Relative Clauses:

(1) Dhiol an fear an domhan.
   (sold the man the world)
   "The man sold the world."

(2) Dhiol an fear an bád.
   (sold the man the boat)
   "The man sold the boat."

(3) Molann na mic-léinn an scríbhneoir.
   (praise the students the writer)
   "The students praise the writer."

(4) an scríbhneoir a molann na mic-léinn 
   (the writer COMP praise the students him)
   "the writer whom the students praise"

(5) an scríbhneoir a molann na mic-léinn 
   (the writer COMP praise the students)
   "the writer whom the students praise"

(6) an fear ar dhíol sé an domhan
   (the man COMP sold he the world)
   (indirect relative not possible)

(7) Tá bháirte ar dtairgthe don theairg.
    (is mother of the man (gen.) in the home)
    "The man's mother is at home."

(Note: In Galway the verb forms in (5, 5', 5") would be tugann, dtugann, and thugann.)

(6') an fear a bhfuil a mháthair sa bhaile
    (the man COMP is his mother in the home)
    "the man whose mother is at home"

(6") an fear a tá __ máthair sa bhaile
    (the man COMP is __ mother in the home)
(7) Direct: $[\text{(Det)} \text{Nom} [_{3} aL \ldots ] _{3} \text{]}$
Indirect: $[\text{(Det)} \text{Nom} [_{3} aN \ldots \text{Pro} _{3} \text{]}$
(McCloskey, p. 9, 13)

(8) The morphology of the complementizers (McCloskey, p. 11):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Past</th>
<th>Past</th>
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<tr>
<td>/go/</td>
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<tr>
<td>affirmative</td>
<td>goN</td>
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<td>negative</td>
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<td>affirmative</td>
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<td>negative</td>
<td>nachN</td>
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(\$L$ and \$N$ mark elements that induce Lenition and Nasalization respectively)

(9) Deir sé go dtuigeann (nach dtuigeann, gur thuig, nár thuig) sé an sosail.
(says he COMP understands (NEG-COMP understands, COMP understood, NEG-COMP understood) he the story)
'He says that he understands (does not understand, understood, did not understand) the story.'

(10) an fear a n-insíonn (nach n-insíonn, ar inis, nár inis) tá an sosail do
(the man COMP tells (NEG-COMP tells, COMP told, NEG-COMP told) you the story to-him)
'the man to whom you tell (do not tell, told, did not tell) the story'

(11) an fear a thuigeann (nach thuigeann, a thuig, nár thuig) — an sosail
(the man COMP understands (NEG-COMP understands, COMP understood, NEG-COMP understood) the story)
'the man who understands (does not understand, understood, did not understand) the story.'
Long-distance relativization:

(12) Thug sé léim ál dúirt sé nár lí cheap sé ál theabharfadh sé choíche.
(gave he leap COMP said he NEG-COMP thought he COMP would give hechoíche)
'He took a leap that he said he didn't think he would ever take.'

(13) an T-Aire ál déir siad ál dúirt ___ go bhfuil an cogadh thart
(the minister COMP say they COMP said ___ COMP was the war ever)
'the minister that they say said that the war was ever'
(Cf. Déir siad go ndúirt an t-Aire go raibh an cogadh thart.
'They say that the minister said that the war was over.')

(14) an t-úrscéal ál mheas mé ál thuig mé
(the novel COMP thought I COMP understood I)
'the novel that I thought I understood'
(Cf. Mheas mé gur thuig mé an t-úrscéal. 'I thought that I understood the novel.')

(15) an t-úrscéal ál mheas mé ál dúirt sé ál thuig sé
(the novel COMP thought I COMP said he COMP understood be ___)
'the novel that I thought he said he understood'
(Cf. Mheas mé gur dhúirt (go ndúirt in Galway) gur thuig sé an t-úrscéal. 'I thought that he said he understood the novel.')

(16) Déir siad go bhfuil an t-aithric go bhfuil an t-athair sibh an fear.
'say they COMP think the father COMP will marry Sheila the man
'They say that the father thinks that Sheila will marry the man.'

(16') an fear ál déir siad ál shíleann an t-athair ál phósaidh síle __
the man COMP say they COMP think the father COMP will marry
'Sheila__
'the man that they say the father thinks Sheila will marry'

Long-distance indirect relatives:

(17) Mheasann síbh go bhfuil an ochaír ina doras.
(think you (pl.) COMP is the key in-the door)

(17') an doras ál mheasann síbh an bhfuil an ochaír ann
(the door COMP think you (pl.) COMP is the key in-it)
'the door that you think the key is in'

(18) Déir siad go bhfuil an ochaír ina doras.
(say they COMP think you COMP is the key in-the door)
'They say that you think that the key is in the door.'

(18') an doras ál déir siad ál mheasann síbh an bhfuil an ochaír ann
(the door COMP say they COMP think you COMP is the key in-it)
'the door that they say you think the key is in'
Another pattern:

(19) \[ \text{NP } [\text{AN } \ldots [\text{S gcn } \ldots [\text{Pro } \ldots]]] \] (Cf. McCloskey p. 212)

(20) Mheas sibh uilig gurL briseadh bád an fhír.
(thought you all COMP broke boat of the man (gen.))
'You all thought that the man's boat was wrecked.'

(20.i) an fear arL mheas sibh uilig gurL briseadh a bháid
(the man COMP thought you all COMP broke his boat)
'the man whose boat you thought was wrecked'

(21) Shuí me gurL mharaigh an fear a athair.
(thought I COMP killed the man his father)
'I thought that the man killed his father.'

(21.i) an fear arL shuí me gurL mharaigh sé a athair
(the man COMP thought I COMP killed he his father)
'the man that I thought killed his father'

(21'c) an fear arL shuí me arL mharaigh sé a athair
(the man COMP thought I COMP killed he his father)
(See McCloskey fn. 5 pp. 144-5 for remarks.)

Islands (cf. McCloskey pp. 35-42):

(22) Ghoid mé an leabhar a cheannaigh an fear ___
(stole I the book COMP bought the man ___)
'I stole the book that the man bought.'

(22') an fear arL ghoid mé an leabhar arL cheannaigh ___
(the man COMP stole I the book COMP bought ___)
'the man who I stole the book that bought.'

(23) Nil a fhios agam an bpósfadh duine-ar-bith an bhean.
('I don't know whether anyone would marry the woman)

(23') Óta fhios amháin agam an bpósfadh duine-ar-bith ___
('a woman DEG-COMP is its knowledge at-me Q would-marry anyone ___)
'a woman who I don't know whether anyone would marry.'

(24) Bionn a fhios agat i-gcónaí caidé ar bhuaillidh an píobaire ___
('it's knowledge at-you always what COMP will-play the piper ___)
'You always know what the piper will play.'

(24') an píobaire aL bhionn a fhios agat i-gcónaí caidé aL bhuaillidh
(the piper COMP-is its knowledge at-you always what COMP will-play ___)
'the piper that you always know what will play.'
Indirect relatives and Islands:

(22") an fear arL ghoil me an leabhar aL cheannaigh sé
(the man COMP stole I the book COMP bought he)
'the man who I stole the book that he bought'

(23") bean nachN bhfuil a fhios agam an bpóisadh duine-ar-bith f
(woman NEG-COMP is its knowledge at-me Q would-marry anyone her)
'a woman that I don't know whether anyone would marry her'

(24") an pícbaire an mbíonn a fhíosaí a bhfuil sé
(the piper COMP is its knowledge at-you always what COMP
will-play he)
'the piper that you always know what he will play'

(25) Mheadh meas agam ar duine-ar-bith aL tá ábalta an teanga
a labhairt.
(would-be respect at-me on anyone COMP is able the language
to speak)
'I would respect anyone who can speak the language.'

(25') Sin teanga an mbeadh meas agam ar duine-ar-bith aL tá ábalta
a labhairt.
(that's a language COMP would-be respect at-me on anyone COMP
is able it to speak)
'That's a language that I would respect anyone who could speak it.'

Relative deletion (McCloskey, pp. 33-4, et passim):

```
NP
  NP6
    S
      COMP
        S
          Pro6
            Z

   1 2 3 4 5 6
SC: 1 2 3 5 6
```

Conditions:
(i) obligatory if term 4 is subject in its clause,
(ii) optional if term 4 is direct object in its clause,
(iii) inapplicable if term 4 is neither subject nor object in its clause,
(iv) j = k.

("The rule c. Relative Deletion is an unbounded extraction rule
and is therefore subject to island constraints." (McCloskey,
p. 40-1))