

Inflection and Silent Arguments in Irish

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THE CONTEXTS OF AGREEMENT

1. Agreement between a finite verb and a null pronominal subject (1)
2. Agreement between a preposition and its null pronominal object (2)
3. Agreement between a determiner and its null pronominal possessor (3)
4. Agreement between a nonfinite verb and its null pronominal object (4)
5. Agreement between a verb in progressive aspect and its null pronominal object (5)

SUBJECT VERB AGREEMENT

- (1) Labhradar leis na comhairleoirí.
spoke[P3] with the advisors
'They spoke with the advisors.'

PREPOSITION OBJECT AGREEMENT

- (2) Labhair mo mháthair leofa.
spoke my mother with[P3]
'My mother spoke with them.'

POSSESSOR AGREEMENT

- (3) Ár n-arán laethúil.
[P1] bread daily
'Our daily bread.'

OBJECT AGREEMENT IN NONFINITE CLAUSES

- (4) I ndiaidh na péas m' fheiceáil.
after the police [S1] see[-FIN]
'after the police saw me'

OBJECT AGREEMENT IN PROGRESSIVE ASPECT

- (5) Bhí siad mo mholadh.
were they [S1] praise[-FIN]
'They were praising me.'

McCloskey & Hale (1984), McCloskey (1986b, 1991b), Andrews (1990), Legate (1999), Doyle (2002), Ackema & Neeleman (2003)

COMMON PROPERTIES ONE: NO AGREEMENT WITH AN OVERT DP

- (6) a. *Labhradar na daoine.
speak [PAST] [P3] the people
'The people spoke.'
- b. *leofa na daoine
with[P3] the people
'with the people'
- c. *a n-arán laethúil na ndaoine
[P3] bread daily the people
'the people's daily bread'
- d. Níor mhaith liom na péas na daoine a bhfeiceáil.
I-wouldn't-like the police the people [P3] see [-FIN]
'I wouldn't like the police to see the people.'

COMMON PROPERTIES TWO: COMPLEMENTARITY

- (7) a. *Labhradar siad
speak [PAST] [P3] they
'they spoke'
- b. leofa iad
with[P3] them
'with them'
- c. a n-arán laethúil (s)iad
[P3] bread daily they/them
'their daily bread'
- d. Níor mhaith liom iad na daoine a bhfeiceáil.
I-wouldn't-like them the people [P3] see[-FIN]
'I wouldn't like them to see the people.'

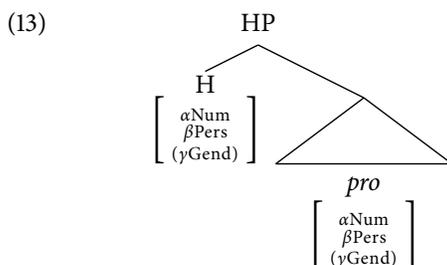
When agreement is impossible an invariant non-agreeing form surfaces—the ANALYTIC form ((9)–(12)).

- (8) Cuirim PRO mo hata ar an bhord.
put [PRES] [S1] my hat on the table
'I put my hat on the table.'

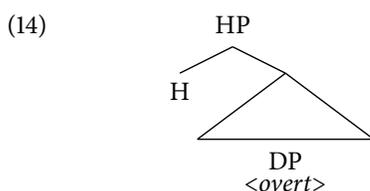
ANALYTIC FORMS

- (9) Cuireann tú do hata ar an bhord.
put [PRES] you your hat on the table
'You put your hat on the table.'
- (10) Cuireann na feirmeoirí a gcuid hataí ar an bhord.
put [PRES] the farmers their share hats on the table
'The farmers put their hats on the table.'
- (11) Is mé a chuireann _ mo hata ar an bhord.
COP[PRES] me c put[PRES] my hat on the table
'It's me that puts my hat on the table.'
- (12) Méadaíonn ar luas na gaoithe.
increase[PRES] on speed the[GEN] wind[GEN]
'The speed of the wind increases.'

THE COMMON SYNTAX OF AGREEMENT



- (i) H = T, D, P, or ν
- (ii) PRO is the most prominent DP in the domain of H
- (iii) H is the SYNTHETIC form—specified for number, person, and (in the case of P, D, and ν) gender



H is the *analytic* ('bare') form

- (i) in the case of T: a bare tensed verb
- (ii) in the case of P: the citation form of the preposition
- (iii) in the case of D: the null article which licenses genitive case in its domain
- (iv) in the case of ν : the transitive nonfinite particle *a*
- (v) in the case of the progressive: the progressive particle *ag* (presumably the head of an aspectual projection)

DETECTING THE PRESENCE OF THE SILENT ELEMENT

- (15) ^H_[agr] ... SILENCE ...

HEADING RELATIVE CLAUSES

- (16) Bhíomar-na a bhí le pósadh ar an dtaobh amuigh.
 be[PAST] [P1] [CONTR]} c be[PAST] to-be-married on the side outside
 ‘We who were to be married were on the outside.’

CONJUNCTION AND DISJUNCTION

The locus of agreement may be coordinated with an audible DP:

- (17) a. d’ fhanas -sa agus Mícheál i dteannta a chéile
 [PAST] wait[PAST] [S1] [CONTR]} and in company each other
 ‘Mícheál and I remained in each other’s company (together)’ (P 171)
- b. chun go n-aithneoinn féin agus X a chéile
 so-that c recognize [COND] [S1] [REFL] and each other.
 ‘so that X and I would recognize each other’ (BM 71)
- c. ní dócha go bhfeicfeadsa ná mo chlann an lá
 NEG likely c see[COND] [S1] [CONTR]} or my family the day
 ‘It’s not likely that I or my family would see the day’ (MBS 149)
- d. dá rachainn-se nó tusa an bealach
 if go[COND] [S1] -[CONTR]} or you the way
 ‘if you or I were to pass that way’ (MCL 214)
- (18) a. air féin agus a cheal misnigh
 on [MS3] [REFL] and his lack courage[GEN]
 ‘on him and his lack of courage’ (UIMH 165)
- b. aige féin agus an clibistín
 at[MS3] [REFL] and the little-horse
 ‘at him and the little horse’ (CR 62)
- c. roimhe féin agus a chuid fear
 before [MS3] [REFL] and his portion men[GEN]
 ‘before him and his men’ (CR 8)
- d. eatortha agus eisean.
 between[P3] and him
 ‘between him and then’
- (19) a. mo ghabháltas féin agus mo mháthar
 [S1] holding [REFL] and my mother [GEN]
 ‘my own and my mother’s holding’
- b. mo chomhluadar féin agus J.B.
 [S1] company [REFL] and
 ‘my and J.B.’s company’
- c. i m’ fhochair féin agus Chormaic
 in [S1] company [REFL] and Cormac[GEN]
 ‘in my and Cormac’s company’ (BO 067)

INTERIM CONCLUSION

In the silence associated with agreement morphology (on a range of functional heads) there is a syntactic element (presumably a DP) which is available for routine combinatorial processes such as conjunction, disjunction and heading a relative clause.

We can probe further ...

DETECTING THE PRESENCE OF A NULL PRONOMINAL

RESUMPTIVE PRONOUNS

- (20) a. an t-easpag a chroch na Sasanaigh _
the bishop c hung the English
'the bishop that the English hung'
- b. an t-easpag a-r chroch na Sasanaigh é
the bishop c-[PAST] hung the English him
'the bishop that the English hung'
- (21) a. Daoine a-r ceapadh go rabhadar bocht
people c-[PAST] was-thought c be[PAST] [P3] poor
'people who it was thought were poor' (LAN 141)
- b. péire slipéar a-r chosúil go ndeachadar faoin bhfód ar chorp
pair slippers go-[PAST] likely c go[PAST] [P3] under-the sod on body
'a pair of slippers that looked like they had been buried on a body' (SD 7)

PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

1. emphatic/contrastive suffixes
2. demonstrative suffixes
3. reflexive/logophoric suffixes

S1	-se/-sa
S2	-se/-sa
MS3	-sean
FS3	-se
P1	-na/-ne
P2	-se
P3	-sean/-san

S1	mi+se
S2	tu+sa
MS3	e-sean
FS3	i-se
P1	muid-ne
P2	sibh-se
P3	iad-san

- (22) a. Cuirim-se mo bhata ar an bhord.
put[PRES] [S1] -[CONTR]} my stick on the table
'I put my stick on the table.'
- b. Tabhair domh-sa é.
give[AUT] to-me it
'Give it to me.'
- c. ár dteach-na
[P1] house-[CONTR]}
'our house'

CONCLUSION

Many processes and interactions detect the presence of a pronominal DP in the argument position associated with person-number affixes attached to various functional heads.

APPROACHES

1. the affix on the functional head is an incorporated version of the argument pronoun
2. the affix on the functional head is the exponent of person-number features on the functional head which agree with a silent pronominal (PRO) in the argument position

If the second approach is adopted, we must guarantee CODEPENDENCE. That is:

- A PRO may appear only in the command domain of a head with which it agrees in person, number (and gender in the third person)
- B A head which is specified for features of person, number (and gender) must have PRO in an accessible position within its command domain

THE NOMINAL SYSTEM

BASICS

- (Det) (Cardinal) N (Adj*) (DP_{POSS}) [see (23)]
- Det and the possessor agreement morphology ‘compete’
- a ‘low’ genitive (Duffield, Longobardi)

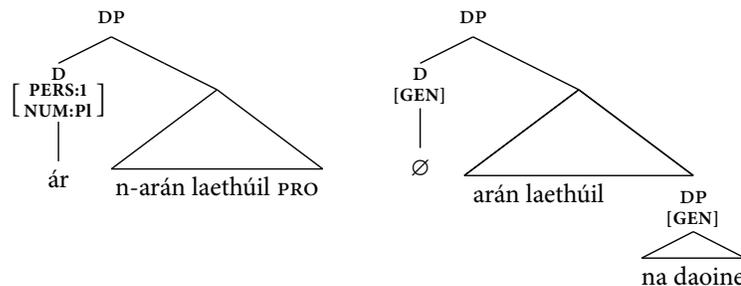
- (23)
- teach beag compórdach mo mhuintir
house little comfortable my people
‘my family’s comfortable little house’
 - seacht ndólás na Maighdine
seven sorrow the[GEN] Virgin[GEN]
‘the seven sorrows of Mary’
 - eagla mhillteanach na ndaoine roimh an Ghorta
fear terrible the[GEN] people[GEN] before the Famine
‘the people’s terrible fear of Famine’

PRONOMINAL POSSESSORS

- (24)
- ár dteach beag compórdach-na
[P1] house little comfortable [CONTR]
‘OUR comfortable little house’
 - a theach beag seo
[MS3] house little DEMON
‘this guy’s little house’
 - ár dtír uilig
[P1] country all
‘the country of all of us’

A BEAUTIFUL CORRESPONDENCE

The position within DP in which overt possessors (in genitive case) appear is exactly the position in which the various particles appear whose presence indicates in turn the presence of a null pronoun.



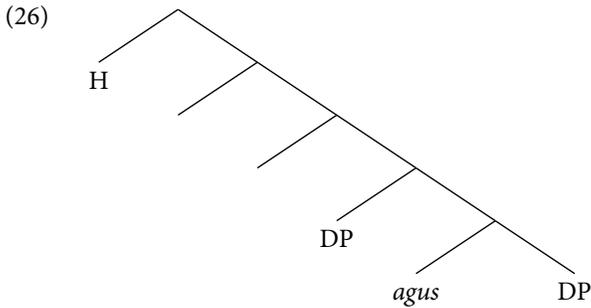
But it follows from that that the pronoun can be arbitrarily far from the morphology which identifies it.

This means that it is rational to pursue the agreement analysis.

LEFT CONJUNCT AGREEMENT

- (25)
- A man and a woman are in the hotel room.
 - There’s a man and a woman in the hotel room.
 - There are a man and a woman in the hotel room.

Morgan (1972) Gazdar & Pullum (1980) Aoun et al. (1994) Munn (1999) Johannessen (1996) Sobin (1997) Benmamoun (1992) Bahloul & Harbert (1992) (Camacho, 2001, esp. Chap 3)



In (26):

- (i) the leftmost DP is more prominent than any other DP within the coordinate structure.
- (ii) no command relation holds between the coordinate node itself and any of the coordinated DP's (because the coordinate node dominates the coordinates DP's)
- (iii) if the locality requirement on Agree is measured by asymmetric c-command, neither the coordinate node nor the leftmost DP is closer to H.
- (iv) Agreement with either should, in principle, be possible.
- (v) The Coordinate Structure Constraint (however it is to be understood) will prohibit movement of the leftmost DP alone.
- (vi) Therefore, if Movement depends on Agreement, raising to the specifier of H will be possible only if the agreement relation is initially established with the coordinate node rather than with one of the coordinate daughters.
- (vii) In Irish, agreement with the coordinate node itself will be impossible, because there is only agreement with *pro*

HOW TO UNDERSTAND CODEPENDENCE?

PRO bears ϕ -features but they are unvalued in the lexicon (that is, there is just one lexical item PRO).

It must therefore enter into an agreement relation before the point at which the structure is submitted to the mechanisms of semantic interpretation. This can happen only if it appears in an accessible position within the command domain of a synthetic head.

The synthetic heads, on the other hand, emerge from the lexicon with their ϕ -features already valued.

The agreement relation cannot be established if both probe and goal are inactive, where we understand inactivity in terms of having values for those features which are relevant for a given interaction (ϕ -features for the purposes of the present discussion). This should guarantee the second clause of the Codependency pattern, as long as we follow the mainline view that uninterpretable features must be eliminated before semantics does it work and (with Chomsky) assume that elimination is parasitic on the AGREE interaction.

How then do we understand the better-studied Null Subject languages, which show a very different array of properties than those documented here? Suggestions invited.

EXTENSIONS

IMPERATIVES

The same considerations indicate the presence of a null 2nd person singular pronoun in the subject-position of imperatives, even though in this case there is no overt agreement morphology on the verb.

- (27) a. Tuig-se an méid seo.
understand-[CONTR] this much
'Understand this much.' DC 52
- b. Cimeád-sa féin é.
keep-[CONTR] [REFL] it
'(You) keep it.' GBR 17
- (28) a. Tabhair-se is do pháopa bóthar éigin eile oraibh.
take-[CONTR] and your pipe road some other on-you
'You and your pipe take some other road.' SM 95
- b. Bí féin agus Fionn ag seilg go maidin.
be [REFL] and hunt [PROG] till morning
'You and Fionn be hunting till morning.' CDC 226

IMPERSONAL INFLECTION

A form of the finite verb known as the *briathar saor* or ‘free (form of the) verb’.

<i>cuir-tear</i>	Present Tense
<i>cuir-eadh</i>	Past Tense
<i>cuir-fear</i>	Future Tense
<i>chuir-fi</i>	Conditional Mood
<i>chuir-tí</i>	Past Habitual

- (29) a. Tógadh suas an corpán ar bharr na haille
raise [PAST-AUT] up the body on top the cliff [GEN]
‘The body was lifted to the top of the cliff’
- b. scaoileadh amach na líonta
release [PAST-AUT] out the nets
‘The nets were let out’
- c. Cuirtear i mboscaí iad
put [PRES-AUT] in boxes them
‘They are put in boxes.’
- (30) a. H-éirigheadh cleachtuighthe le daoine a bheith ag teacht
become [PAST-AUT] accustomed with people be [-FIN] come [PROG]
‘One became accustomed to people coming.’ DCA 81
- b. Do chreidí insna seanscéalta sin go léir fad ó shin
[PAST] believe [PAST-HABIT-AUT] in-the old-stories DEMON all long ago
‘People used to believe in all those old stories long ago.’ CFC 32
- c. hItheadh, hóladh, ceoladh agus ansin chuathas a sheanchas
eat [PAST-AUT] drink [PAST-AUT] sing [PAST-AUT] and then go [PAST-AUT] storytelling [-FIN]
‘There was eating, drinking, singing, and then the storytelling began.’ CCC 116

PRELIMINARIES

Not a passive: (Thurneysen, 1946, §540, p. 349), McCloskey (1979); Stenson (1981, 1989).

1. The internal argument appears in accusative rather than nominative case:

- (31) a. Cuirfear é sa reilg áitiúil.
bury [FUT-AUT] him [ACC] in-the graveyard local
‘He will be buried in the local graveyard.’
- b. *Cuirfear sé sa reilg áitiúil.
bury [FUT-AUT] he [NOM] in-the graveyard local
‘He will be buried in the local graveyard.’

2. If the internal argument is a light pronominal, it may be postposed—an option permitted freely to direct objects but absolutely forbidden to subjects (Stenson (1981, 42–43), Chung & McCloskey (1987), Ó Siadhail (1989, 207–210), Duffield (1995, 66–81), Adger (1997), McCloskey (1999)):

- (32) a. Cuirfear sa reilg áitiúil amárach é.
bury [FUT-AUT] in-the graveyard local tomorrow him [ACC]
‘He will be buried in the local graveyard tomorrow.’
- b. *Cuirfidh é sa reilg áitiúil siad.
bury [FUT] him in-the graveyard local they
‘They will bury him in the local graveyard.’

3. The internal argument may be a resumptive pronoun—again an option permitted to direct objects but forbidden to subjects (see McCloskey, 1990, and references cited there).

- (33) a. fear gur bualadh le camán sa ghlúin é
man C-[PAST] strike [PAST-AUT] with hurley-stick in-the knee him
‘a man that was struck on the knee with a hurley-stick’ SAT 106
- b. *fear gur bhuail sé le camán mé
man C-[PAST] struck he with hurley-stick me
‘a man that (he) struck me with a hurley-stick’

4. Agent phrases are impossible in the modern language, Ó Sé (2006).

So: What is it about this set of inflectional endings which licenses silence where the most prominent of the verb's arguments ought to be?

A STRUCTURAL SUBJECT?

A possibility: the most prominent argument is simply eliminated.

- (34) Buaileadh le cloch é.
strike [PAST-AUT] with stone him
'He was hit with a stone.'
- (35) $\exists e$ [strike (e) \wedge **Theme** (e , pro) \wedge **Instr** (e , stone) \wedge **Past** (e)]

But no. Nancy Stenson (1989, 384–393):

- (36) a. Socraíodh ar ionsaí a dhéanamh orthu.
settle [PAST-AUT] on attack make [-FIN] on-them
'It was agreed to mount an attack on them.'
- b. Glacadh go fonnmhar leis an ainmniúchán.
take [PAST-AUT] eagerly with the nomination
'The nomination was eagerly accepted.'

Anaphor Binding?

- (37) *Gortaíodh é féin
hurt [PAST-AUT] him [REFL]
'People hurt themselves.'
- (38) a. Chonaic muid a chéile.
saw we each-other
'We saw each other.'
- b. Chonaic sibh a chéile.
saw you [PL] each-other
'You saw each other.'
- c. Chonaic siad a chéile.
saw they each-other
'They saw each other.'
- (39) a. chuirte geall len- a chéile
put [PAST-HABIT-AUT] bet with each-other
'People used to place bets with each other.' GSA 25
- b. Tógadh suas an corpán ar bharr na haille ansan le cabhair a chéile
raise [PAST-AUT] up the body on top the cliff [GEN] then with help each-other
'The body was raised to the top of the cliff then with each other's help' FBF 136
- c. Táthar a' strócadh a chéile.
be [PRES-AUT] tear [PROG] each-other
'People are tearing each other apart.' U 168
- d. Théití ag ithe béile le chéile
go [PAST-HABIT-AUT] eat [PROG] meal with each other
'People used to go for a meal with each other.' IA 351

Interim Conclusion: Following Stenson (1989) for Irish and of Anderson (1982) for the corresponding construction in Breton, we take the autonomous inflection to license the appearance of a silent argument with very particular semantic properties—close to those of elements usually called 'arbitrary' or 'impersonal'.

- (40) a. In quel ristorante si mangiava bene
in that restaurant *Arb* eat [PAST-HABIT] well
'People used to eat well in that restaurant.' D'Alessandro & Alexiadou (2003)
- b. Man wäscht die Hände vor dem Essen
Arb wash [PRES] the hands before the meal
'One washes one's hands before meals.' Malamud (2005)

PARALLELS

A standard description of arbitrary subjects: they are used ‘when the intention of the speaker is to remain vague about the exact identity of the subject’ (D’Alessandro (2004) cited in Malamud (2005)).

Christian Brothers (1960, §418, p. 204):

Úsáidtear iad nuair nach mian nó gach gá nó nach féidir an gníomhaí a lua.

[They are used when it is not desirable, not necessary, or not possible to specify the agent.]

- (41) Man redete mit einander
Arb speak [PAST] with each other
 ‘People talked to each other.’ (Kratzer (1997))
- (42) Si era parlato l’uno con l’altro
Arb be [PAST] spoken the-one with the-other
 ‘People talked to each other.’ (Cinque (1988))

QUANTIFICATIONAL VARIABILITY

In the context of habitual aspects, a quasi-universal or gnomic interpretation:

- (43) a. tugtar ‘madadh uisce’ (go minic) ar an dobharchú
 give [PRES-AUT] dog water (often) on the otter
 ‘The otter is often called a water-dog.’
- b. Gaeilge a labhartar anseo.
 Irish c speak [PRES-AUT] here
 ‘It’s Irish that people speak here.’

With an episodic tense or aspect, the quantificational force is usually closer to that of an existential:

- (44) a. léiríodh drámaí leis san Abbey
 produce [PAST-AUT] plays by-him in-the
 ‘Plays of his were produced at the Abbey.’ IA 22
- b. Labhradh go hiongantach, go buadhach, go feargach
 speak [PAST-AUT] wonderfully victoriously angrily
 ‘People spoke wonderfully, victoriously, angrily’ MD 151
- c. Tógadh scoil úr bliain ina dhiaidh sin
 raise [PAST-AUT] school new year after that
 ‘A new school was built a year later.’

A pseudo-specific use.

- (45) a. Nuair a bhímis ag dul thairis siúd arís chaití clocha le ceann an tí
 when c we-were go [PROG] by-this-guy again throw [PAST-HABIT-AUT] stones at roof the house
 ‘When we’d be going by this guy again, stones would be thrown at the roof of the house’ GSA 26
- b. Bhí sé an-deireanach faoin am ar fágadh an Castle agus a ndeachthas abhaile
 was it very-late by-the-time c leave [PAST-AUT] the and c go [PAST-AUT] home
 ‘It was very late by the time people left the Castle and went home.’ IA 384

Anaphoric properties:

- (46) Ieri, si è giocato male e si è perso.
 yesterday *Arb* is played badly and *Arb* is lost
 ‘Yesterday, people played badly and they/people lost.’ (Chierchia (1995, (8b), p. 109))
- (47) **si_j* è detto che loro_j hanno sbagliato
Arb is said that they have erred
 ‘People_j said that they_j were wrong.’ (Chierchia (1995, 109))
- (48) a. do stadadh agus scaoileadh amach na líonta
 [PAST] stop [PAST-AUT] and release [PAST-AUT] out the nets
 ‘One stopped and let out the nets’ LDS 73
- b. *Dúradh go rabhadar bocht.
 say [PAST-AUT] c be-[PAST] -[P3] poor
 ‘People_j said that they_j were poor.’

- (49) Dúradh go rabhthas bocht.
say [PAST-AUT] C be-[PAST-AUT] poor
'People_j said that they_j were poor.'

General conclusion: the properties of the autonomous argument parallel point for point the established properties (interpretive and anaphoric) of arbitrary subject pronouns.

CONTRASTS

- (50) a. níor dóghadh na nótaí
NEG-PAST burn-[PAST-HABIT] the notes
'The notes were not burned. IAE 86
- b. Raiceáladh ar chósta na Síne é tráth
wreck [PAST-AUT] on coast the [GEN] China [GEN] him time
'He was wrecked on the coast of China once.' IAE 105
- c. Nuair a dhearcaimid ar an méid léinn, litríochta, agus ceoil a tháinig as áit chomh beag leis, cuirtear
when c we-look on the quantity learning literature and music c came from place as small as-it put [PRES-AUT]
iontas orainn
wonder on-us
'When we look at the quantity of learning, literature, and music that came from such a small place, we are amazed' PNG 138
- d. tháinig lá millteanach gaoithe móire agus rinneadh smionagair den choláiste adhmaid
come [PAST] day terrible wind [GEN] great [GEN] and make [PAST-AUT] little-pieces of-the college wood [GEN]
'There came a day of terrible storms and the wooden college was smashed to pieces.' PNG 139

Irish emerges as the head-marking counterpart of the dependent-marking pattern found in other European languages, and this trait emerges as but one aspect of a much larger typological pattern.

THE LEXICALLY RESTRICTED CASES

There are lexically restricted uses of the autonomous inflection—cases in which verbs exhibit the form of the autonomous but not its particular interpretation. Rather, the meaning of these structures is unpredictable or idiosyncratic.

- (51) a. Cailleadh dhá bhliain ó shoin é.
lose [PAST-AUT] two year ago him
'He died two years ago.'
- b. Casadh orm aréir é.
turn [PAST-AUT] on-me last-night him
'I met him last night.'
- c. Báitheadh anuraidh é.
drown [PAST-AUT] last-year him
'He drowned last year.'

Verbs denoting psychological states:

- (52) a. Chonaic mé go raibh sé seo iontach contúirteach.
see [PAST] I C be [PAST] he DEMON very dangerous
'I saw that this guy was very dangerous.'
- b. Títheair domh go bhfuil sé seo contúirteach.
see [PRES-AUT] to-me C be [PRES] he DEMON dangerous
'It seems to me that this guy is dangerous.'
- (53) a. ón uisce a samhlaigh mé ba cheart a bheith glan
from-the water C imagine [PAST] I should be [-FIN] clean
'from the water that I imagined ought to be clean'
- b. ón uisce a samhlaíodh dom ba cheart a bheith glan
from-the water C imagine [PAST-AUT] to-me should be [-FIN] clean
'from the water that I imagined ought to be clean' LG 235
- (54) a. Cheap mé go raibh cuma ghruama orthu.
think [PAST] I C be [PAST] look gloomy on-them
'I thought that they looked gloomy.'
- b. ceapadh dom go raibh cuma ghruama orthu
think [PAST-AUT] to-me C be [PAST] look gloomy on-them

'It appeared to me that they looked gloomy.' AT 70

- (55) a. Thuig mé ná raibh an geimhreadh fós ann.
understand [PAST] I C-NEG-PAST be [PAST] the winter yet in-it
'I understood that it wasn't the winter yet.'
- b. tuigeadh dom ná raibh an geimhreadh fós ann
understand [PAST-AUT] to-me C-NEG-PAST be [PAST] the winter yet in-it
'I gathered that it wasn't the winter yet.' AII 112
- (56) a. an t-athrú a mheas siad a bheadh acu
the change c think [PAST] they c be [COND] at-them
'the change that they thought they would have'
- b. an t-athrú a measadh dóibh a bheadh acu
the change c think [PAST-AUT] to-them c be [COND] at-them
'the change that it seemed to them they would have' DII 91

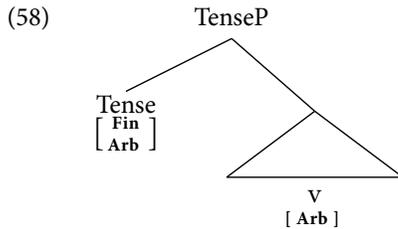
The general pattern: for v a 'psych-predicate':

- (57) a. [v DP CP]
b. [v ^[Nom] [PP do DP] CP]
[Aut]

Two puzzles:

- How to link the special meaning with the appearance of the autonomous inflection.
- In (51)–(56), there are no silent arguments.

A PROPOSAL

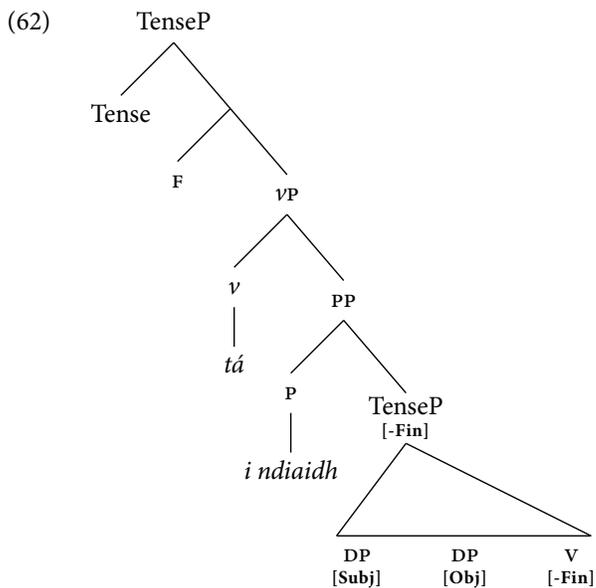
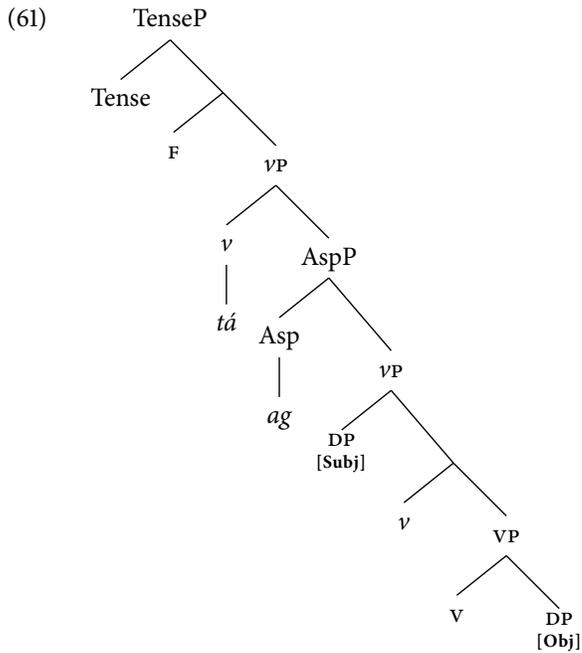


It is the structure of (58) which gives rise to (51)–(56).

The *Arb* feature of Tense must interact with some element in its domain (in order to ensure its own elimination). But it can interact with only one such feature. Once it has entered into an agreement relation with one element or the other, it is checked (valued, as in Chomsky (2001) or as in Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004)) and will be inactive—unavailable for further interaction. Hence, it can have within its domain either arbitrary PRO or one of the special verbs in (51)–(56), but never both. This is the linking that we had hoped to ensure.

TWO PERIPHRASTIC ASPECTS—PROGRESSIVE AND PERFECT

- (59) Tá siad ag tógáil tithe ar an Mhullach Dubh.
be [PRES] they raise [PROG] houses on the
'They're building houses in Mullaghduff.'
- (60) Bhí siad (díreach) i ndiaidh an baile a fhágáil.
be [PAST] they (just) after the home leave [-FIN]
'They had (just) left home.'



The initial interaction is unremarkable:

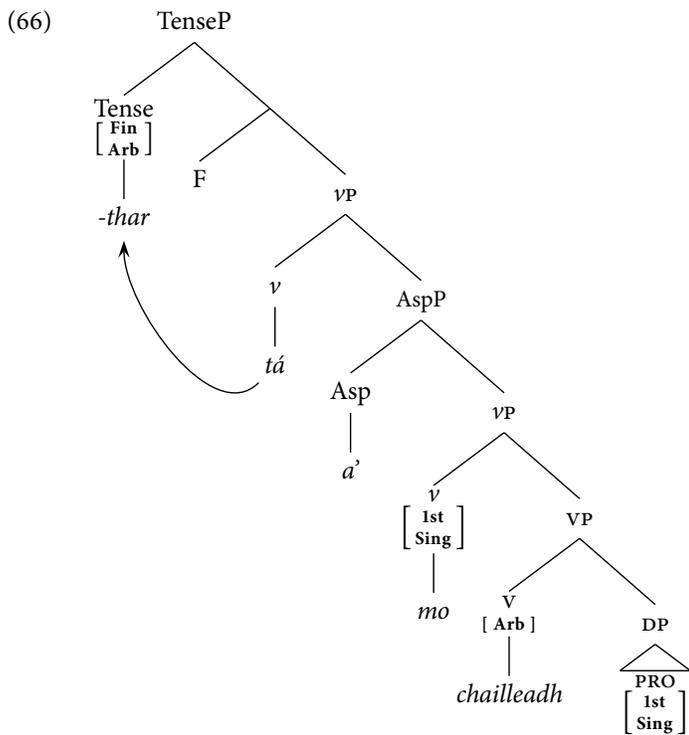
- (63) a. Táthar ag iarraidh airgead a bhailiú.
 be [PRES-AUT] try [PROG] money gather [-FIN]
 ‘There is an attempt to raise money.’
 b. Bhíothas i ndiaidh airgead a bhailiú.
 be [PAST-AUT] after money gather [-FIN]
 ‘Money had been raised.’

More interesting: periphrastic aspects with the idiomatic verbs of (51)–(56).

- (64) a. táthar a’ mo chailleadh
 be [PRES-AUT] [PROG] –[SI] lose [-FIN]
 ‘I’m dying.’ UMI 23
 b. Bhíothas i ndiaidh an bheirt bhan a chastáil ar a chéile.
 be [PAST-AUT] after the two women turn [-FIN] on each other
 ‘The two women had just met (each other).’ DCA 204
 c. nach rabhthas ag casachtáil aon duine de na buachaillí óga air
 NEG C be [PAST-AUT] turn [PROG] any person of the boys young on-him
 ‘that he wasn’t meeting any of the young boys’ PMB 205

- d. na créatúir a bhíthear a bháitheadh
 the creatures C be [PAST-AUT] drown [PROG]
 'the creatures who were drowning' CDC 49
- (65) a. toisigheadh a thaidhbhsiughadh rudaí mar sin domh-sa
 begin [PAST-AUT] seem [-FIN] things like that to-me
 'I began to imagine things like that.' UMI 23
- b. go rabhthas ag samhladh an ama a bhí le theacht díthe
 C be [PAST-AUT] imagine [PROG] the time C be [PAST] to-come to-her
 'that she was imagining the time that was to come' I 120
- c. an rud a bhíthear a shamhailt damh
 the thing C be [PAST-AUT] imagine [PROG] to-me
 'the thing that I was imagining' EMIT 213
- d. bhíthidhe ag taidhbhreamh damh in mo shuan go ...
 be [PAST-HABIT-AUT] seem [PROG] to-me in my sleep C
 'it used to seem to me in my sleep that ...' EMIT 229

See Mac Cana & Ó Baoill (1997), McCloskey (1998).



A notable feature of the examples in (64) and (65) is that the single argument of the unaccusative verb is realized as a direct object (see McCloskey (1998) for more discussion).

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