determined outside the non-finite clause. Not only PRO in (160a) functions as a specifier within a DP but also *sibh* in (160b), from where they move to [Spec, TP] within the embedded clause.⁸⁶ The motivation behind this movement is the necessity to check the EPP-feature of the embedded T or the necessity to check the Case feature of T if Case, not EPP-checking, is taken

⁸⁴ McCloskey and Hale (1984) analyse inflected prepositions like *orm* 'on me' in the following way:

(i)

```

      PP
     /  \
    P    NP
  [3PL]  |
    |    pro
  orm   [3PL]
  
```

⁸⁵ The fact that overt pronouns and *pro* do not co-occur in Irish is confirmed by the ungrammaticality of (i) below:

(i)**oraibh pro sibh*
 on-you-PL 2PL you-PL
 'on you'

⁸⁶ PRO and *sibh* in (160a) and (160b) appear as rightward specifiers, which represents a departure from Kayne (1994).

to be the factor motivating movement (see section 3.3.2). Unlike in Kayne's examples (158), PRO and the DP move to a non-thematic position (cf. Chapter IV, section 4.1.5).

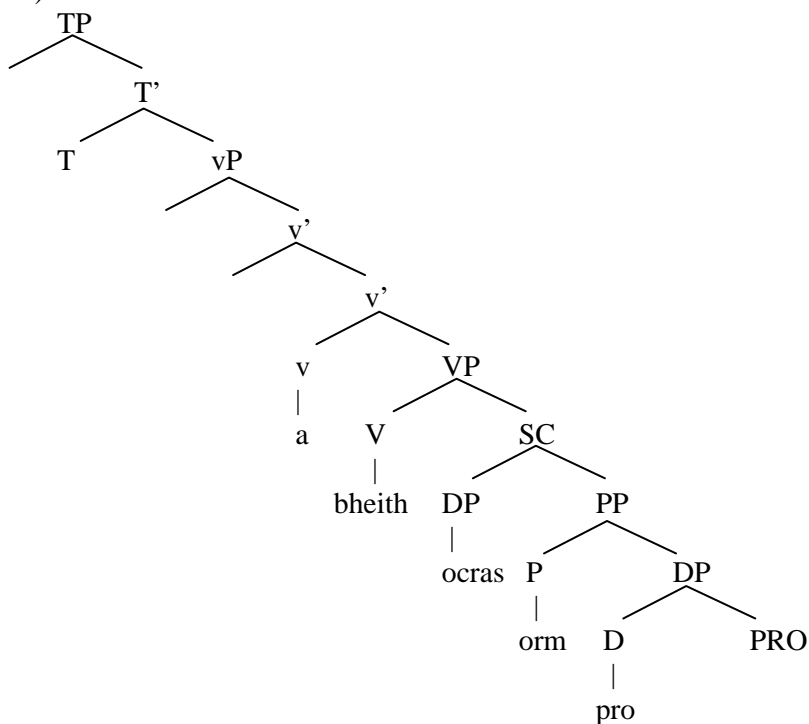
Let us now see how the account of co-reference just presented fits into the overall analysis of anomalous control. The three cases to be considered comprise sentences like (144a), (146) and sentences like (154), repeated for convenience below, where no co-reference holds between the prepositional complement and the matrix subject.

(154)

Níor mhaith liom [eagla a bheith oraibh].
 COP-NEG good with-me fear PRT be-VN on-you
 'I wouldn't like you to be afraid.' (McCloskey and Sells (1988:169))

For sentences like (144a) the derivation proceeds in the way schematised in (161):

(161)



McCloskey and Sells (1988) treat the particle *a* in the complex *a bheith* (and elsewhere, cf. (150) and (156)) as a transitivity marker and conclude that the non-finite verb *a bheith* is exceptionally transitive. The same kind of approach to *a bheith* is adopted in (161), where *a*, being a transitivity marker, is generated in *v*, to which the verb *bheith* moves. The DP *ocras* ‘hunger’ enters Agree with *v*, checking *v*’s ϕ -features and its own Case feature. The EPP-feature of *v* triggers the movement of this DP. In (161) *T* has an EPP-feature as well as a Case feature, so it acts as an active Probe. The only matching Goal for this Probe is PRO. The little *pro* does not count as a Goal for this Probe, as it is a head, not a specifier and hence is unable to move into the [Spec, TP] position. However, the movement of PRO to [Spec, TP] across *ocras* in [Spec, *v*P] violates Shortest Movement.⁸⁷ In order to avoid this problem we would like to suggest that the movement of PRO proceeds in two steps. First PRO moves to the internal [Spec, *v*P] and only after that does PRO move to [Spec, TP]. The DP *ocras* ‘hunger’ cannot move into [Spec, TP], as having checked its Case, it is ‘frozen in place’. The second step in the movement of PRO is now licit, as PRO and *ocras* are specifiers within the same head and hence are equidistant to [Spec, TP].

The first step in the movement of PRO seems to be unmotivated and has been posited only to make the movement of PRO over the DP in [Spec, *v*P] legitimate. However, Kayne argues that the intermediate step of movement is needed also for English sentences like (158a) in order to explain the contrast between (158a) and the following sentences:

(162)

- a. John₁ thinks highly of him_{*1/2}.
- b. John₁ considers him_{*1/2} intelligent. (Kayne (2002:143))

He argues that the intermediate position for the movement of [John he] is available only in (158a), but not in (162), which is responsible for the different status of these sentences when *John* and *he* are co-referential.⁸⁸ The details of Kayne’s proposal are not relevant to the point under consideration and therefore we will not discuss them here. What is important is that an intermediate step in movement is necessary in structures triggering co-reference in English and therefore we might suggest the same for Irish sentences like (144a). A different motivation

⁸⁷ Alternatively, *ocras* ‘hunger’, being a closer inactive Goal, blocks Agree between *T* and PRO.

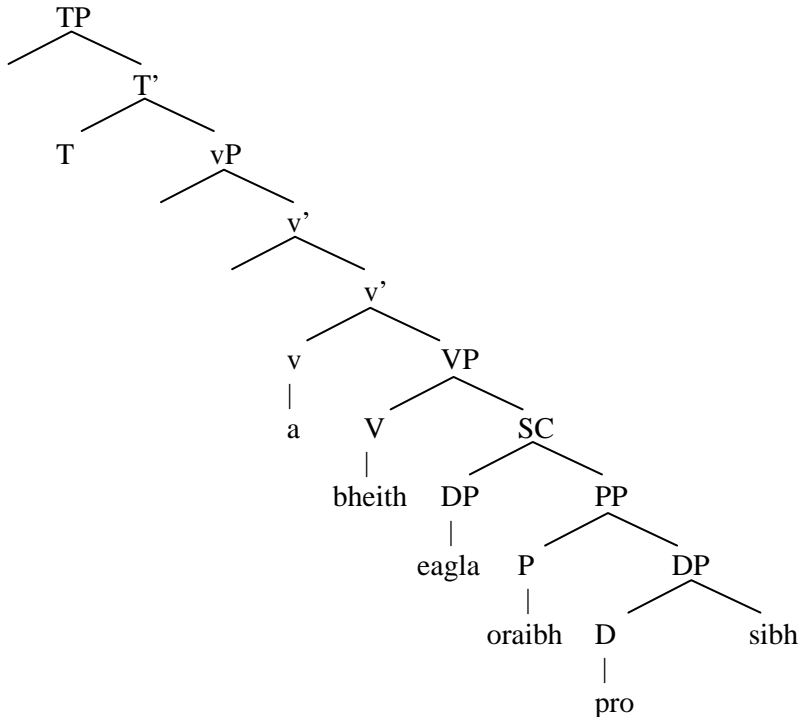
⁸⁸ The whole constituent [John he] moves to an intermediate position and afterwards *John* moves to the matrix subject position.

for first step in the movement of PRO in (161) may be based on cyclicity. Takahashi (1994) suggests that cyclicity does not result from feature checking (as in Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b)), but should rather be understood as a requirement that steps be local (cf. Chapter 1 section 1.0). When applied to A-movement, this conception of cyclicity predicts that a moved category must move through every intervening A-position. If one follows Takahashi's understanding of cyclicity, instead of Chomsky's (2000 2001a, b), one would force the movement of PRO in (161) via [Spec, vP] to satisfy cyclicity.

Whichever factor one takes as motivating the movement of PRO in (161) to [Spec, vP], PRO does not receive any theta role in this position. Consequently, we assume that PRO obtains its theta-role within the PP, just like *pro*, from the predicate *ocras* 'hunger'. Thus, one theta role is split between *pro* and PRO, just like in McCloskey and Sells' account.

The derivation of (146) is analogous to the one provided for (144b) in (161), except that the overt pronoun occupies the specifier position within the DP, a complement of the PP. The structural representation of (146) is presented in (163) below:

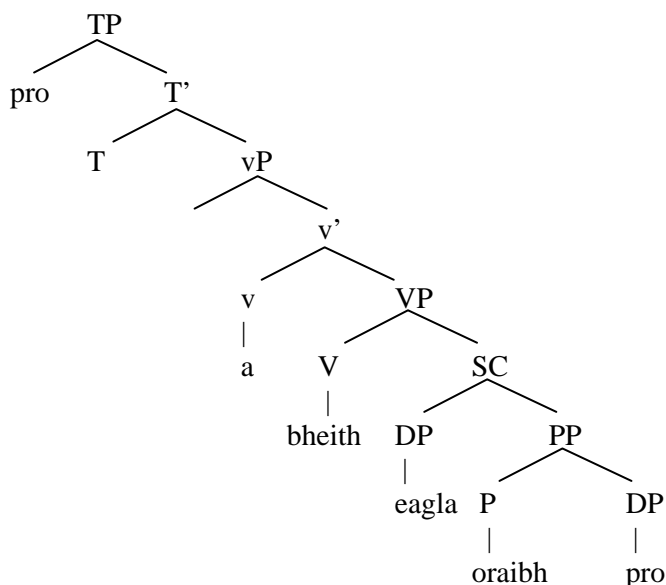
(163)



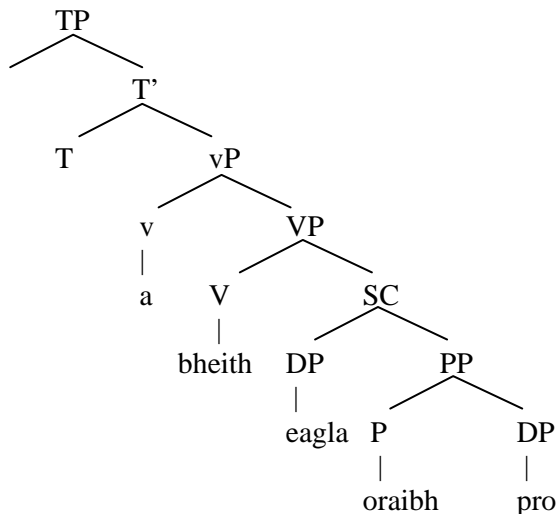
The derivation of (154) is different. In a way analogous to McCloskey and Sells, we would like to put forward two alternative derivations for (154), which are schematised in (164a) and (164b):

(164)

a.



b.



The two representations above differ in that in (164a) the particle *a* is a transitivity marker and hence checks the Case of *eagla* 'fear', which moves to [Spec,

vP] to check *v*'s EPP-feature. In (164b), on the other hand, *a* is no longer a marker of transitivity, so *eagla* 'fear' does not have its Case checked within the vP and therefore remains an active Goal for a higher Probe, i.e. T. The representations in (164) also differ as to how the EPP-feature of T is satisfied. In (164a) it is satisfied by the merger of *pro*, co-referential with *oraibh*, directly into [Spec, TP], whereas in (164b) *eagla* 'fear' enters Agree with T and subsequently moves into [Spec, TP]. Neither in (164a) nor in (164b) is PRO or overt DP merged with *pro* within the PP and hence the prepositional complement in this case does not need to be controlled. Choosing between the representation in (164a) and in (164b) is not an easy matter. A test which might possibly help us to resolve the issue of which representation to choose for sentences like (154) is based on relativisation. Irish shows two distinct relativisation techniques: movement and resumption. If a subject is relativised, no resumptive pronoun can be used, only a gap in the relativisation site (cf. McCloskey (1990, 2002)). However, the use of a resumptive pronoun is optional if the direct object undergoes relativisation. Since there exists a difference regarding the use of the resumptive pronoun in relatives depending on whether the element relativised is a subject or a direct object, this test has a potential of showing whether *eagla* 'fear' in (154) occupies the subject position, as in (164b), or the object position, as predicted by (164a). If we relativise the DP *eagla* 'fear' in (154), we obtain the following two sentences:

(165)

- a. an eagla nár mhaith liom a bheith ort
the fear COP-NEG-REL good with-me PRT be-VN on-you
'the fear that I wouldn't like you to have'
- b. an eagla nár mhaith liom í a bheith ort
the fear COP-NEG-REL good with-me it PRT be-VN on-you
'the fear that I wouldn't like you to have'

(165a) is a relative clause without a resumptive pronoun, whereas (165b) contains a resumptive pronoun in the relativisation site. The possibility of having a resumptive pronoun in sentences like (165) might indicate that *eagla* 'fear' in cases like (154) is a direct object, not a subject. This conclusion, however, is problematic in the light of the data like (166) below:

(166)

- a. an fear nár mhaith liom eagla a bheith air
the man COP-NEG-REL good with-me fear PRT be-VN on-him
'the man that I wouldn't like to be afraid'

- In (166b) the resumptive pronoun appears in the relativisation site in spite of the fact that the relativised element is the subject of the non-finite clause. To account for the presence of the resumptive pronoun in (166b) we may refer to McCloskey (1990:210), who notes that only the highest subject position in the relative clause cannot be filled by the resumptive pronoun.⁸⁹ Since the position filled by the resumptive pronoun in (166b) is that of the embedded, not of the matrix, subject, the use of the resumptive pronoun is to be expected. Relating what we have just said to (165), we may observe that the use of the resumptive pronoun in (165b) tells us nothing about the structural position of *eagla* 'fear'. The DP *eagla* 'fear' in (165) may be used with or without a resumptive pronoun, which follows equally well from it being treated as a direct object, as in (164a), or as a subject, as in (164b). Similarly to McCloskey and Sells (1988), we leave unresolved the issue of which representation in (164) is to be chosen for (154).

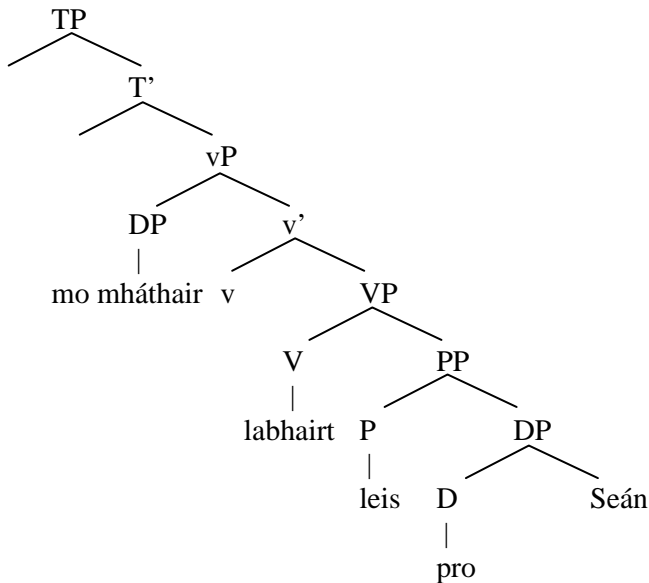
(147)

- The derivation of (147) is schematised in (167):

(i)*an fear [a raibh sé breoite]
the man C was he ill
'the man that (he) was ill'

(ii) an t-ór seo [ar chreid corr-dhuine [go raibh sé ann]] (McCloskey (1990:210))
 the gold this C believed a few people C was it there
 'this gold that a few people believed (it) was there'

(167)



In (167) the escape hatch for the successive cyclic movement of *Seán* 'John' is filled by the external argument of the verb *labhairt* 'speak', namely *mo mháthair* 'my mother'. Consequently, *Seán* would have to move directly into [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP-feature of T. This movement passes over a closer potential active Goal, i.e. *mo mháthair* 'my mother'. Such movement is illicit, as it violates the Minimal Link Condition and leaves *mo mháthair* 'my mother' with the unchecked Case feature. Thus, we have accounted for the notional subject restriction mentioned by McCloskey and Sells in terms of the Minimal Link Condition violation. However, cases like (143a), repeated for convenience below, are not covered by this explanation.

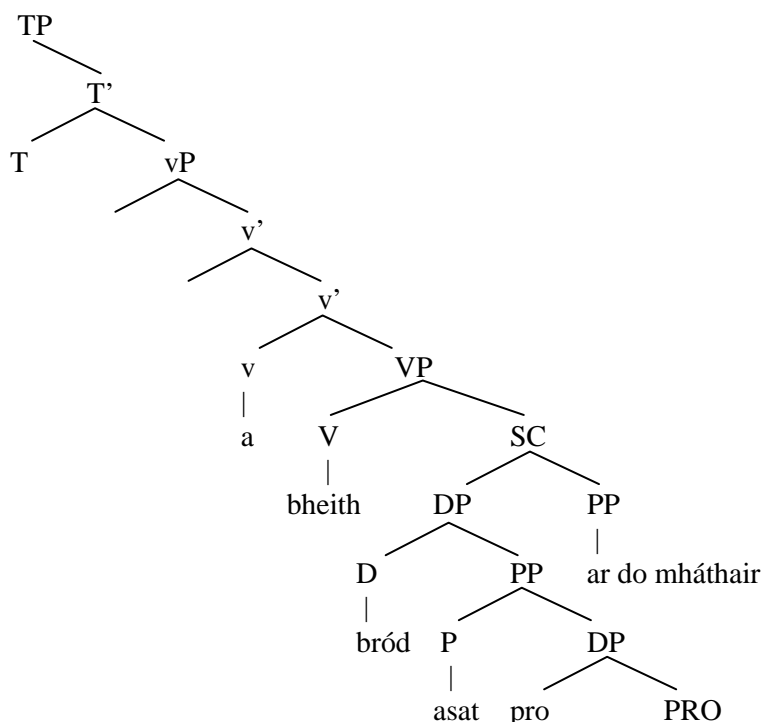
(143)

- a.*Ba chóir duit_i [PRO_i bród a bheith ar do mháthair asat_i].
 COP proper to-you pride PRT be-VN on your mother out-of-you
 '*You should for your mother to be proud of you.'

(McCloskey and Sells (1988:147))

The schematic representation of the embedded clause in (143a) is given in (168):

(168)



In (168) *bród* ‘pride’ has its Case checked by the particle *a* in *v* and moves to [Spec, *v*P]. In order to obtain the co-reference marked in (143a) PRO must be merged within the internal argument of the predicate *bród* ‘pride’ (cf. (152) above).⁹⁰ The movement of PRO from this position to [Spec, TP] (via [Spec, *v*P]) is illicit. The reason why this movement cannot take place is that, under the assumption that DP is a phase, extracting any material from within its complement violates the Phase Impenetrability Condition, which allows movement from the edge of the phase, but not from within its complement.⁹¹ Examples like (169) below, where PRO is moved from within the external argument of the predicate *bród* ‘pride’ are perfectly grammatical.

⁹⁰ The representation in (168) must be affected by a movement operation putting the PP *asat* ‘out of you’ behind *ar do mháthair* ‘on your mother’.

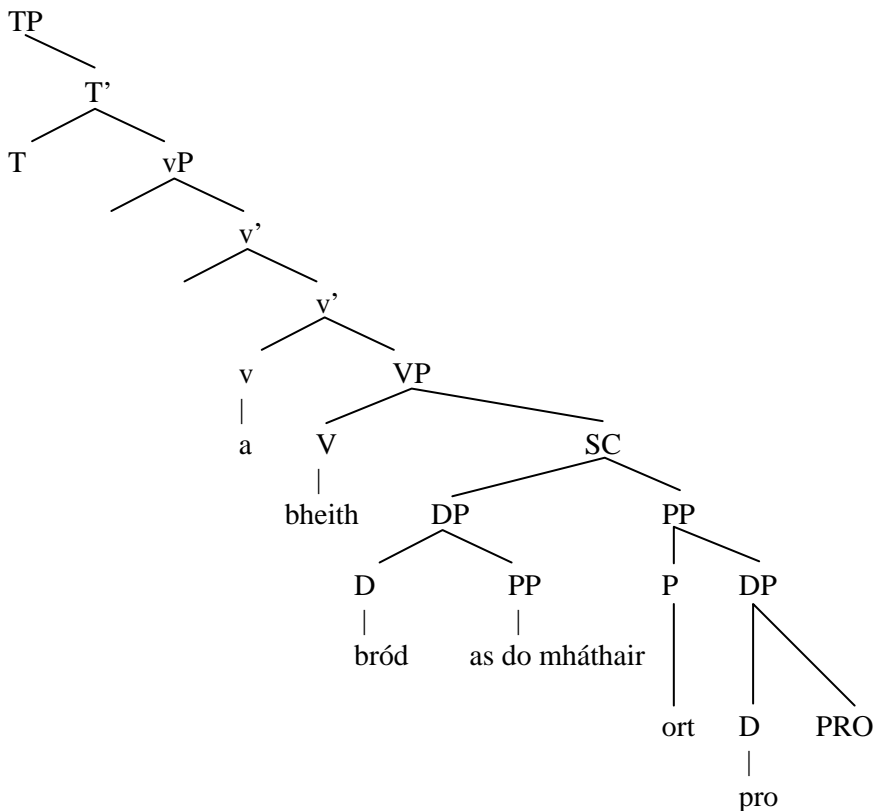
⁹¹ For arguments that DP is a phase see Chomsky (2000, 2001a, b).

(169)

Ba chóir duit₁ [PRO₁ bród a bheith ort₁ as do mháthair].
 COP prefer to-you pride PRT be-VN on-you out-of your mother
 ‘You should be proud of your mother.’ (McCloskey and Sells (1988:146))

The schematic representation of (169) is presented in (170):

(170)

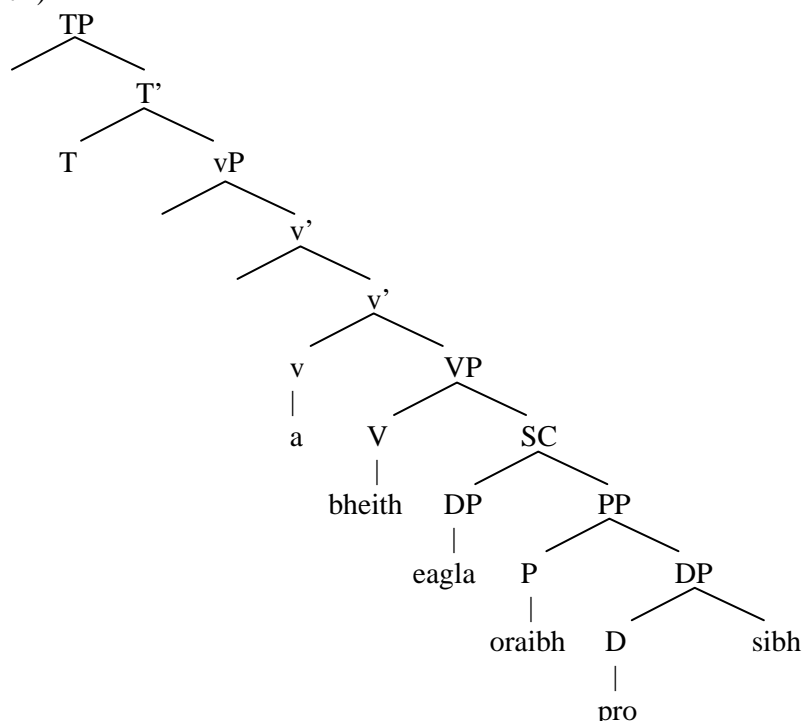


The extraction of PRO from within the PP *ort* ‘on you’ in (170) does not violate the PIC, as PRO appears within the specifier of the DP, hence at the edge of the phase. Consequently, (169) is perfectly grammatical. Thus, it has been shown that the notional subject restriction operative in anomalous control structures can be derived either from the MLC (cf. (143b) and (147)) or from the PIC (cf. 143a)).

McCloskey and Sells (1988) note that anomalous control structures like (146) are possible in Northern dialects only, whereas Southern dialects display only structures such as (144), (145) and (154). How can we account for this dialectal

variation? It has been suggested in section 3.3.2 that the particle *a* in Southern dialects functions either as a transitivity marker or as a non-anaphoric T-Agr (cf. (120)). In order to derive structures like (146), *a* must be a transitivity marker to be able to check the Case of *eagla* ‘fear’. In order to license the overt subject *sibh* ‘you-PL’, *a* must appear in T-Agr. Since *a* cannot occupy these two positions simultaneously, structures like (146) are banned in Southern dialects. The schematic representation of (146) is given in (171):

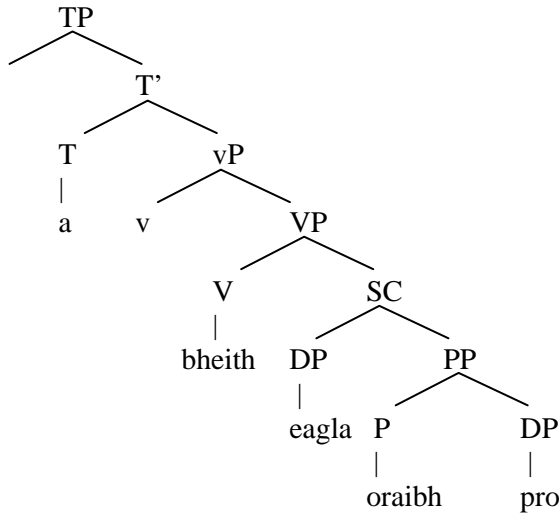
(171)



The Case feature of *sibh* ‘you-PL’ in (171) cannot be checked as the appropriate licenser, i.e. the particle *a*, is missing in T-Agr. In Northern dialects such structures are perfectly licit, as *a* in these dialects is only a transitivity marker, not the realization of non-anaphoric T-Agr.

The derivation of sentences like (144) and (145) in Southern dialects proceeds in the same way as in Northern ones (cf. (161)). Sentences like (154) are derived as in (164a), if *a* is a transitivity marker, or as in (172) below if *a* is in T.

(172)



In (172) the DP *eagla* moves to [Spec, TP], where it has its Nominative Case checked by the particle *a*, which lexicalises non-anaphoric Agr in T.

The final issue to be considered is why the verb *bheith* 'be' is indispensable in anomalous control. In a way analogous to McCloskey and Sells (1988), we ascribe a special status to this verb. For one thing, it is regarded as transitive since, like transitive verbs, it is preceded by the particle *a*. But, unlike other transitive verbs, it does not assign a theta role to its subject. Thus, it is exceptional as regards Burzio's Generalisation (cf. section 4.2). It seems that the availability of anomalous control is dependent on the presence of an empty non-thematic subject position within the vP, which serves as an escape hatch for A-movement from within a PP (cf. (161) above). Transitive verbs normally have an overt external argument filling the internal specifier of vP and hence lack such an escape hatch, making anomalous control unavailable (cf. (167)).

To sum up, our analysis of anomalous control in Irish shares its basic insight with McCloskey and Sells' account, though it differs in the mechanisms it employs. After McCloskey and Sells we assume that anomalous control is not so anomalous, as in fact the co-reference between the matrix subject and the prepositional complement is mediated by either an overt element or covert PRO in the embedded subject position. The overt element or PRO reach the embedded subject position from within the PP predicate of a small clause, where they form a constituent with the co-referential pronoun and get a split theta-role. From within the PP they move via the internal [Spec, vP] to [Spec, TP] to satisfy the EPP-

feature of T. It has been argued that the notional subject restriction operating in anomalous control can be derived from the MLC or the PIC.

5.0. Non-obligatory control in Irish

This section focuses on two issues relating to NOC in Irish, namely the licensing of NOC PRO in Super-Equi constructions, and the treatment of NOC PRO as either an empty pronoun or a logophor. Both these questions are addressed in sections 5.1 and 5.2, respectively.

5.1. Super-Equi constructions in Irish

Irish Super-Equi constructions behave in a similar manner to their equivalents in Polish, but are distinct from their English counterparts, in that they always trigger NOC, regardless of the type of predicate they contain, as can be seen in (173) below:

(173)

- a. Creideann Máire₁ go bhfuil sé pianmhar do Sheán₂ [PRO_{1/arb} é₂ a
believes Mary C is it painful to John him PRT
cheartú go poiblí].
correct-VN in public
'Mary believes that it is painful for John to be corrected in public.'
- b. Creideann Máire₁ go bhfuil sé díobhálach do Sheán₂ [PRO_{1/arb} é₂ a
believes Mary C is it harmful to John him PRT
mholadh].
praise-VN
'Mary believes that it is harmful for John to be praised.'

Although sentence (173a) contains a psych predicate *pianmhar* 'painful' and sentence (173b) displays a non-psych one, i.e. *díobhálach* 'harmful', they both allow either PRO controlled by the more distant controller, i.e. *Máire* 'Mary', or an arbitrary one.⁹² In other words, in both (173a) and (173b) PRO is non-obligatorily controlled.

⁹² In (173a) and (173b) *Seán* 'John' can control PRO only if the pronoun within the bracketed clause is disjoint in reference from *Seán* 'John'.

Furthermore, Irish, in contradistinction to English and Polish, disallows intraposition, as confirmed by the ungrammaticality of the following example:

- (174)
- *Dhéanfadh [PRO*_{1/arb} drochnuacht a insint dó₁] dochar do Sheán₁.
 would-do bad news PRT say-VN to-him harm to John
 ‘Telling him bad news would harm John.’

Example (174) becomes grammatical only if the bracketed clause gets extraposed, as in (175):

- (175)
- Dhéanfadh sé dochar do Sheán₁ [PRO*_{1/arb} drochnuacht a insint
 would-do it harm to John bad news PRT say-VN
 dó₁].
 to-him
 ‘It would harm John to tell him bad news.’

In order to analyse the structures in (173) we can follow Landau (2000) in making the following assumptions (cf. (69)-(71) from Chapter II and (122)-(124) from Chapter IV, repeated for convenience):

- (176)
- Extraposition
 VP-internal clauses must be peripheral at PF.
- (177)
- Chain Interpretation
 Any link in a chain may be the LF-visible chain.
- (178)
- Argument Projection
- a. Experiencer is generated above Causer.
 - b. Causer is generated above Goal/Patient/Theme.

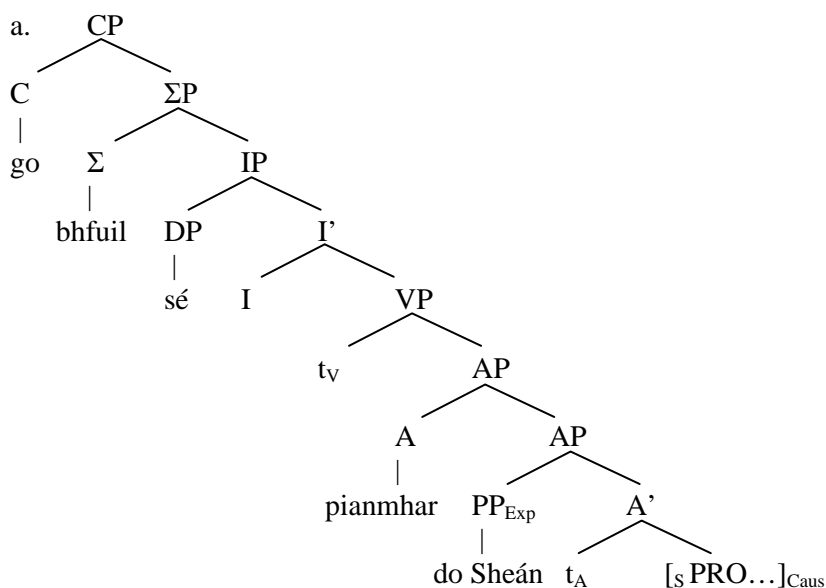
Additionally, we adopt Landau’s (2000) generalisation in (179) (cf. (68) in Chapter II and (118) in Chapter IV):

(179)

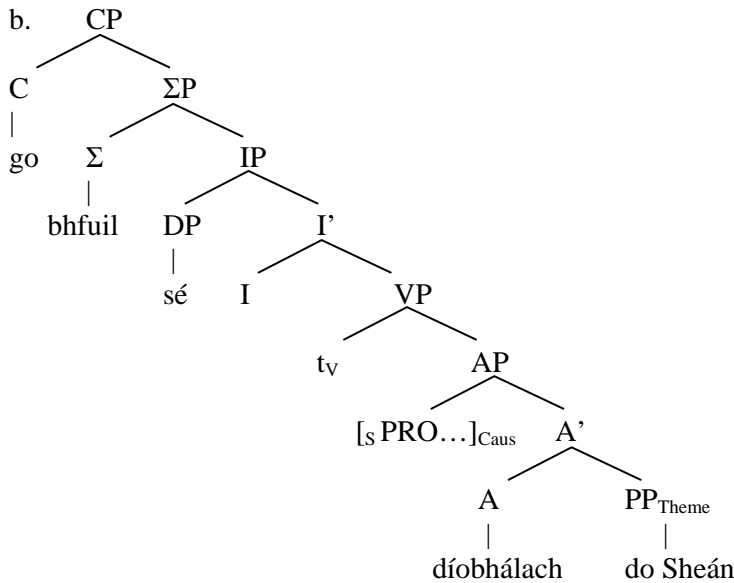
In a configuration [...DP₁...Pred...[_S PRO₁...]...], where DP controls PRO: If at LF, S occupies a complement/specifier position in the VP-shell of Pred, the DP (or its trace) also occupies a complement/specifier position in the VP shell.

When applied to Irish, the assumptions in (176)-(179) allow us to obtain the schematic representations in (180a) and (180b) for the relevant portions of sentences in (173a) and (173b), respectively:⁹³

(180)



⁹³ The representations in (180) are highly simplified. In (180a) the higher AP projection should probably correspond to an AP-shell. The arguments for the existence of ΣP have been presented in section 3.3.2.

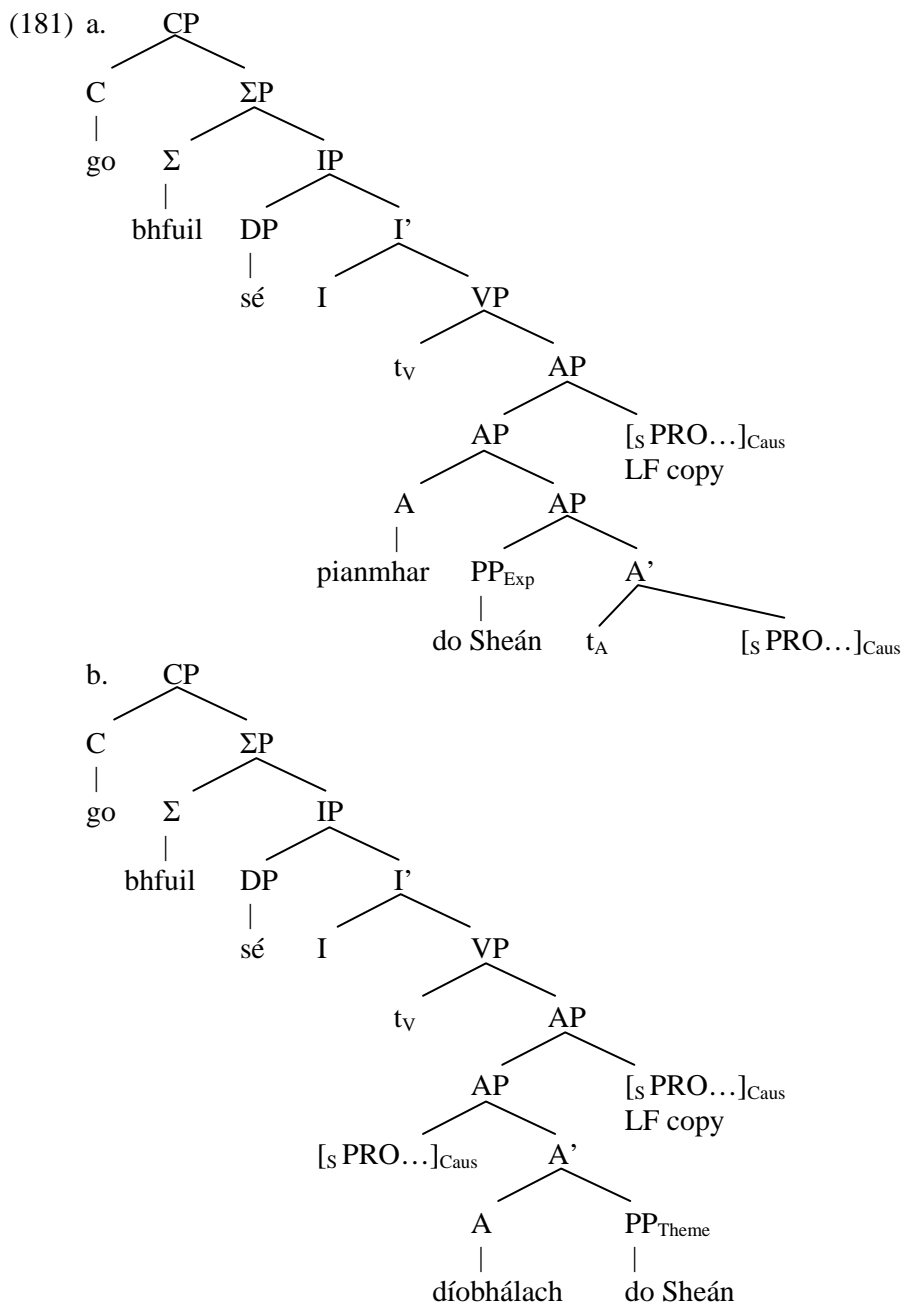


In (180a) the clause is AP-peripheral, while in (180b) it is AP-internal. If one adapts (176) to make it applicable not only to VPs, but also to other predicates, then extraposition will have to apply in (180b), but not in (180a).⁹⁴ If extraposition does not affect (180a), then by (179), adapted to be applicable also to adjectival predicates, we derive OC in (173a), contrary to fact. Just like in Polish, also in Irish we suggest that the clause in (180a) undergoes a string vacuous

⁹⁴ Verbal predicates behave in a way analogous to adjectival predicates, but are subject to dialectal variation. In Northern dialects sentences like (ia) and (ib) below correspond to (173a) and (173b), however, in Southern dialects there is a tendency to use finite clauses under the same circumstances, as evidenced by (iia) and (iib) below.

- (i) a. Chuir sé isteach ar Sheán₁ [PRO_{*1/arb} seanríomhaire a cheannach dó₁].
 put it annoyance on John old computer PRT buy-VN to-him
 'It annoyed John that someone bought him an old computer.'
 b. Chuidigh sé le Sheán₁ [PRO_{*1/arb} ríomhaire nua a cheannach dó₁].
 helped it with John computer new PRT buy-VN to-him
 'It helped John that someone bought him a new computer.'
- (ii) a. Chuir sé isteach ar Sheán₁ [gur ceannaíodh seanríomhaire dó₁].
 put it annoyance on John C buy-PA-IMPERS old computer to-him
 'It annoyed John that someone bought him an old computer.'
 b. Chuidigh sé le Sheán₁ [gur cheannaigh duine éigin ríomhaire nua dó₁].
 helped it with John C bought someone computer new to-him
 'It helped John that someone bought him a new computer.'

extraposition. The representations in (180a) and (180b) after the application of extraposition are presented in (181a) and (181b), respectively.



In (181a) and (181b) the AP-peripheral copies are interpreted at LF and hence, in accordance with (179), NOC arises in cases like (173a) and (173b). Thus, it has been shown that NOC in Irish Super-Equi constructions can be derived in the way suggested for English by Landau (2000) provided that we assume that extraposition is necessary even for clauses peripheral to psych-predicates (cf. (173a)).

As regards extraction out of non-finite clauses, it seems that Irish mimics the behaviour of English, rather than Polish, as it allows *wh*-movement from within complement clauses and never tolerates this kind of movement out of extraposed subject clauses. The following example illustrates this point:

(182)

Cén rud atá tábhachtach do Sheán₁ [PRO_{*arb/1} a thaispeáint dó_{*1/2}]?
 what thing is important for John PRT show-VN to-him
 ‘What is it important for John to show him?’

The sentence above is grammatical only if the DP *John* controls PRO, and the pronoun within the embedded clause is disjoint in reference from it. In other words, the extraction in (182) is possible only if PRO is obligatorily controlled. This, in turn, indicates that the non-finite clause occupies the complement position and therefore is not an island for extraction. However, if the arbitrary reference is imposed on PRO by using the pronoun co-referential with *John* in the non-finite clause in (182), then *wh*-extraction is banned. This indicates that the non-finite clause in this case must be outside the VP and therefore is an island for extraction. Exactly the same extraction patterns can be found if a *wh*-word is extracted out of a non-finite clause following a psych predicate, as demonstrated in (183):

(183)

Cén rud a bheas pianmhar do Sheán₁ [PRO_{*arb/1} a insint
 what thing PRT will-be painful to John PRT tell-VN
 dó_{*1/2}]?
 to-him
 ‘What will it be painful for John to tell him?’

Just like in (182), sentence (183) is grammatical only if PRO is obligatorily controlled by *John*, otherwise the non-finite clause is an island for extraction. This, again, argues for the respective complement vs. extraposed position of the non-finite clause in (183).

To recapitulate, it has been demonstrated that Irish Super-Equi constructions trigger NOC regardless of whether they contain a psych or a non-psych predicate. This has been shown to follow from the fact that Irish non-finite subject clauses are extraposed and hence situated outside VP. Since they occupy a position external to VP, non-finite subject clauses, unlike non-finite complements, function as islands for extraction.

5.2. NOC PRO - pronoun or logophor?

Irish non-finite subject clauses, just like non-finite complement clauses, can host an overt subject, as can be seen in (184):

- (184)
- | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------|-----------|----|--------------|-----|-----|--------|--------------|
| Creideann | Seán | go bhfuil | sé | tábhachtach | [é | a | bheith | sláintiúil]. |
| believes | John | C | is | it important | him | PRT | be-VN | healthy |
| 'John believes that it is important for him to be healthy.' | | | | | | | | |

The extraposed non-finite subject clause in (184) displays the overt subject, i.e. *é* 'him'. However, this fact cannot be taken as an indication that NOC PRO corresponds to an empty pronoun, since OC PRO in Irish can also appear in the same context as pronouns or overt DPs. The only conclusion to be drawn from the data like (184) is that PRO and overt DPs are not in complementary distribution in non-finite subject clauses, just like in other non-finite clauses (cf. section 1.2).

Evidence against treating NOC PRO as a pronoun can be obtained from the following examples:

- (185)
- | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--|---------|--------------------|-----------|----|------------|---------|-------------------|-----|--------|----|------|
| a. | Síleann | cairde | Sheán ₁ | go bhfuil | sé | díobhalach | dóibh | [é ₁ | a | bheith | ag | ól]. |
| | think | friends | John's | C | is | it harmful | to-them | him | PRT | be-VN | | |
| | PRT drink-VN | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | 'John's friends think that it is harmful for them for him to be drinking.' | | | | | | | | | | | |
| b.* | Síleann | cairde | Sheán ₁ | go bhfuil | sé | díobhalach | dóibh | [PRO ₁ | a | bheith | ag | ól]. |
| | think | friends | John's | C | is | it harmful | to-them | | PRT | | | |
| | be-VN PRT drink-VN | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | '*John ₁ 's friends think that it is harmful for them PRO ₁ to be drinking.' | | | | | | | | | | | |

The above examples differ only in that sentence (185a) exhibits an overt pronoun in the subject position of the bracketed non-finite clause, whereas in (185b) the same position is left unexpressed. (185a) is grammatical, while (185b) is not, which indicates that NOC PRO and overt pronouns do not always overlap in their distribution and therefore argues against subsuming the former under the latter.⁹⁵

Another pair of examples supporting the conclusion that NOC PRO cannot correspond to a pronoun in Irish is given in (186) below:

(186)

- a. D'fhág Sheán₁ Máire₂ mar gur phianmhar dó₁ [í₂ a bheith
left John Mary because C painful to-him her PRT be-VN
ag labhairt go dona faoi₁].
PRT speak-VN badly about-him
'John left Mary because it was painful for him for her to speak badly of him.'
- b. *D'fhág Sheán₁ Máire₂ mar gur phianmhar dó₁ [PRO₂ a bheith
left John Mary because C painful to-him PRT be-VN
ag labhairt go dona faoi₁].
PRT speak-VN badly about-him
'*John₁ left Mary₂ because it was painful for him PRO₂ to speak badly of him₁.'

In (186b), PRO cannot refer to *Máire* 'Mary', unlike the overt pronoun in (186a). This strongly argues against treating NOC PRO and pronouns on a par.

Another possibility is to treat NOC PRO as a logophor. In order to test whether this is a viable option for Irish, let us consider the following sentences:

(187)

- a. Dúirt Seán₁ le Máire₂ go mbeadh sé díobhálach [PRO_{2/arb} piollaí go leor
said John to Mary C would-be it harmful tablets a lot
a thabhairt dó₁].
PRT give-VN to-him
'John₁ said to Mary₂ that it would be harmful to give him₁ a lot of tablets.'

⁹⁵ Sentence (185b) is grammatical if PRO is controlled by the matrix subject, i.e. *John's friends*. Then this sentence is an instance of OC, not of NOC.

- b. Dúirt Seán₁ faoi Máire₂ go mbeadh sé díobhálach [PRO_{*2/arb} piollaí
said John about Mary C would-be it harmful tablets
go leor a thabhairt dó₁].
a lot PRT give-VN to-him
‘*John₁ said about Mary₂ that it would be harmful PRO₂ to give him₁ a lot
of tablets.’

Sentence (187a) is grammatical if PRO is either controlled by *Mary* or is arbitrary, whereas in example (187b) *Mary* cannot act as a controller for PRO and hence PRO can only be arbitrary. The grammaticality contrast illustrated in the above sentences can be explained in the following way: in (187a) *Mary* is the centre of communication and hence can control PRO, while in (187b) *Mary* ceases to have this function and consequently, can no longer control PRO. Since the account of the control facts illustrated in (187a) and (187b) is based on such notions as centre of communication, it seems justified to claim that NOC PRO in Irish shows logophoric properties.

To sum up, it has been argued that NOC PRO, though often found in contexts typical of pronouns, should not be regarded as an empty pronoun, as the overlap in their distribution is not complete. It has been suggested that it might be justified in some cases to treat NOC PRO as a logophor.

6.0. Interpretation of PRO

The major issue addressed in this section is whether it is possible to derive the interpretation of PRO in Irish from the MDP. It has been argued in Chapter II, section 3.4 and in Chapter IV, section 4.3 that the MDP cannot underlie the interpretation of PRO either in English or in Polish. Let us check whether the same conclusion is valid for the Irish PRO.

First of all, the predicate *geall* ‘promise’ does not comply with the MDP, as it triggers subject control in spite of the fact that its object is a closer DP c-commanding PRO. This is illustrated in (188) (example (105), repeated for convenience):

- (188)
Gheall Seán₁ dá mhac₂ [PRO₁ amhrán a cheol].
promised John his son song PRT sing
‘John promised his son to sing a song.’

Moreover, there exist sentences such as (189) (example (48a), repeated for convenience), where the split antecedent controls PRO, a fact that cannot be in any straightforward way derived from the MDP.

(189)

Chuir Seán₁ ina luí ar Mháire₂ [PRO₁₊₂ a chéile a ní].
 put John in-the pressure on Mary each other PRT wash-VN
 'John persuaded Mary to wash each other.'

In (189) both Seán 'John' and Máire 'Mary' control PRO, a fact not predicted by the MDP.

Secondly, there exist predicates such as *mol* 'recommend/suggest', which require either subject or object control depending on the context. This is illustrated in (190).

(190)

- a. Mhol Seán₁ do Mháire₂ [PRO_{1/2} fion a cheannach dá páirtí].
 suggested John to Mary wine PRT buy-VN for-her party
 'John suggested to Mary buying wine for her party.'
- b. Mhol Seán₁ do Mháire₂ [PRO₂ an leanbh a bhréagadh
 suggested John to Mary the child PRT soothe-VN
 nuair a bheadh sé ag obair].
 when PRT was he PRT work-VN
 'John suggested to Mary soothing the child while he was working.'

In (190a) either the subject or the object can control PRO, while in (190b) only the object serves as the controller of PRO. Sentence (191) below illustrates a similar case:

(191)

Bhagair Seán₁ ar Mháire₂ [PRO_{1/2} imeacht go luath].
 signalled John to Mary leave-VN soon
 'John signalled to Mary to leave soon.'

In the above example either the subject or the object may control PRO. This result is totally unexpected if one relies on the MDP for deriving the interpretation of PRO.

However, the phenomenon of control shift illustrated in (190a) and (191) seems to be more restricted in Irish than in English.⁹⁶ This is exemplified in (192):

(192)

- a. Grandmother₁ promised the children₂ [PRO₂ to stay up late].
- b. Gheall an tseanmháthair₁ do na leanaí₂ [PRO_{1/*2} fanúint ina
promised the grandmother to the children stay-VN in-the
suí go déanach].
sitting late
'Grandmother promised the children to stay up late.'

A typical subject control verb *promise*, when used in (193a), allows object control, whereas in the corresponding Irish sentence only subject control is possible.

Since neither control shift nor split control can be derived by appealing to the MDP, we conclude that the interpretation of PRO in Irish, just like in English and Polish, should rather be left to semantics/pragmatics.

7.0. Summary

The chapter has focussed on the examination of various control patterns attested in Irish, as well as on their analysis within the most recent version of the MP. The investigation of Irish non-finite clauses undertaken in section 1 has shown that the only non-finite form attested in the language, traditionally called the verbal noun, cannot act simultaneously as a verb and noun, but behaves as either a noun or as a verb depending on the syntactic context. The striking property of Irish non-finite clauses is the lack of complementarity between PRO and lexical subjects. It has been noted that the latter are not licensed either via raising or ECM. Unlike in English, the occurrence of lexical subjects in Irish non-finite clauses is not dependent on the presence of an overt C. It has been observed that Southern and Northern dialects differ as regards word order, case marking, and

⁹⁶ Typical object control verbs which allow control shift when the embedded clause contains *to be allowed to* as in (i) do not exhibit control shift in Irish, as shown in (ii):

(i) John₁ asked Mary₂ [PRO₁ to be allowed to leave].

(ii) D'iarr Seán₁ cead ar Mháire₂ [PRO₁ fágáil go luath].
asked John permission on Mary leave-VN early
'John asked Mary to be allowed to leave early.'

In (ii) the closest c-commanding DP is the subject, which also controls PRO, hence the interpretation of (ii) follows directly from the MDP.

particle placement. The most easily noticeable dialectal difference relates to the fact that Northern dialects allow both overt subjects and objects in front of the verbal noun, while Southern dialects allow only one overt element, either a subject or object, in the same context.

The typology of control has been scrutinised in section 2. It has been argued that Irish OC and NOC show the same properties as the corresponding structures in English and Polish. Likewise, EC and PC are constrained in Irish in the same way as in the other two languages.

An analysis of various control types has been undertaken in section 3. First of all, an attempt has been made to account for the lack of complementarity between PRO and overt subjects. It has been argued that Irish non-finite clauses can have two types of Agr located in T, namely anaphoric T-Agr and non-anaphoric T-Agr, which are responsible for checking null Case on PRO and nominative Case on the lexical subject, respectively. Secondly, it has been demonstrated that EC can be analysed as resulting from the successive application of Agree operations, as argued for English by Landau (2000). It has been pointed out, however, that Landau's analysis of PC based on T-to-C movement is untenable for Irish, a language lacking T-to-C movement entirely. Alternatively, an account of PC has been offered based on the presence of Agr in C, which can therefore be targeted by Agree from the matrix clause.

As regards dialectal differences, they have been derived from the assumption that the particle *a* in Northern dialects is always a transitivity marker occupying the *v* position, whereas in Southern dialects the particle can act either as a transitivity marker in *v*, or as an overt realisation of non-anaphoric T-Agr. The possibility of having *a* in these two positions in Southern dialects accounts for what has been referred to in the literature as competition between overt subjects and objects for the same Case position. Additionally, it has been argued that subject and object movement in Northern dialects may be motivated by the necessity to check the EPP-feature of T or *v*, while in Southern dialects overt movement is not motivated in the same way, but rather follows from the necessity to check Case.

An unusual control pattern, in which the prepositional complement is co-referential with the matrix subject, called anomalous control, has been scrutinised in section 4. The analysis offered there has been based on McCloskey and Sells' (1988) insight that control in such cases is mediated by the empty subject PRO, which is controlled by the matrix subject, and the prepositional complement is co-referential with the controlled PRO. The co-reference between PRO and the prepositional complement has been argued to result from the fact that the two together form a constituent and only afterwards does PRO move to the [Spec, TP] position of the non-finite clause. It has been demonstrated that the

special properties of this construction can be derived either from the PIC or the MLC. The absence of anomalous control in Southern dialects has been shown to naturally follow from the suggestion concerning the position of the particle *a* made in section 3.

The major emphasis of section 5 has been NOC in Irish. It has been argued that Irish NOC cannot correspond to an empty pronoun, but rather represents a logophor.

Finally, in section 6 it has been argued that the interpretation of PRO in Irish, just like in English and Polish, cannot be successfully determined by the MDP, and should rather be determined by semantic and pragmatic factors.