

The prepositional interrogative clause



Ruairí Ó hUiginn

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DIAS

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THE PREPOSITIONAL INTERROGATIVE CLAUSE¹

ABSTRACT

This paper traces the development of a syntactic structure in the modern Gaelic languages in which an interrogative pronoun is followed by an inflected preposition, e.g. Mod. Ir. *cé leis a raibh tú ag caint?*, Scot. Gael. *cò ris a bha thu a' bruidhinn?* ('with whom were you speaking?'). It is argued that the underlying structure in such clauses is that of the old prepositional relative, but that the syntagm of stressed interrogative + preposition + relative particle has been replaced by a copular structure consisting of an unstressed interrogative + stressed prepositional pronoun. The chronology of this syntactic development is outlined and variant alternative structures involving interrogative + prepositional pronoun are examined.

INTRODUCTION

IN THIS paper we will be concerned with the history and development of a syntactic structure found in Modern Irish and in the other modern Gaelic languages. The structure in question is the prepositional interrogative relative clause, a construction corresponding to that found in English, as exemplified by: *to whom are you speaking?* *with what will I fix it?*, or their more common

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colloquial variants: *who are you speaking to? what will I fix it with?*² Our study will also deal with examples of the construction in indirect questions, e.g. *I don't know what I'll fix it with.*

This type of clause is described in *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí* (GGBC), §27.10, where it is stated that an interrogative pronoun (e.g. *cé*, *cá*, *cad* or *céard*) followed by a prepositional pronoun or by a compound preposition with a possessive adjective³ requires a following indirect relative clause. Among the examples given in this work to illustrate the construction are the following: [1] and [2] with prepositional pronoun, [3] and [4] with compound preposition and possessive adjective.⁴

- [1] *cé dó a dtabharfaidh mé an duais?* ‘to whom will I give the prize?’ (GGBC §27.10)
- [2] *cad chuige a bhfuil tú anseo?* ‘why [i.e. for what] are you here?’ (GGBC §27.10)
- [3] *cé ina choinne a raibh tú ag imirt?* ‘against whom were you playing?’ (GGBC §27.10)
- [4] *cad ina thaobh ar labhair sé?* ‘why [i.e. for what] did he speak?’ (GGBC §27.10).

As formulated in GGBC, however, the rule needs to be modified, for there are instances in which the combination of the interrogative and pronominal forms of the preposition *ag* can be followed by a direct relative clause. A direct relative will be the normal construction in cases where the interrogative and prepositional pronoun form the compound subject antecedent of the clause, e.g.:

- [5] *cé acu a rinne é?* ‘which of them did it?’ (GGBC §13.30)
- [6] *cé acu is fearr leat?* ‘which of them do you prefer?’ (GGBC §13.67 (f))
- [7] *cé agaibh a mharaigh í?* ‘which of you killed her?’ (SMN 63).

This also applies to cases where a choice of alternative clauses is introduced by *cé acu* ‘whether, if’, as in exx. [8] and [9]:

²On this construction in Modern Irish see *Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí*, second ed. (Baile Átha Cliath, 1999 [1960]), §§276, (iii), (iv) (= pp. 661–2); S. Ó Searcaigh, *Comhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1939), §§206–8; C. Ó Cadhlaigh, *Gnás na Gae-dhilge* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1940), §§498–9; M. Sheehan *Sean-Chaint na nDéise*, Part 1, second ed. (Baile Átha Cliath, 1944 [1906]), 211; M. Sheehan, *Gile na mBláth* (Dublin, 1912), 83–4 n. 110; G. O’Nolan, *Studies in Modern Irish, Part I* (Dublin, 1919), 138–40; *DIL* s.v. 1 *cía* (h); James McCloskey, *Transformational Syntax and Model Theoretical Semantics: A Case Study in Modern Irish* (Dordrecht, 1979), 94–7, and ‘Resumptive pronouns, Ā-binding and levels of representations in Irish’, in A. Rouveret (ed.), *Resumptive Pronouns at the Interfaces* (Amsterdam, 2011), 65–119.

³Alternatively referred to as a ‘possessive pronoun’. I adhere to this traditional designation as the grammatical status of the possessive is not at issue in this paper.

⁴Where translations have been provided by the editors of texts I generally make use of them (sometimes with minor modification). Otherwise, as in these examples here, translations are my own.

- [8] *níl a fhios agam cé acu a ghlacfaidh Peig Eoin nó a dhiúltóidh sí é* ‘I don’t know if Peig will accept Eoin or refuse him’ (GGBC §13.83)
- [9] *ní eol dóibh cé acu a d’fhág sé an tír nó a chuaigh sé ar a sheachaint* ‘the don’t know if he left the country or went into hiding’ (GGBC §29.2).⁵

Although conforming to the conditions outlined in GGBC, it is clear that the underlying syntax of exx. [5]–[9] is fundamentally different to that exemplified in [1]–[4]. For the indirect relative to be triggered in such interrogative clauses, the prepositional pronoun following the interrogative should not be coreferent with the subject of the verb. Furthermore, this prepositional pronoun will normally be in the third person singular masculine, even if its referent is feminine or plural.⁶ Likewise, with a compound preposition, the pronominal element will be expressed by a possessive adjective which also must be third person singular masculine.⁷ Under these circumstances, the combination of interrogative and prepositional pronoun or compound preposition *may* be followed by the indirect relative.

MODERN IRISH: EXAMPLES

Examples of this construction are found in most of the dialects of Irish spoken into the twentieth century, e.g.:

Cork

- [10] *Níl puínn seanachais le fáil ar cad as n-a dtánadar* ‘There is no lore available to tell where they came from’ (SAL 1)⁸
- [11] *agus ní fheadar cé dho go dtúrfainn é le cimeád* ‘and I don’t know to whom I should give it to keep’ (Cairbre 374)
- [12] *cé ’n-a choinnibh go raibh an t-uisge-fé-thalamh ’á dhéanamh* ‘who was being plotted against’ (Niamh 264)
- [13] *cad as go bhfuileann tú ag teacht?* ‘where are you coming from?’ (CChléire 73, s.v. *cad*)
- [14] *cad chuige gur iarrais orm é?* ‘why did you ask me for it?’ (GBroc 119).

⁵Where the clause following *cé acu* contains a resumptive prepositional pronoun, however, the indirect relative construction will be used, e.g. *agus gan fios cé aca a raibh an buaidh aige* ‘and it was not known which of them had won’ (PMB 20).

⁶GGBC §§13.19, 13.30–31; GCF §338; CGT §206. The third person plural, however, is used in the case of the preposition *idir* for which there are only plural pronominal forms, e.g. *cé eatarthu a bhfuil sé?* ‘which of them is it between?’ (GGBC §13.30). Cf. further n. 16 below.

⁷GGBC §§13.19. Note, however, that the possessive adjective is not found in some of our examples, e.g. [26]. This is discussed below.

⁸*N-a* (< *ina*) is a variant form of the indirect relative particle which is found beside the more usual *go* in the Irish of West Cork. See *SnaG* 526, §8.59 and our discussion on the origin of the indirect relative marker below.

Kerry

- [15] **canathaobh** go raibh sé ann an t-am san d'uíhe 'why was he there at that time of night' (LSC 143)⁹
- [16] *I gcúntais Dé* **cad as** go bhfuil siad ag teacht? 'In the name of God, where are they coming from?' (Oileánach 334)
- [17] **Cad air** go bhfuileann tú ag cuíneamh? 'What are you thinking about?' (SB 25)
- [18] *Ach óm baisce nár thugas fios d'aoinne* **cad fé** go rabhas ag gáiridhe 'But, by heaven, I did not let anyone know what I was laughing about' (Peig 133)
- [19] **cé air** gur ceart a bhao dhachas a bheith? 'who should be thanked for it?' (FBF 271).

Clare

- [20] **Cad air** a dtugann tu tor gobáiste? 'What do you call a head of cabbage?' (LSE 129)
- [21] *Níl fhios agum* **cé haige** ar fhág sé i n-a dhiaig é 'I don't know with whom he left it behind' (LSE 263).

Galway

- [22] **cé leis** a ndíolfadh muid iad? 'who would we sell them to?' (STL 91.32)
- [23] **cé go dtí** an rabh tú anocht? 'to whom did you go tonight?' (GCF §338)¹⁰
- [24] **Cé dó** a dtabharfadh Baba a cuid airgid ... ach dá haon deirfiúr Neil? 'Who would Baba leave her money to ... but to her only sister Neil?' (CCille 106)
- [25] **cé uaidh** a bhfuair sé an t-airgead sin? 'from whom did he get that money?' (CC-CRua, 7-01-06)
- [26] **Cé le haghaidh** a bhfuil na buidéil sin? 'what are those bottles for?' (CC-RM, 7-05-03)
- [27] **cé faoina chomhair** a bhfuil tú dhá dhéanamh? 'who are you making it for?' (IIA §8.65)
- [28] **cé mar gheall** a dtiocfadh sí ag iarraidh lóistín acu féin 'for what reason she would come to them seeking lodgings' (ÉaB 160)
- [29] **Céard faoi** a raibh sé ag caint? 'What was he talking about?' (CC-Sp. 7-10-3).

Mayo

- [30] **cé aige** a bhfuil a fhios 'who knows' (PMB 232)

⁹Canathaobh = cad ina thaobh (cf. ex. 4 above).

¹⁰Recte: a rabh tú anocht (?).

- [31] *Cé air a mbíodh fonn grinn nó gáire* ‘Who would be in the humour for fun or laughter?’ (AMSO 26)
- [32] *cé leis a dtaomfa mé é?* ‘with what will I empty it?’ (*Béaloideas* 9 (1939), 90).

Donegal

- [33] *Ca leis a rabh tú ar bád?* ‘Who were you onboard with?’ (GT §501)
- [34] *cé dó a n-inseochadh sé é?* ‘to whom would he tell it?’ (CSS p. 3)
- [35] *Cé roimhe a bhfuil eagla ort?* ‘Who are you afraid of?’ (SJS 99)
- [36] *Cár b as a dtáinig tú?* ‘Where have you come from?’ (SAB 224)
- [37] *Acht ar ndóighe tá a fhios againn cé uaidh a dtug sé é* ‘But of course we know who he got it from’ (CaF 60.13)
- [38] *C’air a rabh sé a’stánadh?* ‘Who was he staring at?’ (CiD 87)
- [36] *cé fá dtaobh de ar úirt sé sin?* ‘who did he say that about?’ (GRGI §404).¹¹

Tyrone

- [39] *C’aige a bhfuil a fhios ...?* ‘Who knows?’ (SML 113).

Antrim

- [40] *Cad as a dtáinig tusa indiu ...?* ‘Where did you come from today?’ (SaR 20).¹²

MODERN IRISH: DISCUSSION

The syntactic structure illustrated by our examples is noteworthy and raises a number of questions. Why, in the first place, are these clauses formed in such a manner? In other interrogative clauses the interrogative pronoun will be followed by its referent and, where this is governed by a preposition, the following indirect relative clause will normally contain a resumptive prepositional pronoun (or a compound preposition with a resumptive possessive adjective), e.g.:

- [41] *níl a fhios agam cén seomra ar chodail sé ann* ‘I don’t know which room he slept in’ (GGBC §27.10)
- [42] *cé hiad na garsúin a raibh an troid eatarthu?* ‘who are the boys who were fighting with each other?’ (GGBC §27.10).

Where the preposition governs a pronoun, however, the order of constituents is inverted. The prepositional pronoun follows the interrogative directly and precedes the indirect relative clause, as in examples [1]–[4]

¹¹In examples taken from this work I have normalised the orthography from the author’s phonetic transcriptions of the spoken language.

¹²Cf. the variant *co as a dtáinig thu indiu* (SaR 50).

above. *GGBC* §27.10 attempts to explain this syntax by suggesting the underlying structure of examples such as [1] and [3] above would be:

[43] *cé a dtabharfaidh mé an duais dó*, and

[44] *cé a raibh tú ag imirt ina choinne*

respectively. These postulated structures would place a resumptive prepositional pronoun or possessive adjective after the verb, and thus adhere to the normal syntactic arrangement of other interrogative relative clauses (cf. exx. [41] and [42] above).¹³ While this may help us to understand how such clauses are to be construed, it does not explain why, in the first place, their constituents are arranged quite differently to other interrogative or relative clauses.¹⁴

A second question that arises is why an indirect relative clause should be required in this construction. In other cases where the antecedent of a relative clause is a prepositional pronoun or compound preposition the normal syntactic structure used is that of the direct relative clause, e.g.:

[45] *an dó a thabharfaidh mé é?* ‘is it to him I will give it?’ (*GGBC* §27.10)

[46] *is ina choinne a bhí mé ag imirt* ‘it was against him I was playing’ (*GGBC* §27.10).

Where the prepositional pronoun is preceded by the interrogative pronoun, however, a different structure is called for. *GCBC* states the rule thus: ‘the indirect relative particle is used in a sentence beginning with an interrogative pronoun (in combination with the copula or free-standing) + a prepositional pronoun + relative particle. But if the copula replaces the interrogative pronoun it is the direct relative that is used.’¹⁵ Even though we have seen that the rule as stated is not observed in examples such as [5]–[9] above, it is clear that the underlying syntax of our construction must be fundamentally different to clauses in which a prepositional pronoun is fronted with the copula.¹⁶

¹³Examples conforming to the structure postulated in *GGBC* and exemplified by [43] and [44] are well attested in Modern Irish dialects and are discussed below.

¹⁴A somewhat similar explanation is offered by O’Nolan, *Studies*, 138.

¹⁵My translation (*GGBC* §27.10: ‘Úsáidtear an mhír choibhneasta neamhdhíreach in abairt dar tús forainm ceisteach (i gcumasc leis an gcopail nó saor) + forainm réamhfhoclach + mír choibhneasta. Ach má chuirtear an chopail in áit an fhorainm cheistigh is é an leagan coibhneasta díreach a úsáidtear.’) A similar rule is stated for clauses with compound prepositions.

¹⁶A further question is why the prepositional pronoun must be in the third person singular masculine, but this is probably due to the fact that *cé* used on its own is felt to be masculine in gender. Nevertheless, we occasionally find examples that adhere to the principles of *constructio ad sensum*, where the prepositional pronoun agrees with the referent rather than being in the third person singular masculine, e.g. *cé acub a bhfuil sí ach ag aineiseoirí an tsaoghail?* ‘who, but life’s wretches have it [the Irish language]?’ (*FBF* 370); *cé chuici a bhfuil tú ag brath a ghabháil* ‘who do you intend to ask for in marriage’ (lit. ‘to whom [fem.] do you intend going?’; *CiD* 69); *níor lig siad a leas ar cairde nuair a mheall siad aisti cé aige nó aici a d’fhágadh sí an teach* ‘they didn’t neglect their own interest when they enticed her to reveal the person to whom she would leave her house’ (*STL* 263); *Ní feasach mé cé dó nó dóibh a bhí an milledán ag dul* ‘I don’t know which person or people are to be blamed’ (*GB* 133).

EAST MUNSTER AND THE DIRECT RELATIVE

Such questions are also prompted by certain developments in the syntax of the construction evident in the modern spoken language. The examples given above [10]–[40] are taken from the writings or transcribed recordings of native speakers of Irish born *c.* 1850–1920 AD and represent the majority of areas in which Irish was spoken in the first half of the last century. It will be noted, however, that the Irish of East Munster (Waterford) is not represented therein. Commenting on the use of the construction in this dialect, Sheehan remarks:

When the interrogative relative is linked with a preposition it is followed by the absolute form of the verb. We do not say, e.g. *cia leis a bhfuil* (or *go bhfuil*) *tu ag caint?*, but *cia leis athá tu ag caint*; nor *cad air a raibh* (or *go raibh*) *sé ag trácht?* but *cad air a [do] bhí se ag trácht?* So too *cia dhó thug tu é?* *Cia uaidh a fuair tu é?*¹⁷

That is to say, in this dialect of Irish such clauses require the direct relative construction. That this usage is systemic and not the result of confusion between the different types of construction is shown by the fact that speakers of the dialect recorded by Sheehan were well capable of using the indirect relative in the other types of clause in which it is required.¹⁸ Sheehan subsequently discussed this feature in a lengthy note he added to his book, *Gile na mBláth*, pointing out that while the indirect relative was the norm in West Munster, Connacht and Ulster, the combination of interrogative and prepositional pronoun was construed in his own dialect as a complex subject antecedent, and thus required the direct relative.¹⁹ His arguments evidently did not move Gerard O’Nolan, who dismissed this syntax out of hand as a corruption of the idiom.²⁰

Both Sheehan and O’Nolan were writing in the early decades of the twentieth century, and their accounts of usage in other dialects were probably correct for the time. The indirect relative was the normal construction in the other Munster dialects, as evidenced by our exx. [10]–[21] taken from the recordings or writings of speakers such as Amhlaoibh Ó Loinsigh (1872–1947), Seán Ó hAo (1861–1946), Peadar Ó Laoghaire (1839–1920) and Pádraig Ó Murchú (1873–1950) from Irish-speaking districts in West Cork; Seán Ó Conaill (1853–1931), Tomás Ó Criomhthain (1855–1937), Peig Sayers (1873–1958) and Muiris Ó Súilleabháin (1904–50) from West Kerry, and Stiofán Ó hEalaioire (1858–1944) from Clare. However, even in the works of some of these prominent exponents of Munster Irish, the direct relative construction, so frowned on by O’Nolan, was not unknown:

¹⁷Sheehan, *Sean-Chaint na nDéise*, 1 (Dublin, 1944), 211.

¹⁸See Sheehan, *Sean-Chaint*, 210–11.

¹⁹M. Sheehan, *Gile na mBláth* (Dublin, 1912), 83–4 n. 110.

²⁰‘The Déisi forms are corruptions of the true idiom and are highly undesirable. They allow such questions as *cia leis atá sé ag caint?* *Cia chuige chuireann tú na leabhra san.* *Cad air atá sé ag trácht.* W. Munster, Connaught and Ulster are against these forms.’ (O’Nolan, *Studies*, 138–9).

- [47] *B'fhéidir ...nárbh fhios cé aige bheadh rud* 'Perhaps it wasn't known who might have something' (*LSC* 89)
- [48] *Do bhí sé le clos ag an mbeirt an uair seo chomh maith, agus ná féadfaidís a aimsiú cad as a bhí sé ag teacht.* 'The two of them could also hear it at this time but could not establish where it was coming from' (*Allagar* 75)
- [49] *Cé leis is deáarthach é?* 'Who is he like?' (*Peig* 194)²¹
- [50] *An bhfuil fhíos agaibh cad air a bhíos ag cuimhneamh?* 'Do you know what I was thinking about?' (*FBF* 165; cf. 17 above).²²

While we encounter such instances of the direct relative in these sources, the indirect construction was still the more usual construction in the material recorded from those speakers, but by the time of Diarmuid Ó Sé's account of the Irish of West Kerry (2000), based on the speech of younger generations of informants,²³ the direct relative construction had become the norm in the dialect. Among the examples listed in this work are:

- [51] *cad air a bhí sí ag sceamhaíl?* 'what was she giving out about?' (*GCD* §691)
- [52] *cé ina theannta abhaile a bhís* 'in whose company did you come home?' (*GCD* §691).

Use of the indirect relative, on the other hand, seems largely confined to the causal interrogative *canathaobh* (< *cad ina thaobh*) 'why',²⁴ e.g.:

- [53] *canathaobh, na daoine ná raibh aon taithí riamh acu, gurb iad is measa* 'why is it that those who never had any experience are the worst?' (*GCD* §710).

It is also found sporadically elsewhere. This shows that in the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, over a small number of generations, the use of the direct relative construction had established itself at the expense of the indirect relative in this type of clause, reflecting in large measure the development that had already taken place in East Munster at an earlier period.

The development is not confined to the dialects of Munster. In the Irish of West Galway the indirect relative would still appear to be the norm in the prepositional interrogative clause, but the use of the direct construction has also been attested for some time, e.g.:

²¹Cf. also p. 197. This can be contrasted with the use of the indirect relative in *n'fheadar cad leis gur dheáarthach iad* 'I don't know what they are like' (*Allagar* 82).

²²So also *FBF* 43.

²³While the exact dates of birth of Ó Sé's informants are not listed, most appear to have been born in the first half of the twentieth century; cf. *GCD* 7–8.

²⁴The syntax of clauses governed by *canathaobh* is discussed below.

- [54] *cé faoi bheadh sibh ag magadh?* ‘who would you mocking?’ (Dúil 177)²⁵
- [55] *cé aige atá na hoileáin sin anois?* ‘who has those islands now?’ (CC-Ros Muc 5-09-09)
- [56] *ach cé uaidh a ghoidfeas mé í?* ‘but from whom will I steal it?’ (CC-Sp 7-22-01)
- [57] *Cé as a bhí an tseanbhean sin?* ‘Where was that old woman from?’ (CC-LCA 1-35-20)
- [58] *Cé le haghaidh atá siad sin?* ‘What are they for?’ (CC-LCA, 2-03-14).

The use of the direct relative in clauses such as these can of course be seen in the context of the gradual erosion of the indirect relative construction and its replacement by the direct construction. While this is a tendency that would nowadays appear to be more marked among younger speakers, it is one that has been in evidence in Irish for some time.²⁶ Nevertheless, among older speakers the use of the direct relative appears to be somewhat more prominent in the prepositional interrogative than elsewhere, and this recalls the systemic nature of its distribution in the Irish of East Munster.

SCOTTISH GAELIC

That the replacement of the indirect by the direct construction in these interrogative clauses is of a somewhat different order to the loss of the indirect construction elsewhere is also shown by the situation in Scottish Gaelic. Many speakers and writers who otherwise use the Scottish indirect relative construction across its range, select the direct relative in this type of clause:²⁷

- [59] *agus ge b’e cò leis a bha e, cha b’ann leis-san* ‘and whosever it was, it wasn’t his.’ (DDonn 68)
- [60] *Fhuair mi a-mach cò às a thàinig am Bulgarian jam* ‘I found out where the Bulgarian jam came from’ (Klond. 119)
- [61] *Cò mu dheidhinn eile a dh’fheumas tu smaoineachadh?* ‘What else must you think about?’ (Klond. 155)
- [62] *Cò comhla ris a bha thu a’danns an oidhch’ eile?* ‘Who were you dancing with the other night?’ (Klond. 74)
- [63] *cò air a chaidh do thogail?* ‘on what were you reared?’ (UB 51).

²⁵Cf. also *cé aige atá an gheonaíl sin* ‘who is that whining coming from?’ (Dúil 43); *Cé leis a cheapann sibh a bheith ag cocaireacht* ‘Who are you trying to be cheeky to?’ (Dúil 188); *cé leis atá mé ag caint* ‘who am I speaking to?’ (Dúil 198).

²⁶On this development see *SnaG* 526, 607; *GCD* §626–7; *IIA* §8.80–83; *GRI* §683, and M. Ó Siadhail, *Modern Irish: Grammatical Structure and Dialectal Variation* (Cambridge, 1989), 313–14.

²⁷Scottish Gaelic retains the old prepositional relative construction in indirect relative clauses. This construction is in Modern Irish subject to a number of restrictions (*GCBC* §27.17) and confined largely to the written register. The development of the Irish indirect relative construction is discussed below.

These can be contrasted with the indirect relative construction in:

- [64] *a fheadhainn aig a robh a' cheilp* 'those who had the kelp' (*UB* 77)
- [65] *dannsa ris an can sinn Dannsa Chlaidheamh* 'the dance we call the Sword-Dance' (*Tocher* 17 (1975), 10)
- [66] *Sin an t-àite as an tàinig e* 'That is where he came from' (*Arran* §235)
- [67] *Bha fear a bha ag obair còmhla ris air an robh Fionnlagh* 'There was a man working with him who was called Fionnlagh' (*Klond.* 227)
- [68] *Dè an seòrsa staid anns an robh am bàta aige?* 'In what sort of state was his boat?' (*Klond.* 215).

The situation obtaining in modern spoken Scottish Gaelic, however, is rendered somewhat more complicated by the fact that the old prepositional relative is sometimes retained in prepositional interrogative clauses. This will be discussed in its historical context below.

MANX

Manx presents a somewhat similar picture. As in Scottish Gaelic, the prepositional interrogative, consisting of interrogative particle + prepositional pronoun, is followed by the direct relative, e.g.:

- [69] *Quoi rish eisht nee shiu Jee y hoylaghey?* 'To whom then will ye liken God?' (*VG* Isaiah 40:18)
- [70] *as quoi marish t'ou er n'aagail ny reygryrn shen dy chirree ayns yn aasagh?* 'and with whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?' (*VG* 1 Samuel 17:28)
- [71] *quoi liorish ta nyn mooinjer hene dy chastey ad?* 'by whom do your children cast them out?' (*VG* Matthew 12:27).²⁸

While the prepositional relative is retained in this structure, albeit with the direct relative as is the case in Scottish Gaelic, elsewhere in Manx it has been largely abandoned in favour of a syntagm of antecedent + prepositional pronoun + direct relative, e.g.:²⁹

- [72] *yn dooiny rish chreck mee yn wooa* 'the man to whom I sold the cow' (*GML* §105)
- [73] *ny greeshyn, orroo hie eh seose gys thie'n Chiarn* 'his ascent [the stairs] by which he went up to the house of the Lord' (*VG* 1 Kings 10:5).³⁰

²⁸Cf. also *GML* §107.

²⁹Vestiges of the old prepositional relative with indirect relative and eclipsis are attested in Early Manx; cf. C. Lewin, "'Manx hardly deserved to live": perspectives on language contact and language shift', *ZCP* (2016), 141–205, at 160.

³⁰On this construction see Lewin "'Manx hardly deserved to live'", 160–1. Note that in this Manx construction the prepositional pronoun agrees with its referent, e.g. *rish* and *orroo*

or by an alternative strategy in which a direct relative clause + resumptive prepositional pronoun is used, e.g.:

- [74] *yn dooiny chreck mee yn wooa rish* ‘the man to whom I sold the cow’
(*GML* §105).³¹

INTERROGATIVE WITH RESUMPTIVE PREPOSITIONAL PRONOUN

A second important development is mentioned by Sheehan in his discussion of how the syntax of the interrogative relative in East Munster Irish diverges from that in other dialects. He points to two constructions found in the dialects of Connacht and Ulster that would correspond to the type of sentence [75] we find in the Irish of East Munster:

- [75] *Cia [cé] leis atá sé ag caint?* ‘Who is he talking to?’, viz.

- [76] *Cia [cé] leis a bhfuil sé ag caint?* and

- [77] *Cia [cé] a bhfuil sé ag caint leis?*

Ex. [76] represents the normal indirect relative (as in our exx. [10]–[40] above), but in [77] we find that the syntagm interrogative + prepositional pronoun + indirect relative has been replaced by a structure consisting of interrogative + indirect relative + resumptive prepositional pronoun, that is to say, that the prepositional pronoun has been moved rightwards towards the end of its clause. This latter structure, of course, brings the prepositional interrogative with pronoun into conformity with other interrogative indirect relative clauses with a resumptive prepositional pronoun referring back to the antecedent of the clause, as in [41] and [42] above.

As such, it can be seen as a predictable development. Sheehan’s reference to it being attested in Connacht and Ulster Irish as early as 1912 shows it also

in the examples cited. A strikingly similar type of construction is attested in some eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Irish texts from South-East Ulster, e.g. *an mhuinir leo nach dtainic na cathuigthe iomchar; do thuiteadar* ‘those who could not bear the temptations fell’; *tusa ort a mbíonn eagla air uairib* ‘you who are frightened at times’. For these and other examples see C. Ó Cadhlaigh, *Gnás*, §476 (pp. 398–401) and B. Ó Buachalla ‘The prepositional relative clause in SE-Ulster Irish’, *Celtica* 15 (1983), 69–77. Ó Buachalla holds that this construction, confined as it appears to be to religious texts, may have been restricted to high-register religious discourse and was not a widespread feature of the dialect.

³¹This construction similar to the Irish indirect relative with resumptive prepositional pronoun is also attested in Scottish Gaelic, e.g. *faigh i o’n fheadhainn a tha thu ’g obair aca* ‘get it from the people for whom you are working’ (*Lochlann* 5 (1972), 94). This is frequently encountered where the relative clause contains a compound preposition, e.g. *gu dè an fheadhainn a bha sinn còmhla riu*, ‘who are the people we were with?’ (*Lochlann* 6 (1974), 83). Cf. also *SnaG* 697; but note that in our two examples of the interrogative relative listed above, [61] and [62], the compound preposition + relative particle precedes its verb. This Scottish construction, however, uses the direct relative, as can be seen from the verbal forms *tha* and *bha* in our examples, and is taken by MacLennan to be a relatively recent development in the language; see G. W. MacLennan, ‘Some anomalies in the Gaelic dialects of Scotland and Canada’, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 14 (1986), 128–37, at 129. On the possible dialectal distribution of the two constructions, cf. D. Adger and G. Ramchand, ‘Dialectal variation in Gaelic relative clauses’, in *Rannsachadh na Gàidhlig* 3 (2006), 179–92.

to be a feature of long standing, and while examples can be cited from several dialect areas, including Munster, my impression is that this structure would appear to be more prominent in the Irish of Ulster than elsewhere.³² I give some examples:

- [78] *n'fheadaradar cé go gcuirfidís an milleán air* 'they did not know who to blame' (*GBroc* 62) (Cork)
- [79] *dá mbeadh fhios agum cé hé go raibh an tseana-scian sin aige* 'if I knew who had that old knife' (*LSE* 53) (Clare)
- [80] *cé a bhfuil easpa céille air?* 'who is lacking in sense?' (*CC-Sp* 7-27-02) (West Galway)
- [81] *An bhfuil a fhios agat céard atá mé ag gáire faoi?* 'Do you know what I am laughing about?' (*CC-Forb* 6-03-16) (West Galway)³³
- [82] *i riocht agus go sílfeá go mbeadh a fhios aici céard a mbeifeá ag cuimhneamh air* 'in such a way that you would think she would know what you were considering' (*PMB* 25) (Mayo)
- [83] *cé bhfuil an chrois fána choinne* 'who is the cross for' (*GRGI* §403) (Donegal)
- [84] *cé hé rachfá chuige ach mac do dhearthára féin* 'who would you go to but your own brother's son' (*UGV* 210) (Tyrone).

These and other developments have recently been addressed by James McCloskey in his study of resumptive pronouns in Irish and their underlying syntax.³⁴ One of the important observations he makes in this work is that in the prepositional interrogative clause the interrogative and immediately following prepositional pronoun form a closely bound stress unit. The stress falls on the prepositional pronoun, to which the weakly accented interrogative (*cé* or *cá/ca*) is bound in what amounts to a form of proclisis. This bound unit will not tolerate the insertion of any other element between its two members. If any other element is placed after the interrogative, it will result in the prepositional pronoun being moved to the end of its clause. Hence the presence of the pronoun *é* in our examples [83]–[84] above can be seen to trigger the rightward movement of the prepositional pronoun in each case. In like manner, the use of the compound interrogative *goidé/caidé*, found mainly in the northern dialects of Irish, calls for the same syntax, e.g.:

- [85] *caidé a bhfuair sé greim air* 'what did he catch hold of' (*CSS* 13)
- [86] *thuigfeadh sé goidé a rabh sí cosamhail leis* 'he would understand what it was like' (*FGI* 16)

³²See L. Lucas, *GRGI* §§402–4 and McCloskey 'Resumptive pronouns', 99–101. Note also *cé a bhfuil an tae ina chomhair?* 'who is the tea for?', cited without comment in *GGBC* §13.81.

³³Note further the use of the direct relative construction in this example.

³⁴'Resumptive pronouns', at 98–108.

- [87] *goidé chuir sé an rópa fríd?* ‘what did he put the rope through?’
(GRGI §402).³⁵

This condition is of course not present in all examples listed in [78]–[84] above in which the prepositional pronoun has been postposed rather than preposed, but it is clear that such re-arrangement presented an alternative strategy in Modern Irish for the formation of these clauses.

Both the replacement of the indirect by the direct construction exemplified by [54]–[58] above, and the re-arrangement of its constituents as in [78]–[84], suggests some degree of instability in the formation of such interrogative relative clauses. This doubtless has to do with their origin and subsequent history, to which we will now turn our attention.

ORIGIN

We can trace the origin of the Modern Irish direct and indirect relative constructions back to the Early Irish period. Historically, the Modern Irish (and Scottish Gaelic) direct relative derives from the Old Irish leniting relative clause. In Old Irish this construction was initially confined to clauses in which the antecedent was the subject or the direct object of the following relative verb, but in late Old Irish and in the course of the Middle Irish period was extended to clauses that followed fronted prepositional phrases, and also to certain conjunctions or nouns that would formerly have required a nasalizing relative clause.³⁶ The lenition of the initial of the verb which marks the affirmative direct relative would itself appear to be a relatively late and analogous development in Old Irish which subsequently spread as the primary manner of formally marking a relative verb over a wide range of sentences.³⁷ Note that initial relative lenition predates the development of the relative particle *do* (> *a*) which first appears in Early Modern Irish.³⁸ The negative relative particles *nach* and *na/ná* are derived from the Early Irish forms *nách* and *nád* respectively.

The indirect relative derives from the old prepositional relative clause, in which a syntagm consisting of preposition + relative particle *a* + verb is

³⁵This condition does not attach to *céard/créad* which in origin is a composite interrogative pronoun (< *cía réit*) but can be followed directly by the prepositional pronoun and relative clause, cf. ex. [28] above. This, however, is a compound of very long standing and clearly was regarded as a single unit when the rule came into force. In Kirwan’s catechism of c. 1830, we encounter examples such as *Goidé uaidh a bhfuair sí na grásta sin?* ‘From whom did she receive those graces?’ (Kirwan §38) and *Goidé dhó a drug Dia na haitheanta?* ‘To whom did God give the commandments?’ (Kirwan §240), but in this text the interrogative *goidé* is also used where simple *cé* would be expected, e.g. *Goidé hiad na beoibh?* ‘Who are the “living”?’ (Kirwan §129), and clearly is seen as a single entity; on this see W. Mahon’s comments in Kirwan, p. 215. With regard to the East Ulster phrase *caidé/goidé as nach ...* ‘why... not?’, see the discussion on *why*-clauses below.

³⁶*GOI* §506; R. Ó hUiginn, ‘The Old Irish nasalizing relative clause’, *Ériu* 37 (1986), 33–86, at 69–75.

³⁷On the initial lenition of verbal forms, see *GOI* §495(b).

³⁸On this, see B. Ó Buachalla ‘The relative particle *do*’, *ZCP* 29 (1962–4), 106–13.

used (*GOI* §492). While this construction is still widely employed in Scottish Gaelic,³⁹ Irish has innovated and although matters of detail and chronology remain to be worked out, the broad outlines of the development seem clear. The Modern Irish indirect relative particle, of which there are some dialectal variants (i.e. *a*, *na*, *go*), evolved from the prepositional relative through the generalisation of a particular preposition with the relative particle as a non-specific relative marker. In the combination of preposition and relative particle, the preposition lost its semantic force, and the unit became a generalised relative marker. The nature of the relationship between antecedent and following clauses now had to be defined by the introduction of a resumptive prepositional pronoun. Contrast, for instance, [88], in which the preposition *ag* + relative retains its full force in a possessive construction, with [89], in which a resumptive prepositional pronoun (*aige*) echoes the preposition found with the relative particle that precedes the verb (*agá*), and [90] and [91], in which the resumptive prepositional pronouns (*dhó*, *orra*) differ from the one preceding the verb (*agá*), which here has to be taken as a generalised relative particle:

- [88] *is beac má ba oirrdearca Concobhar agá roibhi ríghi Uladh*
 ‘Conchubhar, who had the kingship of Ulster, was hardly more eminent’
 (CF² 589–590)
- [89] *athair muinntire agá raibhe dias mac aige* ‘a father who had two sons’
 (TSh. 3445–6) (*agá* ~ *aige*)
- [90] *creúd é an fear so, aga bhfuilid na gáotha agus an fhairge ag umh-*
lughadh dhó ‘what sort of man is this, that even winds and sea obey
- [91] *bíd mórán do dhaoinibh agá mbí eagla na péine ifreannnda amháin*
orra ‘there are many people who only have fear of hellish punishment’
 (TSh. 4439–40) (*agá* ~ *orra*).

A further development was the use of this relative marker to denote genitival relationship:

- [92] *Ná cuir amugha réd bhiádh an té ag-á bhfuáir Críosa bás ar a shon*
 ‘Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom [lit. for whose sake] Christ died’
 (NT Romans 14:15)
- [93] *Achd créud hé an ní agá ndeachubhair amach dhá fhéuchuin?* ‘But what did you go out so see?’ (NT Luke 7:25)
- [94] *ag so an tí agá mbeith a urnaighthe iomlán* ‘here is the person whose prayer is complete’ (TSh. 4534).

The modern indirect relative particle *a* thus derives most likely from the preposition *i* used in relative construction. A by-form *na* (< *ina*) is also attested dialectally in Munster.⁴⁰ The West Munster form *go*, on the other hand, derives

³⁹But note the alternative construction in Scottish Gaelic involving the use of a resumptive pronoun discussed above in n. 31.

⁴⁰G. Ó Nolan, *Studies in Modern Irish, Part I* (Dublin, 1919), 105–6; *SnaG* 526; and ex. [10] above.

from the combination of the preposition *ag* + relative particle, i.e. *aga/agá > ga/go*. This construction was also extended to clauses with resumptive possessive adjectives, functioning as a genitival relative as in [92]–[94], and to clauses with resumptive independent pronouns.⁴¹ The prepositional relative construction from which this evolved is confined in the main to the literary language in Modern Irish and is restricted to a number of prepositions.⁴² In Scottish Gaelic, on the other hand, it is still widely used (cf. exx. [64]–[68] above).

In Early Irish the prepositional interrogative is expressed by the use of an interrogative pronoun, inflected for gender, followed by a prepositional relative clause (*GOI* §492). The following examples illustrating this usage are taken from Old and Middle Irish texts:

- [95] *Cid asa fordailtea grád túa[i]the?* ‘On what basis have the lay grades been subdivided?’ (*Críth Gabl.* 6)
- [96] *ben las(a) mbi cuma cip cia las fia* ‘a woman who does not care with whom she sleeps’ (*BCrólige* §44)
- [97] *cid dia nepirsom aní sin* ‘why does he say this?’ (*Wb.* 19 d 11)
- [98] *Cid ara tibrind mo mnaí duit* ‘Why [i.e. for what] should I give you my wife?’ (*LL* 13357)
- [99] *Cid fris tudchabair* ‘For what have you come?’ (*LL* 33054)
- [100] *Cia forsa ndígéltar iat* ‘On whom will they be avenged?’ (*LL* 38420–1)
- [101] *nícon-fes cīa ō-tucad* ‘it is not known from whom it was brought’ (*Sc. M.*² 3)
- [102] *cid imma tucad Lis na n-Éices ar in lis-so thes?* ‘why was this enclosure to the south called Lis na n-Éices?’ (*Acall.* 2714)
- [103] *cia ic á raibe ind fídhchell?* ‘who had the fídhchell?’ (*Acall.* 7816).

While some of the examples listed here may bear a superficial resemblance to the Modern Irish construction, the two are clearly not the same. The Early Irish construction consists of a fully stressed pronoun (*cid*, *cía*) followed by an unstressed complex of preposition + relative particle, whereas its modern counterpart is formed by using a weakly stressed interrogative followed by

⁴¹On the development of the Modern Irish indirect relative see G. Ó Nolan, *Studies*, 108–13; *SnaG* 425, 464; O. Bergin, *TSh*, vocabulary s.v. *go*; D. Greene, ‘The development of the construction *is liom*’, *Éigse* 10 (1961–3), 45–8, at 48; R. Ó hUiginn ‘A note on relative marking in Irish’, in P. O’Neill (ed.) *The Land beneath the Sea: Essays in Honour of Anders Ahlqvist’s Contribution to Celtic Studies in Australia*, Sydney Series in Celtic Studies 14 (Sydney, 2013), 163–70; and M. Hoyne, ‘Why resumption? Resumptive pronouns in prepositional relative clauses’, in E. Poppe, K. Stüber and P. Widmer (eds), *Referential Properties and their Impact on the Syntax of the Insular Celtic Languages* (Münster, 2017), 69–100.

⁴²*GGBC* §27.17. Note, however, that indirect relative *a* following a noun with locative or temporal force is not followed by a resumptive prepositional pronoun and thus most likely reflects the old prepositional relative with *i* (> *a*); cf. *GOI* §492; *GGBC* §27.11 and Ó hUiginn, ‘A note’, 168. West Munster *go*, which can also be used in a locative function without a resumptive pronoun, appears to have adopted the syntax associated with *a* (< *i*), which may also appear in such clauses in this dialect; see *GCD* §623–4.

a fully stressed prepositional pronoun and the relative particle. This earlier interrogative + prepositional relative, moreover, is not a bound syntagm in the way its later counterpart is. It will tolerate the insertion of other elements between interrogative and prepositional relative, e.g.:

- [104] *cid dono **arnab** fo gnímaib no mesemnaiged duine for araile fon innsin*
 [= *fon indas sin*] ‘why (i.e. for what), then, should it not be for his
 deeds that one person should judge another in that manner?’ (CIH 350,
 11–12).⁴³

Despite these fundamental differences, it would nevertheless appear that the structure of our modern prepositional interrogative clause is indeed based on the older construction, save that the simple preposition has been replaced by the third person singular masculine prepositional pronoun to which the interrogative is bound in proclisis.

How and when did this change happen? Two factors are likely to have contributed to the development. In the first place, there is a strong tendency in Irish to replace the simple prepositions by a form based on the corresponding third person singular masculine prepositional pronoun. Thus we find *as* in place of earlier *a*, *roimh(e)* in place of *ré*, *tríd* in place of *tré*, etc.⁴⁴ The starting point of this substitution is obscure, as O’Brien has pointed out, but while there is evidence to show that this process goes back at least as far as the fourteenth century, the substitution of a form based on the prepositional pronoun for the simple preposition was not carried through to completion nor did it affect all prepositions in all dialects equally.⁴⁵ Some prepositions have resisted the change, e.g. Scottish Gaelic *a* ‘out of’, contemporary Modern Irish *i* ‘in’, while the influence of the prepositional pronoun on others has only been partial and does not amount to full replacement, e.g. *le* (< *leis*; OIr *la*) *thar* (OIr *dar*), *chuig* (< *chuige*; OIr *co*), *roimh* (< *roimhe*; OIr *re*), *ar* /*er*/ (< *air*(*i*); OIr *ar* /*ar*/), *ag* /*eg*/ (< *aige*; OIr *oc* /*og*/), etc. This development on its own cannot form the basis of the modern interrogative relative, which in all dialects of Irish and Scottish Gaelic contains a stressed prepositional pronoun (cf. exx. [10]–[40], [59]–[63] above), but it may have contributed to it.

The most likely reason that the old construction of interrogative + preposition + relative particle was replaced by the modern syntagm of interrogative + prepositional pronoun + relative particle, is that the modern construction is in origin a petrified copula phrase.⁴⁶ Where the copula is followed by a preposition in a minimal interrogative clause consisting simply of copula and preposition, the preposition must take its pronominal third

⁴³Cf. also later *creud fos fa ndealbthar an Sbiorad Naomh a bhfioghair cholaim?* ‘why, furthermore, is the Holy Spirit presented in the form of a dove?’ (*Luc. Fid.* II. 521–2).

⁴⁴On this development see M. A. O’Brien, ‘Etymologies and notes’, *Celtica* 3 (1956), 168–84, at 175–7.

⁴⁵O’Brien, ‘Etymologies’, 176.

⁴⁶That is to say, we take *cé* etc. to consist of interrogative + copula, as is evident from past-tense and conditional forms such as *cérb*, *cér* and *cérbh*; cf. M. A. O’Brien, ‘Etymologica’, in J. Ryan (ed.), *Féilsgríbhinn Eoin Mhic Néill* (Dublin, 1940), 87–8, at 88.

person singular masculine form.⁴⁷ Such clauses typically occur in ‘follow-up’ questions, where a context has been established by a preceding phrase or utterance. Consider the following examples from English:⁴⁸

[105] A. *I’m going out tonight.* B. *Who with?*

[106] A. *I need to go to the shop tonight.* B. *What for?*

These are elliptical phrases and represent the syntactic construction known in theoretical syntax as ‘sluicing’.⁴⁹ Sluicing involves the elision of all elements, save the interrogative pronoun, from direct or indirect questions.⁵⁰ Thus our example [105] would stand for *Who are you going out with tonight?* while [106] would represent *What do you need to go to the shop tonight for?*

This construction is well attested in Modern Irish, e.g.:

[107] Q. *Ní aontóinnse an-mhór leatsa anois faoi sin.* A. *Cé faoi?*

Q. ‘I would not agree greatly with you about that. A. About what?
(*CC-Forb* 6-14-3)

[108] *Arb ag an sagart a bhíodh sé nó cé aige?* ‘Was it the priest who used to have it, or who? (*CC-Teach Mór* 5-08-03).

As such constructions belong in the main to the realm of the spoken language, instances in earlier written sources are not frequently encountered, but the occasional examples we find show that sluicing was also a feature of earlier Irish. The following is taken from Antoin Gearnon’s *Parrthas an Anna* (1645), much of which is set out in a question-and-answer format:

[109] C. *An rabhamar a mbraighdeanas?*

F. *Do bhámar.*

C. *Cia aige?*

Q. Were we kept captive?

A. Yes, we were.

Q. By whom? (*PA* ll. 1402–5).

The question *cia aige* would thus stand for **cía agá rabhamar a mbraighdeanas*. Example [110] is from an eighteenth-century text, cast in the form of a dialogue:

⁴⁷Cf. *GGBC* §13.81.

⁴⁸Examples taken from Cambridge Dictionary’s online English Grammar Today <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/grammar/british-grammar/speaking/question-follow-up-questions> (accessed 20 June 2018).

⁴⁹On sluicing, see J. Ross, ‘Guess who?’, in R. Binnick, A. Davison, G. Green, and J. Morgan (eds), *CLS 5: Papers from the Fifth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, April 18–19, 1969* (Chicago, 1969), 252–86; S. Chung, W. Ladusaw and J. McCloskey, ‘Sluicing and logical form’, *Natural Language Semantics* 3 (1995), 239–82; J. Merchant, *The Syntax of Silence: Sluicing, Islands, and the Theory of Ellipsis* (Oxford, 2001). I am grateful to James McCloskey for these references.

⁵⁰As stated in the original formulation by Ross, ‘Guess who’, 252: ‘This rule has the effect of deleting everything but the preposed constituent of an embedded question under the condition that the remainder of the question is identical to some other part of the sentence or of a preceding sentence.’

[110] *Bhímur a rinne, do shinneadhmur, do ghabhamur abhrán, bhímur a gáireadh, dimreamur.*

*Go dé an cloithe, agus **cia leis**?*

Q. 'we were dancing, we played music, we sang a song, we were laughing and we played.

A. What game and with whom?' (*Conv.* 23)

Likewise, **cia leis** in this example would stand for **cia lér imreabhair?* Example [111] is from a sermon written in 1817:

[111] *Is é an ní d'ofráilimíd fuil agus feóil /ar Slánuigh[h]eóra.*

Cia dhó?

'What we offer is the blood and flesh of our Saviour'.

To whom?' (*SMN* 3, 112)

So also **cia dhó** here would stand for **cia dá n-ofráilaimíd fuil agus feóil ar Slánuightheóra.*

What has taken place in the modern construction is that the syntagm of interrogative + prepositional pronoun, i.e. the sluice, has been taken from such elliptic phrases and imposed on the old prepositional relative, resulting in the preposition being replaced by the pronominal form, but with the syntax of the prepositional relative being retained. Such a development will explain why we now have a prepositional pronoun instead of a simple preposition in the construction, and why the (copular) interrogative is unstressed and bound to the following prepositional pronoun, and it will furthermore account for the use of the indirect relative in the following clause.

CHRONOLOGY

When exactly this development took place is difficult to establish. The *Dictionary of the Irish Language (DIL s.v. 1 cíá)* gives the following from the late-fifteenth-century *Stair Ercuil ocus a Bás* as an early example:

[112] **ca as a tangadar** 'whence they came' (*St. Ercuil* 1412).

However, this can hardly be taken as definitive since *as a* in this example is just as likely to represent the preposition *a* + relative particle than the prepositional pronoun with relative particle.

The pronominal construction is not found in the corpus of bardic poetry.⁵¹ As in Early Irish, the old prepositional relative is the only construction used, e.g.:

- [113] *cia ar nach tug a thrócuire?* ‘to whom did he not show his mercy’ (*Dán Dé* xxv.46)
- [114] *Cia re bhfuil Éiri ac anmhuin?* ‘For whom is Ireland waiting?’ (*Maguire* II, 1a)
- [115] *Cia dá gcreidfí ... an ealta churadh cholg sídh ...* ‘In whom shall the flock of champions with elfin swords put their trust’ (*IBP* 43, 17ab)
- [116] *cia ó bhfuighthe fóiridhin?* ‘who can help you?’ (*Athdhióghluim* 39, 1d)
- [117] *Cia rér fháiltigh Inis Fáil?* ‘Who did Ireland welcome?’ (*O’Reillys*, xix, 1a)
- [118] *Cia lé máiter in gním garb/do chath Luimnig na laecharm?* ‘By whom of the host of Limerick of the warrior arms is the rough deed boasted?’ (*Celtica* 19 (1987), 42, v. 12ab)
- [119] *cia mó fá dtugadh tusa/umhla uait an dula-sa?* ‘why shouldst thou, more than they, make submission now?’ (*SVBDL* xx, 18cd).

Likewise, the old syntagm of interrogative + preposition + relative particle + verb is the construction we encounter in the writings of Mac Aingil, Ó Maoil Chonaire, Keating, Stapleton, Gearnon and others active in the first part of the seventeenth century. Nor do we have any unambiguous examples of the modern construction in the Irish New Testament (1602/3) or in other religious texts of the period. In all of these texts, the old prepositional relative is the construction preferred.

Our construction, therefore, comes to be established in the literary language only in the post-classical era, but the fact that it is also found in Scottish Gaelic suggests that it may have had a sub-literary existence of longer standing. To trace its emergence, it will be convenient to look in turn at (a) the interrogative + prepositional pronoun and (b) the interrogative + compound preposition, as the manner in which each type of these is constructed is not the same.

⁵¹There are some examples in the bardic corpus in which the alternative form *leis* is used in place of *lé* in the prepositional relative construction, e.g. *do-sia ar a chorp nó ar a chruth / cia leis nach olc an t-éanghuth* ‘who among us is not offended by a single criticism of his appearance or manner’ (*Ériu* 64 (2014), 162, v. 8cd); *Do léan cia leis nach cluintir / do chaillis do chéad-mhuintir* ‘who has not heard of your sorrow?; you have lost your spouse’ (*A. Ó Dálaigh*, poem 52, 2ab). While on the surface this looks very like the Modern Irish construction, on metrical grounds *leis* in these examples has to be unstressed: these grounds are its failure to rhyme with a word in the penultimate line of the stanza in the first case (*deibhidhe*), and its position between the alliterating pair *cia ... cluintir* in the second. *Leis* here must represent the old form *lass(a)*, reformed on the analogy of (*f*)*riss(a)* or perhaps under the influence of the prepositional pronoun.

INTERROGATIVE + PREPOSITIONAL PRONOUN

With regard to the first of these, a problem we immediately encounter in sources of the seventeenth century and later is identifying clear and unambiguous examples of the new construction. This is due to the convergence of simple preposition and prepositional pronoun, alluded to above, which sees many simple prepositions replaced or reshaped under the influence of the third person singular masculine pronominal form. This development serves in many instances to obliterate a formal distinction between the two. Consider the following examples, both taken from the Irish translation of the Old Testament:

[120] *Cía ar nach bía h-eagla-sa?* ‘Who will not fear you?’ (OT Jeremiah 10:7)

[121] *cía air nach bíádh eagla?* ‘who will not fear?’ (OT Amos 3:8).

Example [120] with the prepositional form *ar* has the appearance of being the prepositional relative construction, while [121], with the form *air*, looks very much like the pronominal construction. However, as *ar* and *air* are used interchangeably as forms of the simple preposition in this text, the diagnostic for distinguishing the two constructions is lost both with this preposition and others that show a similar convergence.⁵²

What might appear to be some clear examples are found in the Irish Old Testament printed in 1685, but translated several decades earlier. In these the interrogative *créd* is followed by the prepositional pronoun *uime*, which is quite distinct from the simple preposition *um* (or) *uim*, e.g.:

[122] *créd uime gur sibh as deigheanuigh do thabhairt an Rígh ar ais?* ‘wherefore then are ye the last to bring back the king?’ (OT 2 Samuel 19:12).

[123] *Créd uime nar bheanabhair amach íad?* ‘Why therefore did ye not recover them?’ (OT Judges 11:26).

These can be contrasted with:

[124] *créd um a ndérna tusa so?* ‘Why have you done this?’ (OT Jonah 1:10),

in which the prepositional relative is used. Rather than representing the new relative construction, however, it is more likely that *uime* in [122] and [123] is being used in each case to translate the English *therefore* or *then* which appear in the text of the King James Bible, on which the Irish translation is based. The third person singular masculine prepositional pronoun *uime* (*sin*) is used throughout the Old Testament in the sense ‘therefore, as a result of that, etc.’, and these can be taken as further instances of that usage.⁵³

⁵²In this case both probably represent the old prepositional relative.

⁵³For *créd nach/nar* in the sense ‘why ... not?’, cf. *créd nach bhfuáir mé bás a n-uáir tháinig mé amach as an mbolg?* ‘why did I not die when I came from the womb?’ (OT Job 3:11), and the discussion on *why*-clauses below.

The earliest clear examples I have been able to find in the corpus of texts provided by the Royal Irish Academy's *Foclóir Stairiúil na Nua-Ghaeilge* come from the second recension of *Acallam na Senórach*:⁵⁴

[125] *Cia aicce a raibhe in bhfithchill darab fuirionn so?* 'Who had the *fithchell* to whom these pieces belonged?' (AS2, III, 140)

[126] *Cia aicce a rabhador...?* 'Who had them?' (AS2, II, 184).⁵⁵

These examples, however, are found side by side with the prepositional relative, used in all other cases in what is a very lengthy text.⁵⁶ Although this version of the *Acallam* has been dated to the late fifteenth or to the early sixteenth century, our earliest manuscript witness was written c. 1680. As its editor points out, the scribe, Pádraig Mac Oghannán, was responsible for introducing some neologisms into his text in the course of transcription.⁵⁷ While it is of course possible that the new construction was already in existence at the time this text was composed and that the writer used it in these examples in place of the more usual prepositional relative, it is perhaps more likely that these examples of the modern construction were introduced by Mac Óghannán in the course of transcribing the work from an earlier exemplar. In this text, therefore, the presence of the two constructions may possibly be attributed to issues of transmission resulting in a degree of linguistic layering.

Examples of the new construction are encountered with greater frequency in texts of the eighteenth century, but here again they occur side by side with the older prepositional relative construction. As many of these sources are contemporary compositions, the possibility of linguistic layering cannot be invoked as a reason for the presence of the two in the same text and it must therefore reflect a degree of tension between an older literary syntax and usage in contemporary speech. However, it is also probable that the change from the older prepositional relative to the modern construction did not develop in an even and systemic manner.

Donlevy's Catechism of 1742, also cast in a question-and-answer format, contains many examples of this type of clause. He makes use of both constructions but, quite interestingly, not with the same prepositions. I give examples under each different preposition and list further references below:

Ag

[127] *Cia aige a bhfuil Cumhacht re Aifrionn do rádh?* 'Who is empowered to say mass?' (p. 424).

⁵⁴<http://corpas.ria.ie/>. Accessed 25 June 2018.

⁵⁵*Accas Confaitt féin (ro feas) / cia ris a tuacadh a theas ...?* 'And as for the [battle] of Confaitt itself (it is known) against whom was it fought ...?' (AS2, II, 44), is a prepositional relative clause with the permitted alternative *ris a* being used in place of the more usual *ré* in order to secure seven syllables in the line; cf. *BST* §218. So also AS2, III, 188. The alternative *leis a* (in place of *lé*), appears in AS2, I, 4; III, 133.

⁵⁶Note in particular *cia accá mbíodh* (AS2, I, 276); *cia ghá mbaoi* (ibid. II, 31); *cia 'gá raibh* (ibid. II, 87), where *ag* appears in the more usual prepositional relative construction.

⁵⁷AS2, I, xxiv–xxv.

A(i)r

- [128] **Cia air** ar chóir dhúinn guidhe? ‘For whom should we pray?’ (p. 366).

A(s)

- [129] **Creud as** a bhfuil ar nDóigh? ‘For what do we hope?’ (p. 353).

Do

- [130] **Cia d’ar** Ceart an Sásughadh-so do thabhairt? ‘To whom should this satisfaction be given?’ (p. 106).

Fo

- [131] **Creud F’ar** chuir Dia air an tSaoghal thú? ‘Why did God bring you into the world?’ (p. 114).

I

- [132] **Creud ann** a bhfuil d’fiachaibh oruinn a bheith umhal dóibh? ‘In what must we be obedient to them?’ (p. 82).

Le/Re

- [133] **Cia lé** ar cóir dhúinn ar bhfaoisidin bhliaghamhuil do dheunamh? ‘To whom should we make our annual confession?’ (p. 138).

- [134] **Creud ré** ar hUngadh é, nó **ré** ar cuireadh Ola air? ‘With what was he anointed or was oil put on him?’ (p. 28).

Go

- [135] C. **Cia chuige** a nDírighmid ar nUrnuigh? ‘To whom do we direct our prayers?’ (p. 364).

Ó

- [136] **Cia uadh** ar cóir dhúinn an tSáramuintsi do ghlacadh? ‘From whom should we accept this sacrament?’ (p. 326).

The division between the two constructions in this text is noteworthy. The older prepositional relative is retained consistently with the prepositions *do* (13 exx. in the text), *fo* (< *im*) (61 exx.) and *le/re* (2 exx.). The newer pronominal construction, on the other hand, appears with *ag* (2 exx.), *go* (4 exx.), *i* (1 ex.) and *ó* (3 exx.).⁵⁸ The examples with *ar* and *a(s)* are ambiguous as *air* and *as* could represent either the simple preposition or the prepositional pronoun (cf. exx. [120] and [121] above). Whether this represents the linguistic reality of the period in Donlevy’s dialect, or is an attempt on his part to impose some form of standard on a construction that clearly was undergoing change at the time, is not clear.

⁵⁸Although *ó* is the normal form of the simple preposition in this text, a form based on the prepositional pronoun, *uadh*, is found in this function in a small number of cases.

At any rate, by the nineteenth century the new construction had become firmly established in Irish and although we still find examples of the old prepositional relative in texts written at this time, they are in the main confined to works of a religious nature that may well have been influenced by earlier texts of this kind and thus belong to a literary high register rather than reflecting current usage in the spoken language.

INTERROGATIVE + COMPOUND/NOMINAL PREPOSITION

The situation obtaining with compound or with nominal prepositions presents a somewhat more complicated picture. A nominal preposition can be defined as a nominal form used on its own as a preposition (e.g. *chun* < *dochum*, *timpeall*, *trasna*) or a combination of a simple preposition followed by a nominal form (e.g. *le haghaidh*, *os cionn*, *i ndiaidh*, etc.). As such prepositions govern the genitive case, a pronominal object will be expressed by means of a possessive adjective, e.g. Mod. Ir. *i m'aghaidh*, *lenár n-aghaidh*, *i do dhiaidh*, etc.; Early Irish *for ndochumsi* 'to you' (*MI*. 53d9), *ana aigid-seom* 'against him' (*Trip.*² 313) (*in agaid/aigid*), *ara chind* 'in front of him' (*TBC* 1, 493) (*ar chiunn*). Examples of compound prepositions occurring in relative clauses are difficult to find in Early Irish sources, but where they do occur the syntax used is that of the genitival relative which can take a number of forms (*GOI* §§507–8). Note the following variations, all involving the compound preposition *in agaid* 'against'. Exx. [137] and [138] are found in the commentary on the law text *Bretha Éitgid*, while [139] occurs in a digest of early legal material.⁵⁹

[137] *is slán don ti i rucstar agaid* 'it is exempt for the person against whom he brought [him]' (*CIH* 1647.36)

[138] *lethfiach on ti i rucad i n-agaid* 'the person he was brought to oppose is subject to half liability' (*CIH* 1647.41)

[139] *cin fuath inte (= indi) a n-agaid a tecait* 'without hatred of the person against whom they come' (*CIH* 1941.31).

All three examples show variations on the prepositional relative construction. In [137] the preposition *i* precedes its verb and the nominal component of the compound preposition, *agaid*, is moved forward after the head of the relative clause. While one might expect the object to be expressed by a possessive adjective, this is frequently not used in such clauses. That is to say that in such clauses the relative marker on its own can serve to indicate oblique or genitival relationship.⁶⁰ In [138] the preposition *i* appears both before the verb and in the compound preposition *in agaid*, which stands at the end of its clause, while in [139] the clause is structured as a prepositional relative with the entire compound preposition and relative particle preceding their verb. In

⁵⁹Cf. L. Breatnach, *A Companion to the Corpus Iuris Hibernici* (Dublin, 2005), 77. I am grateful to Professor Breatnach for drawing my attention to these examples.

⁶⁰*GOI* §§507–8, and L. Breatnach, 'Some remarks on the relative in Old Irish', *Ériu* 31 (1980), 1–9.

this latter case the structure consisting of the compound preposition + relative particle has been modelled on that of the simple preposition.⁶¹

The earliest examples of compound prepositional interrogative clauses that I have in my collection adhere to this latter structure:

- [140] *Ar a nadhbharson do sméid Simón Peadar ar an bhfhearsoin, do chum gu bhiafróchadh sé, **cía a dtimcheall** ar labhair sé* ‘So Simon Peter motioned to him so that he would ask [Jesus] which one he was speaking about’ (NT John 13:24)
- [141] *agus **cía a naghaidh** ar árduigh tú do ghuth, agus ar thóg tú súas do shúile go hárd?* ‘and against whom have you raised your voice and lifted your eyes?’ (OT 2 Kings 19:22)
- [142] *agus dinnis sisi dá mathairchlíamhuin **cía a bhfochair** ar dhioghluim sí sin* ‘and she told her mother in law with whom she had gathered that’ (OT Ruth 2:19)
- [143] ***Cía a ndiaigh** a ttáinig Rígh Israel amach? **Cía a ndiaigh** a bhfuil tú ag lorgaireachd?* ‘After whom did the King of Israel come out? Who do you pursue?’ (OT 1 Samuel 24:14)
- [144] *teilgiom crainn, chor go náitheonam **cía ar son** a ttig an tolcsó oruinn* ‘let us cast lots in order that we might know on whose account this evil has come upon us’ (OT Jonah 1:7)
- [145] ***cía dochum** a tteichfe mé achd chugad-sa?* ‘to whom should I flee but to you?’ (PA ll. 4648–9).

However, as with the simple prepositions, we also find that the compound preposition can be replaced by the corresponding pronominal form, expressed through the use of a possessive adjective. Once again, my earliest example is from the latter part of the seventeenth century:

- [146] *Ni heidir libhsi a radh linne ca huair no **cía le a linn** a ndeacha an Eaglais Romhanach riamh ar seachran* ‘you cannot tell us when or during whose time the Roman [Catholic] Church ever went astray’ (Luc. Fid. ll. 5850–3).

Examples are encountered with somewhat greater frequency in texts from the following century:

- [147] ***Cía air a shon** a bhfuair sé bás?* ‘For whose sake did he die?’ (Donl. 34)⁶²
- [148] ***Créad ’na thaobh** na dtug Dia anamnacha dhúinn?* ‘Why did God give us souls?’ (Teagusg 7a).

⁶¹On this point see T. F. O’Rahilly (ed.), *Desiderius* (Dublin, 1941), 254–5.

⁶²But contrast this with ***Cía air Son** a nDeirtheair ‘an tAifrionn?’* ‘For whom is mass offered?’ (Donl. 426), without the possessive adjective, found in the same text.

Unlike the simple preposition, however, the replacement of compound prepositions by the corresponding pronominal forms, i.e. with a possessive adjective, does not appear to have been brought to a full conclusion. That is the conclusion suggested by the evidence of the modern dialects: some compounds adopt the pronominal forms wholesale, e.g. Munster *cad ina thaobh*, while others tend to retain the preposition without the pronominal element, e.g. Connacht *le haghaidh* (cf. [26] and [58] above),⁶³ and Scottish Gaelic *carson*.

A significant difference between the development with simple prepositions and that with compound prepositions is that in the former we find the combination of interrogative + unstressed preposition and relative particle being replaced by a syntagm of interrogative + stressed prepositional pronoun. In the latter, on the other hand, the prepositional relative construction already contains a stressed element, namely the nominal constituent of the compound preposition, and moving from one construction to another involves the minimal change of adding an unstressed possessive adjective. It is clear that this change was not always effected and, as we have seen, in many instances the compound prepositional relative without this pronominal element was retained.

In tracing the development from the prepositional to the pronominal construction we find a number of intermediate types that prefigure developments later to come to light in the modern spoken language. In [149], taken from a text of the eighteenth century, we have what appears to be an amalgam of both constructions in which the prepositional pronoun *dó* is followed by the preposition *do* + relative particle:

- [149] *A Thighearna, cia dhó dá mbéarfaidh mé creidmheal, ach duit féin amháin?* ‘O Lord, in whom should I believe but in yourself only?’ (PA I. 210).

In this case, *dá* appears to be used as a generalised marker of the indirect relative (cf. [79] above).

In [150] the preposition *ar* occurs twice: first in combination with the negative particle in a prepositional relative construction and then at the end of its clause in the third person singular masculine pronominal form in a resumptive function, this representing a stage in the development of the modern indirect relative clause (cf. ex. [89] above):

- [150] *Cia ar nach ccuirfeadh críthnúdh agus gráin air, na neithe a theagmhas do réir a thola féin do dhuine?* ‘Who would not be terrified and horrified at the things that happen to a person of his own will?’ (BD II. 1763–4).

⁶³The evidence of examples such as *cé le n’aghaidh a bhfuil sé sin annsin?* ‘for what is that there?’ (SLM 30), *Tá fhios againn cé le n’aghaidh d’imthigh sé* ‘we know why he departed’ (IAE 218), *céard le n’aghaidh ab fhearr a bheadh na páirceanna sin* ‘what would those fields be best for?’ (ÉaB 151), shows that the form with the possessive adjective could also be used in such clauses in the Irish of West Galway. However, in each of the 23 examples I have found in the extended *Caint Chonamara* corpus, the form without the possessive is the only one used. See also the discussion in IIA §§8.64–6.

It is interesting to note the position of the prepositional pronoun in this example, which anticipates the alternative strategy found in modern dialects of moving the prepositional pronoun towards the end of its clause (cf. exx. [78]–[84] above). Further earlier examples of this feature are:

[151] *Cia nach beith iongantas air fa na breitheamhnusuibh so Dé?* ‘Who would not be surprised about these judgments of God?’ (*BD* ll. 1762–3),

again with the simple preposition *ar*, and

[152] ... *ag déanamh amhuruís cíá agár labhuir sé na thimcheall* ‘... uncertain of whom he spoke’ (*NT John* 13:22)

with a compound preposition.⁶⁴ Although examples such as these show this incipient tendency to form prepositional interrogatives in the same manner as other indirect relative clauses — i.e. with a resumptive pronominal element placed after the relative marker — adherence to the structure of the old prepositional relative with preposed prepositional pronoun was to remain the norm.

EAST MUNSTER AND EASTERN GAELIC⁶⁵

This new prepositional interrogative construction was also to develop in Eastern Gaelic but, for reasons similar to those we encountered in the Irish material, the chronology and detail of its emergence are not always obvious. It is nevertheless clear that it was already in use in Scottish Gaelic by the seventeenth century, as evidenced by the following example from the poetry of Iain Lom Mac Domhnaill (c. 1625–1710):

[153] *Cha bhithinn-s ag éigheach / có dha dh’éireadh an call* ‘I would not need to proclaim / who the losers would be’ (*Iain Lom* 1944–5).

Not only do we find the third person singular masculine prepositional pronoun (*dha*) used in this example but we also note it is followed by a direct relative clause, as in exx. [59]–[63] above, which are taken from more recent Scottish sources. As we have already noted, the use of the direct relative is a feature already well established in the Irish of East Munster nowadays, and one that has advanced greatly at the expense of the indirect relative in some other dialects of Irish. That its use in East Munster is also of long standing is evidenced by the sermons of Fr Wall (c. 1778–1834),⁶⁶ e.g.:

⁶⁴There is a marked tendency in some dialects to move compound prepositions to the end of the clause, cf. *GRGI* §403 and ex. [83] above, and compare the similar tendency in Scottish Gaelic noted in n. 31 above. Where compound or simple prepositions are moved to the end of the clause, however, they must contain a resumptive pronominal element, e.g. *na (< ina) thimcheall* in [152] as opposed to *a (< i) dtimcheall* in [140].

⁶⁵I use the designation ‘Eastern Gaelic’ simply as a geographical term with reference to Scottish Gaelic and Manx without assigning any further dialectal or historical significance to it.

⁶⁶On this person see P. Ó Macháin, ‘Teagasc an Athar de Bhál’, *An Linn Bhuí* 11 (2007), 97–131, at 97.

- [154] *mar nach fiosach do aoinne ... cad as a dh'eireodh namhad ina choinne*
 'because nobody knows from what place an enemy might spring up
 against him' (*An Linn Bhuí* 11 (2007), 109).

It is one of a number of features that Waterford Irish has in common with Scottish Gaelic.

This syntactic development calls for comment. Sheehan held that the combination of interrogative and prepositional pronoun in this construction is to be construed as a composite subject antecedent, with the following clause therefore conforming to the syntax of the direct relative.⁶⁷ Unfortunately, he does not expand on this theory nor explain how such a development might have taken place. McCloskey, on the other hand, approaches the issue from a theoretical perspective, arguing that the use of the indirect relative in prepositional interrogative clauses can be perceived to be anomalous in that the complementiser used, namely the indirect relative marker, is normally associated with a following resumptive pronoun which it subjects to 'c[onstituent]-command'. In this case, however, the prepositional pronoun is preposed, and as the complementiser fails to c-command it, it also fails to 'bind' it.⁶⁸ This being the case, it adopts the syntactic pattern associated with other preposed prepositional pronouns, namely, the direct relative construction. Expressing this in a different manner, we can say that the use of the direct relative following a preposed prepositional pronoun in these clauses was most likely modelled on the syntax of clauses in which a prepositional pronoun is fronted in periphrasis with the copula, rather than being based on the old prepositional relative as it was elsewhere. That is to say that the syntactic structure found in clauses such as

- [155] **cé dó a thabharfaidh mé é?* 'to whom will I give it?'

has been adopted from the structure found in examples such as [45] above (*an dó a thabharfaidh mé é?*), rather than that of the underlying

- [156] **cé dá dtabharfaidh mé é?*

This would appear to be the best way of accounting for a syntactic development which is first found in Eastern Gaelic and in East Munster Irish, but which is now well established in the Irish of West Munster and is also prominent in Connacht.

Although the new construction had already taken root in Scottish Gaelic by the seventeenth century, it never succeeded, unlike its Irish analogue, in replacing the older prepositional relative completely. In his *Faclair Gaidhlig gu Beurla*, s.v. *cò*, Dwelly gives both

- [157] *cò aige tha fios gu'n d'fhàinig e*

⁶⁷Cf. n. 18 above.

⁶⁸McCloskey 'Resumptive pronouns', 104–7. On the terms 'c-command' and 'binding', see A. Carnie, *Syntax. A Generative Introduction*, third ed. (Oxford, 2013), 127–32 and 147–56 respectively.

and

[158] *cò aig am bheil fios gu'n d'thàinig e*

as possible ways of rendering ‘who knows that he came?’ into Gaelic. While [157] represents the same syntactic structure as we find in the poetry of Iain Lom (ex. [153] above), i.e. interrogative + prepositional pronoun + direct relative, in [158] we find the older prepositional relative clause. Examination of material in the corpus provided by the Scottish *Faclair na Gàidhlig* shows both constructions existing side by side in many texts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The 1783–1802 translation of the Old Testament, for instance, presents us with both possibilities, e.g.

[159] *cò ris uime sin, a shamhlaicheas sibh Dia* ‘to whom, then, will you liken God?’ (ABN, Isaiah 40:18)

[160] *Cò dam bheil sibh a' deanamh àbhachd? cò ris am bheil sibh a' deanamh beoil fhairsing?* ‘At whom do you sneer and stick out your tongue?’ (ABN Isaiah 57:4),

with direct [159] and indirect [160] constructions respectively. Likewise, both occur in McFarlane’s 1819 translation of Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*:

[161] *Cò aig a tha fios nach toir an Dia sin a chruthaich an saoghal am bàs air an Fhamhair* ‘Who knows that the God who created the world will not kill the giant’ (CO 118)

[162] *cò aig a bheil fios ciod a dh'fhaodadh iad a dheanamh air boirionnaich bhochda mar tha sinne* ‘who knows what they could do to poor women like us’ (CO 213).

Both are still productive in contemporary Gaelic, cf. exx. [157] and [158] above, and contrast

[163] *Cha robh Ailig Iain a 'tuigsinn cò às a thainig an t-ainm* ‘Ailig Iain did not understand where the name had come from’ (DDonn 116)

with

[164] *Co as an tàine tusa, a dhuine?* ‘Where have you come from, my man?’ (Tocher 16 (1974), 288)

which show direct and indirect relatives respectively. William Gillies, likewise, points out that both

[165] *cò ris a bha thu a'bruidhinn?* and

[166] *cò ris an robh thu a'bruidhinn?*

once again with direct and indirect relative clauses respectively, are acceptable alternatives in the modern language for ‘who were you speaking with?’. It is unclear if their use and distribution is dialectal or generational or occasioned by other factors.⁶⁹ David Adger, for his part, suggests that both constructions are in the grammar of most speakers, so it is possible that their use is a matter of preference.⁷⁰

Why-CLAUSES

Finally, there is one type of prepositional interrogative clause that semantically and syntactically forms a class of its own and should be discussed separately. Very frequently, the combination of a neuter or inanimate interrogative pronoun with the prepositional relative construction develops the meaning ‘why’. Thus in Early Irish we find *cid ara* ‘for what? > why?’, *cid imma* ‘about what? > why?’, *cid dia* ‘from what > why?’, etc.⁷¹ A number of these have survived as set interrogative phrases in Modern Irish and in Scottish Gaelic, i.e. Modern Irish *cad/créad fá; goidé/caidé as; cad chuige/tuige; cad ina thaobh/canathaobh* and Scottish Gaelic *carson*. These can be regarded as set phrases in that the component parts always remain closely bound together, in some cases undergoing univerbation with concomitant phonological change,⁷² and in that they do not always follow the normal syntactic patterns obtaining in prepositional interrogative clauses.

While these phrases usually involve the use of preposition/prepositional pronoun + relative particle, in Early Irish we also find the interrogatives *cid* or *crét* followed by a relative clause without any preposition used in this function, e.g.:⁷³

[167] *cid no mbetha im etarceirt a mess im dia* ‘on what account should you be about disputing his judgment with God?’ (*Wb.* 4c24)

[168] *cræd fofrúth litir?* ‘why were letters invented?’ (*ZCP* 12 (1918), 294).

This usage is particularly prominent in negative clauses and endures throughout the Middle and Early Modern Irish periods, e.g.:⁷⁴

[169] *Cid na tibia innossa* ‘why do you not laugh now?’ (*LL* 36313)

⁶⁹W. Gillies ‘Scottish Gaelic’, in M. J. Ball and N. Müller (eds) *The Celtic Languages*, second ed. (Abingdon, 2010 [first ed. 1993]), 230–304, at 290.

⁷⁰D. Adger ‘Gaelic syntax’, in M. Watson and M. Macleod (eds), *The Edinburgh Companion to the Gaelic Language* (Edinburgh, 2010), 304–51, at 335. Is it possible that the survival of the old construction in prepositional interrogative clauses was aided by its use in texts of a devotional kind which are of their nature high-register, being based frequently on earlier sources? Recall also that this construction endured in Irish down to the nineteenth century but is found mainly in devotional texts that in many cases are based on earlier exemplars.

⁷¹Cf. exx. [97], [98] and [102] above.

⁷²E.g. *cad ina thaobh > canathaobh*, *cad chuige > (ca) tuige*, *ca tuí*; cf. *LASID* i, 242.

⁷³On this usage see *DIL* s.vv. 1 *cía* (n) and *crét* (b).

⁷⁴On this use of the negative see R. Ó hUiginn, ‘Zu den irischen Negationen’, in E. Poppe (ed.), *Keltologie heute — Themen und Fragestellungen* (Münster, 2004), 111–20, at 119.

[170] *Don fhior is só ar méad a mhuirne/créad nach dó budh cuibhdhe cách?* ‘why would not all people be more fitting subjects to a man junior in rank if he enjoyed such great popularity?’ (PGB I, 15d)

[171] *créud nar shine an tAthair neamhdha ina a Mhac?* ‘Why was the Heavenly Father not older than his Son?’ (Luc. Fid. ll. 465–6).

Cad fá/créad fá

A preposition, most usually *imm* (*u(i)m*) or its later form *fo/fa*,⁷⁵ can also be used with the negative particle, e.g.

[172] *cread uim nár sgaoilis féin an gad?* ‘why did you not loosen the twig?’ (Mo Chuda 122).

Where the clause is affirmative, the preposition must always be used in Classical and later Irish, e.g.:

[173] *Créad fár aorais gan fhátha / an file áith iongnátha?* ‘why do you satirise causelessly the keen marvellous poet?’ (Content. 22, 7ab)

[174] *a olc ciodh fa gceilfeidhe?* ‘why should his evil be concealed?’ (Celtica 18 (1986), 142, 21d)

[175] *créad uma n-abra tré fhíoch / réad nach admha led eissíoth?* ‘why do you, in your rage, say things which in your instability you deny?’ (Content. 9, 12cd)

[176] *créud fá dtarcuisnigheann tú do dhearbhráthair?* ‘why do you regard your brother with contempt?’ (NT Romans 14:10)

[177] *Creud fa ttugmaoid gradh do Dhía?* ‘Why do we give love to God?’ (Luc. Fid. l. 1309)

[178] *Créud fá ttugthar Críosaí air?* ‘Why is he called Christ?’ (PA l. 972).

Cad fá or *créad fá*, ‘why’, becomes a set phrase in which the combination of preposition and relative particle is not replaced by a syntagm consisting of prepositional pronoun and relative particle as in most other cases. In this form it endures, being found frequently in texts of the nineteenth century and surviving into the modern language, albeit as a literary form.⁷⁶

In place of the neuter interrogative pronoun on its own, we sometimes find the noun *fáth* ‘cause, reason’ used in these clauses, e.g.:

[179] *cread an fáth fa bhfiafruighionn tú mainm?* ‘why do you ask my name?’ (OT Genesis 32:29).

⁷⁵On the forms of this preposition see T. Ó Ceoinín, ‘Tráchtas gearr ar an réamhfhocail *fa*, *faoi*’, *Lia Fáil* 1 (1925), 185–90.

⁷⁶Cf. Ó Duinnín, s.vv. *cad*, *créad*; cf. *cad fá ar thréig tú iad?* ‘why did you desert them?’ (FGB s.v. *cad*; cf. also FGB s.v. *créad*).

In later sources we frequently encounter what appears to be an amalgamation of the two phrases, from which emerges a hybrid, *créad fáth* or *cad fáth*:⁷⁷

- [180] *Fiafruigheas Sir Balbhuaidh créad fáth ar tugadh ‘Ridire an Lóchrainn’ fair ‘Sir Galahad asked why was he called “the Knight of the Lantern”’ (EMM 50)*
- [181] *cread fáth nach ccuireann sibh dóthchus a n-Dia? ‘why do you not put your hope in God?’ (Pastoral 29)*
- [182] *Cad fáth ar ghlac Iosa Críost colann dhaonna? ‘Why did Jesus Christ assume human form?’ (Aithghear. 11).*

This phrase has survived in some dialects of modern Munster Irish, e.g.:

- [183] *is cad fáth lena dtréigfinn-se fíon maith? ‘and why should I abandon good wine?’ (SAL 441)*
- [184] *Cad fáth go bhfuilean tú ag gáirí? ‘Why are you laughing?’ (FBF 81)*
- [185] *Cad fáth go ndeirtear é sin? ‘Why is that said?’ (CChléire s.v. cad).*

Cad as/Goidé as

Beside *cad fá/créad fá* we also find *créad as/cad as* ‘from what’, why’, involving the use of the preposition *a(s)*:

- [186] *créud as a ndéunataói eugcóir ar a chéile? ‘why do you wrong each other?’ (NT Acts 7:26)*
- [187] *créad as a ccurthaói cathughadh ar an dtighearna? ‘why do you tempt the Lord?’ (OT Exodus 17:2)*
- [188] *Cad as nach nabair se ní nuadh linn? ‘Why does he not say something new to us?’ (Gallagher 53)*
- [189] *Cad as a n-deir tú go bhfuil an Eaglais Romhánach Naomhtha? ‘why do you say that the Roman Church is holy?’ (Tuam 30).*
- [190] *Gad as nach dtiomsuigheann tú sluagh, nó cabhlach ar cuan ‘Why do you not gather a host or fleet in a harbour?’ (AM² 72)*

This also develops into a set phrase and survived in the modern language as *caid as* or *goidé as* in the dialects of Mid and East Ulster Irish, e.g.:⁷⁸

⁷⁷It could of course be argued that this represents an orthographic variant of *cad/créad fá* with the irregular spelling of *fá* (preposition + relative particle) being due to the influence of the noun *fáth*. This explanation could possibly be invoked in the case of examples from earlier written texts. *FGB* lists *cad fá* (s.v. *cad*¹ 1(d)), but not *cad fáth*. However, the fact that the phrase *cad fáth* has survived into some modern dialects of Munster Irish (cf. exx. [183–5]) shows that the noun itself is intended. As much is shown by phrases such as *cad fáth do bhuartha? ‘what is the cause of your anxiety’ (FBF 338)*, where there is no question of a prepositional relative clause being involved. A distinction, however slight, can be drawn between *cad fé* ‘about what?’ and *cad fáth* ‘why?’ Cf. ex. [18] above: *cad fé go rabhas ag gáiridhe ‘what I was laughing about’ (Peig 133)*, with *Cad fáth go bhfuilean tú ag gáirí? ‘Why are you laughing?’ (FBF 81)*.

⁷⁸See *LASID* iv, 284 n. 14. In all of the examples I have collected the phrase is followed by a negative clause.

- [191] **Caid as** ... *nar chuir tú an gearrfhia do mo iarraidh-sa ...?* ‘Why didn’t you send the hare to look for me?’ (*SML* 75 (Tyrone))
- [192] **Goidé as** *nach gceannófa bróga damh ...?* ‘Why wouldn’t you buy me shoes?’ (*Béaloideas* 20 (1952), 31 (Tyrone))
- [193] **Goid as** *nár innis tú dhû ...gur chuir mé mo bhata fríd do chois?* ‘Why didn’t you tell me that I stuck my stick through your foot?’ (*SGG* 14 (Cavan))
- [194] **Caidé as** *nár — caidé as nár — dhúirt tú do raibh an spéic i do chos?* ‘Why didn’t you say that the spike was in your foot?’ (*UGV* 288 (Antrim))
- [195] **Goidé ’s** *nach dtug tú tárrtháil dó?* ‘Why didn’t you save him?’ (*CÓMéith* 5 (Louth)).

The use of pronominal *goidé/caidé* in some of these examples ([193], [195] and [196]) calls for comment. As already has been noted, the presence of such a form normally requires that the prepositional pronoun be moved rightwards to the end of its clause; cf. exx. [85]–[87] and n. 31 above. It is evident, however, that this has become a fixed phrase in which the normal syntactic development does not take place, as it is probable that *goidé/caidé as nach* ‘why... not?’ is no longer felt to be a relative construction.⁷⁹

Cad chuige

The combination of interrogative and prepositional pronoun in the collocation *cad chuige* likewise forms a set phrase. The close bond between the unstressed interrogative and prepositional pronoun is again evident in the development of *cad chuige* > *tuige/go tuige* (Connacht) or > *cá tuí* (Donegal), which shows assimilation of the interrogative to the prepositional pronoun with concomitant devoicing of the final *-d* of the pronoun.⁸⁰ This phrase generally requires a following indirect relative, e.g.:

- [196] **Go tuige** *a bhfuair sí iad?* ‘Why did she receive them?’ (*Kirwan* §39)
- [197] **Aithneoidh tú cad chuige** *go bhfuil an chloch so ann* ‘You will know why this stone is here’ (*GCD* §692)
- [198] **Tuige** *go ndéanfadh do chapallsa é?* ‘Why would your horse do it?’ (*SMN* 153)⁸¹

⁷⁹As with Munster *cad fáth* and *cad fé*, discussed in n. 77 above, it is probable that a distinction can be made between *cá as* ‘from where?’ and *goidé as* ‘why?’.

⁸⁰Note that the unverbated *tuige* can also be used as a noun, e.g. *Bhí tuige leis* ‘There was a reason for it’, cf. T. de Bhaldraithe, *Foirisiún Focal as Gaillimh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1985), s.v. *tuige*. An alternative *creud/créad chuige* is attested in earlier sources, e.g. **Creud chuige** *fós a dtugthar Modh do hTaisibh na Naomh?* ‘Why are the relics of the saints venerated?’ (*Gallagher* 76).

⁸¹It is to be noted in this source (from the Aran Islands) that the indirect relative clause following (*go*) *tuige* is always introduced by *go* and not by *a*, which is used in other cases. Likewise, in the Irish of South Galway, *go* is frequently used beside the normal indirect relative particle *a*, following the synonymous *cén fáth* ‘why’, e.g. *Cén fáth go mbíonn an leabhar aige ...?* ‘Why does he have the book ...?’ (*CC-CRua* 8-07-41). Ó Direáin also notes similar occurrences of *cén fáth go* in the

- [199] *Tuige a bpósfá mise?* ‘Why would you marry me?’ (SO 3)
 [200] *Cá tuí nár labhair tú?* ‘Why didn’t you speak up?’ (SAB 104).

Canathaobh

The West Munster phrase *canathaobh* is in origin a compound prepositional phrase in which the possessive adjective has been generalized.⁸² While we find it written as *créad na thaobh* or *cad na thaobh* in earlier sources, e.g.

- [201] *Créad ’na thaobh ná tuiteann an Eaglais i n-earráide?* ‘Why doesn’t the Church fall into error?’ (Teagusc 21a)
 [202] *cad na thaobh go leigeann tu an suan trom so ort?* ‘why do you sleep so deeply?’ (Sonas 379),

the unverbated form *canathaobh* is already found in texts of the nineteenth century:

- [203] *Canathaobh gur rinnis so nó súd?* ‘Why did you do this or that?’ (TST 78).

Like *cad chuige* it requires a following indirect relative, and although the direct relative is now usual with other prepositional interrogatives in the Irish of West Kerry, the older syntax is retained in clauses governed by this phrase.⁸³

Carson

Conversely, with Scottish *carson* (< *cò air son*), we have a compound preposition (*air son*) without the possessive adjective. In contemporary Scottish Gaelic this always requires a direct relative clause:

- [204] *Carson a bha aiseagan a’ ruith?* ‘Why were ferries operating?’ (Mis. 11)
 [205] *cha robh fhios aig Dòmhnall carson a bha e ga dhèanamh* ‘Dòmhnall did not know why he was doing it’ (Klond. 32).

The use of the alternative prepositional relative clause does not appear to be a possibility here. On the other hand, where the referent is a person, the latter construction may be used, e.g.:

- [206] *Cò air son am bheil mi ag obair?* ‘For whom am I working?’ (FTM, Iulaidh 1882, 3).

Irish of the Aran Islands; cf. S. Ó Direáin, *A Survey of Spoken Irish in the Aran Islands, Co. Galway*, §6.2 (<http://aranirish.nuigalway.ie/media/DIASsurvey-2015-11-23.pdf>) (accessed 25 June 2018).

⁸²On the distribution of this and other such interrogative phrases in Irish dialects see the map in *LASID* i, 242.

⁸³On this see *GCD* §710.

CONCLUSIONS

The history of the modern prepositional interrogative clause is not uncomplicated. We have argued that the syntax of the construction illustrated in exx. [1]–[4] above, prescribed in *GGBC* and other grammars and still widely used in Connacht and Ulster Irish, is based on that of the old prepositional relative clause, with the older syntagm of stressed interrogative + unstressed preposition and relative particle having been replaced by a copular phrase consisting of unstressed interrogative + stressed prepositional pronoun/compound pronominal preposition, i.e. the so-called ‘sluice’ construction. Such an explanation will answer the two questions we posed at the outset, namely, why the constituents of the clause are ordered in the manner they are and why the indirect rather than the direct relative construction is used in the following clause.

This new construction was clearly in existence by the seventeenth century, but the fact that it is attested in both Eastern and Western Gaelic at that time suggests it had an existence — in the spoken language at least — of longer standing. Nonetheless, we have also noted that the process of replacing the older prepositional relative by the newer pronominal construction was neither effected evenly nor brought to completion throughout the Gaelic world. Some compound prepositions, we have observed, are not replaced by their corresponding pronominal forms (i.e. those containing the possessive adjective), and their structure therefore remains that of the prepositional relative clause. This older construction, moreover, has remained as an optional alternative in Scottish Gaelic.

A significant and long-standing divergence between Eastern and Western Gaelic in the development of the prepositional interrogative is that in the former the direct relative construction is used, while in the latter the indirect relative is preferred. We have seen that the Irish of East Munster agrees with Eastern Gaelic in its use of the direct relative clause, and in the course of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries this usage was extended to other southern dialects, and is now also frequently encountered in Connacht Irish. In this development the syntax of prepositional cleft clauses has been adopted rather than retaining that of the prepositional relative which we find elsewhere.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SOURCES

<i>ABN</i>	<i>Am Biobull Naomh</i> (Glasgow, 2016).
<i>Acall.</i>	W. Stokes (ed. and trans.), <i>Acallam na Senórach</i> , in E. Windisch and W. Stokes (eds), <i>Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch</i> , vol. 4:1 (Leipzig, 1900), 1–438, ix–xiv.
<i>Aithghear.</i>	I. Furlong, <i>Aithghearughadh an Teagaisg Críosdaighe Geinearáilte</i> (Dublin, 1839).
<i>Allagar</i>	T. Ó Críomhthain, <i>Allagar na hInise</i> , ed. P. Ó Siocfhradha (Baile Átha Cliath, 1928).

- AM*² E. Ó Muirgheasa (ed.), *Amhráin na Midhe, Cuid a hAon*, new ed. by L. Ní Mhunghaile (Meath, 2015 [first ed. 1933]).
- AMSO* S. Ó Ruadháin, *An Mothall sin Ort* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1967).
- A. Ó Dálaigh* L. McKenna (ed.), *Dánta do Chum Aonghus Fionn Ó Dálaigh* (Dublin, 1919).
- Arran* N. Holmer, *The Gaelic of Arran* (Dublin, 1947).
- AS2* N. Ní Shéaghdha (ed.), *Agallamh na Senórach, I, II, III* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1942–5).
- Athdhiogluim* L. McKenna (ed.), *Aithdhioghluim Dána*, 2 vols, ITS 37 and 40 (London, 1939, 1940).
- BCrólige* D. A. Binchy (ed.), ‘Bretha Crólige’, *Ériu* 12 (1934–8), 1–77.
- BD* A. Ó Fachtna (ed.), *An Bheatha Dhiadha nó an tSlighe Ríoghdha* (Dublin, 1967).
- BST* L. McKenna (ed.), *Bardic Syntactical Tracts* (Dublin, 1944).
- CaF* S. Ó Grianna, *An Clár agus an Fhoireann* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1955).
- Cairbre* S. Ó Cróinín and D. Ó Cróinín (eds), *Seanchas ó Chairbre* (Dublin, 1985).
- CC* *Caint Chonamara*, collected by H. Hartmann, transcribed by A. Wigger, CD-ROM (Königswinter, 1999).
CC-CRua = An Cheathrú Rua
CC-Forb = Na Forbacha
CC-LCA = Loch Con Aortha
CC-LM = Leitir Móir
CC-Mine = Na Mine
CC-RM = Ros Muc
CC-Sp = An Spidéal.
CC-TM = An Teach Mór.
- CChléire* B. Ó Buachalla, *Cnuasach Chléire*, ed. J. McCloskey and C. Goan (Baile Átha Cliath, 2017).
- CCille* M. Ó Cadhain, *Cré na Cille*, third ed. (Baile Átha Cliath, 2007).
- CF*² C. O’Rahilly (ed.), *Cath Fionntrágha* (Dublin, 1962).
- CGT* S. Ó Searcaigh, *Comhréir Ghaedhilg an Tuaiscirt* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1939).
- CiD* Séamus Ó Grianna (‘Máire’), *Cith is Dealán* (Corcaigh, 1976 [1927]).
- CO* P. McFarlane (trans.), *Cuairt an Oilthirich* (= J. Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*) (Glasgow, 1819).

<i>Content.</i>	L. McKenna (ed.), <i>Iomarbháigh na bhFileadh: The Contentment of the Bards, Edited with Translation, Notes and Glossaries</i> , 2 vols, ITS 20 and 21 (London, 1918).
<i>Conv.</i>	J. H. Lloyd, 'Mid-eighteenth-century conversation', <i>Gadelica</i> 1 (1912–13), 19–31.
<i>CÓMéith</i>	L. Ó Muireadhaigh (ed.), <i>Ceolta Óméith</i> (Dundalk, 1920).
<i>Críth Gabl.</i>	D. A. Binchy (ed.), <i>Críth Gablach</i> (Dublin, 1941).
<i>CSS</i>	A. Ní Dhíoraí (ed.), <i>Na Cruacha: Scéalta agus Seanchas</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1985).
<i>Dán Dé</i>	L. McKenna (ed.), <i>Dán Dé: The Poems of Donnchadh Mór Ó Dálaigh and the Religious Poems in the Duanaire of the Yellow Book of Lecan</i> (Dublin, 1922).
<i>DDonn</i>	N. NicLeòid, <i>Díleas Donn</i> (Inverness, 2006).
<i>Dinneen</i>	P. Dinneen (ed.), <i>Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla</i> (Dublin, 1934 [1927]).
<i>Donl.</i>	A. Ó Duinnshléibhe, <i>An Teagasg Críostuidhe do réir Ceasda agus Freagartha</i> (Paris, 1742).
<i>Dúil</i>	L. Ó Flaithearta, <i>Dúil</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1953).
<i>Dwelly</i>	E. Dwelly, <i>The Illustrated Gaelic to English Dictionary</i> (Glasgow, 1994 [1901–11]).
<i>ÉaB</i>	P. Ó Ceannabháin (ed.), <i>Éamon a Búrc: Scéalta</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1983).
<i>EMM</i>	R. A. S. Mac Alister (ed.), <i>Two Arthurian Romances: Eachtra Mhacaoimh an Iolair agus Eachtra an Mhadaidh Mhaoil</i> , ITS 10 (London, 1910).
<i>FBF</i>	M. Ó Súilleabháin, <i>Fiche Blian ag Fás</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1933).
<i>FGB</i>	N. Ó Dónaill (ed.), <i>Foclóir Gaeilge-Béarla</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1977).
<i>FGI</i>	S. Mac Grianna ('Iolann Fionn'), <i>Filí gan Iomrádh</i> (n.p., 1926).
<i>FTM</i>	<i>Fear-tathaich Miosail</i> (Edinburgh, 1858–1937).
<i>Gallagher</i>	J. Gallagher, <i>Sixteen Irish Sermons</i> (Dublin, 1752).
<i>GB</i>	T. Bairéad, <i>Gan Baisteadh</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1972).
<i>GBroc</i>	M. Verling (ed.), <i>Gort Broc: Scéalta agus Seanchas ó Bhéarra</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1996).
<i>GCD</i>	D. Ó Sé, <i>Gaeilge Chorca Dhuibhne</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 2000).
<i>GCF</i>	T. de Bhaldraithe, <i>Gaeilge Chois Fhairrge: An Deilbhíocht</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1953).
<i>GGBC</i>	<i>Graiméar Gaeilge na mBráithre Críostaí</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1999 [1960]).
<i>GML</i>	J. J. Kneen, <i>A Grammar of the Manx Language</i> (Oxford, 1931).

- GRGI L. Lucas, *Grammar of Ros Guill Irish, Co. Donegal* (Belfast, 1979).
- GT H. Wagner, *Gaeilge Theilinn* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1959).
- HLMS G. Broderick, *A Handbook of Late Spoken Manx*, vol. 1: *Grammar and Texts*. (Tübingen, 1984).
- IAE C. Ó Gaora (trans.), *In Aimsir Emmet* (= J. Murphy *In Emmet's Time*) (Baile Átha Cliath, 1937).
- Iain Lom A. M. McKenzie (ed.), *Orain Iain Luim: Songs of John McDonald Bard of Keppoch* (Edinburgh, 1964).
- IBP O. J. Bergin (ed. and trans.), *Irish Bardic Poetry*, ed. D. Greene and F. Kelly (Dublin, 1970).
- IIA B. Ó Curnáin, *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach, County Galway*, vol. 3 (Dublin, 2007).
- Kirwan W. Mahon (ed.), *Dr Kirwan's Irish Catechism by Thomas Hughes* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991).
- Klond. I. F. Mac Leoid, *Na Klondykys* (Inbhir Nis, 2005).
- LASID H. Wagner (ed.), *Linguistic Atlas and Survey of Irish Dialects*, 4 vols (Dublin, 1958–69).
- LSC S. Ó Duilearga (ed.), *Leabhar Sheáin Í Chonaill* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1948).
- LSE S. Ó Duilearga (ed.), *Leabhar Stiofáin Uí Ealaoire* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1981).
- LUC *Leabhar na h'Urnúigh Choitchionn* (Edinburgh, 1794).
- Luc. Fid. F. Ó Maolmhuaidh, *Lucerna Fidelium*, ed. P. Ó Súilleabháin (Dublin, 1962).
- Maguire D. Greene (ed.), *Duanair Mhéig Uidhir: The Poembook of Cú Chonnacht Mág Uidhir, Lord of Fermanagh 1566–1589* (Dublin, 1972).
- Mis. I. Mac a' Ghobhainn, *Am Miseanaraidh* (Inbhir Nis, 2005).
- Mo Chuda P. Power (ed. and trans.), *Life of St Declan of Ardmore and the Life of St Mochuda of Lismore*. ITS 16 (London, 1914).
- Niamh P. Ó Laoghaire, *Niamh* (Baile Átha Cliath, 1907).
- NT U. Ó Domhnaill (trans.), *Tiomna Nvadh ar dTighearna agvs ar Slanaightheora Iosa Criosd* (1602).
- O'Reillys J. Carney (ed.), *Poems on the O'Reillys* (Dublin, 1950).
- Oileánach T. Ó Criomhthain, *An tOileánach*, ed. S. Ó Coileáin (Dublin, 2002 [1929]).
- OT U. Bedell (trans.), *Leabhair na Sean-Tiomna* (London, 1685).
- PA A. Gearnon, *Parrthas an Anma*, ed. A. Ó Fachtna (Dublin, 1953).
- Pastoral S. Ó Scoireadh (trans.), *J. W. Doyle: Pastoral Letter Addressed to the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Deanery of Kilcock to be Read to their Flocks Pastoral Letter* (Dublin, 1825).

<i>Peig</i>	P. Sayers, <i>Machtnamh Seana-mhná</i> , ed. M. Ní Chinnéide (Dublin, 1939).
<i>PGB</i>	N. J. A. Williams (ed. and trans.), <i>The Poems of Giolla Brighde Mac Con Midhe</i> , ITS 51 (London, 1980).
<i>PMB</i>	S. Ó Ruadháin, <i>Pádhraic Mháire Bhán</i> , second ed. (Baile Átha Cliath, 1994 [1932]).
<i>SAB</i>	G. W. MacLennan, <i>Seanchas Annie Bhán</i> , ed. A. Harrison and M. Nic Gill-Fhinnein (Dublin, 1997).
<i>SAL</i>	S. and D. Ó Cróinín (eds), <i>Seanachas Amhlaoibh Í Luínse</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1980).
<i>SaR</i>	A. Mac Greagóir (ed.), <i>Sgéaltan X Rachreann</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1910).
<i>SB</i>	K. Jackson (ed.), <i>Scéalta ón mBlascaod</i> (Dublin, 1939).
<i>Sc. M.</i> ²	R. Thurneysen (ed.), <i>Scéla Mucce Meic Dáthó</i> (Dublin, 1935).
<i>SGG</i>	É. Ó Tuathail (ed.), <i>Seanchas Ghleann Gaibhle</i> , Supplement to <i>Béaloideas</i> 4 (1938).
<i>SJS</i>	N. Ó Domhnaill and A. Mac Giolla Chomhaill (eds), <i>Scéalta Johnny Shéamaisín</i> (Leitir Ceanainn, 2004 [1948]).
<i>SLM</i>	P. Ó Direáin, <i>Sgéalaidhe Leitir Mealláin</i> (Baile Átha Cliath, 1926).
<i>SML</i>	É. Ó Tuathail (ed.), <i>Sgéalta Mhuintir Luinigh: Munterloney Folk-Tales</i> (Dublin, 1933).
<i>SMN</i>	O. Munck-Pedersen (ed.), <i>Scéalta Mháirtín Neile</i> , collected by H. Pedersen (Dublin, 1994).
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RUAIRÍ Ó hUIGINN

Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies