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POMIC annotation manual
D.I.A.S   April 9, 2014

A. General Information

1. Chrononological List of Parsed Texts with edition and translation used.[1]

1. Cambrai Homily (cam.psd)

   EDITION: Thurneysen, Rudolf, 1949 (1981). *Old Irish Reader,* translated from the German by D.A. Binchy and Osborn Bergin, pp. 35-6. Dublin: DIAS.

   TRANSLATION: Stokes, Whitley and John Strachan, 1987 (CUP 1903). *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, scholia, prose and verse – Vol. II: Non-biblical glosses an scholia, names of persons and places, inscriptions, verse, indexes, with supplement by Whitley Stokes*, pp. 244-247. Dublin: DIAS.

   MS: Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS. 679 (formerly 619), ff. 37rb-38rb.

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[1] A few important points should be noted here. First, I only list major editions and translations consulted, although portions of each text may also be discussed, edited, or translated elsewhere. A full bibliography is being prepared for a future revision of the corpus. Second, each parsed text contains a translation. While I have adhered generally to the translation given in this section for each text, I have occasionally changed the translation in order to provide more literal reading of the Irish, for the purposes of further highlighting the syntax of the Irish. Additionally, I have always added pronominal subjects in brackets when they have been omitted in conjoined main clauses, i.e. "Patrick tonsured him and [he] baptized him" (armagh.75-76). Another related changes have been to add in a subject+copula in cleft sentences with null copulas i.e. "[It is] in Sléibte Crimthann was buried" (armagh.92). A further general change has been to update the archaic pronouns (i.e. thou > you) and associated verb forms (i.e. seest > see) that are used in some editions.

It should further be noted that word-division in corpus files is extreme: all mutations count as separate words (except some instances of h- prefixed to prepositions or nouns, such as *hi* or *húair*); all enclitics (notae augentes, *so*, *sin*, *side*) count as separate syntactic words (i.e. their enclitic status is treated as merely phonological and hence not relevant to the goals of the corpus); all conjunct particles count as separate words (*ro*, *no*, *ná[d/ch]*, *ní*, etc); the relative particle counts as separate from prepositions with which it co-occurs, i.e. *di a* not *dia*); likewise possessive pronouns are treated as separate words in all cases, whether or not they follow a preposition. Conversely, some elements are treated as compounds, most especially complex verbs. In these cases hyphens are used to separate pronominal infixes for preverbs and verbs; and preverbs from verbs. It should also be noted that some preposition + noun combinations are treated as compound prepositions, and are denoted as either one word (*tarési*) or as two parts of one word *tar a ési* (= P21 PRO$ P22, where the numbers show that the preposition has two parts P2, the first part of which is tar P21, the second of which ési P22). In a future revision of these guidelines a fuller description of the word division rules will be given.

DATE: late 7th century (see the discussion in Ó Néill, Pádraig, 1981. The Background to the *Cambrai Homily. Ériu* 32: 137-147)

2. Additamenta from the Book of Armagh (arm.psd)

   EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Bieler, Ludwig with contribution by Fergus Kelly, 1979 (2004). *The Patrician Texts in the Book of Armagh,* pp. 166-179. Dublin: DIAS.

   MS: Book of Armagh (TCD 52, fol. 16rb – 18vb)

   DATE: c. 700 (Bieler 1979 [2004]: 246)

3. Lambeth Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount (lc.psd)

   EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Bieler, Ludwidg and James Carney, 1972. The Lambeth Commentary. *Ériu* 23: 1-55.

   MS: Originally fly-leaves of: MS. London, Lambeth Palace 119 (G.n.12 -N.14) Now: Fragments 1229, fol. 7-8.

   DATE: c.725 (or first quarter of the 8th century) (Bieler and Carney 1972: 8)

4. Old Irish Table of Penitential Commutations (com.psd)

   EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Binchy, D.A. 1962. The Old-Irish Table of Penitential Commutations. *Ériu* 19: 47-72.

   MS: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, ff. 42c - 44a
   RIA 3 B 23 (now 1227, see Catalogue of MSS in the RIA, pg. 3360)

   DATE: c. 751-800 (Binchy 1962: 56)

5. The Treatise on the Mass (mass.psd)

   EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Stokes, Whitley and John Strachan, 1987 (CUP 1903). *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, scholia, prose and verse – Vol. II: Non-biblical glosses an scholia, names of persons and places, inscriptions, verse, indexes, with supplement by Whitley Stokes.*

   MS: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS D ii 3 (1238) = Stowe Missal, ff. 65v-67r

   DATE: late 8th or early 9th century (see the discussion on pages xxxi-xxxvii in

Warner, George F., 1915, *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II. 3 in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, vol.II.* Henry Bradshaw Society vol. XXXII (1906). London: Harrison and Sons, St. Martin's Lane).

6. The Treatise on the Psalter (ps.psd)

   EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Meyer, Kuno, 1984. An Old Irish Treatise on the Psalte r. *Hibernica Minora,* pp. 20-27. Oxford: Clarendon.
   (The text of this edition was obtained, with permission from Dr. Hugh Fogarty, via the *Thesaurus Linguae Hibernicae*)

   MS: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, ff. 45a-47b

   DATE: early 9th century (see pg. 149 in Ó Néill, Pádraig, 1979. The Old-Irish Treatise on the Psalter and its Hiberno-Latin Background. *Ériu* 30: 148-164)

7. The West Munster Synod (wms.psd)

   EDITION: Meyer, Kuno, Kuno Meyer, 1912. The Laud genealogies and tribal histories, *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 8: 315-316.

   TRANSLATION: Translated by myself with help from the paraphrases in Byrne, F.J., 1973. *Irish Kings and High Kings,* pp. 216-217. London: Batsford.

   MS: Laud Misc. 610, ff. 102 – 104

   DATE: no later than the 9th century, probably early 9th (see Ó Buachalla, Liam, 1952. Contributions towards the Political History of Munster, 450-800 A.D., *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Scoiety* 57: 78.)

8. The Monastery of Tallaght (mt.psd)

   EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Gwynn, E.J. and W.J. Purton, 1911-1912. The Monastery of Tallaght. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 29C: 115-180
   (The text of this edition was obtained, with permission from Dr. Hugh Fogarty, via the *Thesaurus Linguae Hibernicae.*[2])

   MS: Dublin, RIA 3 B 23, ff. 33a-47a22.

   DATE: c. 830-840 (Gwynn and Purton 1911-1912: 122)

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[2] Due to the addition of POS-tags and syntactic parsing annotation, in addition to occasional word boundary redivions, the text of the Monastery of Tallaght and the Treatise on the Psalter are substantially different from that presented in the *Thesaurus Linguae Hibernicae.* These changes consistuted the main condition for the use of these texts.

9. The Old Irish Homily (hom.psd)

   EDITION: Strachan, John, 1907. An Old-Irish Homily. *Ériu* 3: 1-10.

   MS: Dublin, RIA 23 P 2
        Yellow Book of Lecan, co. 397sq.

   DATE: possibly mid-9th century (see Kenney, James F., 1929. *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland: An Introduction and Guide, vol. 1: Ecclesiastical,* pg. 734). New York: Columbia University Press.

10. The Vision of Laisrén (lais.psd)

    EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Meyer, Kuno, 1899. *Stories and Songs from Irish Manuscripts*: I. "The vision of Laisrén", *Otia Merseiana* 1 (1899): 113-28.
    (The text of this edition was obtained, with permission from Beatrix Färber, via the CELT database)

    MS: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 512, f.44

    DATE: Late 9th or early 10th century (Meyer 1899: 113)

11. Fingal Rónáin (fr.psd)

    EDITION: Greene, David, 1975. *Fingal Rónáin and other Stories*, pp. 3-15. Dublin: DIAS.

    TRANSLATION: Based off of the translation discussed on the Old Irish list (2006), see archives: https://listserv.heanet.ie/cgi-bin/wa?A0=OLD-IRISH-L.

    MS: LL fols. 271-3
         H 3.18 749-54

    DATE: Early 10th century (Greene 1975: 2)

12. The Story of Finn and Gráinne (fg.psd)

    EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Meyer, Kuno, 1897. Finn and Grainne. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 1: 460-1.
    (The text of this edition was obtained, with permission from Beatrix Färber, via the CELT database)

    MS: Dublin, RIA, Great Book of Lecan, ff. 181 a 2.

DATE: either late 9th or early 10th century (see pg. xxiii in Meyer, Kuno, 1910. *Fíanaigecht, being a Collection of Hitherto Unedited Irish Poems and Tales Relating to Finn and his Fiana, with an English Translation.* Todd Lecture Series 16), or 10th or 11th century (see Murphy, Gerald, 1953. *Duanaire Finn,* vol. 1, pg. ix)

13. The Irish prefaces from the Liber Hymnorum (lh.psd)

EDITION AND TRANSLATION (1): Bernard, John Henry and Robert Atkinson, 1898. *The Liber Hymnorum*, 2 vols., Henry Bradshaw Society vol. XIV. London: Harrisons and Sons, St. Martin's Lane.[3]

EDITION AND TRANSLATION (2): Stokes, Whitley and John Strachan, 1903 (CUP 1987). *Thesaurus palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, scholia, prose and verse – Vol. II: Non-biblical glosses an scholia, names of persons and places, inscriptions, verse, indexes, with supplement by Whitley Stokes*, pp. 298-354. Dublin: DIAS.[4]

MS: Dublin, TCD E. 42. (only this MS of the text was used, as the F manuscript is a different recension)

DATE: end of 11th or beginning of the 12th century (seee Stokes and Strachan 1903 [1987])

14. The Three Drinking Horns of Cormac úa Cuinn (tdh.psd)

EDITION AND TRANSLATION: Gwynn, E.J. 1905. The Three Drinking Horns of Cormac úa Cuinn. *Ériu* 2: 186-188.
(The text of this edition was obtained, with permission from Beatrix Färber, via the CELT database)

MS: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 23 O 48 (Liber Flavus Fergusiorum)

DATE: ?

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[3] From this edition and translation I excerpted all of the prefaces to the Latin hymns.
[4] From this edition and translation I excerpted all of the prefaces to the Irish hymns. The only hymn whose preface was not excerpted is the *Amra Coluim Chille*.

B. Internal Structure of Phrases

1.   ADJP

Adjective phrases usually consist of an adjectival head, sometimes accompanied by modifiers and/or complements.

1.1 Heads of ADJP

The head of ADJP may be ADJ (positive degree), ADJR (comparative), VAN (particple), ADJS (superlative), ADJE (equative), and VBGR (gerundive). ADJ, ADJR, and VAN all have dash tags indicating number (-S) and case (-N, -A, -G, -D, -V). ADJS, ADJE, and VBGR do not have dash tags. Note that unlike the Penn Corpora of Historical English, ADJS always projects an ADJP, since it is always predicative in Old Irish. In addition to the types in (1-6), there is also a type of ADJP that is headed by an adjective in the dative case which is found with the dative article, as in (7). This is always embedded within an ADVP.

1. (ADJP (ADJ-N cráibdech))
    (ID arm.8) "devout"

2. (ADJP (ADJR-N faitciu))
    (ID mt.236) "careful"

3. (ADJP (VAN-S coirpti))
    (ID mt.16) "defiled"

4. (ADJP (ADJS deach))
    (ID tdh.15) "the best"

5. (ADJP (ADJE aidblidir))
    (ID lais.25) "as terrible"

6. (ADJP (VBGR dēntai))
    (ID mt.566) "to be done"

7. (ADVP (ADJP (D-D ind)
              (ADJ-D sainriud)))
    (ID lc.116) "in particular"

1.2 Complements of ADJP

Adjectives can take NP, PP, or clausal complements.

1.2.1 NP complements of ADJP

In Old Irish, NP compelements of ADJP are dative nouns that may be translated as "than NP" in English. They are labeled as NP-DEG.

8. (ADJP (ADJR-N ardu)
      (NP-DEG (NS-D nimib)))
   (ID hom.15) "higher than the heavens"

1.2.2 PP complements of ADJP

9. (ADJP (ADJ-N forlán)
      (PP (P di)
         (NP (N-D rath)
            (NP-COM (D-G in) (N-G spirita) (ADJ-G nóib)))))
   (ID ps.104) "full of the grace of the holy spirit"

10. (ADJP (ADJR fíriu)
       (PP (P+BE-WH oldás)
          (CP-CMP (WADJP-2 0)
             (C 0)
             (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                (ADJP *T*-2)
                (NP-SBJ (D-N a) (NAS n) (N-N déde) (D sa))))))
    (ID ps.222) "truer than either of these" (lit.: "truer than these two")

1.2.3 CP complements of ADJP

11. (ADJP (ADJ-N dīching)
       (CP-THT (C ara)
          (IP-SUB (VBD-SUBJ lúsad)
             (NP-SBJ (N-N fer)
                (NP-COM (PRO$ a) (N-G muindtiri)))
             (NP-OB1 (N-A banne))
             (PP (P īar)
                (NAS m)
                (NP (VBN-D brith)
                   (NP-COM (PRO$ a) (N-G fūail))
                   (ADVP-DIR (ADV immach)))))))
    (ID mt.259) "forbidden that any one of his monastery should drink a drop after passing urine out."

12. (ADJP (ADJ-N maith)
       (CP-THT *ICH*-2))

(PP (P fri)
   (NP (NPR-N cirine)))
(CP-THT-2 (C ci)
   (IP-SUB (PV+VB-SUBJ-PASS as-berthar)))
(ID ps.148) "good to Jerome to say" (lit: "that it be said")[5]

1.3 Modifiers of ADJP

ADJP may be modified by full adverb phrases (ADVP) or adverbial prefixes (ADV+).

13. (ADJP (ADVP (ADVP fīr))
       (ADJ-N doim))
    (ID mt.282)) "truly poor"

14. (ADJP (ADV+ADJ-N ru-becc))
    (ID arm.67) "too little"

2. ADVP

There are very few true adverbs in early Irish. Those that are found are annotated as ADV in POMIC, as in (1). They do not normally take complements or modifiers. One possible exception is given in (2).[6]

1. (ADVP-TMP (ADV cita))
   (ID arm.78) "first"

2. (ADVP (ADV immathā)
      (PP (P+PRO samlaid)))
   (ID com.14) "so too"

3. CONJP

See section C on Conjunction.

4. FRAG

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[5] This seems to be the Old Irish equivalent of Tough Movement complements. Since they do not involve IP-INF and are headed by a C, it is annotated with CP-THT.
[6] Immatha is originally a verbal form, but may be translated as an adverb and so tagged as an ADV. It may be that in (2), the adverb should be analyzed as modifying PP.

Unlike in the Penn corpora, FRAG in POMIC has three uses. First, to annotate one or more constituents which may be grouped together as a phrase, but do not form an IP. An example of this is given in (1). The second usage is when a word or more is missing from a sentence, which cannot, for whatever reason, be integrated into a larger sentence as a gapping structure. An example of this is given in (2). Finally, FRAG is used to indicate a constituent whose structure and meaning is unclear, as in (3). The first two types are frequently found in responses.

1. (FRAG (PP (P di)
              (NP (PRO$ a)
                  (VBN-D dul)
                  (PP (P fo)
                      (NP (NS-D grādaib))))))
    (ID liberhymn.392) "to ordain him" (Lit.: "for him to go under orders")

2. (FRAG (NP-SBJ (NPR-N móise))
            (NP-OB1-1 (NUM dá)
                      (NS-A salm)
            (NP-PRN-1 (IDEST idest)
                      (NP (LATIN (FW exurgat)))
                      (CONJP (CONJ ocus)
                             (NP (LATIN (FW domine) (FW refugium)))))))
    (ID ps.77) "Moses [sang] two psalms, namely, Exurgat and Domine
                refugium."

3. (FRAG (?? do) (LEN LEN) (?? comsola) (?? hūadib) (?? ire))
    (ID com.55)

5. INTJP

Unlike the Penn corpora, all interjections in POMIC project INTJP, both single word interjction as in (1) and interjections with complements as in (2). The complement of INTJP may be a NP (which includes an IP-INF). There may be licit complements, but the available material does not include any.

1. (INTJP (INTJ tó))
    (ID mt.137) "yes"

2. (INTJP (INTJ amai)
            (NP (NP (PRO$ mo)
                    (N-N mac)
                    (PRO sa)
                    (IP-INF (P do)

              (NP (VBN-D bith)
              (ADVP-LOC (ADV immaig))
              (NP-SPR (PRO$ a)
                      (NUM-D ōenur)))))
        (CONJP (CONJ ocus)
               (NP (PRO$ a)
                   (N-N lín)
                   (CP-REL (PP-1 (P di)
                                 (WNP (WPRO a)))
                           (C 0)
                           (IP-SUB (VB tabair)
                                   (NP-OB1 (N-A mathius))
                                   (PP *ICH*-1)))))))
    (ID fr.118) "Alas that my son is outside by himself, while the large group of people
                to whom he gives wealth [is here]."

6. NPs

6.1 Heads of NP

6.1.2 Canonical heads of NP

Noun phrases are canonically headed by a nominal element, such as a noun or pronoun. The noun may be a common noun (1), verbal noun (2), or a proper noun (3).

1. (NP-SBJ (N-N finechas))
    (ID arm.8) "family right of inheritance"

2. (NP (VBN-D esérgo))
    (ID mass.32) "resurrection"

3. (NP-SBJ (NPR-N ernéne))
    (ID arm.18) "Ernéne"

6.1.3 ONE, OTHER, SELF

Words tagged by ONE, OTHER and SELF, count as nominal elements, and thus may head NPs (4-6). Words tagged with OTHER and SELF may, in addition, be sisters of the heads of NP (7-8) (see 1.2 and 1.3 for more discussion of non-head elements in NPs).

4. (NP (D-D sind) (ONE í) (D sin))
    (ID ps.98) "that one" (Lit: "that particular one"?)[7]

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[7] ₁ The Old Irish particularizing particle *í*, glossed in the corpus as ONE appears to be replaced in Middle Irish by *tí, í,* or *ní,* depending on context (i.e. case, gender). This change can be seen in changes in orthography. While nominative masculine *intí* might be found in Old Irish texts, texts of a Middle Irish date (as well as Old Irish

5. (NP-SBJ (D-N in)
        (NUM dīas)
        (OTHER aile)(ID lh.159) "the other two"

6. (NP (SELF fadéin))
    (ID mt.254) "yourself"

7. (NP-OB1 (N-A nóib) (NAS n) (OTHER aile))
    (ID arm.43) "another saint"

8. (NP (PRO$ a)
        (N-A anmin)
        (SELF fẽissin))
    (ID lc.139) "his own soul"

6.1.4 Other heads of NPs

Other words that are treated as the heads of noun phrases are personal pronouns (PRO), and anaphors (ANA), and compounds of these.

9. (NP-SBJ (PRO som))
    (ID mt.180) "he"

10. (NP-SBJ (ANA ade))
    (ID arm.7) "she" (lit. "that", feminine)

11. (NP-PRD (PRO+ANA hé-side))
    (ID ps.294) "he" (lit. "he-just.mentioned")

6.1.5 Heads in NP compounds

An NP generally dominates no more than one (non-genitive) N. However, an exception is made for noun-noun compounds in which the two nouns are not written together. In such cases, both parts of the compound are labeled N (or NPR or VBN) but they are not grouped separately.

12. (NP-PRD (NPR-N māol)
        (NPR-N rúoin))
    (ID mt.27) "Máel Rúain."

6.1.6 Empty heads of NPs

texts in later manuscripts) might have *indtí*.

An NP without an overt nominal element is assumed to have an empty nominal head. The empty head is not explicit in the annotation (for exceptions, see 1.1.8). An NP may therefore consist entirely of a demonstrative, quantifier, or possessives (see below 6.1.7), or of phrases containing these elements.

13. (NP-SBJ (D sō))
    (ID mt.50) "this"

14. (NP-SBJ (D in)
        (D sin))
    (ID com.28) "that" (lit. "the-that")[8]

15. (NP (Q cach)
        (NUM oīn)
        (PP (P+PRO ōn)
        (PRO ni)))
    (ID cam.30) "everyone of us."

16. (NP-OB1 (Q ní))
    (ID mt.8) "anything"

17. (NP-COM (Q cach)
        (NP-COM (PRO$ ái)))
    (ID ps.143) "each of them"

6.1.7 Possessive heads of NP

Possessives pronouns may be the head of their own phrase in two instances. First, if they are used as the complement of a compound preposition, they are tagged as being the head of a NP. Second, the possessives of the series *muí, tuí, áe, náthar/nar, sethar/sar* may be heads of NP-COM.

18. (PP (P21 ar)
        (NP (PRO$ a))
        (P22 ciund))
    (ID fr.102) "before them"

19. (NP-COM (PRO$ ái))
    (ID ps.143) "of them"

6.1.8 Cases where Empty heads are indicated

[8] 2 Although the first D appears to be identical in form to the definite article, it is tagged as D only (and not D followed by a case dash-tag, i.e. D-N, D-A, D-G, D-D because the first D in this sequence does not cause mutation, while definite articles do. That is, if it were the article, in the genitive masculine and the dative, this sequence should be *intin, with mutation of the *s*.

There are four instances in which an empty head of an NP is indicated with "0" as the head. These are: when an empty-headed NP is in a coordinate structure (20), when the empty-headed NP is factitive (i.e. it means "the fact, the case", etc.) (21), when the empty-headed NP is modified by a relative clause (generally in question of the type *cid ar a* "what (is the reason) for which", or *can as* "whence (is the place) from which") (22), and when the empty-headed NP is indicating that an infixed pronoun is to be interpreted as such (as a opposed to being a proleptic pronoun) (24).

20. (PP (P+PRO eturru)
        (NP (NP 0)
            (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                (NP (N-A tír)))))
    (ID lh.106) "between them and land"

21. (PP (P cía)
        (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (BE-SUBJ beith)
                (NP-SBJ (NP 0)
                    (CP-THT (C con)
                        (IP-SUB (VB-SUBJ té)
                            (NP-SBJ (D-N in)
                                (N-N boct))
                            (PP (P+PRO úan)
                                (NP (PRO ni)))
                            (PP (P co)
                                (NAS n)
                                (NP (VBN-D éri)))))))))))
    (ID lc.138) "...though it be (the case) that a poor man goes away from us with a refusal..."

22. (CP-QUE-SPE (WNP-1 (WPRO cid))
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (COP 0)
            (NP-PRD (NP *T*-1))
            (NP-SBJ (NP 0)
                (CP-REL (PP-2 (P ar)
                        (WNP 0))
                    (C 0)
                    (IP-SUB (NEG-WH ná)
                        (VB-PASS gabtair)
                        (PP (P+PRO leú))
                        (PP *ICH*-2))))))
    (ID ps.146) "Why are they not sung with them?" (lit. "What (is the reason) for which they are not sung with them?")

23. (PV+X+VBD fu-s-ocart)
    (NP-SBJ (NPR-N éndae)
        (ADJ-N cennsalach))
    (NP-OB1 0)
    (ID arm.50) "Éndae Cennselach outlawed them...."

6.2 Noun-phrase Modifiers

NPs may be modified by adjectives and adjective phrases (ADJ, ADJP), quantifiers and quantifier phrases (Q, QP), possessives and possessive phrases (PRO$, NP-POS), complement noun phrases (NP-COM), and complement clauses (CP-THT), numbers and number phrases (NUM, NUMP), prepositional phrases (PP), relative clauses (CP-REL), appositives and parentheticals (NP-PRN), and measure noun phrases (NP-MSR).

6.2.1 Adjective (ADJ-, ADJP) modifiers of NP

Adjectives in Old and Middle Irish normally follow the noun (24). However, there are various adjectives that may precede the noun. Normally, these are compounded with the noun and are hence tagged as ADJ+N-..., and thus they are treated as merely head nouns in the annotation (25). Occasionally, there are pre-posed adjectives that are written separately from the noun, in this case, these are annotated as ADJP. This is particularly the case with adjectives like *cétnae* 'first, same', in which the meaning different is dependent on position. Compare (26) and (27).

24. (NP (N-N muc)
        (ADJ-N allaid))
    (ID mt.32) "wild swine"

25. (NP-ADT (ADJ+N-N ath-lāoch))
    (ID mt.0) "a former layman"

26. (NP-TMP (D-A an)
        (ADJP (ADJ-A cētna))
        (N-A fecht))
    (ID lais.4) "the first time"

27. NP-SBJ (D-N ind)
        (ADJ+N-N óc-ben)
        (LEN LEN)
        (ADJ-N cétna))
    (ID fr..82) "the same young woman"

6.2.2 Quantifier (Q, Q$, QP) modifiers of NP

Quantifiers, such as *nach/ne(u)ch/na* (and other forms)*, cech/cach, uile/uili/uli/ule* (and other forms), as well as *cechtarde*, and others may act as modifiers to NPs as well as heads in their own right (see above). Most modifying quantifiers precede the head of the NP, however, *uile/uili/uli/ule* may follow the head noun, and demonstratives. In this case, it is annotated as QP, compare (30) to (31).

28. (NP-SBJ (Q cech)
            (N-N fer)
            (PP (P di)
                (LEN LEN)
                (NP (ANA-S-D suidib))))
    (ID ps.74) "each man of these"

29. (NP (Q nach)
        (LEN LEN)
        (N-D cathraich)
        (LEN LEN)
        (ADJ-D saingnūstai))
    (ID   ps.65) "any special town"

30. (NP-OB1 (DS-A na)
            (GEM h)
            (Q uile)
            (NS-A dúile))
    (CODE mt.609) "all the elements"

31. (NP-SBJ (DS-N ant)
            (NS-N slúaig)
            (D sì)
            (QP (Q uili)))
    (ID lais.56) "all these hosts"

6.2.3 Possessive Phrases

In POMIC possessive phrases are those NPs which are headed by genitive nouns that have an explicitly possessive function (in contrast to genitive nouns that project an NP-COM). Posssessive may also be possessive pronouns (which project an NP-POS, although this does not currently occur in the corpus) or single word possessive adjectives (which do not).

32. (NP-PRN (IDEST idest)
            (N-N cōicid)
            (NP-POS (NPR-G caīcháin)))
    (ID arm.0) "that is, Caíchán's fifth"

33.   (NP (PRO$ ar)

        (NAS n)
        (N-A ingin)
        (PRO ni)))
    (ID fr.76) "our daughter"

6.2.4 NP-Complements of NPs

6.2.4.1 Ordinary NP-Complements

Nouns in the genitive in early Irish are usually complements of NPs. This is generally the case when they can be translated as 'of' phrases, with no possessive meaning in English.

34. (NP (N-D cenīul)
        (NP-COM (NPR-G caīcháin)))
    (ID arm.6) "race/kindred of Caíchán" (i.e. "kindred *descended from* Caíchán", a genitive of source/descent)

35. (NP-OB1 (N-A grád)
            (NAS n)
            (NP-COM (N-G epscoip)))
    (ID arm.77) "the rank of bishop" (i.e. "rank *which is* bishop", a predicative genitive)

36. (NP (N-D aimsir)
        (NP-COM-2 (NPR-G lōegaire)
                  (NP-PRN-2 (N-G meic)
                            (NP-POS (NPR-G nēill)))))
    (ID lh.383) "the time of Lóegaire mac Néill." (i.e. "time *associated with* Lóegaire", a genitive of association, or time)

36. (NP-SBJ (N-N bandai)
            (NP-COM (N-G cormmai)))
    (ID mt.29) "a drop of beer" (i.e. "a drop *consisting of* beer", a genitive of component parts/material)

6.2.4.2 Objective and Subjective Genitives

A special case of the NP-COM tag is to indicate both subjective (37) and objective genitives (38) associated with verbal noun phrases (which are treated as simple NPs in the corpus, see 1.1.2).

37. (NP (VBN-N adall)
        (NP-COM (VBN-G messai))
        (PP (P+PRO dóib)))
    (ID mt.39) "that judgment come to them" (lit. "coming of judgment to them")

38. (NP-SBJ (VBN-N trīal)
        (NP-COM (PRO$ mo)
           (VBN-G bertha)
           (D sa)))
    (ID lh.398) "trying to tonsure me" (lit. "attempt of my shearing")

6.2.5 CP -complements of N

Nouns can take clausal complements (CP-THT, etc). For details on such clause types, and examples of their use, see section F.

6.2.6 Numbers (NUM) and Number Phrases (NUMP) as modifiers of NP.

Both numbers and number phrases may modify NP, as in (39). For more information, between the two, see the section B.7.

39. (NP-OB1 (NUM cōicc)
        (NS-A blīadna)
        (NUMP (NUM dēc))
        (NP-COM (N-G pendi)))
    (ID mt.452) "fifteen years of penance"

6.2.7 Prepositional phrases (PP) as modifiers of NP.

Many types PPs may be modifiers of NP, as in (40). PPs that introduce conjunctions, however, are not found as modifiers of NP.

40. (NP-PRD (N-N aimser)
        (PP (P+PRO dóu)))
    (ID ps.68) "the time of it/associated with it"

6.2.8 Relative (CP-REL) modifiers of NP.

NPs may be modified by relative clauses of various types. For details see section F.6. An example is (41).

41. (NP-LFD (N-N airm)
        (CP-REL (PP-3 (P i)
              (WNP 0))
          (C 0)
          (IP-SUB (VBD-SUBJ fuirsitis)
            (NP-OB1-2 (D-A in)
               (N-A torcc))
            (PP *ICH*-3))))

(ID arm.84) "the place where they should find the boar."

6.2.9 Appositive and Parenthetical NPs (NP-PRN) as modifier of NP

NP-PRN may modify NP both as an appositive (42) and a parenthetical (43). Note that in both cases, the NP-PRN is within the brackets of the larger NP. This is the casem unless the appositive/parenthetical is separated from the main NP by various other constituents. In such cases, as in (44), the relationship between the two is merely indicated by coindexation and not through the normal annotation for extraposition (this differs from the Penn Corpus, and may be changed in future revisions).

42. (NP-ADT-1 (N-N epscop)
        (NP-PRN-1 (NPR-N āed)))
    (ID arm.101) "Bishop Áed"

43. (NP-COM-2 (NUM dā)
        (NS-G mac)
        (NP-POS (NPR-G āeda)
           (NP-COM (NPR-G sláne)))
        (NP-PRN-2 (IDEST idest)
           (NP (NPR-N blaithmac))
           (CONJP (CONJ 7)
              (NP (NPR-N dīarmait)))))
    (ID lh.480) "The two sons of Áed Sláine, i.e. Blathmac and Díarmait."

44. (PV+GEM+VBD du-bbert)
    (NP-SBJ (NPR-N pátricc))
    (NP-OB1-1 (N-A cumtach))
    (PP (P du)
        (NP (NPR-D fīacc)))
    (, ,)
    (NP-PRN-1 (IDEST idōn)
        (NP (N-N closs))
        (CONJP (CONJ 7)
           (NP (N-N menstir)))
        (CONJP (CONJ 7)
           (NP (N-N bachall)))
        (CONJP (CONJ 7)
           (NP (N-N poolire))))
    (ID arm.79) "Patrick gave equipment to Fíacc, namely, a bell and a reliquary
        and a croisier and tablets."

6.2.10   NP-MSR modifiers of NP

There are three uses of NP-MSR as amodifier of NP: as a durative genitive (45), as a distributive gemitive (46) and (47), and as an embedded NP within another NP to show

external function within the sentence, if not merely functioning as NP-MSR (48).

45. (NP (VBN-N troscud)
        (NP-MSR (Q cach) (N-G mīs)))
      (ID com.1) "fasting every day"

46. (NP-COM (VBN-G slēchtan)
              (NP-MSR (Q$ cacha) (N-G bīeiti)))
      (ID com.70) "a genuflection per every *Beati*"

47. (NP-PRN-2 (IDEST idest)
              (N+N-N leth-rann)
              (NP-MSR (Q cech)
                    (LEN LEN)
                    (N-G fir)
                     (PP (P+PRO dīb))))
      (ID lh.100) "a half-quatrain per each man of them"

48. (NP-PRD (NP-MSR (N-A madin)))
      (ID mt.21) "during the morning" (as predicate)

7. NUMP

A number phrase is headed by NUM and consists of either a number used as a noun, as in (1) (note no subdivisions, even though the second number is genitive); a number which is modified in some way, as in (2); a number that takes a NP-COM whose head noun is genitive (3); or a number used in some contexts where no noun is present (4). In other cases, i.e. when a single number modifies a noun, then the number is tagged NUM and it is part of NP.

1. (NUMP (DS-N na) (NUM trī) (NUM-G coīcat))
      (ID com.59) "the three fifties"

2. (NP (D-D sin)
        (LEN LEN)
        (ADJ-D cōiciud)
        (N-D blīadain)
        (NUMP (NUM-G sescat)
              (PP (P ar)
                    (NUMP (NUM .ccccc.))))
        (PP (P īar)
            (NAS n)
            (NP (N-D gein)
                (NP-COM (NPR-G crīst)))))
      (ID lh.246) "the five hundred and sixty fifth year after the birth of Christ"

3. (NUMP (NUM trī)
          (NUM-G coīcat)
          (NP-COM (NS-G salm)))
      (ID com.71) "the three hundred and fifty psalms"

4. (PP (P fo)
        (LEN LEN)
        (NUMP (NUM trí)))
      (ID fr.62) "three times"

Examples like (2), with an NP containing a PP, occur when a digit (1-9) is added to numbers over 20. Even when no number (20,30,40,50,60,70,80,90) is present as the head, a NUMP with no head is inserted around the PP, as in (5).

5. (NP (NUM cōic)
        (NS-N slēchtain)
         (NUMP (PP (P ar)
                    (NUMP (NUM-S-D trīb)
                          (NUM-S-D .xx.tib))))
         (NUMP (PP (P ar)
                    (NUMP (NUM-S-D trīb)
                          (NUM-S-D cétaib))))))
      (ID com.1) "365 genuflections"

Examples like (4) are only found when denoting "X times" or if the preposition is *i* 'in', in expressions that means "in two [pieces]", etc (i.e. the archaic English *in twain*) with a special numeral form).

NUMP may contain FP, as in (6).

6. NUMP (FP acht)
      (NUM trí)
      (NUM nói)
      (NAS n)
      (NP-COM (NS-G immaire)
              (PP (P do)
                  (NP (Q cech)
                      (LEN LEN)
                      (N-D fir)
                      (PP (P i)
                          (NAS n)
                          (GEM h)
                          (NP (NPR-D ērinn)))))))
      (ID lh.95) "only twenty seven ridges for every man in Ireland"

NUMP may contain a particle that is tagged P. This P does not project a PP. Usually, this

is used when the number is on its own (or modified by a second number) and not used as a noun or as the complement of a PP, as in (7) Other instances of this particle occur when the noun is modified by a PP, as in (8), or modified by an NP-MSR, as in (9).

7. (COP it)
    (NP-PRD-RSP (PRO hē))
    (NP-SBJ (NUMP (P a)
            (NUM cūic) (NUMP (NUM sescot))))
    (PP (P+PRO samlith))
    (ID mass.39) "they are sixty five thus"

8. (NUMP (P a)
        (NUM .uiiii.)
        (PP (P in)
            (NAS n)
            (NP (PRO$ a) (N-D tarsnō))))
    (ID mass.45) "nine in its crosspiece"

9. (NUMP (P a)
        (NUM .iiii.)
        (NP-MSR (Q$ cacha) (N-G rainne)))
    (ID mass.45) "four per every part"

The P particle is also sometimes found before the word *óen* when it means 'a single', as in (10). Note that the number and the particle are placed in a separate NUMP that is contained within the larger NP.

10. (NP-OB1 (FP cid)
        (NUMP (P a)
            (NUMP ōen))
        (N-N focul)
    (ID mt.368) "even a single word"

8. PP

8.1 Complements of PP

PPs are headed by prepositions and take complements of various categories. The most common are NP a CP, but ADJP IP, PP, possible as well. Subordinating conjunctions are treated as P in POMIC (as in other Penn-style corpora) and therefore subordinate clauses introduced by a subordinating conjunction are labelled PP. See section F.1 for details.

8.1.1   NP complements of PP

1. (PP (P di)

        (NP (NPR-D mūscraigi)))
    (ID fg.7) "of Múscraige"

2. (PP (P ar)
        (NP (N-A faithgi)
            (NP-COM (D-G na)
                (NPR-G temra))))
    (ID fg.11) "on the green of Tara"

3. (PP (P īar)
        (NP (D sin)))
    (ID fg.17) "after that"

A very characteristic construction in Irish is for PPs to have null NP complements with person and number agreement, which is indicated by attaching +PRO to P. This is shown in (4).

4. (PP (P+PRO dō))
    (ID cam.27) "for him"

Person and number agreement may occur with overt NP complements as well, as in (5).

5. (PP (P+PRO dūnn)
        (NP (SELF fanissin)))
    (ID cam.10) "of ourselves"

8.1.1.2   Bipartite PPs and their complements

There are many compound prepositions that consist of a preposition plus noun combination that possibly has become partially grammaticalized. They are normally written as one word, but may be written as two, when the complement is a possessive, compare (6) and (7). When the possessive is accompanied by a post-prepositional complement, these are coindexed and the post-prepositional complement is treated as an appositive, as in (8)

6. (PP (P darcheann)
        (NP (D-G na)
            (GEM h)
            (N-G anma)))
    (ID lais.28) "on behalf of the soul"

7. (PP (P21 tar)
        (NP (PRO$ a))
        (P22 cend))
    (ID mt.619) "on his behalf"

8. (PP (P21 in)
 (NAS n)
 (NP-1 (PRO$ a))
 (P22 degaid)
  (NP-PRN-1 (ANA side)))
 (ID com.29) "after that"

8.1.3 CP complements of PP

CP complements of prepositions are restricted to adverbial clause (CP-ADV) or (CP-CMP). These types are discussed below in section F.

9. (PP (P mā)
 (CP-ADV (C 0)
   (IP-SUB (NEG nī) (BE-SUBJ pé))))
 (ID arm.9) "if there should not be"

10. (PP-2 (P inddās)
 (CP-CMP (WADJ-3 0)
   (C 0)
   (IP-SUB (COP 0)
    (ADJP (ADJ-N *T*-3)
     (PP (P+PRO dōib)
     (NP (PRO sim)))))))
 (ID mt.17) "rather than to them"

8.1.4 ADJP complements of PP

Adjectival complements of PPs are usually interpreted adverbially, as the following examples show. The only common preposition in this construction is *co*.

9. (PP (P co)
 (ADJP (ADJ-N lēir)))
 (ID com.18) "diligently"

10. (PP (P co)
 (GEM m)
 (ADJP (ADJ-N menic)))
 (ID com.25) "often"

11. (PP (P co)
 (GEM h)
 (ADJP (ADJ-A oponn)))
 (ID lh.232) "sufficiently"

12. (PP (P īar)

 (NAS n)
 (ADJP (ADJ-D asa)))
(ID mt.643)) "too late"

8.1.5 NUMP complements of PP

The preposition *fo/fu/bo* (sometimes in combination with *co*, as in *co fo*) is found with a NUMP complement to mean 'X times', as in examples (13-15).

13. (PP (P fo)
 (LEN LEN)
 (NUMP (NUM trí)))
 (ID fr.62) "three times"

14. (PP (P fu)
 (NUMP (NUM dī)
   (NUMP (NUM deac))))
 (ID com.36) "twelve times"

15. (PP (P co)
 (PP (P bo)
 (LEN LEN)
 (NUMP (NUM trí))))
 (ID fr.126)) "three times"

Other instances of PPs with NUMP complements are given in (16-17). The preposition *ar* with a NUMP complements, for instance, is common in forming compound numerals (adding the digits 1-9 to numbers over twenty).

16. (NP (NUM cōic)
 (FW pr-)
 (NUMP (PP (P ar)
  (NUMP (NUM trī)
   (NUM-D .xx.tib))))
 (NUMP (PP (P ar)
  (NUMP (NUM-D trīb)
   (NUM-D cétaib)))))
 (ID com.1) "365 Pater Nosters" (Lit.: "five *paters* on three twenties on three fifties")

17. (PP (P i)
 (NAS n)
 (NUMP (NUM dó)))
 (ID mt.499)) "in two"

8.1.6 IP complements of PP

Prepositions may introduce IP-SMC (for which see F.11), as in (18).

18. (PP (P la)
        (IP-SMC (NP-SBJ (N-A marb))
          (PP (P hi)
            (NP (N-D tig)))
          (PP (P+COP-SUBJ ceth)
            (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
              (C 0)
              (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                (ADJP (ADJ-N nāob))
                (NP-SBJ 0))))))
      (ID mt.414) "with a dead man, though saintly, in the house"

8.1.7   PP complements of PP

Prepositions may take prepositional complements, as the following examples show. A particularly common case is *ó/óthá*, which frequently has a complement PP headed by *co/cotí*, as in (21) and (22).

19. (PP (P acht)
        (PP (P mā)
          (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (NEG nī) (VBD-SUBJ aprad)))))
      (ID fr.32) "unless she spoke."

20. (PP (P co)
        (PP (P bo)
          (LEN LEN)
          (NUMP (NUM trí))))
      (ID fr.126) "three times"

21. (PP (P ō)
        (NP (N-D mullach))
        (PP (P co)
          (NP (N-A fonn))))
      (ID lais.12) "from top to bottom"

21. (PP (PP (P+N-D ōndiu)
        (PP (P cotí)
          (NP (N-N bráth)))))
      (ID wms.17) "from today until Doomsday"

8.2 Modifiers of PP

Modifiers of PP may be ADVP or FP. They precede the head, or follow the complement and are treated merely as sisters of P. In certain cases the FP or ADV that follows the complement may in fact be modifying the complement. This will be addressed in future revisions.

22. (PP (ADVP (ADV immaildi))
        (P+PRO fris))
      (ID mt.423) "together with him"

23. (PP (P do)
        (NP (NS-D raetaibh) (ADJ-S-D tricibh))
        (ADVP (ADV cēne)))
      (ID mt.496) "for urgent matters besides"

24. (PP (ADVP (ADV arrec))
        (P co)
        (NP (N-A dommain)
          (NP-COM (N-G lestir))))
      (ID mt.514) "right down to the bottom of the vessel"

25. NP-SBJ (VBN-N troscud)
        (PP (P+PRO deit)
          (NP (SELF fadéin))
          (FP (FW tantum))))
      (ID mt.245) "fasting only for yourself"

26. (PP (P fri)
        (NP (PRO$ a) (N-A anmin) (SELF fēissin))
        (ADVP (ADJP (D-D int) (ADJ-D sainriud))))
      (ID lc.139) "towards his own soul particularly"

27. (PP (ADVP (ADV súas))
        (P coricci)
        (NP (N-A riched)))
      (ID mt.609) "up to heaven"

28. (PP (FP cid)
        (P in)
        (NP (PRO$ a)
          (N-A insi)
          (SELF fadēssin)))
      (ID mt.18) "even into his own island"

In some cases the modifier itself will be the only element (besides a trace) within the PP. For example, this occurs when the P is fronted in relative clauses, as in (28).

29. (CP-REL (PP-2 (P fri)
                   (WNP (WPRO sa)
                        (NAS m)))
              (C 0)
              (IP-SUB (BEH bí)
                      (PP (ADVP (ADV immaldē))
                      (PP *ICH*-2))))
     (ID mt.410) "together with whom they live"
                 (Lit.: "with whom they are together")

9. Wh-PHRASE

The internal structure of wh- phrases is usually identical to that of their non-wh counterparts. However, the content of a wh- phrase can generally (except for WPP) be 0 (zero), indicating an empty operator. Wh-phrases are not annotated with dash tags indicating information concerning grammatical function, subcategory, etc. Instead, the relevant information is associated with the associated wh- trace.

9.1 WADVJP

A WADJP consists of an empty operator (WADJP 0) used in comparatives, as in (1)

1. (COPD ba)
    (ADJP (ADJR-N córu)
          (PP *ICH*-1)
          (PP *ICH*-2))
    (PP (P+PRO lim))
    (PP-1 (P+PRO duit))
    (PP-2 (P+BE-WH oldás)
          (CP-CMP (WADJP-3 0)
                  (C 0)
                  (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                          (ADJP *T*-3)
                          (NP-SBJ (N-N scintline)
                                  (NP-COM (N-G ingine))))))
         (. .)
     (ID fr.12) "I think it would be better for you than a skittish thing of a girl."

9.2 WADVP

A WADVP consists either of an empty operator, (WADV 0) as in (2), or is headed by a wh- adverb (3) or interrogative (4).

2. (CONJ 7)

                 (PP (P cīa)
                     (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
                             (C 0)
                             (IP-SUB (RO ro)
                                     (VBD loing)
                                     (NP-SBJ (NPR-N āed)))))
    (, ,)
    (NEG nī)
    (VBD-RO sib)
    (NP-OB1 (N-A dīgh))
    (, ,)
    (PP (P ūair)
        (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (NEG ní)
                        (BED baī)
                        (NP-SBJ (N-N corn))
                        (PP (P+PRO lais)))))
     (ID tdh.7) "And although Áed ate, he did not drink a draught, since he did not have a drinking horn."

3.   (CP-ADV (WADVP (WADV intan))
             (C 0)
             (IP-SUB (PV+VB air-bir)
                     (NP-OB2 (N-D biuth))
                     (NP-SBJ (D-N in)
                             (N-N scriptúir))
                     (PP (P oc)
                         (NP (VBN-D demnigud)
                             (NP-COM (Q nach)
                                     (VBN-G dligid))))
                     (PP (P do)
                         (NP (NS-D deismrechtaib)
                             (PP (P a)
                                 (NP (DS-D snaib)
                                     (NS-D salmaib)))))))
     (ID ps.86) "when the scripture, in confirming some law, uses examples from the psalms…"

4.   (CONJ ocus)
     (CP-QUE (WADVP-1 (WADV cindas))
             (C 0)
             (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                     (ADVP *T*-1)
                     (NP-SBJ (ANA ón)))
     ID ps.58) "And how is this?"

9.3 WNP

A WNP may consist of an empty operator (WNP 0), as in (5), the wh-pronouns (WPRO) as in (6), or a noun modified by the wh- determiners (WD), as in (7).

5.   (NP-COM (D-G na)
        (N-G muindtire)
        (CP-REL (WNP-2 0)
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (BEH-WH bís)
                (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-2))
                (PP (P+PRO$ id)
                    (LEN LEN)
                    (NP (VBN-D coimidecht)))))
    (ID mt.10) "the monks that lived with you"

6.   (CP-FRL (WNP-1 (WPRO a) (NAS n))
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (PV+XW+LEN+VBF a-t-chotfam)
            (NP-SBJ (PRO ni))
            (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-1)
                (PP (P do)
                  (LEN lEN)
                  (NP (NS-D sƒitaib))
                    (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                        (NP (NS-D maínib)))))))
    (ID fr.28) "whatever treasures and wealth we get"

7.   (CP-QUE-SPE (WNP-1 (WD cis) (N-N lir))
            (C 0)
          (IP-SUB (RO ro)
             (LEN LEN)
             (VBD cachain)
             (NP-SBJ (Q cech)
                 (N-N fer)
                 (PP (P di)
                    (LEN LEN)
                  (NP (ANA-S-D suidib))))
             (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-1))))
    (ID ps.74) "how many did each man of these sing?"

9.4 WPP

WPP is used in two instances in POMIC. First, it is used in prepositional relative clauses (pied-piping constructions), as in (8). Second, it is used in prepositional clefts when the

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prepositional phrase has been extracted from within another phrase, as in (9). In the first instance, WPP is constructed exactly like a PP, in that it is headed by a P. The PP has a complement WNP. In the second instance, WPP dominates 0.

8.   (NP-SBJ (D-N ind)
            (N-N eclais)
            (CP-REL (WPP-1 (P i)
                (NAS m)
                (WNP 0))
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (BED baī)
                    (PP *T*-1))))))
    (ID lais.8) "the church in which he was"

9.   (COP is)
     (PP-1 (P+PRO dó))
     (CP-CLF (WPP-2 0)
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (COP-WH as)
            (ADJP (ADJ-N díles)
               (PP *T*-2))
            (NP-SBJ-RSP (D-N in)
               (N-N bríathar)
               (D sin))))
    (ID ps.301) "it is to this that that word is appropriate:…"

10. Nonstructural labels

In POMIC, the following nonstructural labels occur: CODE, ID, and LATIN. They are generally used in the same way as in the Penn corpora (see http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/annotation/index.html). A use of CODE which is not found in the Penn corpora is to tag [or] which are used in place of parentheses in the editions. ID tags the text+sentence-number combination used to identify each sentence in the corpus.

Some examples follow of CODE used to indicate paragraph+line or page number (1), CODE used to indicate [(2), CODE used to indicate editorial comments (3), and CODE used to indicate omitted material (4). In a future revision of the corpus, further editorial notes will be added, where appropriate.

1.   (CODE 12.4)
     (PV+VB du-tét)
     (PP (P īar)
        (NP (D sin)))
     (PP (P di)
        (NP-1 (PRO$ a)

```
                    (LEN LEN)
                    (N-D cennadich)
                    (NP-PRN-1 (N-N aicme)
                              (ADJ-N becc)
                              (PP (P i)
                                  (NP (NPR-D clíu))))))
      (, ,)
      (ID arm.36) "Then he comes to his district, a small sept in Clíu"

2.    (IP-MAT-PRN (VB ol)
                  (NP-SBJ-1 (PRO+PRO sʄisim)
                            (NP-PRN-1 (CODE [)
                                      (IDEST idest)
                                      (NPR-N elair)
                                      (CODE ]))))
      (ID mt.19) "said he, that is, Hilarius"

3.    (COP is)
      (PP (P di)
          (NP (PRO$ a)
              (VBN-D forciull)
              (PRO som)))
      (NP-SBJ (ANA ón))
      (CODE *ED:_see_editor-s_notes*)
      (ID mt.209) "That is to mark them"

4.    (CODE hymn_omitted)
      (ID lh.11)
```

LATIN is used to indicate stretches of text that are in Latin. These are not analyzed. The function of these parts in the context of the whole sentence is indicated, as in (1). However, when the entire sentence is Latin, as in (2), or when large parts of the clause, which do not necessarily form constituents are in Latin, as in (3), no function is indicated. In POMIC it was attempted to annotate all instances of Latin, including single and multiple words, as LATIN. There may be some errors that will be rectified in future revisions.

```
1.    (VB+X gaibti)
      (NP-SBJ (PRO seom))
      (FP trā)
      (NP-OB1-1 (NP (NUM-A teōra)
                    (NS-A bīadi))
                (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                       (NP (LATIN (FW magnificat))
                           (PP (P la)
                               (NP (Q cāch)
```

```
                              (NAS n)
                              (NP-COM (PRO$ aí)))))))
      (PP (LATIN (FW post)
                 (FW palmōs)))
      (NP-PRN-1 (N-N bīad)
                (NP-COM (Q cech)
                        (NUM-G cáocad)))
      (. .)
      (ID mt.26) "He recites, however, three Beati, and a Magnificat with each of them,
                  after the Psalms: a Beati per every fifty."

2.    (LATIN (CONJ et)
             (FW dixit)
             (FW pater)
             (" ")
             (FW oportet)
             (FW mori)
             (" "))
      (. .)
      (ID lh.17) "And the father said, "He should die.""

3.    (LATIN (FW sed)
             (FW quando)
             (FW natus)
             (FW est))
      (, ,)
      (PP (P do)
          (LEN LEN)
          (NP (N-D cill)
              (NP-POS (NPR-G īte))))
      (LATIN (FW ductus)
             (FW est))
      (ID lh.19) "But when he is born, he is brought to Ita's Cell"
```

C. CONJUNCTION

1. Phrase-level

In POMIC, only Phrase-level conjunction is used, unlike in the Penn corpora, which also allows Word-level conjunction. Phrase-level conjunction follows the pattern of the Penn corpora, i.e.:

```
(XP (XP (X first-conjunct))
    (CONJP (CONJ conjunction)
           (YP (Y second-conjunct)))
```

```
(CONJP (CONJ conjunction)
      (ZP (Z third-conjunct) (Z more-of-third-conjunct)))))
```

An example is given in (1).

```
1. (NP-SBJ (NP (N-N flaith))
          (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                 (NP (N-N aithech))))
   (ID arm.1) "lord and vassal"
```

2.   CONJP with empty heads

In POMIC, as in the Penn corpora, occasionally CONJP does not have a head, as in (1).

```
1.    (CODE 13.6)
      (VBD fácab)
      (NP-OB1-1 (NUM morf.eser)
               (PP *ICH*-2))
      (PP (P+PRO lais))
      (PP-2 (P di)
           (NP (PRO$ a)
               (N-D muintir)))
      (NP-PRN-1 (IDEST idest)
               (NP (POS$ mu)
                  (LEN LEN)
                  (NPR-N catócc)
                  (NP-COM (N-G inse)
                         (NP-COM (NPR-G fáil))))
               (CONJP (NP (NPR-N augustín)
                         (NP-COM (N-G inseo)
                                (ADJ-G bicae))))
               (CONJP (NP (NPR-N tecán)))
               (CONJP (NP (NPR-N díarmuit)))
               (CONJP (NP (NPR-N naindid)))
               (CONJP (NP (NPR-N pool)))
               (CONJP (NP (NPR-N fedelmid))))
      (. .)
      (ID arm.80) "He left with him seven of his community, viz. Mu Chatócc of Inis
                   Fáil, Augustín of Inis Becc, Tecán, Díarmait, Naindid, Pól,
                   Fedelmid."
```

3.   CONJP with unlike categories

As in the Penn corpora, conjunction of unlike categories is labeled with the label of the

first conjunct, as in (1).

```
1.    NP-PRN-1 (NP (PRO$ a)
               (N-N anord)
               (CODE *MS:_only_has_anord,_with_no_PRO$)
               (IP-INF (P di)
                      (NP (VBN-D pendit)
                      (PP (P+PRO dō)
                         (NP (PRO som))))))
      (CONJP (CONJ 7)
             (CP-THT (C ar)
                    (IP-SUB (NEG-WH+XW nacha-d)
                           (VB fercaigther)
                           (NP-SBJ (PRO su))
                           (NP-OB1 0)
                           (FP etir)
                           (LATIN (FW siue) (FW site) (FW siue)
                                  (FW insite))))))
   (ID mt.248)  "that he should do penance for his misbehavior and that you should
                not be angry in any way, either consciously or unconsciously."[9]
```

4.   Recursive conjunction structures

Recursive conjunction, as in the Penn Corpora, is based mainly on the semantics of the text as well as the Editor's punctuation, when this was felt to reflect the semantics.

```
1.    (NP-PRN-1 (IDEST idest)
               (NP (NP (N-N gaimred))
                  (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                         (NP (N-N snechtae))))
               (, ,)
               (CONJP (NP (NP (N-N sín))
                      (
CONJP (CONJ 7)
                                 (NP (N-N úacht)))))
               (, ,)
               (CONJP (NP (NP (N-N áes))
                         (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                                (LEN LEN)
                                (NP (N-N críne))))
               (, ,)
               (CONJP (NP (N-N galar))
                      (CONJP (CONJ 7)
```

---

[9] Note that despite the English translation, the first conjunct is an NP + IP-INF combination while the second is a CP-THT.

(NP (N-N bás)))))
(ID hom.39) "…that is, winter and snow, tempest and cold, age and decay, disease
            and death."

5.   Shared modifiers

In POMIC, shared pre-modifiers are not specially marked, unlike in the Penn corpora.
This may change in future revisions. Shared post-modifiers are attached as high as
possible, as in (1).

1.   (NP-COM (NP (N-G terci))
                (CONJP (CONJ nō)
                        (NP (N-G bochde)))
                (PP (LATIN (FW in) (FW ando))))
     (ID mt.84) "scarcity or poverty during the year"

6.   Extraposed CONJP

When conjoined phrases are extraposed, the extraposed conjunct is coindexed with an *
ICH* as in the Penn corpora. Unlike in the Penn corpora, both conjuncts retain phrasal
nodes, as in (1).

1.   (NP-LFD (N-N bíad)
                (NP-COM (N+N-G praind-digi)))
     (ADVP (ADV immurgu))
     (VB-PASS canir)
     (NP-SBJ (NP (LATIN (FW magnificat)))
                (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                        (NP (LATIN (FW ymnum))))
                (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                        (NP (LATIN (FW unitas))))
                (CONJP *ICH*-1))
     (PP (P la)
                (NP-RSP (ANA-A suidi)))
     (CONJP-1 (CONJ 7)
                (NP (NP (LATIN (FW ego)
                            (FW uero)
                            (FW orationem))
                (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                        (NP (LATIN (FW reliqua)))))))
     (ID mt.61) "As to the Beati of the refectory, however, the Magnificat and Hymnum
                and Unitas are sung with it, and Ego Uero Orationem and so forth."

7.   Clausal Conjunction

7.1 Conjunction of IP-MAT

Main clauses (IP-MAT) are separated even when conjoined. The clause-initial CONJ in
the second and subsequent clauses is treated as a constituent of the clause. Unlike in the
Penn corpora, no empty subject is inserted, as per the policy on empty subjects generally
(see section D). As an example of conjoined IP-MAT, consider (1).

1. ((IP-MAT (ID arm.56)
     (VBD+X áilsi)
     (NP-SBJ (NPR-N pātricc))
     (NP-OB1 0)
     (PP (P īar)
        (NAS n)
        (NP (PRO$ a)
            (VBN-D baitzed)))
     (CP-THT (C ara)
            (IP-SUB-1 (VBD-SUBJ teilced)
                        (NP-OB1 (NS-A maccu)
                            (NP-POS (NPR-G cathbad)))
                        (IP-SUB-PRN-1 (CONJ 7)
                            (NP-OB1 (LATIN (FW isserninum))
                                (PP (P+PRO leō))))))
     (, ,)
     (TRANS:
"After_baptising_him,_Patrick_besought_him_that_he_should_allow_the_sons_of_Cath
both_and_Isserninus_along_with_them.")))

((IP-MAT (ID arm.57)
     (CONJ 7)
     (PV+VBD ad-cotedae)
     (NP-OB1 (D-A in)
            (NAS n)
            (N-A itge))
     (TRANS: "And_he_obtained_the_request.")))

7.2 Conjunction of IP-SUB

1.   (CP-ADV-1 (WADV intain)
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (IP-SUB (VB-WH scaras)
                        (PP (P fri)
                        (NP (PRO$ a)
                            (LEN LEN)
                            (NS-A tola)))

```
                            (PP (P+PRO leō)))
                    (CONJP (CONJ l-)
                        (IP-SUB (VB-WH cḟissas)
                            (NP-OB1 (N-A saīthor))
                            (PP (P i) (NAS p)
                                (NP (NP (N-D penit))
                                    (CONJP (CONJ ocus)
                                        (NP (VBN-D aithrigi)))))))))))
            (ID cam.34) "…when by means of them he separates from his desires or suffers toil
                    in penance and repentance."
```

For instances when the second conjunct lacks more than just the subject, see 7.4 on gapping.

7.3 Right-node raising

Right-node raising consists of instances in which two conjuncts within a conjoined phrases share material and where that material is located at the end (the "right") of the entire conjoined phrase. Unlike the Penn corpora, POMIC treats both NP and IP right-node raising similarly, with regard to the position of the right-node raised constituent. In particular, in both cases, it is placed as high as possible. For an example of right-node raising within NP, consider (1). This is in fact no different from shared modifiers (see section 5).

```
1.      (NP-SBJ (NP (PRO$ a) (VBNS-N fodli))
                (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                    (NP (PRO$ a) (NS-N gabāil)))
                (NP-COM (D-G inna) (N-G trōcaire)))
        (ID lc.150) "the divisions and branches of mercy"
```

With regard to right-node raising in IP, POMIC follows the Penn corpora in using –PRN (IP-MAT-PRN, IP-SUB-PRN, etc.). This is embedded within a higher IP, to which it is coindexed. The coindexation is attached with = in the case of the embedded clause, i.e. IP-MAT-PRN=1, etc. Consider (2).

```
2.      (COP iss)
        (NP-PRD (PRO é))
        (CP-CLF (IP-SUB-1 (NO+XW no-da)
                    (VB ail)
                    (IP-SUB-PRN=1 (CONJ 7)
                        (PV+XW+VB co-ta-ói))
                    (IP-SUB-PRN=1 (CONJ 7)
                        (NO+XW no-da)
                        (VB fáiltigedar))
                    (IP-SUB-PRN=1 (CONJ 7)
                        (NO+XW no-da)
```

```
                            (VB sorchaigedar))
                    (IP-SUB-PRN=1 (CONJ 7)
                        (PV+XW+VB co-ta-midethar))
                    (IP-SUB-PRN=1 (CONJ 7)
                        (PV+XW+VBD-RO do-da-raithchiúir))
                    (IP-SUB-PRN=1 (CONJ 7)
                        (PV+XW+VB a-ta-núigedar))
                    (NP-OB1 (DS-A na)
                        (GEM h)
                        (Q uili))))
        (ID hom.11) "It is he who nourishes and preserves and gladdens and illuminates
                    and rules and has redeemed and renews all things."[10]
```

One type of right-node raising which is not found in English is when the subject is right-node raised. This occurs because Irish is, in general, a VSO language. Consider (3).

```
3.      (IDEST idest)
        (VB selbaigid)
        (IP-MAT-PRN=1 (CONJ 7) (VB atreba))
        (NP-SBJ (D-N in) (N-N demun) (ADJ-N olc))
        (NP-OB1 (N-A anmain)
            (NP-POS (D-G in)
                (N-G dimdaig)
                (CP-REL (WNP-2 0)
                    (C 0)
                    (IP-SUB (NEG-WH nád)
                        (VB atlaigethar)
                        (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-2))
                        (NP-OB1 (PRO$ a) (ADJ+NS-A deg-máini))
                        (PP (P do)
                            (NP (NPR-D día)))))))
        (ID hom.24) "That is, the evil devil possess and occupies the soul of the ungrateful
                    one who does not give thanks to God for his benefits."
```

When right-node raising occurs in a CP, the gapped CP is embedded within an IP-SUB-PRN, in order to create parellelism. Within the gapped CP a second IP is inserted around the verb (and any other non-shared material). Consider in this regard example (4).

```
4.      (CP-FRL (WNP-3 (WPRO sechi))
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB-4 (VB-SUBJ-PASS ráiter)
                (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-3))
                (IP-SUB-PRN=4 (CONJ 7)
```

---

[10] Note that in this example, the infixed pronoun (+XW = -da, +XW+ = -ta-) is not translated. Instead, this clause has been analysed as containing multiple proleptic pronouns all referring to the same overt NP object.

```
                    (CP-FRL (WNP-5 (WPRO sechi))
                        (C 0)
                        (IP-SUB (VB-SUBJ-PASS déntar)
                            (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-5)))))
                (PP (P+PRO frinn))))
        (ID lc.277) "…whatever may be said and whatever may be done to us."
```

7.4   Gapping

Gapping consists of cases when at least the finite verb and occasionally more material is elided from a second conjunct. As in the Penn Corpora, Gapping and Right-node raising are very similarly analysed in POMIC. The gapped clause is coindexed with the complete clause from which it can be reconstructed. However, unlike the Penn Corpora, all gapped clauses contain –PRN. In (1), the elided portion of the clause is written within brackets in the translation.

```
1.    (IP-SUB-2 (VB-PASS scríbtar)
            (NP-SBJ (NP (DS- N int) (LEN LEN) (NS-N sailm)))
            (PP (P tria)
                (NP (N-A dub)))
            (IP-SUB-PRN=2 (CONJ ocus)
                    (NP (DS-N in) (NS-N tituil))
                    (PP (P trīa)
                    (NP (N-A derg))))
        (ADVP *T*-1))^11
    (ID ps.157) "the psalms are written in black and the titles [are written] in
            red."
```

7.5   Conjoined direct speech

As in the Penn corpora, after a verb of saying in a matrix clause, all conjoined clauses containing direct speech after the first one are treated as separate tokens.

```
1.    ( (IP-MAT-SPE (ID mt.37)
        (" ")
        (VBF+X ībthi)
        (NP-SBJ (PRO$ mo)
                (N-N muindter)
                (PRO sa))
        (NP-OB1 0)
        (TRANS: "My_people_shall_drink_it.")))

    ( (IP-MAT-SPE (ID mt.38)
```

```
                    (CONJ 7)
                    (BEF bíad)
                    (PP (P ind)
                        (NP (N-D nim)))
                    (PP (P+PRO$ láad)
                        (NP (N-A muindtir)
                            (PRO siu)))
                    (. .)
                    (" ")
                    (TRANS: "And_they_will_be_in_heaven_along_with_your_people.")))
```

D. Empty Categories

 [TO BE ADDED] Refer in the mean time to http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/annotation/index.html. One difference between POMIC and the Penn corpora is that POMIC usually does not indicate empty subjects, since Old and Middle Irish are pro-drop languages. The subject is indicated as 0 in the cases described above under B.6.1.8.

E. Clause Level Categories

[TO BE ADDED] Refer in the mean time to http://www.ling.upenn.edu/hist-corpora/annotation/index.html.

F. Subordinate Clauses

1.   CP-ADV

Adverbial clauses are either introduced by a subordinating conjunction or not. In the first case, the subordinating conjunction is tagged as P and the remainder of the subordinate clause is treated as the CP-ADV complement of P.

1.1 CP-ADV as Complement of P

```
1.    má /mád "if"

    (PP (P mā)
        (CP-ADV (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (NEG nī)
                    (VB-SUBJ-PASS étar))))
        (ID arm.10) "if it may not be obtained"
```

2. amail/amal "like"

(PP (P amail)
    (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (PV+NAS+XW+VBD imm-ind-ráitset)
                (NP-OB1 0)))))
(ID arm.70) "as they spoke of him"

3. ó "since"

(PP (P ó)
    (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (PV+VB ru-fitir)
                (NP-OB1 (PRO$ du)
                        (N-A lobri)))))
(ID arm.100) "since he knows your weakness."

4. oire "since, for, because"

(PP (P oire)
    (CP-ADV (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (NO nu)
                (NAS n)
                (COP dem)
                        (NP-PRD (NS-N membur)
                                (PP *ICH*-2))
                (NP-SBJ (Q uili))
                (PP-2 (P du)
                        (NP (NPR-D dea))))))

(ID cam.22) " for we all are members unto God"

5. cé "although"

(PP (P cē)
    (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (NEG nī)
                (VB-SUBJ cēsa)
                (NP-OB1 (NP (N-A aīni))
                        (CONJP (NEGCONJ nā)
                                (NP (N-A laubir)
                                        (NAS n))))
                (PP (P+PRO oco)))))))

(ID cam.33) "although he suffer fasting or labor because of it."

6. cid "however"

(PP (P+COP-SUBJ cid)
    (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                (ADJP (ADJ-N fotae))
                (NP-SBJ (D-N an)
                        (N-N ree)
                        (CP-REL (WNP-1 0)
                                (C 0)
                                (IP-SUB (PV+VB-SUBJ con-mestar)
                                        (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1))
                                        (PP (P+PRO dōib)))))))
(ID com.8) "however long be the period which is prescribed for them."

7. résiu "before"

(PP (P rʃisiu)
    (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (VB-SUBJ-PASS rʃ´sar)
                (NP-SBJ (N-N forcend)
                        (NP-COM (N-G peindi)
                        (CP-REL (WNP-4 0)
                                (C 0)
                                (IP-SUB (PV+VB con-midedar)
                                        (NP-SBJ (PRO$ a)
                                                (NAS n)
                                                (N+N-N anm-chara))
                                        (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-4)))))))))))
(ID com.12) "...before the end of the penance decided by a soul friend is reached..."

Other such subordinators are:
acht "except, save that", dáig "because", coN "until", sech "since" (also in *sech is* "that is"), úar/úair "because, for, since", día "if", feib "as", acht mad "except on account of" (this is a [PP [P acht] [PP [P+COP-SUBJ mad] …]), cen "without that", indul "in as much

2.2 Bare CP-ADV

Bare CP-ADV clauses (with no subordinator and with or without an overt C) usually express purpose ("so that"), as in (8), or result ("such that").

8.   (CONJ ocus)

```
           (VBF dingƒibat)
           (NP-OB1 (D-A in) (N-A mnaƒ´))
           (PP (P+PRO dít))
           (CP-ADV (C con)
                   (IP-SUB (NEG-WH+X nāch-at)
                          (VBF imrāidfe)
                   (NP-OB1 0)
                   (FP etir)))
           (ID fr.88) "And I will take the woman from you so that she does not think of
                   you at all."
```

Bare CP-ADV clauses are also used when the relation between the main clause and the subordinate clause does not seem to be one of complementation, such as in (9). This is usually found in the phrase *fecht and* (or variants), meaning "once upon a time"

```
9.     (BE 0)
       (NP-SBJ (N-A feacht)
               (NAS n))
       (PP (P+PRO ann))
       (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
               (C 0)
               (IP-SUB (PV-VBD do-luid)
                      (NP-SBJ-1 (NPR-N āedh)
                              (ADJ-N oirdnidhi)
                              (NP-PRN-1 (N-N mac)
                                      (NP-POS-2 (NPR-G nƒiill)
                                              (NP-PRN-2 (NPR-G frosaidh))
                                      (NP-PRN-2 (N-G mic)
                                              (NP-POS-3 (NPR-G fearghuile)
                                                      (NP-PRN-3 (N-G mic)
                                                              (NP-POS (NPR-G maƒ´le)
                                                                      (NPR-G dūin))))))))))
                      (PP (P do)
                          (NP (VBN-N ordugud)
                              (NP-COM (NS-G fer)
                                      (NP-COM (N-G cūigid)
                                              (NP-COM (NPR-G connacht))))))))))
       (. .)
       (ID tdh.0) "One on a time, Áed Oirdnide, son of Níall Frosach, son of Fergal,
               son of Máel Dúin, came to establish order in the province of C
               Connacht."
```

BARE CP-ADV clauses are also found when the WADVP that they contain is *a*N

"when" as in (10), or *intan* "when".

```
10.    (CP-ADV (WADVP (WADV a) (NAS n))
               (C 0)
               (IP-SUB (PV+VBD-RO as-rubart)
                      (PP (P+PRO fris))…
       (ID lc.28) "when she said to him…|"
```

BARE CP-ADV may be modified by FP, as in (11).

```
11.    (CONJ 7)
        (CP-ADV (FP cid)
               (WADVP (WADV intan))
               (C 0)
               (IP-SUB (PV+VB con-certa)
                      (NP-SBJ (N-N pennint))))
       (ID lc.246) "even when penance corrects"
```

2. CP-THT

2.1 Verbal Complement

```
1.     (IP-SUB (PV+VBD-RO ad-condairc)
               (CP-THT (CP-THT (C 0)
                      (IP-SUB (NEG-WH+RO nār)
                             (COPD bo)
                             (ADJP (ADJ-N díchrai))
                             (NP-SBJ (D-N ind)
                                     (N-N pendaid))
                             (PP (P+PRO leú))))
       (ID mt.131) "he saw that their penance was not zealously performed."
```

2.2 Noun Phrase Complement

In addition to being complements to verbal clauses, CP-THT phrases can also be used as noun phrase complements.

```
39.    (NP (N-D figuir)
           (CP-THT (C 0)
                   (IP-SUB (NEG-WH+NAS+COP nān)
                          (ADJP (ADJ-N cōir))
                          (NP-SBJ (ADJ+VBN-N ro-sāegeth)
                          (PP (P for)
```

```
                                                    (NP (NS-A rúna)
                                                        (NP-POS (NPR-G dé)))))))
        (ID mass.57)  "a symbol that it is not proper to dispute too much about the
                       mysteries of God."
```

3. CP-DEG

In POMIC CP-DEG is only a complement to nouns that head a NP-MSR, as in (1).

```
1.          (NEG nocha)
            (BE-SUBJ bƒio)
            (NP-SBJ (PRO sa))
            (ADVP-TMP (ADV ƒ´arum))
            (PP (P oc)
                (NP (VBN-D gabáil)
                    (PP (P+PRO fris))))
            (NP-MSR (Q ní)
                    (CP-DEG (WNP-1 0)
                            (C 0)
                            (IP-SUB (COP-SUBJ-WH bas)
                                    (ADJP (ADJR-N síriu))
                                    (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1)))))
        (ID fr.125) "I might not be struggling against him any longer after that."
```

4. CP-CMP

[To Be Added] General structure is as in (1).

```
1.      (PP (P+BE-WH oldás)
            (CP-CMP (WADJP-2 0)
                    (C 0)
                    (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                            (ADJP *T*-2)
                            (NP-SBJ (D-N a) (NAS n) (N-N déde) (D sa))))))
        (ID ps.222) "truer than either of these" (lit.: "truer than these two")
```

5. CP-QUE

5.1 Direct questions

5.1.1   Yes-No Question

Yes-No questions are introduced are either introduced by a particle *in/ind/an/and* (etc.), or reduced (with no indication that the sentence is a question). Example (1) shows a particle question while example (2) shows a reduced question.

```
1.   (NP-ADT (N-N cesc))
     (CONJ acus)
     (CP-QUE (PP (P mā)
             (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
                     (C 0)
                     (IP-SUB (PV+VBD-SUBJ do-berad)
                             (NP-SBJ (NPR-N dīa))
                             (PP (P+PRO deid))
                             (NP-OB1 (N-A cepp)
                                     (CP-REL (PP-1 (P i)
                                                  (WNP 0))
                                             (C 0)
                                             (IP-SUB (VBD-SUBJ-PASS clandta)
                                                     (NP-SBJ (PRO$ do)
                                                             (N-N indeuin))
                                                     (PP *ICH*-1)))))))
             (WP ind)
             (IP-SUB (VBC ainfedea)
                     (PP (P+PRO oca))))
        (ID mt.107) "Quesiton, and if God should give you a block where your anvil might
                      be planted, would you abide at it?"
```

```
2.    (CP-QUE (C 0)
              (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                      (NP-PRD (N-N indeuin)
                              (NP-COM (N-G crábid)))))
        (ID mt.105) "[Is it] the anvil of devotion?"
```

5.1.2   Direct wh-questions:

Direct wh-questions are of two main types: (a) non-prepositional and (b) prepositional. They differ from other question types in that CP-QUE immediately dominates a wh-element in both types. Section 5.1.1 deals with non-prepositional direct wh-questions, while Section 5.1.2 deals with prepositional wh-direct questions.

5.1.2.1   Non-prepositional wh-direct questions

Non-prepositional wh-direct question include of wh-phrases (of different

types), a null complementizer, and an IP-SUB that contains a trace indicating the position of the wh-element.

Some wh-elements are non-phrasal, especially when wh-determiners (tagged WD) are moved while leaving the rest of the noun-phrase in-situ.

3. WPRO = *cid*
```
(CP-QUE (WNP-1 (WPRO cid))
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                (NP-PRD (NP *T*-1))
                (NP-SBJ (D sō))))
    (ID mt.50) "What [is] that?"
```

4. WPRO = *cía*
```
(CP-QUE-SPE (WNP-1 (WPRO cīa))
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                (NP-PRD (NP *T*-1))
                (NP-SBJ (N-N ainm)
                        (NP-COM (D-G ind)
                                (N-G libuir)
                                (D si)))))
    (? ?)
    (ID ps.260) "What is the name of this book?"
```

5. WADV = *cindas/cindus*
```
    (CONJ occus)
    (NP-ADT (DS-N ind)
            (LEN LEN)
            (NS-N cantaici))
    (CP-QUE (WADVP-1 (WADV cindus))
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (NO+XW no-d)
                    (NAS n)
                    (VBF-PASS gēbtar)
                    (ADVP *T*-1)))
    (ID mt. 223) "And the canticles, how will they be sung?"
```

6. WPRO = *cate/caite/cade* (etc) 'what'
```
 (CP-QUE-SPE (WNP-2 (WPRO cate))
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                    (NP-PRD (NP *T*-2))
```

```
                (NP-SBJ (VBN-N dechor)
                        (PP (P etir)
                            (NP (NP (D-A a)
                                    (NAS n)
                                    (N-A argumaint))
                                (CONJP (CONJ ocus)
                                        (NP (D-A in)
                                            (N-A titul)))))))))
    (? ?)
    (ID ps.172) "What is the difference between the argument and the title?"
```

7. WADV = *can* "whence, where from"
```
(CP-QUE-SPE (WADVP-1 (WADV can))
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (PV+VB do-roich)
                    (NP-SBJ (D-N int)
                            (VBN-D ainmnigud)
                            (D so))
                    (ADVP *T*-1)))
    (? ?)
    ID ps.27) "Where does this meaning come from?"
```

8. WD (in WNP phrase) = *ce/cía*, etc.
```
(CP-QUE (WNP-1 (WD cīa)
                (N-N cruth))
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (RO ru)
                (GEM h)
                (VBD-PASS ilaigthe)
                (NP-ADV (NP *T*-1))))
    ID ps.182) "In what way were they multiplied?"
```

9. WD (not in WNP phrase) = *ce/cía*, etc.
```
 (CP-QUE (WD-1 cé)
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (COP ta)
                (NP-PRD (D *T*-1)
                        (N-N indas)
                        (NP-COM (N-G fir)))))
    (ID mt.103) "What manner of man are you?"
                (Lit: "What are you a manner/type of man?")
```

10. WD = *cindas* "what sort"

```
(CP-QUE (WD-1 cindas)
        (C 0)
        (FP ám)
        (" ")
        (IP-MAT-PRN (VB ol)
                    (NP-SBJ (PRO$ mo)
                            (LEN LEN)
                            (NPR-N colmóc)))
        (" ")
        (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                (NP-PRD (D *T*-1)
                        (PRO$ do)
                        (N-G reimi)
                        (PRO siu))))
    (ID mt.115) "'What sort of life do you lead?' said Mo Cholmóc."
                (Lit: "What sort, said Mo Cholmóc, is of your life?")


11. WD = cis, in the phrase cis lir "how many?"

(CP-QUE-SPE (WNP-1 (WD cis)
                   (N-N lir))
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (RO ro)
                    (LEN LEN)
                    (VBD cachain)
                    (NP-SBJ (Q cech)
                            (N-N fer)
                            (PP (P di)
                                (LEN LEN)
                                (NP (ANA-S-D suidib))))
                    (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-1))))
        (? ?)
        (ID ps.74) "How many did each man of them sing?"


12. WPRO = null

(CP-QUE (WNP-1 (WPRO 0))
        (C 0)
        (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                (NP-PRD (NP *T*-1))
                (NP-SBJ (PRO$ do)
                        (N-N rĩar)
                        (PRO su))
                (PP (P+PRO ind))
                (FP ém)))
```

(ID mt.53) "'[What is] your will, therefore, indeed?' said Dublitir."

5.1.2.2   Direct wh-questions in specificational sentences

The corpus treats the combination *cisi* as two elements: WPRO = *ci*, PRO = *si*. The PRO is treated as a predicate while the WPRO is coindexed with the parenthetical of the specification (see the section on **Specificational Clauses** for more details).

```
13. (CP-QUE-SPE (WNP-1 (WPRO ci))
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                        (NP-PRD-2 (PRO si))
                        (NP-SBJ (N-N gnúis)
                                (PP (P di)
                                    (NP (NS-D gnúsib)
                                        (NP-COM (D-G inna)
                                                (N-G canóine))))
                                (CP-REL (WNP-3 0)
                                        (C 0)
                                        (IP-SUB (PV+VB for-tá)
                                                (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-3))
                                                (NP-OB1 (DS-A inna)
                                                        (NS-A salmu)))))
                        (NP-PRN-2 (NP *T*-1))))
        (? ?)
        (ID ps.55) "To what kind of the kinds of the canon do the psalms belong?"
                   (Lit: "what is the kind of the kinds of the canon that includes the
                   psalms?")
```

5.1.2.3   Prepositional direct wh-questions

Prepositional direct questions consist of a wh-phrase followed by a zero-copula clause, whose null-subject, (see B.6.1.8) is modified with a relative clause headed by a PP. Example (14) shows an example of the sequence *cid ar a* which is interpreted in the corpus as "what is the reason for which". Example (15) shows that the sequence *cid ar ind í* "what is the reason for the fact that", which is followed by a factitive CP-THT phrase, is also found in prepositional questions.

```
14. (CP-QUE (WNP-2 (WPRO cid))
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                    (NP-PRD (NP *T*-2))
                    (NP-SBJ (NP 0)
                            (CP-REL (PP-3 (P ar)
```

```
                                        (WNP (WPRO a)))
                    (C 0)
                    (IP-SUB (VB-PASS curther)
                            (NP-SBJ (PRO$ a)
                                    (NAS n)
                                    (N-A augturas))
                            (PP (P a)
                                (NAS l)
                                (NP (N-D leith)
                                    (NP-COM (NPR-G duíd)
                                            (NP-SPR (PRO$ a)
                                                    (N-D óinur)))))
                            (PP *ICH*-3))))))
        (? ?)
    ID ps.85)   "Why is their authorship referred to David alone?"
                    (Lit.: "What [is the reason] for which their authorship is referred
                            to David alone?"

15. (CP-QUE-SPE (WNP-1 (WPRO cid))
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                        (NP-PRD (NP *T*-1))
                        (NP-SBJ (NP 0)
                        (PP (P ar)
                            (NP (D-A ind)
                            (ONE í)
                            (CP-THT (NP-ADT (D-N in)
                                            (N-N salm)
                                            (D sa))
                                    (C 0)
                                    (IP-SUB (PV+LEN+VB remi-thét)
                                            (NP-OB1 (DS-A inna)
                                                    (GEM h)
                                                    (Q uili)
                                                    (NS-A salmu)))))))))))
        (? ?)
    ID ps.226) "What is it that makes this psalm precede all the other psalms?"
                    (Lit.: "What [is the reason] for the fact that, this psalm, it precedes all
                            psalms?")
```

5.2 Indirect Questions

5.2.1 Complement Direct Questions

Indirect questions usually occur as complements. They may consist of either
yes-no (whether) questions or wh-questions. Indirect yes-no questions are

introduced with *dús* "to see if/whether" (tagged WQ). Indirect wh-questions
can be introduced with either no special marker, or with *dús*, especially after
verbs of saying. Together with *dús*, which is neither within a containing phrasal
tag nor associated with a trace, a complementizer position is always indicated.
In indirect yes-no questions, it is usually filled by the WP *in/an/ind/and*. The
following examples show an indirect yes-no question introduced by *dús in* (16),
an indirect wh-question introduced by *cid* "what" (17), an indirect wh-question
introduced by *dús* and a wh-word (18). Additionally, in cases in which analysis
is ambiguous between a free relative CP-FRL and an indirect question CP-
QUE, CP-QUE is the default, as in (19), especially when the selecting verb is
usually found with indirect questions.

```
16.    (PV+VB-SUBJ-PASS du-écastar)
        (CP-QUE (WQ dús)
                (WP in)
                (IP-SUB (VB-SUBJ-PASS étar)
                        (PP (PP (P di)
                                (NP (N-D muintir)
                                    (NP-COM (N-G drommo)
                                            (NP-COM (NPR-G lías)))))
                            (CONJP (CONJ nō)
                                (PP (P di)
                                    (NP (PRO$ a)
                                        (NS-D manchib)))))))
        (. .)
        (ID arm.9) "Let there be an investigation whether one [such] can be obtained
                        from among the community of Druim Lías or its church tenants."

17. (IP-SUB-SPE (NEG nīcon)
                (VB feddur)
                (CP-QUE (WNP-1 (WPRO cid))
                        (C 0)
                        (IP-SUB (BE-WH fíl)
                                (NP-SBJ (PRO$ do)
                                        (ADJ+VBN-N sīr-gabāil)
                                        (NP-COM (NP (D-G na)
                                                    (N-G bíaide))
                                                (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                                                    (NP-2 (N-G cantaci)
                                                            (NP-COM (NPR-G māire))
                                                            (NP-PRN-2 (CODE [)
                                                                    (IDEST idest)
                                                                    (FW magnificat)
                                                                    (CODE ])))))))
                                (NP-ADV (NP *T*-1)))))
```

(. .)
(ID mt.1) "I do not understand your continual singing of the Beati and the Canticle
of Mary (i.e. the Magnificat)."
(Lit.: "I do not understand what your continual singing of the Beati and t
the Canticle of Mary (i.e. the Magnificat) is [about].")

18. (IP-SUB (PV+VBD-RO īarmo-racht)
(NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1))
(PP (P+PRO dó))
(CP-QUE (WQ dús)
(C 0)
(CP-QUE (WNP-2 (WD cía)
(N-N bald))
(C 0)
(IP-SUB (COPD ba)
(ADJP (ADJS-N dech)
(PP (P+PRO dó)))
(CP-THT (C 0)
(IP-SUB (NO nó)
(VBC gébad)
(NP-OB1 (NP *T*-2)
(PP (P di)
(NP (N-D clēircecht)))))))))))))
(ID mt.525) "… who asked him which attribute of the clerical character was best
for him to acquire."

19. (PP (P acht)
(CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
(C 0)
(IP-SUB (NEG-WH nād)
(VBD-PASS fess)
(ADVP-TMP (ADV cadacht))
(CP-QUE (WNP-4 (WPRO cid))
(C 0)
(IP-SUB (RO ro)
(VBD-RO-PASS fiugrad)
(NP-SBJ (NP *T*-4))
(PP (P+PRO and)))))))
(ID mass.18) "…except that it is not yet known what has been shown in it."

5.2.2 Appositive/parenthentical indirect questions

When indirect questions occur in apposition to a demonstrative or other NP, they carry
the extended tag -PRN. They may be introduced with a WP (*in/ind/an/and*). If
extraposed, they, like extraposed appositive/parenthetical THAT clauses) are coindexed
with a trace within the NP, in order to distinguish them from verbal complements.

20. **insert example of normal appositive question**
21. **insert example of extraposed question**

5.3 Adverbial Whether questions

Questions that are not direct questions, complements of a verb, or appositves to an NP are
labeled as CP-QUE-ADV, if they may be translated as 'whether' questions in English,
since they fill an adverbial function. They are usually introduced with *cid* (tagged
WQ+COP-SUBJ), followed by a CP-CLF (with zero copula in the IP-SUB), as in (22).
They may also be introduced with with *dús in* (WQ WP), which in this case may be
translated as "to see whether/if", as in (23).

22. cid ... cid "whether X ... or Y"

(CP-QUE-ADV (CP-QUE-ADV (WQ+COP-SUBJ cid)
(C 0)
(IP-SUB (COP 0)
(PP (P do)
(NP (ADJ+VBN-D aurlégund)
(NP-COM (N-G soscēle)))))
(CP-CLF (IP-SUB (VB-SUBJ-WH tēis)
(NP-SBJ (Q neuch))
(PP (P īar)
(NP (VBN-D tabirt)
(NP-COM (N-G feich)))))))
(CONJP (CP-QUE-ADV (WQ+COP-SUBJ cid)
(C 0)
(IP-SUB (COP 0)
(PP (PP (P do)
(NP (N-D cucin)))
(CONJP (CONJ nó)
(PP (P do)
(NP (Q nach)
(N-D ráod)
(OTHER-D aliu)))))))))
(PV+VB ind-aim)
(NP-OB1 (PRO$ a)
(NS-A lāma))
(. .)
(ID mt.270) "Whether it be to read the gospels aloud that one goes after doing
penance, or whether it be to the kitchen, or any other thing, he washes
his hands."

23.   (VBF gʄib)
        (NP-SBJ (PRO sa))
        (NP-OB1 (N+N-A leth-rand))
        (CP-QUE-ADV (WQ dús)
                (WP in)
                (IP-SUB (COPD ba)
                        (ADJP (ADJ-N cubaid)
                        (PP (P+PRO friss)
                                (CP-REL (WNP-1 (WPRO a) (NAS n))
                                        (C 0)
                                        (IP-SUB (VBF gʄiba)
                                                (NP-SBJ (PRO som))
                                                (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-1))))))))))
        (. .)
        (ID fr.130) "I will give a half-verse to see whether it be fitting with what he will
                make."

6. CP-REL

Clauses which are tagged CP-REL have both a C element and a wh-element (WNP, WADVP), both of which may be overt or zero, however, it is more usual that the wh-element is overt and the C element zero. Both the wh-element and the trace (*T*) indicate the category of the gap, with additional functional information (-SBJ, -OB1, etc) appearing on the trace only. There are three main types of relative clauses: subject/object/adverbial relatives (7.1), genitive relatives (7.2) and prepositional relatives (7.3).

6.1 Subject/Object/Adverbial relatives

This type of relative clause is the prototypical type, consisting of a WNP or WADVP wh-element, C, and a trace indicating the function and type of the gap. The following examples show a subject gap (1), an object gap (2), an adverbial gap (3).

1.   (NP-OB1 (N-A cétaig)
                (CP-REL (WNP-1 0)
                        (C 0)
                        (IP-SUB (VBD-PASS ríthae)
                                (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1))
                                (PP (P fri)
                                (NP-2 (NPR-A éladach)
                                        (NP-PRN-2 (N-A macc)
                                                (NP-POS (NPR-G maïle)
                                                        (NP-POS (N-G odrae))))
                                        (NP-PRN-2 (N-N tigerne)
                                                (NP-COM (NPR-G cremthinnae)))))))

                                (PP (P ar)
                                        (NP (N-A ech)
                                        (NAS n)
                                        (ADJ-A donn))))))
        (ID arm.23)   "… a mantle which was sold to Éládach son of Máelodar, lord of
                        Cremthenn, for a brown horse."

2.   (NP-SBJ (D-N ind)
                (LEN LEN)
                (N-N flaith)
                (CP-REL (WNP-1 0)
                        (C 0)
                        (IP-SUB (PV+LEN+VB ad-chosnat)
                                (CODE ?)
                                (NP-SBJ (NP (DS-N ind)
                                        (NS-N nóib))
                                (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                                        (NP (DS-N ind)
                                        (LEN LEN)
                                        (NS-N fireóin))))
                                (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-1)))))
        (ID hom.78) "The kingdom which the saints and the righteous strive after…"

3.   (NP (N-A fot)
                (NP-COM (D-G inna)
                        (N-G ree))
                (CP-REL (WADVP-3 0)
                        (C 0)
                        (IP-SUB (BE-SUBJ-PASS bether)
                                (PP (P+PRO ocae))
                                (ADVP *T*-3)))))
        (ID com.6) "... the length of time in which one is at them..."

6.2 Genitive Relatives

When a possessor is relativized, the annotation scheme does not include a trace or a wh-constituent. The following examples show a simple genitive relative (4) and a complex genitive relative (5) in which the antecedent (*fer*) is combined with a relative that contains a cleft. It is important to note that in (4), the relation between the antecedent and the relative is not shown at all, while in (5) a resumptive possessive (PRO$ a) modifying the possessed noun is present.

4.   (NP-LFD (N-N áos)
                (CP-REL (C 0)
                        (IP-SUB (COP-WH ata)
                                (ADJP (ADJR-N ētromae))

```
                        (NP-SBJ (NS-N cinaith))))
        (ID mt.517)   "people whose sins are lighter…"


5.  (NP-PRN-1 (IDEST idón)
             (N-N fer)
             (ADJP (ADJ-N sóer)
                   (CONJP (ADJ-N socheniúil)))
             (PP (P cen)
                 (NP (N-A on)))
             (PP (P cen)
                 (NP (N-A ainim)))
             (CP-REL (C 0)
                     (IP-SUB-2 (NEG-WH nā)
                               (COP-SUBJ dip)
                               (ADJP (ADV+ADJ-N ru-becc))
                               (IP-SUB-PRN=2 (NEG-WH nā)
                                             (COP-SUBJ dip)
                                             (ADJP (ADV+ADJ-N ro-mār)))
                               (CP-CLF (WADJP-3 0)
                                       (C 0)
                                       (IP-SUB (COPD-SUBJ bed)
                                               (ADJP *T*-3)
                                               (NP-SBJ (PRO$ a)
                                                       (N-N sommae)))))))))
        (ID arm.67)  "…a man, noble, of good kin, without defect, without blemish,
                     whose wealth would not be too little nor too great."
```

6.3 Prepositional relatives

Prepositional relatives are those relatives in which CP-REL immediately dominates a WPP that contains a WNP. WNP sometimes contains an overt, nasalizing, relative particle, *a* tagged WPRO. A simple case is shown in (6). PP is co-indexed to a trace *ICH* within the subordinate clause.

```
6.  (NP (N-D deitbirius)
        (CP-REL (WPP-5 (P ar)
                       (WNP (WPRO a)
                            (NAS n)))
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (VB-PASS-WH dēntar)
                        (PP *ICH*-5)))))
        (ID com.6)      "...[the] motive for which it is done..."
```

There are two instances in which there is a null wh-element (WNP 0). Example (7) shows that this is the case with negative prepositional relatives, while (8) shows that the preposition *i* "in" is not followed by a relative particle. Occasionally, the same is true of

other vowel-final prepositions in non-negative contexts as well.

```
7.   (NP-SBJ (N-N fer)
             (NP-COM (NUM+N-G oín-sétche))
             (CP-REL (WPP-1 (P du)
                            (WNP 0))
                     (C 0)
                     (IP-SUB (NEG-WH nā)
                             (VBI-PASS rructhae)
                             (NP-SBJ (FP act)
                                     (NUM+N-N ōen-tuistiu))
                             (PP *ICH*-1))))
     (ID arm.68) "... a man with a single wife to whom only a single child has been
                 born."


8.   (NP-LFD (N-N airm)
             (CP-REL (WPP-2 (P i)
                            (WNP 0))
                     (C 0)
                     (IP-SUB (VBD-SUBJ fuirsitis)
                             (NP-OB1-1 (D-A in)
                                       (N-A torcc))
                             (PP *ICH*-2))))
     (ID arm.84) "... the spot in which they should find the boar."
```

6.4 Extraposed Relative

As with other extraposed constituents, an extraposed relative is coindexed to an *ICH* trace within the brackets of their antecedent, as in (9).

```
9.   (C con)
     (COP id)
     (NP-PRD-1 (PRO ē))
               (NP-SBJ (N-N epscop)
                       (CP-REL *ICH*-2))
     (NP-PRN-1 (D in)
               (D sin))
     (CP-REL-2 (WNP-3 0)
               (C 0)
               (IP-SUB (ADVP-TMP (ADV cita))
                       (RO ru)
                       (VBD-PASS oirdned)
                       (NP-SBJ *T*-3)
                       (PP (P la)
                           (NP (NPRS-A laigniu)))))
     (ID arm.78)    "And, that is the bishop who was first ordained amongst the
```

Leinstermen."

6.5 Relative with overt C

As the above examples showed, the C in relative clauses in Old Irish is normally left
unexpressed, but there are a few examples where *con* is used as a relativizing C, as in
(10).

10.   (NP-PRD (Q nī)
                (CP-REL (WNP-1 0)
                        (C con)
                        (IP-SUB (VB-SUBJ ebera)
                                (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-1))
                                (PP (P+PRO fris)))))
        (ID mt.371) "something that you should say to him."

7. CP-CAR

The following types of relative clauses are treated as clause-adjoined. CP-CAR clauses
are daughters of IP.

7.1 Continuative Relatives

In this type, the antecedent of the relative is the entire clause. Such clauses o occasionally
have *olsuide* (*ols.uide*) for WPRO within WNP, as in (2).

1.   (C co)
        (VB-SUBJ-RO tarta)
        (NP-SBJ (N-N rí)
                (NP-POS (NPR-G locha)
                        (NP-POS (NPR-G léin))))
        (NP-OB1 (NUMP (NUM .iii.)
                (NUM sect)
                (NP-COM (NS-G cumel))))
        (PP (P+PRO dō))
        (CP-CAR (WNP-1 0)
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (NEG-WH nād)
                        (NAS n)
                        (VB aurthet)
                        (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1))
                        (NP-OB1 (NP (N-A rath))
                                (CONJP (NEGCONJ nā)
                                        (NP (N-A cuí))))))
        (ID wms.35) "And the king of Loch Léin should give twenty one cumals to him,

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which [fact] may not compensate for fief nor coshering."

2.   (COP is)
        (ADJP (VBGR cosnaidi))
        (FP trā)
        (NP-SBJ (D-N ind)
                (LEN LEN)
                (N-N flaith)
                (NP-COM (N-G nime)))
        (, ,)
        (CP-CAR (WNP-1 (WPRO ols.uide))
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (COP-WH as)
                        (ADJP (ADJ-N écsamail)
                                (PP (P fri)
                                        (NP (D-A sin)
                                                (N-A flaith)
                                                (NAS n)
                                                (ADJ-A dóendai)
                                                (NP-COM (D-G in) (N-G betha) (ADJ-G frecndairc)))))
                        (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1))))
        (ID hom.68) "The kingdom of heaven is to be striven after, [a fact] which is unlike
                the human dominion of the present world."

7.2 Antecedent internal relative clauses

This type includes instances like (3) in which the WPRO *ci-* combines with a form of the
copula in a specificational sentence. Here, the relationship between the relative and the
reest of the clause is not entirely clear; hence it is tagged as CP-CAR.

3.   (CONJ acht)
        (COPF bid)
        (ADJP (ADJ-N suír)
                (PP *ICH*-1))
        (NP-SBJ (NPR-N ƒ´rmumu))
        (PP-1 (P ō)
                (NP (VBN-D togai)))
        (CP-CAR (WNP-2 (WPRO+COP-SUBJ cip))
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                        (NP-PRD-3 (PRO ƒi))
                        (NP-SBJ (N-N rí)
                                (CP-REL (WNP-4 0)
                                        (C 0)
                                        (IP-SUB (BE-SUBJ-WH bƒìs)
                                                (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-4))

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```
                    (PP (P hi)
                         (NP (NPR-D caisiul)))))
               (PP (P di)
                    (LEN len)
                    (NP (N-D claind)
                         (NP-POS-5 (NPR-G ōengusa)
                              (NP-PRN-5 (N-G maic)
                                   (NP-POS (NPR-G nadfraƒ´ch)))))))
               (NP-PRN-3 (NP *T*-2))))
          (ID wms.19) "But Íarmumu will be free by choice, whatever king may be in
                    Cashel of the progeny of Óengus mac Nad Froích."
```

8.   CP-FRL

Free-relatives have the internal form of CP-RELs. They contain both a wh-element and a C. The wh-element may be overt or non-overt. When it is overt, it is typically *a* (nasalizing), but it may be *cid* or *cía* as well. All CP-FRLs are embedded within an NP, which shows the function of the free relative in the larger clause.

8.1 Normal usage of CP-FRL

The following are examples of CP-FRLs as subject (1), object (2), left-dislocated constituent (3), a parenthetical (4), and a hanging topic (or nominative pendens) (5). Essentially, wherever an NP can occur, so may a CP-FRL.

```
1. (IP-SUB (NEG ní)
          (COP 0)
          (ADJP (ADJ-N mór))
          (CP-CLF (WADVP-1 0)
               (C 0)
               (IP-SUB (VB-WH tolnathar)
                    (PP (P di)
                         (NPR-D día))
                    (NP-SBJ (CP-FRL (WNP-5 (WPRO ind))
                         (C 0)
                         (IP-SUB (PV+VB di-gní)
                              (NP-SBJ (Q neuch))
                              (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-5))
                              (PP (P fri)
                                   (NP (PRO$ a)
                                        (N-A menmain)
                                        (SELF fadēsin))))))
                    (ADVP *T*-1))))
     (ID mt.112) "…what a man does merely in intention is not greatly pleasing to God."
               (lit., "it is not much how what anyone does in his own mind is pleasing
```

to God.")

```
2.   (NEG nī)
     (VBD-RO targart)
     (NP-OB1 (CP-FRL (WNP-1 (WPRO a)
                         (NAS n))
          (C 0)
          (IP-SUB (COP-WH as)
               (ADJP (ADJS moam)
               (PP (P+PRO dē)))
          (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1)))))
     (ID lais.33) "I have not charged the greater part of it." (lit. "that which is greatest of
          it")

3.      (NP-LFD (CP-FRL (WNP-1 (WPRO a)
                         (NAS r))
          (C 0)
          (IP-SUB (COPD-RO robo)
               (LEN LEN)
               (NP-PRD (N-N tūaisre)
                    (PP (P do)
                         (LEN LEN)
                         (NP (ANA-D suidiu))))
               (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1)))))
     (COP iss)
     (NP-PRD-RSP (PRO ed))
     (CP-CLF (WNP-2 0)
          (C 0)
          (IP-SUB (COPD-RO ropo)
               (NP-PRD (N-N desse)
                    (PP (P do)
                         (NP (NPR-D crīst))))
               (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-2))))
     (ID mass.37) "What was on his left, it is that that was on Christ's right."

4.  (IP-SUB (NEG nī)
          (COPD bu)
          (ADJP (ADJR-N móo))
          (NP-SBJ-1 (N-N dān))
          (PP (P+PRO lais))
          (NP-PRN-1 (CP-FRL (WNP-2 (WPRO a)
                              (NAS r))
               (C 0)
               (IP-SUB (RO ro)
                    (BED búi)
                    (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-2))
```

```
                        (PP (P i)
                      (NP (D-D sindt)
                       (N-D saltir)
                        (NAS n)
                        (QP (Q uli)))))))))
        (ID mt.93) "He considered the whole contents of the psalter not too much of a
                          task." (lit. "what was in the whole psalter")

5. (NP-ADT (CP-FRL (WNP-1 (WPRO a)
                          (NAS n))
                    (C 0)
                    (IP-SUB (PV+XW+LEN+VBF a-t-chotfam)
                            (NP-SBJ (PRO ni))
                            (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-1)
                            (PP (P do)
                                (LEN LEN)
                                (NP (NS-D sētaib))
                                  (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                                         (NP (NS-D maínib))))))))
          (, ,)
          (COP is)
          (PP (P+PRO duit))
          (CP-CLF (WADVP-2 0)
                  (C 0)
                   (IP-SUB (VBF-WH ragas)
                           (PP (P ar)
                               (NP (N-A grādugud)
                                   (NP-COM (NPR-G Rónáin))))
                    (ADVP *T*-2)))
       (ID fr.28) "Whatever treasures and wealth we get, it is to you that it will go
                          because of Rónán's love."
```

8.2 CP-FRL in Specificational Clauses

In copular clauses with nominal predicates, the annotation scheme distinguishes between CP-CLFs, which are those CPs that only have one NP sister (the predicate), and CP-FRLs which are CPs that have two NP sisters (the predicate and one other NP). The second type of clause has the form COP + NP-PRD + NP-SBJ + NP-PRN, where either NP-SBJ or NP-PRN may enclose the CP-FRL. This type of clause is called a specificational clause. Example (6) shows a CP-FRL as the parenthetical NP in a specificational clause, while (7) shows a CP-FRL as the subject NP in a specificational clause.[12]

6.   (COP is)
      (NP-PRD-1 (PRO ed))

```
      (NP-SBJ (D ind)
              (D sin))
      (NP-PRN-1 (CP-FRL (WNP-2 0)
                        (C 0)
                        (IP-SUB (VBD-RO tucsam)
                                (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-2))
                        (PP (P ō)
                            (NP (NPR-D máol)
                                (NPR-D rúaoin))))))
      (ID mt.157) "This is what we received from Máel Rúain."

7.    (COP is)
      (NP-PRD-1 (PRO head))
      (NP-SBJ (CP-FRL (WNP-2 0)
                      (C 0)
                      (IP-SUB (PV+VB do-lēici)
                              (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-2)))))
      (NP-PRN-1 (NP (NUM cét)
                    (NS-N slēchtain))
                (CONJP (NP (N+N-N cross-figeld)))
                       (PP (P fri)
                           (NP (N-A bíat)))
                (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                       (NP (FW ymnum)
                           (FW dícat)))
                (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                       (NP (FW ūnita)))
                (CONJP (CONJ nó)
                       (NP (FW cantemus))))
      (ID mt.163) "What he performs is a hundred genuflections, and a cross-vigil with
                        the Beati and Hymnum Dicat and Unitas or Cantemus."
```

9. CP-CFL

It clefts in Early Irish are very common and have been used quite liberally in POMIC, even when there is no overt copula. In such cases, a (COP 0) is inserted before the predicate. In some cases this kind of null-copula clause may have been tagged as an NP-ADT followed by a normal clause, not a CP-CLF. It is hoped that these instances will be updated in future revision.

Internally, clefts are generally like relative clauses (with the exception of PP clefts). That is, they consist of a WH phrase followed by a C (usually null) followed by te IP-SUB. Externally, the cleft is a daughter of IP. The construction consists of COP + predicate (nominal, adjectival, adverbial, or prepositional) + CP-CLF. Since extraction of preposition phrases is usually treated like adverbial extraction in POMIC (i.e. requiring the use of WADVP within the CP), this is the case in most clefts as well. Only in cases of extraction of PP from within ADJP is WPP used.

In clefts whose sister is an adjectival predicate, the use of WADJP or WADVP depends on the verb of the cleft clause. If the verb is the copula, then WADVJ is used, since the adjective represents the extracted predicate of the copula; if, however, the verb of the cleft clause is not the copula, then WADVP is used, since the adjective is being used adverbially. Example (1) gives an instance of a nominal cleft, (2) an instance of an WADJP adjectival cleft, (3) an instance of an WADVP adjectival cleft, (4) an adverbial cleft, (5) an Old Irish prepositional cleft, (6) a Middle Irish prepositional cleft, and (7) a prepositional cleft in which the preposition has been extracted from within ADJP.

1.   (COP is)
      (NP-PRD (NPR-N broccān)
              (ADJ-N clōen))
      (CP-CLF (WNP-1 0)
              (C 0)
              (IP-SUB (PV+VBD-RO do-rōne)
                      (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1))
                      (NP-OB1 (PRO hé))))
      (ID lh.422) "It is Broccán the Squinting who made it."

2.   (COP is)
      (ADJP (ADJ fō))
      (NP-SBJ (PRO í))
      (CP-CLF (WADJP-1 0)
              (C 0)
              (IP-SUB (COP is)
                      (ADJP *T*-1)
                      (NP-SBJ (N-N rithim)) …
      (ID lh.171) "It is good that the rhythm is…"

3.   (NEG ní)
      (COP 0)
      (ADJP (ADJ-N mór))
      (CP-CLF (WADVP-1 0)
              (C 0)
              (IP-SUB (VB-WH tolnathar)
                      (PP (P di)
                          (NP (NPR-D día)))
                      (NP-SBJ (CP-FRL (WNP-5 (WPRO ind))
                              (C 0)
                              (IP-SUB (PV+VB di-gní)
                                      (NP-SBJ (Q neuch))
                                      (NP-OB1 (NP *T*-5))
                                      (PP (P fri)
                                          (NP (PRO$ a) (N-A menmain)
                                          (SELF fadēsin))))))
                      (ADVP *T*-1))))

(ID mt.112) "What a man does merely in intention is not greatly pleasing to God."
    (Lit: "It is not great how what a someone does in his own mind is
    pleasing to God.")

4.   (CONJ 7)
      (COP is)
      (ADVP (ADV imaillē))
      (CP-CLF (WADVP-1 0)
              (C 0)
              (IP-SUB (RO ro)
                      (VBD scāich)
                      (NP-SBJ (NP (D-N in)
                              (N-N boc)
                              (IP-INF (P do)
                                      (NP (VBN-D blith))))
                      (CONJP (CONJ 7)
                              (NP (D-N int)
                              (N-N immun)
                              (IP-INF (P do)
                                      (NP (VBN-D dēnam))))))
                      (ADVP *T*-1)))
      (ID lh.244) "And it is together that the grinding of the bag and the composition of
          the hymn were completed."

5.   (IP-SUB-SPE (" ")
      (COP is)
      (PP (P fri)
          (NP (N-A abinn)
              (PP *ICH*-2))
          (ADVP-DIR (ADV aníar)))
      (CP-CLF (WADVP-3 0)
              (C 0)
              (IP-SUB (BE atá)
                      (NP-SBJ (PRO$ t)
                              (VBN-N esérge))
                      (ADVP *T*-3)))
      (PP-2 (P i)
            (NP (N-D cúil)
                (NP-COM (N-G maige))))
      (" "))
      (ID arm.84) "It is to the west of the river in Cúil Maige that your resurrection
          will be."

6.   (COP is)
      (PP (P+PRO dē))
      (CP-CLF (WADVP-1 0)

```
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (NO no)
                    (BEI bīad)
                    (NP-SBJ (PRO$ a)
                            (N-N rath))
                    (PP (P+PRO fair))
                    (ADVP *T*-1)))
    (ID lh.277) "It's because of this it's grace would be upon it."
```

Note, that although both (5) and (6) are annotated as CP-CLF in POMIC only the Middle Irish example (5) has morphology that indicates that WH movement has taken place (in particular, the (NO no) node). In POMIC, I abstract away from this by tagging both as CP-CLF, as the difference between the two types is usually fully recoverable by searching for specific morphology (NO, +XW+, -WH) that is associated with true wh-movement.

```
7.      (COP is)
        (PP-1 (P+PRO dóu))
        (CP-CLF (WPP-2 0)
                (C 0)
                (IP-SUB (COP is)
                        (ADJP (ADJ-N dír)
                              (PP *T*-2))
                        (NP-SBJ (D-N an)
                                (ONE í)
                                (CP-REL (WNP-3 0)
                                        (C 0)
                                        (IP-SUB (COP is)
                                                (NP-PRD (FW psalmus))
                                                (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-3)))))))
        (PP-1 (P+D-D dond)
              (NP (ONE í)
                  (CP-REL (WNP-4 0)
                          (C 0)
                          (IP-SUB-5 (VBD-RO-PASS ar-richt)
                                    (IP-SUB-PRN=5 (CONJ ocus)
                                                  (VB-PASS gnáthaigthir))
                                    (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-4))
                                    (PP (P hi)
                                        (NP (N-D cruit)))))))
        (ID ps.187) "The word 'psalmus' applied to what was invented for the harp and
                is practiced on it." (lit.: "It is to that that the one that is 'psalmus'
                applies, to the one that was found and is practiced on a harp."
```

10. IP-SMC

This is a rare clause-type that was used as a last resort. It may be that in certain instances possible examples have been tagged as NPs with prepositional complements; hopefully this will be changed in future revisions. As this implies, in POMIC (unlike the Penn corpora) small clauses are instances of any non-verbal predication where it would be inappropriate to insert a null copula (COP) or null substantive verb (BE). In particular, these are instances of predicate that do not occur in main or subordinate clauses of the recognized types (IP-MAT, IP-SUB embedded within a CP*). Small clauses occur in absolute constructions, without a governing verb or preposition as in example (1), as complements of verbs as in example (2), or as complements of prepositions as in (3).

```
1. (IP-SMC (NP-SBJ (PRO hē))
           (FP danō)
           (PP (P hi)
               (NP (N-D luibri)
                   (NP-COM (N-G galair)))))
   (. .)
   (NO+X no)
   (NAS m)
   (BEI bēred)
   (ADVP (ADV īarum))
   (NP-SBJ (Q cách)
           (PP (P ar)
               (NP (N-D ūair)))
           (PP (P di)
               (NP (DS-D na)
                   (N+NS-D mac-clēirchib))))
   (NP-OB1 0)
   (PP (P dochum)
       (NP (PRO$ a)
           (N-G tigi<d>)))
   (PP (P+PRO leu))
   (ID mt.460) "Now, him being ill with disease, so each of the clerical students in turn
           used to bring him to his house with them."

2.      (CONJ 7)
        (PV+X+VBD-RO a-t-chondairc)
        (IP-SMC (NP-SBJ (PRO eat))
                (PP (P i)
                    (NAS m)
                    (NP (N-D bethaid))))
        (ID lh.443) "He saw them alive."

3.      (NP-ADT (N-N praind)
                (FP danō)
                (IP-INF (P do)
                        (NP (VBN-D tomailt))
```

```
                    (PP (P la)
                        (IP-SMC (NP-SBJ (N-A marb))
                            (PP (P hi)
                                (NP (N-D tig)))
                            (PP (P+COP-SUBJ ceth)
                            (CP-ADV (WADVP 0)
                                (C 0)
                                (IP-SUB (COP 0)
                                    (ADJP (ADJ-N nāob))
                                    (NP-SBJ 0)))))))))
        (ID mt.414) "Now, to eat a meal with a dead man in the house, however saintly..."
```

It is frequently the case for absolute small clauses to be introduced by os/ocus/7, as in (4). Furthermore, clauses in which the predicate is a PP containing *oc* 'at' and a verbal noun, which may be translated as participles, are also tagged as IP-SMC, as in (5) (in this example, the PP cannot count as the main predicate, since that must be the clefted adjectival/adverbial).

```
4.  (P ar)
    (COP is)
    (NP-PRD (NP (NPR-N duíd)
                (NP-SPR (PRO$ a)
                        (N-D óinur))))
    (CP-CLF (WNP-1 0)
            (C 0)
            (IP-SUB (RO ro)
                (LEN LEN)
                (VBD cachain)
                (NP-SBJ (NP *T*-1))
                (NP-OB1 (DS-A inna)
                        (NS-A salmu))))
        (, ,)
    (IP-SMC (CONJ ocus)
            (NP-SBJ (PRO$ a)
                (LEN LEN)
                (NS-N salm-chétlaidi))
            (PP (P+PRO imbi)))
        (. .)
    ID ps.152) "For it is David alone who sang the psalms, with his psalmists around
                him."

5.      (COP 0)
        (ADJP (ADJ-N tromde))
        (ADVP-TMP (ADV īarum))
        (CP-CLF (WADVP-1 0)
                (C 0)
```

```
                    (IP-SUB (RO ro)
                        (BED búi)
                        (PP (P+PRO fris)
                            (NP (PRO [s]im)))
                        (IP-SMC (NP-SBJ (D-N ind)
                                (LEN LEN)
                                (N-N caillech))
                            (PP (P oc)
                                (NP (VBN-D atach)
                                    (NP-COM (NPR-G dé))
                                    (PP (P co)
                                        (ADJP (ADJ-N mór))))))
                        (ADVP *T*-1)))
        (ID mt.46) "The old woman praying so much to God was, for him, wearisome."
                (Lit.: "[It is] heavy how the old woman praying to God so much was to
                    him")
```

G.   TAG LIST

1.   Nominal Tags

1.1   Noun Tags

Singular: N (common noun), VBN (verbal noun), NPR (proper noun)
Plural: NS, VBNS, NPRS
Case Tags: (added at the end of singular or plural tags): -N (nominative), -A
                (accusative), -G (genitive), -D (dative), -V (vocative)

1.2   Demonstrative and Definite Article

D (case tags may be attached to this)

1.3   Anaphors

ANA (singular)
ANA-S (plural)
(case tags may attach to both of these)

1.4.   SELF, OTHER, ONE, Q

SELF (*féin*, etc.); OTHER (*aile*, etc.); one (*í*, *ní*, *tí*)
OTHER$ (*aili*, etc.) (possessive)
Q (quantifiers: *cách*, *cach*, *cech*, *nech*, *nach*, *na*, *uili*, etc.)
Q$ (possessive quantifiers)

2. Adjectival Tags

singular: ADJ (positive degree), AJDR (comparative), ADJE (equative),
                ADJS (superlative), VAN (participle)

plural: (only with positive degree adjectives and participles) ADJ-S; VAN-S

case tags may be added to all of these)

3. Prepositional Tags

P
P+PRO (inflected preposition)
P+PRO$ (preposition with suffixed possessive) (note usually this is written as two separate words)

4. Pronominal Tags

PRO
PRO$ (possessive)

5. Verbal Tags

5.1 Main Verbs

VB   (present)
VBC (conditional)
VBD (past)
VBF (future)
VBI (imperfect)
VBV (imperative)
VBGR (gerundive)

5.2 Verbal Suffixes

The following suffixes may be added to verbs in the following order:

-SUBJ (subjunctive)
-RO   (perfective, ro form) (only used if the verb has infixed ro or another perfective particle, or if the ro particle is affixed to the verb in conjunct position)
-PASS (passive)
-WH   (relative)

5.3 Substantive Verb

BE   (present)
BEC (conditional)
BED (past)
BEH (habitual)
BEI (imperfect)
BEV (imperative)

The substantive verb may be suffixed by the above verbal suffixes

5.4. Copula Tags

COP   (present)
COPC   (conditional)
COPD   (past)
COPH   (habitual)
COPI   (imperfect)
COPV   (imperative)

The copula verb may be suffixed by the above verbal suffixes.

6. Particles

RO   perfective particle (when not attached directly to the verb)
RP   (*dē* in comparatives)
FP   (*danó*, *trá*, *ém*, etc.)
NO   dummy particle found before: infixed pronouns, imperfect/past subjunctive/conditional, and some relative/subordinate clauses

7. Negation Tags

NEG (*ní*)
NEG-WH (*nád*, *nach*, *ná*) (used in subordinate clauses, relative clauses, imperatives)

8. Adverb Tags

ADV

9. Coordination/Disjunction

CONJ   (*ocus*, *7*, *nó*, *l-*, *acht*)

NEGCONJ   (*ná* 'nor')

10. Relative and Interrogative Tags

WPRO   (interrogative pronoun or relative particle) (*cía, cid, cate, a, sa*)
WPRO$ (possessive interrogative pronoun) (*cúich*, etc.)
WQ   (*dús* 'whether, to see if')
WP   (question particle: *in*)
WD   (interrogative used as a demonstrative/article, as in: *cía fer* 'which man')
WADV   (adverbial relative antecedent, as in: *intan* 'when', etc)

11. Complementizer
C   (*ara, co, cía*)

12. Mutations
GEM
LEN
NAS

(may be infixed: +GEM+, +LEN+, +NAS+)

13. + Tags

13.1 Prefixes

PV+ (preverb)

      Ex.   PV+VB, PV+VBC, PV+VBD, PV+VBF, etc.

N+ (noun as first element of a compound)

ADJ+ (adjective as first element of a compound)

ADV+ (prefixed adverbial)

C+ (conjunction as first element of a clitic chain)

      Ex. C+COP

P+ (conjunctive preposition used as first element of a clitic chain)

      Ex. P+COP-SUBJ *mad* 'if it be' (here *ma* 'if' is treated as a P))

WP+ (question particle in a clitic chain with COP usually)

      Ex. WP+COP = *ind* 'is it?)

WPRO+ (interrogative pronoun in a clitic chain with COP usually)

13.2 Suffixes

+PRO (in inflected prepositionals and doubled pronoun in emphatic forms, also attached
      to Copula and Substantive in Middle Irish)
      Ex. P+PRO, *lim* "with me"
      Ex. PRO+PRO, *tussu*,
      Ex. P+PRO+PRO, *lindi = linn ni*
      Ex. COPF+PRO, *be-at*

+XW (suffixed relative pronoun in verbal forms and attached to RO, NO, NEG, C, P)
      Ex. RO+XW = *ro-d*, etc RO+NAS+XW = *ro-nd,* etc.
      Ex. P+XW = *con-da,* etc. (where *con* means "until")

+X (suffixed pronoun in verbal forms and attached to RO, NO, NEG, C, P)
      Ex.   RO+X = *ro-s*, etc.
      EX.   VB+X = *gaibti,* etc.

13.3 Infixes

+LEN+ (infixed lenition)
      Ex.   PV+LEN+VB; PV+X+LEN+VB, etc.
      (NOTE: the order PV+LEN+X+VB, etc, never occurs, since infixes are not
      lenited in the orthography)

+NAS+ (infixed nasalization)
      Ex.   PV+NAS+VB; PV+NAS+XW+VB-SUBJ, etc.
      (NOTE: the last cited sequence is used for: *do-n-dn-ecmised*, etc., where the first -
      n- indicates that the relative clause is nasalizing, -dn- is the infixed class C
      pronoun, glossed XW. Note that the nasalization caused by masculine pronouns,
      as in this example is not glossed +NAS+. This is because +NAS+ is reserved for
      the mutation caused by the relative. This helps to disambiguate between the
      pronoun and relative clauses.)

+X+ (infixed pronoun)
      Ex.   PV+X+VB, etc.

+XW+ (infixed relative-related pronoun or particle)
      Ex. may be used for -*id*- in *ar-id-ralistar*, for example or for -*a*- in *imm-a-cuired*,
      for example]

14. FW, punctuation, CODE, ID

FW (foreign word)
?
!
"
.
,
CODE
ID