Clause Structure
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Clausal Complementation
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○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○

Long Distance Dependencies
○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
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Nominal Phrase Structure
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Gaelic - A Language Tutorial[1]

David Adger

LAGB 2009, Edinburgh

(1)   Phòg   Seonag Calum gu   luath an-dè.
        kiss.PAST Seonag Calum PRT quick yesterday
        'Seonag kissed Calum quickly yesterday.'

(2)   Bha   Seonag a'   pògadh Chaluim   gu luath
        be.PAST Seonag SIMP kiss.VN Calum.GEN PRT quick
        an-dè.
        yesterday
        'Seonag was kissing Calum quickly yesterday.'

(3)   'S ann   [a'   pògadh Chaluim] a   bha   Seonag.
        cop in.3MS SIMP kiss.VN Calum.GEN that be.PAST Seonag
        'What Seonag was doing was kissing Calum.'

(4)   S V O $\mapsto$ V S $\langle$V$\rangle$ O

(5) Phòg   Seonag [⟨phòg⟩ Calum].
     kiss.PAST Seonag ⟨kiss⟩ Calum
     'Seonag saw Calum.'

Negation

(6) Cha do phòg   Seonag Calum.
     NEG PAST kiss.PAST Seonag Calum
     'Seonag didn't kiss Calum.'
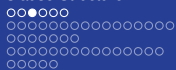
Questions

(7) An do phòg Seonag Calum?
     Q PAST kiss.PAST Seonag Calum
     'Did Seonag kiss Calum?'

(8) Nach do phòg Seonag Calum?
     Q.NEG PAST kiss.PAST Seonag Calum
     'Didn't Seonag kiss Calum?'

Embedding

(9)   Thuirt   Iain gun do   phòg   Seonag Calum.
     say.PAST Iain that PAST kiss.PAST Seonag Calum
     'Iain said that Seonag kissed Calum.'

(10)   Thuirt   Iain nach   do   phòg   Seonag Calum.
     say.PAST Iain that.NEG PAST kiss.PAST Seonag Calum
     'Iain said that Seonag didn't kiss Calum.'

(11)   Dh'fhaighnich Iain an do   phòg Seonag Calum.
     ask.PAST   Iain Q PAST kiss   Seonag Calum
     'Iain asked whether Seonag kissed Calum.'

(12)   Dh'fhaighnich e nach   robh   thu sgìth?
     ask.PAST   he Q.NEG be.PAST you tired
     'He asked if you weren't tired?'

Relatives

(13) An leabhar a   leughas   mi
      The book   REL read.FUT.REL I
      'The book I will read.'

(14) An leabhar nach   leugh   mi
      The book   REL.NEG read.FUT I
      'The book I won't read.'

(15) [$_C$ gun/an/cha/nach/a] [$_{Fin}$ (do) Verb] Subj ⟨Verb⟩ Obj

(16) [$_C$ gun/an/cha/nach/a] [$_{Fin}$Auxiliary] Subj
      [$_{VerbPhrase}$Aspect$_{simp}$ Verb$_{NonFin}$ Obj]]

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○	○○○○	○○○○
●○○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○			○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○			

Arguments in canonical positions

Adverb Positions

(17) Dh'itealaicheadh na bana-bhuidsich gu tric air sguaban
     fly.COND   the witches   often on broomsticks
     'The witches would often fly on broomsticks.'

(18) *Dh'itealaicheadh gu tric/gu slaodach na bana-bhuidsich air
     fly.COND   often/slowly   the witches   on
     sguaban
     broomsticks
     'The witches would often fly on broomsticks.'

However, it is possible to place certain adverbials between the subject and object, such as the temporal adverbial *gu tric*:

(19)   Bhriseadh   na bana-bhuidsich gu tric na sguaban
       break.COND the witches   often the broomsticks
       aca
       at.3P
       'The witches would often break their broomsticks.'

Such adverbials also may appear after the object, and this is their preferred position:

(20)   Bhriseadh   na bana-bhuidsich na sguaban   aca
        break.COND the witches   the broomsticks at.3P
        gu tric
        often
        'The witches would often break their broomsticks.'
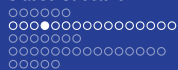
Manner adverbials like *gu slaodach* 'slowly' are impossible:

(21)   *Bhriseadh   na   bana-bhuidsich gu slaodach na
      break.COND the witches   slowly   the
      sguaban   aca
      broomsticks at.3P
      'The witches would slowly break their broomsticks.'

These adverbials are most natural after the object:

(22)   Bhriseadh   na   bana-bhuidsich na sguaban   aca
      break.COND the witches   the broomsticks at.3P
      gu slaodach
      slowly
      'The witches would slowly break their broomsticks.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure

○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○●○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
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○○○○○

Arguments in canonical positions

However, when the object is a weak pronominal, the weak pronominal tends to appear to the right of any adverbial modifier:

(23)   Bhriseadh   na   bana-bhuidsich   gu slaodach   iad
          break.COND   the witches   slowly   them
          'The witches would slowly break them.'

Subject pronominals do not undergo this displacement:

(24)   *Bhriseadh   na   sguaban   aca   gu slaodach   iad
          break.COND   the broomsticks   at.3P   slowly   them
          'They would slowly break their broomsticks.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure

○○○○○○
○○○○○●○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○
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Arguments in canonical positions

Emphatic pronouns also resist this rightwards placement (the verb here is changed to 'kiss' as emphatic pronouns have to be interpreted as referring to humans):

(25)   *Phògadh   na   bana-bhuidsich gu slaodach iadsan
        kiss.COND the witches   slowly   them.EMPH
        'The witches would slowly kiss them.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure

○○○○○○
○○○○○○●○○○○○○○
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Arguments in canonical positions

Clauses headed by auxiliaries are a little different in their structure.

(26)   Bhiodh   gu tric bana-bhuidsich a'   briseadh nan
        be.COND often   witches   SIMP break.VN the
        sguaban   aca   aig an àm sin
        broomsticks at.3P at   the time that
        'There would often be witches breaking their
        broomsticks at that time.'

(27)   Bhiodh   bana-bhuidsich gu tric a'   briseadh nan
        be.COND witches   often SIMP break.VN the
        sguaban   aca
        broomsticks at.3P
        'Witches would often break their broomsticks.'

Clause Structure Clausal Complementation Long Distance Dependencies Nominal Phrase Structure

○○○○○○
○○○○○○○●○○○○○○○
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○○○○○○○○○○○
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Arguments in canonical positions

Not only temporal adverbials can appear in this position.
Manner adverbials are also possible (although they are more
natural after the object):

(28)   Bhiodh   bana-bhuidsich gu slaodach a'   briseadh nan
        be.COND witches   slowly   SIMP break.VN the
        sguaban   aca
        broomsticks at.3P
        'Witches would slowly break their broomsticks.'

However, no adverbial can appear between the verb and the object:

(29)   *Bhiodh   bana-bhuidsich a'   briseadh
         be.COND witches   SIMP break.VN
         gu tric/gu slaodach nan sguaban   aca
         often/slowly   the broomsticks at.3P
         'Witches would often/slowly break their broomsticks.'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○	
○○○○○○○○○●○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○	
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○	
○○○○○			

Arguments in canonical positions

In clauses with a non-finite verb, the operation that allows object weak pronouns to appear at the end of the clause, after modifiers, is impossible in most dialects.

(30) *Bhiodh   bana-bhuidsich a'   briseadh
       be.COND witches   SIMP break.VN
       gu tric/gu slaodach iad
       often/slowly   them
       'Witches would often/slowly break their broomsticks.'

This is because, in most dialects, pronominal objects of non-finite verb forms surface as agreement on the aspectual marker:

(31)   Bhiodh   bana-bhuidsich   gam   briseadh
          be.COND   witches   SIMP.3P break.VN
          gu tric/gu slaodach
          often/slowly
          'Witches would often/slowly break them.'

A type of auxiliary construction we have not yet met, the perfect construction, displays an OV order contrasting with the non-perfect auxiliary construction:

(32)   Tha   Calum air   na   leabhraichean a
        Be.PRES Calum PERF the.DIR.P book.DIR.P   PRT
        reic.
        sell.VN
        'Calum has sold the books.'

(33)   Tha   Calum a'   reic   nan   leabhraichean.
        Be.PRES Calum SIMP sell.VN the.GEN.P book.GEN.P
        'Calum is selling the books.'

(34)   Tha   Calum air   am pògadh -san.
       Be.PRES Calum PERF 3P kiss.VN -EMPH.3P
       'Calum has kissed THEM.'

(35)   PERF PRT VerbalNoun $\emptyset$-EMPH

(36)   Tha   Calum air iadsan   a   phògadh.
       Be.PRES Calum PERF 3PL.EMPH PRT kiss.VN
       'Calum has kissed THEM.'

(37)   *Tha   Calum air   a   phògadh iad.
       Be.PRES Calum PERF PRT kiss.VN   them
       'Calum has kissed them.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure

○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○●○   ○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Arguments in canonical positions
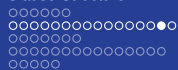
These perfect constructions also allow temporal adverbs to
appear in the position immediately before the aspectual
particle, or after the verb, but not between the perfect particle
and the verb:

(38)   Tha   oileanaich (gu tric) air   *(gu tric) na
        Be.PRES students   (often)   Perf (often)   Det.DIR.P
        leabhraichean sin   *(gu tric) a   reic   gu tric
        book.DIR.P   those (often)   PRT sell.VN (often)
        ann a shin.
        there
        'Students have often sold those books there.'

The perfect construction is paralleled by a prospective construction, which has the general meaning of 'about to':

(39)   Tha   Calum gus na   leabhraichean a reic.
        Be.PRES Calum Pros Det.DIR.P book.DIR.P   prt sell.VN
        'Calum is about to sell the books.'

The syntax of the prospective construction is identical to that of the perfect construction in all the respects just mentioned.

Clause Structure
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Clausal Complementation
○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○

Long Distance Dependencies
○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○

Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Arguments in canonical positions

We can now add a third clause structure to the two we have already seen:

(40)   [$_C$] [$_{Fin}$ (do) Verb] Subj Obj

(41)   [$_C$] [$_{Fin}$Auxiliary] Subj [$_{VerbPhrase}$ Asp$_{simp}$ Verb$_{NonFin}$ Obj]

(42)   [$_C$] [$_{Fin}$Auxiliary] Subj [$_{VerbPhrase}$ Asp$_{perf/pros}$ Obj PRT Verb$_{NonFin}$]

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
●○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Arguments in non-canonical positions

(43)   Tha   an doras air   a   dhùnadh.
        Be.PRES the door PERF PRT close.VN
        'The door has been shut/is shut.'

The particle immediately preceding the verb shows agreement
for the moved object:

(44)   Tha   a' chaileag air   a   pògadh.
        Be.PRES the girl   PERF 3FS kiss.VN
        'The girl has been kissed.'

(45)   Tha   mi gam   shàrachadh.
        be.PRES I   SIMP.1S harrass.VN
        'I am being harrassed.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure

○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○●○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Arguments in non-canonical positions

In addition to the auxiliary passive, Gaelic also possesses an inflectional means of demoting the subject.

(46)   Dhùineadh   an doras.
        Shut.PAST.PASS the door
        'The door was shut.'

(47)   Dùinear   an doras.
        Shut.FUT.PASS the door
        'The door will be shut.'

These constructions, however, are in fact a kind of impersonal, rather than a passive.

(48)   Thathar   a'   toirt   rabhadh dhaibh.
      be.PRES.IMP SIMP give.VN warning to.3P
      'They are being warned.'

(49)   Feumar   am bùth a   dhùnadh.
      must.IMPERS the shop Prt close.VN
      'The shop must close.'

(50)   Dùinear   a-màireach e.
      Shut.FUT.PASS tomorrow it
      'It will be shut tomorrow.'

There are a number of other cases where the verb lacks a subject.

(51)   Chaidh   òrain   Ghàidhlig a   sheinn aig a' chèilidh
       go.PAST songs Gaelic   Prt sing   at the ceilidh
       'Gaelic songs were sung at the ceilidh.'

(52)   Chaidh   falbh
       go.PAST leave.VN
       'A departing was effected (?).'

Contrast (53) with (38):

(53)   Chaidh òrain Gàidhlig gu tric a   sheinn aig a'
        Go.PAST songs Gaelic   often   PRT sing.VN at   the
        chèilidh.
        ceilidh
        'Gaelic songs were often sung at the ceilidh.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○●○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Arguments in non-canonical positions

(54)   Thèid   agam   air   a   dhèanamh
       go.FUT   at.1S   on   *pro* Prt do.VN
       'I'll manage to do it.'

(55)   Shoirbhich   leam   a   dhèanamh
       succeed.PAST with.1S   *pro* Prt do.VN
       'I succeeded in doing it.'

It seems unlikely that the prepositional phrases here are structurally subjects, since in non-finite clauses they appear in post-verbal rather than preverbal position:

(56)   Tha   a'   dol   agam air a   dhèanamh
        be.PRES SIMP go.VN at.1S on PRT do.VN
        'I'm managing to do it.'

(57)   *Tha   agam a'   dol   air a   dhèanamh
        be.PRES at.1S SIMP go.VN on PRT do.VN
        'I'm managing to do it.'

(58)   Auxiliary Subject Predicate (SAC)

(59)   Copula Predicate Subject (ICC)

ICC's are not productive in the modern spoken language, except in consciously archaic discourse, but the syntax of ICCs is used to build many other constructions in the language, as we will see.

The simplest cases of the SAC involve an adjectival phrase (60) or a prepositional phrase (61) following the subject:

(60)   Tha   Calum faiceallach.
        Be.PRES Calum careful
        'Calum is (being) careful.'

(61)   Tha   Calum anns a'   bhùth.
        Be.PRES Calum in   the shop
        'Calum is in the shop.'

The equivalent ICCs would look as follows:

(62)   Is   mòr an duine sin.
          Cop.PRES big that man
          'That man is big.'

(63)   Is   le   Calum an cù.
          Cop.PRES with Calum the dog
          'The dog belongs to Calum.'

Both (62) and (63) are rather literary, and not commonly heard.

Clause Structure Clausal Complementation Long Distance Dependencies Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○ ○○○○ ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○●○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Predicational Structures
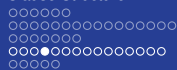
Neither SACs nor ICCs accept verbs as their predicates:

(64) *Tha   Calum èist ris   an rèidio
       Be.PRES Calum listen to.DEF the radio

(65) *Is èist Calum ris   an rèidio
       Cop listen Calum to.DEF the radio

Interestingly, the SAC also rejects a nominal predicate:

(66) *Tha   Calum tidsear.
       Be.PRES Calum teacher
       'Calum is a teacher.'

An alternative with an aspectual/prepositional particle *ann*, 'in' must be used. Like the aspectual particles found in the passive constructions discussed above, these obligatorily trigger agreement:

(67)   Tha   mi nam thidsear.
       Be.PRES I   in.1S teacher
       'I am a teacher.'

(68)   Tha   Iain na   chadal
       be.PRES Iain in.3S sleep.VN
       'Iain is sleeping.'

The ICC, to the extent it is productive, allows nominal predicates, however, both (69) and (70) are preferentially expressed using cleft structures (see below section 2):

(69)   Bu   thidsear Calum.
          Cop.PAST teacher Calum
          'Calum was a teacher.'

(70)   Is   eun sgarbh.
          Cop.PRES bird cormorant
          'The cormorant is a bird.'

Unlike English, Gaelic does not allow definite noun phrases as predicates. Compare (71) and (72) with their putative English translations:

(71)   *Tha   Iain an tidsear
              be.PRES Iain the teacher
              'Iain is the teacher'

(72)   *Is   an tidsear Iain
              Cop.PRES the teacher Iain
              'Iain is the teacher.'

To express these concepts, Gaelic uses what Adger and Ramchand term the Augmented Copular Construction (ACC). In such constructions, a pronominal follows the copula, and in turn is followed by the two noun phrases:

(73)   'S   e   Iain an tidsear
         Cop.PRES he Iain the teacher
         'Iain is the teacher'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○●○○○○○○
○○○○○

Predicational Structures

Even though the two nominal phrases are both definite expressions in (73), there is an asymmetry in interpretation, with the latter nominal acting semantically as the predicate. Compare:

(74)   'S   e   Iain Hamlet a-nochd
        Cop.PRES he Iain Hamlet tonight
        'Iain is (playing) Hamlet tonight'

(75)   'S   e   Hamlet Iain a-nochd
        Cop.PRES he Hamlet Iain tonight
        'Hamlet is Iain tonight'

Psychological and Possessive Predication
NP-AP

(76)   Tha   mi brònach
         Be.PRE I   sad
         'I am sad.'

(77)   Tha   mi fo   chùram
         Be.PRE I   under anxiety
         'I am anxious.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○●○○○○
○○○○○

Predicational Structures

PP-NP

(78)   Tha   cùram   orm
         be.PRES anxiety on.1S
         'I am anxious.'

(79)   Tha   eagal   orm
         be.PRES fear   on.1S
         'I am afraid.'

(80)   Tha   gaol agam ort
         Be.PRES love at.1S on.2S
         'I love you.'

(81)   Auxiliary [love] [at-me] [on-you]

However, this appears to be incorrect.

(82)   's   e   [gaol air Iain] a   th' agam
      COP he love   on Iain   REL is   at.1S
      'I love Iain.'

(83)   *'s   e   gaol aig Iain a   th' ort
      COP he love at   Iain REL is   on.2S
      'Iain loves you.'

(84)   Tha   gaol agam [⟨gaol⟩ ort]
      Be.PRES love at.1S [⟨love⟩ on.2S]
      'I love you.'

The ICC can also be used to express psychological predication, with the semantic predicate, in this case being the syntactic one:

(85)   Is   toil   leam   an duine sin.
      Cop.PRES pleasant with.1S the man that
      'I like that man.'

(86)   Is   coma   leam   dè   thachras.
      Cop.PRES indifferent with.1S what happen.FUT.REL
      'I don't care what will happen.'

Once again, the entity who has the emotion or feeling is expressed as a prepositional phrase.

(87) Tha   peann aig Daibhidh
      Be.PRES pen   at David
      'David has a pen.'

(88) Tha   am ministear aig an doras
      Be.PRES the minister   at the door
      'The minister is at the door.'

For permanent possession, Gaelic uses the preposition *le*, 'with', rather than *aig*, 'at':

(89)   'S   ann   le   Daibhith   a   tha   am peann
      COP   in.3MS   with David   REL be.PRES the pen
      'The pen is David's.'

While for part-whole relationships, the preposition *air*, 'on' is used:

(90)   Tha   cas bhriste air a' bhòrd
       Be.PRES leg broken on the table
       'The table has a broken leg.'

(91)   Tha   an gille òg
       be.PRES the boy young
       'the boy is young.'

(92)   *Tha   an gille òige   (na   thusa)
       be.PRES the boy young.CMP (than you)
       for:'The boy is younger (than you).'

(93)   Tha   mi nas òige   (na   thusa)
       be-PRES I   PRT young.CMP (than you)
       'I am younger (than you).'
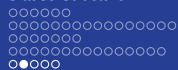
The *-s* part of this particle is the copula, as can be seen from a past tense version of (93):

(94)   Bha   mi na   b'   òige   (na   thusa)
       be-PRES I   PRT cop.PAST young.CMP (than you)
       'I was younger (than you).'

This same type of augmentation is used in an adverbial comparative:

(95)   Ruith   esan [na bu   luaithe   na   ruith
       run-PAST he   PRT cop.PAST quick.CMP than run.PAST
       mise]
       I
       'He ran more quickly than I did.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○●○○

Comparative Constructions

The second type of augmentation is used for attributive comparatives, and involves prefixation with the particle *as*/*a bu*:

(96)   An gille as   òige   na mise
        The boy PRT+cop.PRES young-CMP than I
        'The boy younger than me'

(97)   Gach gille a   b'   òige   na mise
        Every boy PRT cop.PAST young-CMP than I
        'Every boy younger than me'

Clause Structure | Clausal Complementation | Long Distance Dependencies | Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○ | | ○○○○○○○○ | ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ | | ○○○○○○ | ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○ | | ○○○○○○○○○○ | ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○ | | |
○○○●○

Comparative Constructions

It is not possible to use the *as*-comparative in the Substantive Auxiliary Construction:

(98) *Tha   mi as   òige   na thusa
       be-PRES I PRT+cop.PRES young-CMP than you

Nor is it possible to use the *nas* comparative in attributive position when the whole DP is definite or quantified:

(99) *An gille nas   òige   na mise
       The boy PRT+cop.PRES young-CMP than I

(100) *Gach gille nas   òige   na mise
       each boy   PRT+cop.PRES young-CMP than I

However, it is possible, and for many speakers mandatory, to use a *nas*-comparative in an indefinite DP:

(101)   Chunnaic mi gille nas   òige
         See-PAST I   boy PRT+cop.PRES young-CMP
         'I saw a younger boy.'

Clause Structure   **Clausal Complementation**   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Control:

(102)   Dh'fheuch sinn ri coiseachd.
         Try.PST we to walk.VN
         'We tried to walk.'

(103)   Dh'iarr e orm leum.
         Ask.PST he on.1S jump.VN
         'He asked me to jump.'
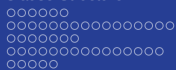
(104)   Tha   mi airson cèic agus aran a   dhèanamh.
         Be.PRES I for   cake and bread PRT make.VN
         'I want to make cake and bread.'

(105)   'S fheàrr le   Anna òran Gàidhlig a   sheinn.
         Is better with Anna song Gaelic   PRT sing.VN
         'Anna prefers to sing a Gaelic song.'

(106)   'S fheàrr le   Anna an   seinn.
         Is better with Anna PRT.3.P sing.VN
         'Anna prefers to sing them.'

Clause Structure **Clausal Complementation** Long Distance Dependencies Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○ ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○
○○○○○

Raising?

(107) b'fheudar dhomh falbh
       COP.PAST necessity to.1SG leave.VN
       'I had to leave'

(108) s'fheudar gun aithnich thu e
       COP.PRES that know.FUT you him
       'You must know him'

Clause Structure
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Clausal Complementation
○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○

Long Distance Dependencies
○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○

Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○

(109) Thachair   dhomh a   bhith ann
       happen.PAST to.1SG PRT be.VN there
       'I happened to be there'

(110) Nam bheachd 's   fheudar don   dòigh smaointinn
       In.my opinion COP necessity to.the way   thinking.GEN
       atharrachadh
       change.VN
       'In my opinion, the way of thinking has to change.'

Clause Structure
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Clausal Complementation

Long Distance Dependencies
●○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○

Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Relative Clauses

(111)   Bhuail   Calum an cat.
hit.PAST Calum the cat
'Calum hit the cat.'

Ambiguity

(112)   a   bhuaileas   an cat
REL hit.FUT.REL the cat
'that will hit the cat'

(113)   a   bhuaileas   Calum
REL hit.FUT.REL Calum
'that Calum will hit'

(114)   An duine a   bhuaileas   an cat
        The man REL hit.FUT.REL the cat
        'The man that will hit the cat'

(115)   An cat a   bhuaileas   Calum
        The cat REL hit.FUT.REL Calum
        'The cat that Calum will hit'

Clause Structure
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Clausal Complementation

Long Distance Dependencies
○○●○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○

Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○

Relative Clauses
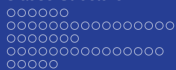
(116) An cat   a   thuirt Daibhidh a   bhuaileas Calum
       the cat REL say.PAST David   REL hit.FUT.REL Calum
       'The cat that David said Calum will hit.'

(117) An duine a   thuirt Daibhidh a   bhuaileas   an cat
       the man REL say.PAST David   REL hit.FUT.REL the cat
       'The person that David said will hit the cat.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   **Long Distance Dependencies**   Nominal Phrase Structure

○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

○○○○●○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○

○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Relative Clauses

(118)   An ghirseach ar   ghoid   na síogaí í
            the girl   REL.PAST steal.PAST the fairies her
            'The girl who the fairies stole.'   Modern Irish

(119)   *A' chaileag a   ghoid   na sìdhichean i
            the girl   REL steal.PAST the fairies   her
            'The girl who the fairies stole.'   Scottish Gaelic
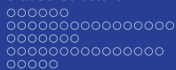
(120)   Thug   Calum an cat do Mhàiri air a'   bhàta
        gave.PAST Calum the cat to Mary   on the.DAT boat
        'Calum gave the cat to Mary on the boat.'

(121)   A' chaileag dhan an tug Calum an cat air a' bhàta
        the girl to.DEF C give.PAST.DEP Calum the cat on
        the.DAT boat
        'The girl to whom Calum gave the cat on the boat.'

(122)   Am bàta air an tug Calum an cat do Mhàiri
        the boat on C give.PAST.DEP Calum the cat to Mary
        'The boat on which Calum gave the cat to Mary.'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○		○○○○○●○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○			

Relative Clauses

Interestingly, speakers do not accept long distance versions of these prepositional relative clauses:

(123)   *A' caileag dhan   an tuirt   thu a
         the girl   to.DEF C say.PAST.DEP you REL
         thug   Calum an cat
         give.PAST.DEP Calum an cat
         'The girl to whom you said that Calum gave the cat.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○●○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Relative Clauses

Two strategies are followed: either the preposition is left in its base position in its default masculine form/appropriate agreeing form (this varies depending on the type of prepositional modifier, the age of the speaker and the dialect), or the preposition is placed to the left of its own clause:

Clause Structure Clausal Complementation **Long Distance Dependencies** Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○● ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Relative Clauses

(124)   A' caileag a thuirt thu a thug Calum an cat dha/dhi
         the girl REL say.PAST.REL you REL give.PAST.REL
         Calum an cat to.3ms/to.3fs
         'The girl to whom you said that Calum gave the cat.'

(125)   A' caileag a thuirt thu dhan an tug Calum an cat
         the girl REL say.PAST.REL you to.DEF C give.PAST.DEP
         Calum an cat
         'The girl to whom you said that Calum gave the cat.'

There appears to be considerable variation in the domain of
long-distance prepositional relatives.

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	●○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		●○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○			
○○○○○			

Cleft Constructions

(126)   'S   e Calum a   thug   an cat do Mhàiri
          Cop.PRES it Calum REL give.PAST.REL the cat to Mary
          'It's Calum who gave the cat to Mary.'

(127)   b'   e an cat a   thug   Calum do Mhàiri
          Cop.PAST it the cat REL give.PAST.REL Calum to Mary
          'It's the cat that Calum gave to Mary.'

Agreement is neither obligatory nor common:

(128)   'S   e/iad Calum agus Iain a   thug   an
          Cop.PRES it/they Calum and Iain REL give.PAST.REL the
          cat do Mhàiri
          cat to Mary
          'It's Calum and Iain who gave the cat to Mary.'

(129)   'S   **ann**   do   Mhàiri a   thug
       Cop.PRES in.3MS to Mary REL   give.PAST.REL Calum
       Calum an cat
       the   cat
       'It's to Mary that Calum gave the cat.'

Adjective, adverbs and aspectual phrases also trigger *ann*
while clausal complements trigger a pronoun:

(130)   'S   ann   brèagha a   tha   i
       Cop.PRES in.3MS beautiful REL be.PRES she
       'She's beautiful'

(131)   'S   ann   gu   slaodach a   tha   i   a'
         Cop.PRES in.3MS PRT slow   REL be.PRES she SIMP
         ruith
         run.VN
         'She is running slowly.'

(132)   'S   ann   [a'   pògadh Chaluim] a   bha
         Cop.PRES in.3MS SIMP kiss.VN Calum.GEN that be.PAST
         Seonag.
         Seonag
         'What Seonag was doing was kissing Calum.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   **Long Distance Dependencies**   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○●○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Cleft Constructions

(133)   'S   e gu robh   e tinn a   thuirt
           Cop.PRES it that be.PAST.DEP he ill   REL say.PAST.REL
           mi
           I
           'What I said was that he was ill.'

(134)   'S   e an leabhar ud a   leughadh a
           Cop.PRES it the book   that PRT read.VN   REL
           dh'iarr   e orm
           ask.PAST.REL he on.1S
           'What he asked me to do was to read that book.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   **Long Distance Dependencies**   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○●○   ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Cleft Constructions

(135)   'S   e tidsear a   tha   ann an Calum
        Cop.PRES it teacher REL be.PRES in   Calum
        'Calum is a teacher.'

A further curious fact about clefted nominal predicates is the apparent lack of a source for the cleft. Recall that the SAC version of (135) is (136):

(136)   Tha   Calum na   thidsear.
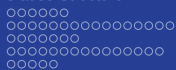   Be.PRES Calum in.3S teacher
        'Calum is a teacher.'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○●	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○			

Cleft Constructions

Just like relatives, clefts can be formed long distance:

(137)   's   e Calum a   thuirt   thu a
        Cop.PRES it Calum REL say.PAST.REL you REL
        bha   tinn
        be.PAST.REL ill
        'It's Calum that you said was ill.'

Unlike long distance prepositional relatives, long distance
prepositional clefts are well-formed:

(138)   's   ann   tinn a   thuirt   thu a
        Cop.PRES in.3MS ill   REL say.PAST.REL you REL
        bha   Calum, nach   ann?
        be.PAST.REL ill,   NEG.Q in.3MS
        'What you said Calum was, was ill, right?'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○		●○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○			

Constituent Questions

(139)   Òlaidh   Calum uisge?
        drink.FUT Calum water
        'Calum will drink water?'

(140)   Cò(a) dh'òlas uisge?
        Who (REL) drink.FUT.REF water
        'Who will drink water?'

(141)   Dè   (a)   dh'òlas   Calum?
        What (REL) drink.FUT.REF Calum
        'What will Calum drink?'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○●○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○			

Constituent Questions

In addition to simple question words as in (141), whole constituents can be questioned:

(142) Cò an duine (a) dh'òlas uisge?
       Who the man (REL) drink.FUT.REF water
       'Which man will drink water?'

(143) Dè an leabhar (a) leughas Calum?
       What the book (REL) read.FUT.REF Calum
       'Which book will Calum read?'

Note that unlike in English, the phrase which the question word precedes must contain the definite article:

(144) *Dè leabhar (a) leughas Calum?
        What book (REL) read.FUT.REF Calum
        for: 'Which book will Calum read?'

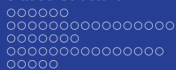| Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○●○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○			

Constituent Questions
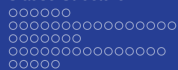
Constituent questions follow the same pattern as relatives
when they span more than one clause, with *a* in place of *gu(n)*
as the embedding complementizer:

(145)   Dè   an leabhar (a)   thuirt   thu a
        What the book   (REL) say.PAST.REL you REL
        leughas   Calum?
        read.FUT.REF Calum
        'Which book did you say that Calum will read?'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○		○○○●○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○			
○○○○○			

Constituent Questions

Various sentence modifiers also have question variants, all of which, except one, follow the same pattern:

(146) Cuine (a) dh'òlas   Calum uisge?
       When (REL) drink.FUT.REF Calum water
       'When will Calum drink water?'

(147) Ciamar a   dh'òlas   Calum uisge?
       How   (REL) drink.FUT.REF Calum water
       'How will Calum drink water?'

(148) Carson a   dh'òlas   Calum uisge?
       Why   (REL) drink.FUT.REF Calum water
       'Why will Calum drink water?'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○		○○○○●○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○			
○○○○○			

Constituent Questions

(149)　　Càit　　an òl　　　　　　　　Calum uisge?
　　　　　Where C　drink.FUT.DEP Calum water
　　　　　'Where will Calum drink water?'

Càit, 'where' forms its constituent question along the lines of a
prepositional relative.

Clause Structure
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Clausal Complementation

Long Distance Dependencies
○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○●○○○○

Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○
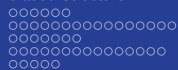○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Constituent Questions

Questions about the degree to which some property holds in Gaelic have yet another structure:

(150)   Dè   cho luath agus a   ruitheas   e?
        What so fast and REL run.FUT.REL he
        'How fast will he run?'

Clause Structure Clausal Complementation **Long Distance Dependencies** Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○ ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○●○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Constituent Questions

Finally, we turn to prepositional questions.

(151) Cò ris   a   bhios   Calum a'   bruidhinn?
       who to-3ms REL be.FUT.REL Calum SIMP speak.VN
       'Who will Calum be speaking to?'

(152) Cò am boireannach ris   am   bi   Calum
       who the woman   to.DEF C.DEP be.FUT.DEP Calum
       a'   bruidhinn?
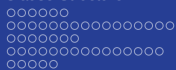   SIMP speak.VN
       'Which woman will Calum be speaking to?'

(153) Cò ris am bi Calum a' bruidhinn?
who to-3ms C be.FUT.DEP Calum SIMP speak.VN
'Who will Calum be speaking to?'

(154) *Cò am boireannach ris a bhios Calum
who the woman to.DEF REL be.FUT.REL Calum
a' bruidhinn?
SIMP speak.VN
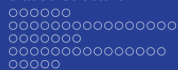*for*: 'Which woman will Calum be speaking to?'

The variation between (151) and (153) appears to be in most speakers' grammars.

Clause Structure
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Clausal Complementation

Long Distance Dependencies
○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○●○

Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○
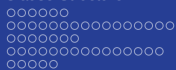○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○

Constituent Questions

As might be expected from our previous discussion,
long-distance versions of simple prepositional questions, which
use the cleft-like strategy, are possible, but long-distance
versions of the complex ones, which use the prepositional
relative strategy, are not:

Clause Structure
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Clausal Complementation
○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○

Long Distance Dependencies
○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○●

Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Constituent Questions

(155)   Cò ris   a   thuirt   thu a bhios
           who to-3ms REL sayPAST.REL you REL be.FUT.REL
           Calum a'   bruidhinn?
           Calum SIMP speak.VN
           'Who did you say that Calum will be speaking to?'

(156)   *Cò am boireannach ris   an tuirt   thu
           who the woman   to.DEF C say.PAST.DEP that
           gum   bi   Calum a'   bruidhinn?
           be.FUT.DEP Calum SIMP speak.VN
           for: 'Which woman did you say Calum will be
           speaking to?'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○   ●○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Overview

Prenominal:

(157)   Na   ceithir   deagh-bhàtaichean
        The four   good-boats

(158)   Gach trì   laithean
        Every three days

(159)   mo chiad droch-cheann goirt
        my first   badhead   sore
        'My first bad head-ache'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○●○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
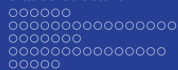○○○○○

Overview

Postnominal:

(160)   Dealbhan mòra Sheumais   de Iain a   rinn   Màiri
        pictures big   Seumas.GEN of Iain REL do.PAST Màiri
        'Seumas's big pictures of Iain that Mary did.'

(161)   Na dealbhan mòra seo aig Seumas a   rinn   Màiri
        the pictures big   this at Seumas REL do.PAST Màiri
        'These big pictures of Seumas's that Mary did.'

These orders are very strict, and altering them tends to lead
quickly to unacceptability:

(162)   *Na dealbhan mòra aig Seumas seo a   rinn   Màiri
         the pictures big   at Seumas this REL do.PAST Màiri
         'These big pictures of Seumas's that Mary did.'

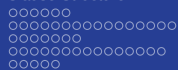| Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○	○○●○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Overview

In addition to the complementary distribution found in the various 'slots' in the noun phrase, there are syntactic dependencies across the slots.

(163)   mac Sheumais
        son Seumas
        '*A/the son of Seumas'

(164)   *am mac Sheumais
        the son Seumas.GEN
        'Seumas' son'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○●
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○			
○○○○○			

Overview

There are also dependencies that go the other way: for example, prepositional possessors and demonstratives require a definite article:

(165) *mac aig Seumas
        son at Seumas
        'A son of Seumas'

(166) am mac aig Seumas
        the son at Seumas
        'Seumas' son'

(167) *cù seo
        dog this

(168) an cù seo
        the dog this

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	●○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○			
○○○○○			

Prenominal elements

There is no indefinite determiner in Gaelic. Bare nouns generally are interpreted as indefinites, while nouns with the proclitic definite article are interpreted as definite. Possessive pronouns appear to have the same syntactic and semantic properties as the definite article: they are impossible with genitive possessors (although this is perhaps for semantic rather than syntactic reasons) and satisfy the requirements of demonstratives:

(169)   *a   leabhar Sheumais
          his book   Seumais.GEN

(170)   mo leabhar sin
          my book   that
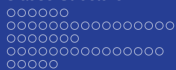   'that book of mine.'

The quantifiers *gach*, 'each/every' and *a h-uile* 'every' occur in the first position in a nominal phrase, require a singular noun, and are incompatible with the definite article and with possessive pronouns:

(171)   gach/a h-uile leabhar/ *leabhraichean
         each/every   book/   *books

(172)   *an   gach leabhar
         (*the) every book

(173)   *ur   gach rùn
         your every wish

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○○	○○●○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○			

Prenominal elements

Interestingly, while *a h-uile* is completely incompatible with a genitive possessor, *gach* is somewhat more acceptable:

(174)   *a h-uile corrag Sheumais
        every finger Seumas.GEN

(175)   ?gach corrag Sheumais
        every finger Seumas.GEN

Similarly, while *a h-uile* satisfies a demonstrative's need for a definite article, *gach* is not quite as acceptable:

(176)   a h-uile bàta sin
        every   boat that

(177)   ?gach corrag sin
        every boat   that

These data suggest that *a h-uile* is itself complex, containing a full definite article, unlike *gach*. Further evidence for this is that, while the definite form of certain prepositions is always obligatory before *h-uile*, it is rather more variable before *gach*:

(178)   ris   a h-uile duine/   ri(s)   gach duine
        to.DEF every   person/ to.DEF every person
        'to everyone'

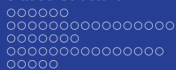| Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○	○○○○○○○○ ○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○ ○○○○●○○○○○○ ○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Prenominal elements

There is one other quantifier that co-occurs with a singular nominal, *iomadh* (sometimes *iomadach*), 'many'. Like *gach* and *a h-uile*, this quantifier is distributive. The archaic English expression 'many a' is a good rough translation:

(179)   Tha   iomadh leabhar air a' bhòrd
         be.PRES many   book   on the table
         'many a book is on the table.'

Contrast this with a non-distributive like *tòrr*, 'a lot' or *mòran*, 'many'. These non-distributive quantifiers always take plural rather than singular (count) nouns:

(180)   Tha   tòrr/mòran leabhraichean/*leabhar air a' bhòrd
         be.PRES many   books/book   on the table
         'many books are on the table.'

Clause Structure
○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Clausal Complementation

Long Distance Dependencies
○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○

Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○
○○○○○●○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○

Prenominal elements
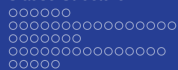
(181)   Bha   gach/a-huile/iomadh leabhar air a' bhòrd.
         be.PAST each/every/many   book   on the table.
         *Bha   e mòr
         be.PAST it big
         'Each/every/many a book was on the table. *It was
         large.'

(182)   Bha   leabhar/ an leabhar air a' bhòrd. Bha   e mòr
         be.PAST book/   the book on the table. be.PAST it big
         'A/The book was on the table. It was large.'

but:

(183)   Thuirt   gach/a-huile/iomadh balach gu robh   e
         say.PAST each/every/many   boy   that be.PAST.DEP he
         tinn

Within the non-distributive quantifiers, some, like numerals or *grunn*, 'several', are restricted to count nouns, while others, like *tòrr* occur with plural count nouns or with mass nouns:
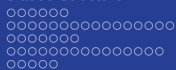
(184) trì/grunn   leabhraichean/*sgudail
       three/several books/rubbish

(185) tòrr/mòran leabhraichean/sgudail
       many/much   books/rubbish

Unsurprisingly, the distributive quantifiers are incompatible with mass nouns:

(186) *gach/a-huile/iomadh sgudail
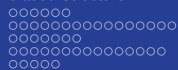   each/every/many   rubbish

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	○○○○○○○●○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○			

Prenominal elements

Numeral expressions themselves have a number of quirks. The numeral *dà*, 'two' occurs with a singular nominal (a remnant of an old dual system), and with a singular determiner:

(187)   An dà   leabhar/*leabhraichean
         the two book/books

However, unlike the other quantifiers that occur with singular nouns, *dà* does not have a distributive reading, and it cannot be semantically linked to a singular pronoun. In (188) the pronoun cannot semantically link back to the relevant boys:

(188)   Thuirt   dà bhalach gu robh   e tinn
         say.PAST two boy   that be.PAST.DEP he ill
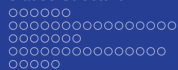   'Two boys said that he was ill.'

Numerals above *deich*, 'ten' are built up syntactically using a series of special modifiers. The word *deug*, roughly 'teen', which behaves syntactically like an adjective, is attached to the right of the counted nominal phrase:

(189) ceithir leabhraichean mòra deug
       four   books   big   teen
       'fourteen big books'

Larger numbers can follow a similar pattern (190-a) or they may use a co-ordinate syntax (190-b):

(190)   ceithir leabhraichean mòra ar fhichead
         four   books   big on twenty
         'twenty-four big books'

(191)   fichead leabhar mòr 's   a   ceithir
         twenty book   big and PRT four
         'twenty four books'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○●○
○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○			
○○○○○			

Prenominal elements

Gaelic also possesses a series of numerical nouns which refer to numbers of people:

(192)   Bha   còignear ghrannda ann
        be.PAST fivesome ugly   there
        'There were five ugly people there.'

These nouns can appear with genitives which specify the type of individual more clearly, and they cannot occur with non-human referring nouns:

(193)   triùir   bhalach/*leabhraichean
        three.HUMAN boy.GEN.PL/books.GEN.PL

The appearance of a genitive plural after the numeral suggests that these numerals are nouns in their own right.

Finally, ordinal numerals in Gaelic, like in English, must co-occur with a definite article and take a singular noun:

(194)   an còigeamh latha
        the fifth   day

(195)   *còigeamh latha
        fifth   book

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○			●○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○			

Postnominal elements

We noted in the previous section that Gaelic does not possess an overt indefinite determiner. However, there are various postnominal modifiers which change the exact expression of indefiniteness, such as *air choreigin*, 'some X or other' and *sam bith*, 'any':

(196) Phòg   balach an cat
       kiss.PAST boy   the cat
       'A boy kissed the cat.'

(197) Phòg   balach air choreigin an cat
       kiss.PAST boy   on N   the cat
       'Some boy or other kissed the cat.'

(198) An do phòg   balach sam   bith an cat?
       Q PAST kiss.PAST boy   in.DEF be.VN N the cat
       'Did any boy kiss the cat?'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○		○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○	○●○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○			
○○○○○			

Postnominal elements
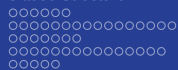
In terms of order: SIZE precedes QUALITY, which precedes COLOUR which precedes PROVENANCE:

(199)   cù   mòr brèagha dubh Albannach
           dog big   beautiful black scottish
           ' A beautiful big black Scottish dog.'

It is possible to alter the order of adjectives, but this usually leads to certain changes in emphasis and prosody:

(200)   cù   ALBANNACH dubh mòr brèagha
           dog scottish   black big   beautiful
           ' A Scottish beautiful big black dog.'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○○	○○●○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○			
○○○○○			

Postnominal elements

Although the order of the adjectives is somewhat flexible when considered as a class, it is impossible to place an adjective after, for example, a genitive possessor:

(201)   *cù Sheumais   dubh
           dog Seumas.GEN black
           'Seumas' dog'

(201) is ungrammatical when *dubh*, 'black' is taken to modify *cù*, 'dog'.

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○			○○○●○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○			
○○○○○			

Postnominal elements

The genitive nominal phrase cannot have an interpretation as a complement of the noun, so in (202), Murchadh cannot be the person depicted in the picture, but must rather be the owner of the picture:

(202)   dealbh Mhurchaidh aig/le Seumas
         picture Murdo.GEN at/by Seumas.GEN
         'Murchadh's picture by Seumas.' *not* 'Seumas' picture
         of Murchadh'

And two genitives are impossible in a nominal phrase in general:

(203)   *dealbh Mhurchaidh Sheumais
         picture Murdo.GEN Seumas.GEN

The complement of a noun like *dealbh*, 'picture' (that is, the nominal phrase argument that expresses what is depicted in the picture), and in fact complements of nouns in general, are expressed by prepositional phrases:

(204)   an dealbh seo de dh'Iain
           the picture this of Iain
           'this picture of Iain'

(205)   an t-ùghdar mìorbhaileach den leabhar sin
           the author wonderful of-the book that
           'The wonderful author of that book.'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○●○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Postnominal elements

These complement prepositional phrases occur after adjectives and demonstratives. It is possible to combine a genitive possessor with such a depictive complement, in which case the possessor also obligatorily precedes the complement:

(206)   dealbh Sheumais   de dh'Iain
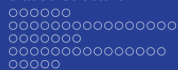   picture Seumas.GENof Iain
           'Seumas' picture of Iain'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○●○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○

Postnominal elements
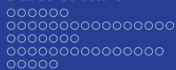
Only the rightmost genitive possessor may have an article:

(207)   doras   an   taighe
         door   the.GEN   house.GEN
         'the door of the house'

(208)   doras   taigh   na   mnatha
         door   house.NOM   the.GEN   wife.GEN
         'the door of the house of the wife'

(209)   doras   taigh   bean   Sheumais
         door   house.NOM   wife.NOM   Seumas.GEN
         'the door of the house of the wife of Seumas.'

Genitive case itself is also only marked on the rightmost
possessor, as can be see from the contrast in the last two
examples.

The alternative means of expressing possession in a Gaelic nominal phrase uses a prepositional phrase.

(210)   an cù   aig Seumas
          the dog at Seumas
          'Seumas' dog'

(211)   *cù   aig Seumas
           dog at Seumas
           'Seumas's dog'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○	○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○		○○○○○○○○○	○○○○○○○○●○○○○○
○○○○○			

Postnominal elements
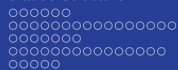
To express the meaning 'a dog of Seumas's', a relative clause
construction is used instead:

(212)   cù   a   th'   aig Seumas
         dog REL be.PRES at   Seumas
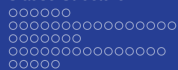   'Seumas's dog'

Unlike the genitive possessor, a prepositional possessor is well formed with a demonstrative. The demonstrative precedes the possessor:

(213)   An cu   seo aig Seumas
         the dog this at   Seumas
         'This dog of Seumas's'

(214)   *An cu   aig Seumas seo
         the dog at   Seumas this
         for 'This dog of Seumas's'

Clause Structure   Clausal Complementation   Long Distance Dependencies   Nominal Phrase Structure
○○○○   ○○○○○○○○   ○○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○○
○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○   ○○○○○○○○○○○●○○○
○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○○
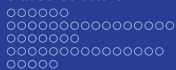○○○○○

Postnominal elements

The ordering between possessor prepositional phrases and complement prepositional phrases is more flexible, although the preference seems to be for the possessor to come finally:

(215)   ?an dealbh seo aig Seumas de dh'Iain
        the picture this at Seumas of Iain
        'this picture of Iain of Seumas's'

(216)   an dealbh seo de dh'Iain aig Seumas
        the picture this of Iain   at Seumas
        'this picture of Iain of Seumas's'

(217)   *(na)   leabhraichean uile
        the.PL books   all
        'all the books'

(218)   na   dealbhan sin   uile de dh'Iain
        the.PL pictures   that all   of Iain
        'all those pictures of Iain'

(219)   na   leabhraichean sin   uile aig Seumas
        the.PL books   that all   at Seumas
        'all those books of Seumas's'

Clause Structure	Clausal Complementation	Long Distance Dependencies	Nominal Phrase Structure
000000		0000000	0000
00000000000000		000000	00000000000
0000000		0000000000	00000000000●0
00000000000			
00000			

Postnominal elements

Nominal phrases may also be modified by relative clauses,
which invariably come rightmost, after even the prepositional
possessors:

(220)   na   leabhraichean sin uile aig Seumas a   sgrìobh
          the.PL books   that all at Seumas REL write.PST
          Màiri
          Màiri
          'all those books of Seumas's that Màiri wrote.'

These relative clauses can be 'stacked', and there appear to be no strict ordering conditions on such stacking, so that both versions of (221) are well-formed:

(221)   na   leabhraichean a   sgrìobh Màiri as
        the.PL books   REL   write.PST Màiri REL-Cop.PRES
        toigh   leam   fhìn
        pleasant with.1SG EMPH
        'the books that Màiri wrote that I like.'

(222)   na   leabhraichean as   toigh   leam
        the.PL books   REL-Cop.PRES   pleasant with.1SG
        fhìn   a   sgrìobh Màiri
        EMPH   REL write.PST Màiri
        'the books that I like that Màiri wrote.'