Polarity Sensitivity and Fragments in Irish

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1   Background and Goals

The English question-answer pair in (1) is ill-formed: [1]

(1)   A: What did the priest say?   B: *Anything.

Its apparent Irish counterpart in (2), however, is routine and well-formed:

(2)   A: Cad   a dúirt   an sagart?   B: Aon rud.
            what c say.PAST the priest   any thing
        A: 'What did the priest say?'   B: 'Anything'.   CHD 57

To express what Irish expresses by way of (2), English must use (3), exploiting the presence in its lexicon of the inherently negative expression *nobody*, used here as a fragment answer:

(3)   A: What did the priest say?   B: Nothing.

This paper is concerned with the theoretical issues raised by the contrasts in (1)-(3). Those issues are important in part because the Irish possibility shown in (2) seems to represent a theoretical and typological anomaly. Negative polarity items are not supposed to be able to function, in isolation, as fragment answers.[2]

The first goal of the paper is to establish that this interesting and unexpected possibility does in fact exist – the answer in (2) really does consist solely (in its overt form) of a negative polarity item. Its second goal is to develop a way of understanding that possibility which resolves the apparent anomaly. Its third goal is to consider some larger implications which flow from that account for the general theory of subsentential fragments and for the theory of ellipsis.

A by-product of the discussion will be a more complete map of the landscape of polarity-sensitive items in Irish than has so far been available. Most discussions of polarity sensitivity currently available deal with languages which have among their lexical resources expressions which are inherently negative, such as English *nobody*, *nothing* or *never*. I will argue here, though, that Paolo Acquaviva (1996) was right to claim that Irish has no such expressions. We are thus presented with an opportunity to explore what patterns emerge in their absence.

Two sources of data form the basis for that exploration here – work with six native speaker consultants over a period of several years, along with a collection of 1800 naturally occuring examples of polarity sensitive items of various kinds and in various contexts of use.[3]

Some terminological preliminaries to begin with. I will use the term 'polarity-sensitive expression' (PSE) for such elements as *aon rud* in (2) or *never* in English. These are expressions whose interpretation and well-formedness depend on the polarity of the larger environment in which they find themselves. The set of PSE's is the superset which includes as subsets both negative polarity items (NPI's) and 'inherently negative expressions' (INE's), which is the term I will use here for the elements called variously '*n*-words' or 'negative indefinites' or 'negative quantifiers' in other discussions (English *nothing* or French *personne*). In some languages and varieties such expressions may stand alone to express sentential negation; in others they must or may enter into negative concord dependencies to serve that function.

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[2]The star on English (1) is well-deserved, but there are conditions under which NPI's may appear as fragment answers in English. This issue is taken up in section 4.4 below.

[3]Examples from this corpus are indicated by a tag consisting of an abbreviation of the title (in the case of published texts) followed by a number indicating the page from which the example was extracted. The abbreviations used in these tags are explained in Appendix Two.

2 The Landscape of Polarity-Sensitivity in Irish

In presenting the contrast between Irish (2) and English (1), I glossed the Irish *aon rud* as English 'any thing'. If I had instead chosen to use 'no thing' as the gloss, I could have created the impression that there was no anomaly to be concerned about, since many languages allow inherently negative expressions to function as fragment answers. The glossing decision, then, in this case mirrors an important theoretical issue. Consider the pair of Irish examples in (4):[4]

(4) a. Ní-or   iarr   duine ar bith orm   é.
        C.NEG-PAST ask.PAST person any   on.me it
        'Nobody asked me for it.'

   b. *D'   iarr   duine ar bith orm   é.
        PAST- ask.PAST person any   on.me it

Since (4b) is impossible, we know that *duine ar bith* cannot express negation (and is in fact ill-formed) when not within an appropriate licensing environment. In (4a) it appears in just such an environment – that determined by the clause-initial sentential negation. It is therefore well-formed and the meaning it expresses is that of the English translation. *Duine ar bith* in (4a) must then be either a negative polarity item or an INE in a concord dependency with the clause-initial negation (see Labov (1972), Laka 1990, Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991, Ladusaw 1992, Zanuttini 1997, Penka & Zeijlstra (2010), Zeijlstra (2004, 2008, 2016), Giannakidou & Zeijlstra 2017, Deal 2022 among many others). But, given the possibility of (2), to maintain consistency with the received wisdom concerning fragment answers, we must assume that *aon rud* (and many similar expressions we will encounter shortly) are not NPI's but are rather INE's. However, Paolo Acquaviva (1996) has argued that Irish (like, for instance, Māori[5]) possesses no INE's. If he is right, it follows *a fortiori* that Irish cannot be a negative concord language. And it follows

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[4]The glossing conventions used are for the most part familiar and transparent, I think, but a few notes are in order. I gloss the inflected prepositions, for readability and since they are not a matter of concern here, with English pronouns. So Irish *liom* is glossed as 'with.me'. The 'direct relative' complementizer is glossed as C.WH and the marker of polar interrogatives as C.Q. All other complementizers, including the conditional, are simply glossed as C. Past and conditional forms of the complementizers are segmentalized, so that, for instance, *gur* is spelled *gu-r* and glossed as C-PAST. 'Autonomous' forms of verbs are glossed as IMPERS and imperative forms as IMPV. The particle *a* which precedes verbal nouns is glossed as VCE (suggesting 'voice') and verbal nouns themselves are glossed with .VN. The progressive particle *ag* is glossed as PROG.

[5]See Bauer 1997: p. 298-9, §19.5: 'Negative quantifiers do not exist in Maori. Sentence negation or other lexical means are used.' Mandarin, Korean and Bengali are also reported to lack such expressions (see Zeijlstra (2008: 15)).

in turn that *duine ar bith* in (4) and *aon rud* in the fragment answer of (2) must be NPI's and that the apparent conflict with typological and theoretical expectation is real.

It is important, then, to determine whether the pattern in (4) reflects a negative concord system or an NPI-centered system, and the first business of the present paper will be to address that question. Making such a distinction, though, is not as straightforward as it once seemed to be; the empirical and theoretical landscapes seem more intricate than they once did (see, for instance, Laka 1993 and especially Herburger (2001)). I will argue, though, that Acquaviva was correct about the absence of INE's in Irish, that all of its polarity-sensitive expressions are in fact NPI's, and that the theoretical questions raised by (2) are therefore real.

Two convictions drive the discussion. The first is that the distribution of NPI's is determined by fundamentally semantic and pragmatic relations (Fauconnier (1975, 1979), Ladusaw (1979), Heim (1984), Kadmon & Landman (1993), Krifka (1995), Zwarts (1996), van der Wouden (1994, 1997), Giannakidou (1998), Lahiri (1998), von Fintel (1999), Hoeksema (2000), Gajewski (2005, 2011), Guerzoni & Sharvit (2007), Homer (2011: Chap. 2), Chierchia (2013), Crnič (2014), Gajewski & Hsieh (2014), Barker (2018), Crnič (2019), Homer (2021), Jeong & Roelefsen (2023)). The second is that INE's, though they may well be strong NPI's in their semantics, are licensed in negative concord dependencies by featural interactions in the syntax, subject to characteristically syntactic requirements of locality and relative prominence. This is why analyses in terms of the operation AGREE have been so influential and seemed so persuasive in recent years (see Zeijlstra (2008) and recent exchanges among Zeijlstra (2012), Preminger & Polinsky (2015), Bjorkman & Zeijlstra (2019) and Deal (2022)).

2.1 The Inventory of Polarity-Sensitive Expressions

We begin by trying to establish a more complete inventory of polarity-sensitive expressions in Irish than has so far been attempted. The element *tada*, illustrated in (5), is one such.

(5) a.   Ní-or   ith   mé tada   ar maidin.
       C.NEG-PAST eat.PAST I   anything/nothing on morning
       'I didn't eat anything this morning.'   'I ate nothing this morning.'

     b.   *D'   ith   mé tada   ar maidin.
       PAST- eat.PAST I   anything/nothing on morning

Tada (and its dialectal variants *dada* and *dadaidh*) is one member of a large class of elements united by a shared distribution and a shared interpretive profile. Like

tada, they express existential quantification in the scope of sentential negation and are ill-formed when not so licensed. The illustrative examples below have the candidate elements in the scope of sentential negation but readers should assume that the corresponding example without negation is ungrammatical. This is true for almost every case considered. Elements for which it is not (entirely) true will be discussed in section 2.3 below. The larger class of environments in which PSE's appear (which do not all involve the explicit appearance of negation) will be considered in section 2.2.

The class of PSE's of this type includes nominals, along with some adverbs of temporal perspective. The nominal group in turn includes two subtypes – a class of monomorphemic lexical items which stand alone (as in (5)) and more complex nominal expressions which include one of a set of functional elements which define the containing expression as a PSE. One element of the latter type is the prepositional phrase *ar bith* (diachronically or literally 'in the world' or 'on earth') which we have already encountered in (4a) and which is exemplified further in (6). This is a post-nominal modifier which attaches to indefinites in certain environments and converts its host into a PSE. Note that since negation is high in Irish (marked on C in finite clauses), elements in subject position will always be in the semantic scope and in the syntactic domain of negation when it is present (Acquaviva 1996, Duffield 1995, McCloskey 1996, 2001, McCloskey 2017).[6]

(6) a. Ní-or   thóg   bean   ar bith de na mná   seo   riamh an
       C.NEG-PAST take.PAST woman any   of the women DEMON ever   the
       fiabhras.
       fever
       'None of these women ever contracted fever.'   GOG 132

   b. Níl   taibhsí ar bith ann agus ní   raibh   ariamh.
      is-not ghosts any   in-it and C.NEG.FIN be.PAST (n)ever
      'There are no ghosts and there never were.'   COC 156

The numeral *aon* ('one'), in addition, can be used to determine polarity-sensitive

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[6]An anonymous reviewer raises the interesting question of whether or not the alternative word in Irish for the numeral 'one' – namely *amháin* – may also determine a PSE. The answer is that it does not. The two elements differ in a number of ways from one another: *aon* is pre-nominal, *amháin* is post-nominal. *Amháin* has a use as a focus particle meaning 'only', while *aon* does not. The question of why and how the two elements differ in their ability to determine a PSE clearly deserves a fuller investigation than is possible here and almost certainly has implications for the fundamental question of what makes a PSE. I am grateful to the reviewer for raising this important issue, even if these remarks in response must remain unsatisfying.

nominals and in this use (and only in this use) it may compose with mass nouns (see (7b-c)) and in some dialects at least with plural count nouns (see (7d)).

(7) a. Ní-or   dúradh   aon chuid de seo riamh   go hoscailte
        C.NEG-PAST say.PAST.IMPERS one part   of this (n)ever openly
        'No part of this was ever said openly'   PNG 187

    b. Ní-or   thugais   aon ghrá ceart   riamh dom
        C.NEG-PAST give.PAST.S2 one love proper (n)ever to-me
        'You never gave me any proper love.'   ANNF 59

    c. Ní   raibh aon eolas   eile ar a mhalairt
        C.NEG.FIN be.PAST one knowledge other on its alternative
        'Nobody knew any different.'   LAN 26

    d. Ní   raibh aon bháid ar an Oileán ag na chéad daoine
        C.NEG.FIN be.PAST one boat.PL on the Island at the first   people
        'The first people on the Island hadn't any boats.'   LAN 27

Éinne (in western and southern varieties) is a fusion of *aon* with the noun *duine* 'person':

(8) Ní-or   labhair   éinne ariamh liom.
     C.NEG-PAST speak.PAST anyone (n)ever with-me
     'Nobody ever spoke to me.'

Among the elements which seem to lack any internal structure are *tada*/*dada*, *faic*, and *a dhath*, all of which correspond to English 'anything' or 'nothing'.[7]

(9) a. ní   dúrt   faic
        C.NEG.FIN say.PAST.S1 anything
        'I didn't say anything.'   AGFC 181

    b. ní   léann   siad tada.
        C.NEG.FIN read.PRES they anything
        'they don't read anything'   ACED 267

    c. ní   ba   léir dó   a dhath ariamh
        C.NEG.FIN COP.PAST clear to-him anything (n)ever
        'Nothing was ever clear to him.'   GFH 102

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[7]Such elements, while themselves monomorphemic, can be 'strengthened' by addition of *ar bith* or minimizers of the type to be considered in the subsection which follows:

(i) Ní-or   ghá dóibh tada   ar bith beo eile   a dhéanamh aríst go deo.
     C.NEG-PAST need to-them nothing any   alive other do.NON-FIN again ever
     'They never had to do a single solitary thing ever again.'   AFAP 33

In Munster dialects, the element *puinn* is also available. It can appear pre-nominally as in (10a), or alone, as in (10b), in the meaning 'at all' or 'much':

(10) a.   Ní-or   fhág   puinn bád riamh an t-oileán seo.
         C.NEG-PAST leave.PAST any   boat ever   the island   DEMON
         'No boat ever left this island'   CFC 129

    b.   ní   fhaca   puinn ina dhiaidh sin é
         C.NEG-FIN see.PAST.S1   after   that him
         'I didn't see him much at all after that.'   LGL 421

The polarity-sensitive adverbs are adverbs of temporal perspective like *(a)riamh* ('ever, still'), *choíche*, *go brách*, *go deo* ('ever, forever'). The first (*ariamh*) is seen in (6a), (6b), (7a), (7b), (9c) and (10a). The others are exemplified in (11).

(11) a.   cuirimse de gheasa   ort   gan   aon fhear a choíche a
         put.PRES.S1 of injunctions on-you NEG.NONFIN any man ever   VCE
         phósadh
         marry.NON-FIN
         'I put you under an injunction not to ever marry any man.'   SRNF 49

    b.   ní-or   mhaith leis   a bheith go deo ag   caint air   féin
         C.NEG-PAST good   with.him be.NON-FIN ever   PROG talk on.him REFL.LOG
         'He didn't like to ever be talking about himself'   LGL 109

Within this group there is also an extensive catalog of expressions conventionally taken to denote the lowest possible point on some scale – so-called 'minimizers'. *Smid* ('breath') refers to the tiniest sound audible, *deor* ('drop') to the smallest imaginable quantity of a liquid, *ceo* ('mist') to the most insubstantial thing, while *pioc* ('a pick') refers to the smallest measure imaginable.

(12) a.   ach ní-or   labhair   sé smid leofa
         but C.NEG-PAST speak.PAST he breath with-them
         'But he didn't breathe a word to them.'   SIF 33

    b.   Ní-or   chaoin sé deoir ariamh ina   shaol.
         C.NEG-PAST cry.PAST he drop ever   in-his life
         'He never shed a tear in his life.'   GDDR 166

    c.   Ach ní-or   fhéad   sé ceo a dhéanamh.
         but C.NEG-PAST can.PAST he mist do.NON-FIN
         'But he couldn't do a thing.'   CC 79

    d.   Níl   pioc fírinne   i n-a cheann.
         is-not pick truth.GEN in his head
         'He is incapable of telling the truth.'   BTFS 124

Particularly frequent in Irish are minimizers that are based on conventionalized disjunctions, the disjunction then interpreted within the scope of negation:

(13) a. ní-or   ghéill   sí ionga   ná orlach don   chiúnas
      C.NEG-PAST yield.PAST she finger-nail or inch   to-the silence
      'She didn't yield an inch to the silence.'
   b.   ní   thabharfadh duine   ná deoraí   freagra air.
      C.NEG-FIN give.COND   person or exile/stranger answer on-him
      'Not a soul would answer him.'
   c.   ní   raibh   tásc ná tuairisc ar an   chainteoir
      C.NEG-PAST be.PAST sign or report   on the speaker
      'There wasn't a sign or a trace of the speaker.'
   d.   ní-or   chorruigheadar lámh ná cos   ariamh ar a son
      C.NEG-PAST move.PASTP3   hand or foot ever   on-their-behalf
      'They didn't ever lift a finger on their behalf.'

There are certain other minimizers which should be mentioned as well. The prepositional phrase *dá laghad* ('of the least') acting as a post-nominal modifier may create one such:

(14)   níl   aird   dá   laghad aici   ar an mbeirt
      is-not attention of-the least   at.her on the two-people
      'She doesn't pay the slightest attention to the two of them.'

In a slightly more colorful turn of phrase, we have *faic na fríde. Faic* is the monomorphemic element already discussed in this section. When modified by the possessor *na fríde* ('of the mite') it signifies 'the slightest/tiniest thing':

(15)   Níl   faic na fríde le déanamh acu.
      is-not   to do.VN   at.them
      'They have nothing whatever to do.'

Some minimizers, finally, are based on now opaque metaphors. In the Irish of Conamara, for example, the expression *mac an éin bheo* ('the son of the living bird') refers to the smallest possible set of people:

(16)   ní   raibh mac an éin   bheo   le feiceáil
      C.NEG-FIN be.PAST son the bird.GEN living.GEN ASP see.VN
      'There wasn't a single solitary person to be seen.'

There will be little or nothing in this inventory to surprise those who have closely studied negative polarity systems in other languages.

2.2 Beyond Negation – the Licensing Environments

We have so far considered just one environment in which the PSE's described in the previous section may appear – in the scope of sentential negation. But their distribution is in fact much broader.[8] All of them, for instance, also appear in the scope of semi-negative expressions such as 'rarely' or 'hardly' – which in Irish are predicates that select clausal complements (nonfinite or finite):

(17)   Is   rí-annamh anois éinne   acu   a theacht   abhaile.
       COP.PRES very-rare   now   anyone of.them come.NON-FIN home
       'It's very rare now for any of them to come home.'   CAA 265

(18)   Ar éigean a bheas tada   le déanamh agat
       hardly   C be.FUT anything PTC do.NON-FIN at.you
       'You'll have hardly anything to do.'   AA 215

The PSE's we are concerned with appear in fact in a broad range of environments, all of them characteristic of those in which NPI's have been shown to appear in other languages. Documenting this pattern and its breadth is important work, but it makes for tedious reading. I have therefore gathered the relevant data in Appendix One. What is shown there is that PSE's in Irish, with their characteristic existential interpretations, are licensed in the following range of environments:

- In polar questions
- In WH-questions (when rhetorical or when demanding exhaustive, rather than partial, answers)
- In conditional clauses (realis and irrealis)
- In equative clauses
- In comparative and superlative clauses
- In phrases and clauses introduced by the degree particle *ró-* ('too')

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[8]Before extending the investigation to licensing contexts beyond that of negation, we should note that PSE's are also licensed in the scope of the emphatic or 'demonic' negation studied by Ó Siadhail (1989: 326-331) and especially by D'Antuono (2023). In this construction a phrase is fronted to a position immediately to the right of the emphatic negators *diabhal* ('devil') or *dheamhan* ('demon') and the clause out of which the phrase is extracted is headed by the WH-complementizer. PSE's may be fronted (as in (i)) or appear in a clause-internal position ((ii)):

(i)   Dheamhan freagra ar bith a   thug   sí orm.
       demon   answer any   C.WH give.PAST she on.me
       'Not an answer did she give me.'   AA 240

(ii)   Diabhal duine a   thug   aon aird   orm.
       devil   person C.WH give.PAST any attention on.me
       'Not a person paid any attention to me.'   DGD 79

◦ In certain temporal clauses (introduced by *sul* ('before') or *nuair* ('when'))
◦ In the complement of adversative (and some implicative) predicates
◦ In the restrictive clauses of universal quantification structures

This is a list which is familiar from decades of research on NPI's. Appendix One documents this distribution and also considers some particularities of the Irish patterns, having to do especially with the licensing potential of adversative and negative implicative predicates.

Irish PSE's may in fact appear in an additional environment which has not so far been identified (as far as I have been able to tell) for NPI's in other languages – in clauses introduced by (the equivalent of) *to the extent that*. This is illustrated in (19):

(19) a. To the extent that anyone ever believed this …
     b. sa   mhéid is gu-r chuir   mé aithne   ar bith air
         in-the extent as C-PAST put.PAST I   acquaintance any   on.him
         'to the extent that I got to know him at all'   LSC 130

The licensing-potential of such a context presumably arises from the implication of doubt or of disbelief that it conveys concerning the content of the complement clause.

In sum: the distribution of PSE's in Irish and the distribution of NPI's in other well-studied languages are parallel in strikingly complete and exact ways. And although real progress has been made in recent years on the question of what this broad range of environments might have in common in terms of their semantics (for overviews, see Giannakidou (2011), Chierchia (2013), or Homer (2020)), the task of identifying any plausible syntactic commonality, one that might provide the basis for an agreement or concord relation, seems very challenging.

2.3 Available Readings

It is a well-known, if not well-understood, property of NPI-systems that a subset of the NPI's of a language may appear outside the licensing environments just listed – but with quasi-universal (or perhaps generic) rather than existential force. These are the so-called 'free choice' readings of certain NPI's (Bolinger (1972), Horn (1989: 400 ff), Horn (2000), Chierchia (2013: Chap. 6)). Roughly half of the 115 languages in Haspelmath's (1997) sample allow this option for some of their negative polarity items. Irish can be added to that subgroup. The ill-formed (5b) above, for example, is well-formed if the main verb is in conditional mood:

(20)   D'   íosfadh   sé   tada.
         PAST- eat.COND   he   anything
         'He'd eat anything.'

Among the PSE's, all but the minimizers allow such readings. The facilitating environments are the familiar ones – modal contexts (as in (20)) or the presence of a restrictive modifier such as a relative clause modifying the PSE ('subtrigging' in the sense of LeGrand (1975)). This possibility is exemplified for the nominal PSE's in (21) and in (22). (21) illustrates the modal environment (generic in (21b)); those in (22) illustrate the 'subtrigging' effect.

(21) a.   Ceann de na hoícheanta sin   go dtarlódh   faic
          one   of the nights   DEMON C happen.COND anything
          'one of those nights when anything could happen'   LGL 250
     b.   maidir le daoine bochta, tá   rud   ar bith sách   maith dóibh
          as-for   people poor   be.PRES thing any   enough good for-them
          'As for poor people – anything is good enough for them.'   CG 59
     c.   Dhéanfainn rud   ar bith ach tusa a   fháil   domh féin
          do.COND.S1 thing any   but you VCE get.VN to.me REFL.LOG
          'I'd do anything to get you for myself.'   SSOTC 222

(22) a.   Rud   ar bith a tugadh   ar iasacht domsa ariamh thug   mé
          thing any   C give.PAST.IMPERS on loan   to.me   ever   give.PAST I
          ar ais é.
          back it
          'Anything that I was ever lent, I gave it back.'   AA 90
     b.   Aon   áit   a chuais, ní   raibh   aon ní   á
          one/any place C go.PAST.S2 C.NEG-PAST be.PAST any thing PROG.PASS
          labhairt ach Gaolainn.
          speak   but Irish
          'Any place you went, there wasn't anything being spoken but Irish.'
                                                                     TMGB 39

The temporal adverbials *(a)riamh*, *go brách*, *go deo* and *choíche* ('ever') may, in addition, appear outside the licensing environments just discussed and in that context they have universal rather than existential force and translate English 'always' or 'forever':

(23) a.   Bhí   sé ariamh ann.
          be.PAST it ever   in.it
          'It has always existed.'   FF 167

b. An síleann   tú go bhfuil tú   ag   imeacht go brách uainn?
   c.q think.pres you c   be.pres you prog leave.vn forever   from.us
   'Do you think you are leaving us for ever?'   atfs 207

c. Bhíodh   clocha i   nGleann Easa riamh agus beidh go deo.
   be.past.habit stones in   ever   and be.fut always
   'There have always been stones in Gleann Easa and there always will
   be.'   dead 96

d. Beidh cuimhne choíche agam air.
   be.fut memory ever   at.me on.it
   'I will always remember it.'   omgs 290

The two meanings expressed by these adverbs are at least close to those expressed
by npi's and their 'free choice' counterparts. In addition, both interpretations
(existential in npi-licensing contexts, universal otherwise) are available across
the class, suggesting that something more systematic than lexical polysemy is
at work. It may be, then, that the possibilities seen in (23) reflect a 'free choice'
option for certain npi's. These universal readings, however, are not subject to
the licensing restrictions observed for the determiner npi's such as English *any*
(LeGrand (1975), Kadmon & Landman (1993), Dayal (1998, 2013), Giannakidou
(2001), Chierchia (2013: Chap. 6)), for which modality or genericity seems to be
crucial, neither of which is relevant for (23).

It might, alternatively, be more profitable to think about cases such as (23)
as being parallel, in relevant respects, to cases such as English *until* and related
items in other European languages. Temporal clauses introduced by *until* are
strong npi's when interpreted as punctual:

(24) a.   He didn't finish the paper until July.
     b.   *He finished the paper until July.

But when modifying atelic predications they are, as seen in (25), durative in
their interpretation and are positive polarity items expressing extension over
relatively long intervals (Karttunen (1974), Mittwoch (1977), Giannakidou (1992),
Declerck (1995), de Swart (1996), and especially Condoravdi (2008)):

(25)   We remained in Cambridge until the end of the year.

The connection with our Irish cases is that the non-npi readings of the temporal
adverbs in (23) also appear only in the context of atelic predications.[9] Needless

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[9]The same restriction seems to hold for the more or less archaic use of English *ever* when uni-
versal in its force (on which see Israel (1998), Horn (2000: 181-3)).

to say, this discussion is little more than a marker laid down for a future research-project.[10]

2.4 Non-Local Licensing

One of the principal themes of research on negative concord systems has been that of locality. To a first approximation, the concord relation may not cross a finite clause boundary unless it is subjunctive (Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991), Zeijlstra (2008): 43-45), Deal (2022)).[11] This is why analyses of the concord relation in terms of agreement or movement, with their associated locality requirements, have been persuasive and influential. The licensing of PSE's in Irish, however, is subject to no such restriction, as shown by examples like those in (26)-(28), which are commonplace and frequent (304 in our data-set).

(26) a. Ní-or   chualas   gu-r   mharaigh na tramanna duine   ar bith
         C.NEG-PAST hear.PAST.S1 C.PAST kill.PAST the trams   person any
         ariamh.
         ever
         'I haven't heard that the trams ever killed anyone.'   CTP 49

     b. má   cheapann sibh   go bhfuil mise ag   déanamh aon fhocal bréige
         if   think.PRES you.PL C be.PRES I   PROG make.VN any word   lie.GEN
         'if you think that I am telling any lies'   MABAT 56

     c. An síleann   tú   go dtiocfadh le cailín ar bith grá mar sin a
         C.Q think.PRES you c could   girl any   love like that VCE
         thabhairt uaithe?
         give.VN   from.her
         'Do you think that any girl could give such love?'   ATFS 343

In each of the cases in (26), the licensing element (negation, the complementizer *má* in (26b) or the polar interrogative particle in (26c)) is separated from the PSE it licenses by at least one finite CP-boundary. Longer dependencies are also possible, as in (27). In (27a), the licensed PSE is separated from its licensing negation by two finite clause boundaries, one of them the complement to the experiencer noun *súil* (hope); in (27b) the licensing environment is established by the noun *eagla* (fear), which is adversative and licenses PSE's in its complement.

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[10]I am grateful to Nicola D'Antuono for discussion of these matters.

[11]For complications, exceptions and for approaches to those issues, see, for example, Robinson & Thoms (2021).

(27) a.   Ní   hamhlaidh [CP a tá   súil agam [CP go dtiocfaidh éinne   ]].
       COP.NEG SO   c be.PRES hope at.me   c come.FUT anyone
       'It's not that I really expect that anyone will come.'   LGL 60

     b.   ar eagla [CP go gceapfadh sé [CP go raibh   duine ar bith díobh
        on fear   c think.COND he   c be.PAST person any   of.them
        chomh díthcéillí]]
        so   foolish
        'for fear that he would think that any of them were so foolish' ATIM 90

The licensing relation can also span at least some island-boundaries. In (28a), the PSE is within a WH-island which does not include its licenser.[12] In (28b) it is within the CP-complement of the noun *cuma* ('appearance'). Such structures are strong islands in Irish (McCloskey (1985, 2002), Maki & Ó Baoill (2011)).

(28) a.   cha-r   fhoghlaim mé ariamh cén dóigh le   rud ar bith a
       C.NEG-PAST learn.PAST I   ever   what way with thing any   VCE
       tharraingt.
       draw.VN
       'I didn't ever learn how to draw anything.'   APB 12

     b.   ní   raibh cuma   uirthi go raibh eagla ar bith roimh an
        C.NEG.FIN be.PAST appearance on.her c be.PAST fear any   before the
        astar   uirthi
        journey on.her
        'It didn't look as if she had any fear of the journey.'   NLAB 54

2.5 Modification by 'almost'

Finally: all PSE's in Irish strongly resist modification by *almost*, a property which in many languages distinguishes NPI's from inherently negative expressions:

(29) a.   *Ní   raibh comhair a bheith duine   ar bith i láthair.
       C.NEG-PAST be.PAST almost   person any   present
       'There was almost nobody present.'

     b.   *Ní   dhéanainn freastal   ar beagnach léacht ar bith.
        C.NEG-PAST do.PAST.HABIT.S1 attendance on almost   lecture any
        'I attended almost no lectures.'

---

[12]For (28a) one might wonder whether the PSE is licensed in the interrogative clause itself rather than by the matrix negation. This is not a plausible interpretation, though, given that the example is ill-formed when the matrix negation is removed.

2.6 Interim Conclusion

The items surveyed in this section, then, (all of the PSE's so far identified in Irish) while being polarity-sensitive, (i) are incapable of expressing negation outside an appropriate licensing context, (ii) appear in the range of environments typical of NPI's investigated in other languages, (iii) support quasi-universal readings outside those environments, (iv) can be licensed non-locally, even across certain island boundaries, and (v) are incompatible with modification by *almost*. All of this suggests that Acquaviva (1996) was correct in arguing that Irish possesses a rich and familiar inventory of negative polarity items but (as far as is known at present) no plausible candidate for the role of inherentlly negative expression. It therefore also lacks the mechanisms of negative concord and our PSE's are negative polarity items.[13] From this point on, then, I will abandon the neutral term PSE, and call all of the items discussed here negative polarity items (NPI's).

In light of that conclusion, however, the observations of the section which follows seem unpleasantly anomalous.

3 The Anomaly

Each of the polarity-sensitive elements identified in the previous section may appear in apparent isolation as a subsentential fragment – often in answer to a wh-question (as in the examples of (30) or (2) above) or to a polar question (as in the examples of (31)).[14]

(30) NPI'S AS FRAGMENT ANSWERS TO WH-QUESTIONS:

    a. 'Céard a   tá   uait?'   'Tada,   a   Mháistir.'
       what   C.WH be.PRES from.you anything, VOC-PTC Master
       'What do you want?'   'Nothing, sir.'   LL 254

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[13]Elena Herburger (2001) develops an important analysis of the distribution of polarity-sensitive expressions in Spanish, another case in which the distinction between NPI's and INE's seems less than clear. She shows that that complex of data can be accounted for on the assumption that the relevant PSE's in Spanish are systematically ambiguous between being NPI's and items lexically specified as being 'negative'. Her analysis is remarkably successful, but it cannot be applied to the problems we deal with in the following section. In Spanish, the class of elements Herburger examines can always express negation on their own, so to speak (because they are inherently negative expressions). But that is not possible for the class of Irish elements we are concerned with here, as we have seen with examples like (5b) above. Put differently, the set of contexts in which the '*n*-words' of Spanish may appear is the union of the distributions of NPI's and what I have called here INE's – a distribution much broader than that of the Irish PSE's we are concerned with.

[14]Gary Thoms reports that similar facts hold for Scots Gaelic.

    b.   'Agus caidé a   ghní tú leis na réaltógaí?' 'Rud ar bith.'
        and   what c.wh do   you with the stars   thing any
        'And what do you do with the stars?' 'Nothing.'   APB 47[15]

    c.   'Cén chúis a gcuirfeá   an cheist   sin   orm?' 'Ó, cúis ar bith.'
        what reason c put.cond.s2 the question demon on.me   reason any
        'Why would you ask me that question.' 'Oh, no reason.'   LOFRS 241

    d.   ach cé   labhrann liom   í?   Éinne ach do leithéidse.
        but who speak.pres with.me it   anyone but your like
        'but who speaks it to me? Nobody except the likes of you.' TMGB 252

(31)   NPI'S AS FRAGMENT ANSWERS TO POLAR QUESTIONS:

    a.   'An ndéanfaidh aon duine m' áit-sa duit?' 'Go deo.'
        c.q make.fut   any person my place for.you ever
        'Will anyone ever take my place for you?' 'Never.'   ATFS 488

    b.   'An bhfaigheadh na scéalaithe aon díolaíocht?' 'Aon rud
        c.q get.past.habit the storytellers any payment   any thing
        in aon chor.'
        at-all
        'Would the storytellers get any payment?' 'Nothing at all.'   AL 88

    c.   'Agus ní   raibh eagla ort   roimhe?'   'Eagla ar bith.'
        and c.neg.fin be.past fear on.you before.him   fear any
        'And you weren't afraid of him?' 'Not at all.'   D 18

It is perhaps worth emphasizing that the answers in (30) and (31) are in no way strained. They require no particular contextualization; nor do they demand any special accommodation. They are routine, and as far as I am aware there is no alternative way to express what they express (fully articulated clauses aside).

    There are additional contexts in which such NPI fragments appear – contexts that do not, in an obvious way at least, involve question-answer pairings. We will return to those cases and their implications, but the dilemma is already clear. If the arguments developed so far in this paper are to be relied upon, bare NPI's may function as fragment answers in Irish. But there is very strong evidence from a range of languages already studied that NPI's cannot serve as fragment answers. In fact, this has come to be recognized as one of the most reliable diagnostics for distinguishing between NPI's and inherently negative expressions. As Penka & Zeijlstra (2010: 778) put it:

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[15]Example (30b) is from a translation of *Le Petit Prince* by Antoine de Sainte-Exupéry. The French original has: *Et que fais-tu de ces étoiles? Rien. Je les possède.*

> *The ability to contribute negation in fragmentary answers can thus be regarded as a defining property of negative indefinites, distinguishing them from NPIs (cf Bernini and Ramat 1996 and Haspelmath 1997).*

We might, in the face of this dilemma, reject the arguments of the first half of this paper and conclude that all Irish polarity sensitive expressions are actually negative indefinites. My own assessment (unsurprisingly) is that this would not be a wise move and in the remainder of the paper, I propose an analysis which preserves those earlier results, while also preserving the basic integrity of the generalization articulated by Penka and Zeijlstra. The resolution proposed is, I think, well-supported by evidence internal to Irish and it also has interesting theoretical implications. The questions which need to be addressed in such a resolution are these:

- How can the fragments in (30d)–(31) be well-formed outside the licensing context that they otherwise require?
- How can such examples have the interpretations that they in fact do – in the absence of that crucial licensing environment?
- Why are the mechanisms that underlie the possibility in (30d)–(31), whatever they may be, unavailable in the other languages so far examined?

The answer to all of these questions, I believe, is that Irish has a movement rule whose very particular properties are crucial in permitting the possibilities on display in (30d)–(31).

4 The Resolution

4.1 Narrative Fronting

Ó Siadhail (1989: §9.2.2) and McCloskey (1996) discuss a process, named by Ó Siadhail *Narrative Fronting*, by way of which a phrase is moved leftward in a finite clause to a position immediately to the left of the negative complementizer and therefore also to the left of the inflected verb. The process is productive and of high frequency.[16]

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[16]There is a similar but much less productive process which applies in clauses headed by the complementizer *go* and in which the inflected verb is in subjunctive mood (a form now archaic for almost all speakers). Such clauses express curses (as in (ia)) or blessings (as in (ib)):

(i) a. Na seacht ndiabhal déag go dtuga _ leo   sibh
       the seven devil   ten   c take.subj with.them you.pl
       'May the seventeen devils take you!'   cnf 51

The most frequently attested pattern is one in which the moved phrase is an indefinite nominal, (as in (32)), but adverbial or prepositional phrases may also be fronted, as seen in (33).

(32)   NARRATIVE FRONTING IN NEGATIVE CLAUSES:

a. Duine níba réasúnaí   ní raibh ann.
person more reasonable.COMPR NEG was in-it
'A more reasonable person was there none.'   FF 107

b. Mo bhéal ní-or   oscail   mé ar feadh chúig lá.
my mouth C.NEG-PAST open.PAST I   during five day
'I didn't as much as open my mouth for five days.'   TUAIR 26-04-21

c. Leabhar gramadaí   ní   raibh ariamh agam.
book   grammar.GEN C.NEG-PAST be.PAST ever   at.me
'I never had a grammar-book.'   ABHM 41

(33) a. Ach díreach ní-or   bhreathnaigh sí air
but straight C.NEG-PAST look.PAST   she on-him
'But straight she didn't look at him.'   C 24

b. isteach san   fháinne ní   thiocfaidh sí
into   in-the ring   C.NEG.FIN come.FUT she
'Into the ring she will not come.'   SGC 112

c. Go deo ná go bráthach ní   scarfamaoid ón   a chéile   arís
ever   or ever   C.NEG.FIN separate.FUT.P1 from each-other again
'Never again will we separate from one another.'   IAE 331

Narrative Fronting is optional and (32) and (33) are equivalent in their truth-conditions to the corresponding examples in which it has not applied. (32) and (33), though, are felt to be in some sense 'emphatic'. The general pattern, then, is as in (34):

(34)   NARRATIVE FRONTING:

a. [XP$_j$ C   v   ... _$_j$ ...]
        [NEG] [FIN]

b. where XP can be any phrase-type but is often an indefinite nominal

c. and the interpretive effect is to express 'emphatic' negation.

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b. ádh agus sonas   go raibh _ ort
luck and happiness C be.SUBJ   on-you
'May you have good fortune and happiness.'   SK 104

Though superficially similar, the two processes do not seem to have a common syntax or a common interpretive profile.

Narrative Fronting is relevant for us because all of the NPI's surveyed earlier appear freely and frequently in the XP-position of (34a). The examples in (35) illustrate this fact for the weak NPI's; those in (36) for the minimizers.

(35)   WEAK NPI'S IN NARRATIVE FRONTING:

a.   Cearta ar bith ní   raibh   _ ag gnáthdhaoine
      rights any   C.NEG.FIN be.PAST   at ordinary-people
      'Ordinary people had no rights.   ABHM 53

b.   Aon mhoill ní-or   dhein   Cromaill _
      any delay C.NEG-PAST make.PAST Cromwell
      'Cromwell made no delay.'/ 'No delay did Cromwell make.'   OOGC 199

c.   Ach tada   ní   raibh sé in ann _ a   chloisteáil
      but anything C.NEG.FIN be.PAST he able   VCE hear.VN
      'But nothing was he able to hear.'   SJSJ 55

d.   Go deo arís   ní   dhéanfadh fear amadán _ dom
      ever   again C.NEG.FIN make.COND man fool   of.me
      'Never again would a man make a fool of me.'   LGL 158

(36)   MINIMIZERS IN NARRATIVE FRONTING:

a.   Faic na fríde   ní   bhfuair mé _ mar fhreagra.
      the-tiniest-thing C.NEG.FIN get.PAST I   as   answer
      'I didn't get the tiniest thing as an answer.'   PAA 24

b.   Smid ní   -l   _ ann faoi Tone.
      breath C.NEG.FIN be.PRES   in.it about
      'There's absolutely nothing in it about Tone.'   TII 121

c.   pioc eagla ní   raibh _ ar an tiománaí
      pick fear C.NEG.FIN be.PAST   on the driver
      'The driver wasn't the tiniest bit afraid.'   DR 15

d.   Le   mac an éin   bheo níor   sceith   ceachtar againn ár
      with son the bird.GEN living C.NEG-PAST expose.PAST either   of.us our
      rún.
      secret
      'Neither of us revealed our secret to a single living soul.' LL 437

It is not just that weak NPI's *may* undergo Narrative Fronting; they clearly have a particular affinity for the environment created in (34), as is shown by the fact that in 43% of the attested examples of Narrative Fronting in our database (196 of 486), the element fronted is an NPI. Among these, minimizers are particularly frequent – they represent 41% (80 of 196) of all the examples in which NPI's are fronted under Narrative Fronting.

There is something, then, about the environment of Narrative Fronting that particularly favors NPI's and there is something about NPI's (and minimizers in particular) which makes them especially susceptible to fronting in this context. This is one of a number of observations suggesting that the two phenomena are deeply entangled. What is the nature of that entanglement though?

The 'emphatic' character of Narrative Fronting seems to have its source, at least in part, in that the structure in (34) expresses 'scalar assertions' in the sense of Krifka (1995). They evoke scalar implicatures of a familiar kind in that the use of such a structure evokes alternatives to the proposition actually expressed – alternatives which are ranked on a scale of strength. The relevant notion of 'strength' is in turn dependent on information shared among interlocutors, but also on the relative informational strength of those alternatives, as measured by asymmetric entailment relations. Such ranked alternatives, implicitly evoked, have been central to theoretical work in pragmatics and semantics for many years. In that light consider the examples of (37):

(37) a. Acht sagart amháin ní   tháinig   de chóir fhéasta an Rí
          but priest one   C.NEG.FIN come.PAST near   feast   the king
          'But not a single priest came near the king's feast.'   UMI 13

     b. míle   fear ní   bhainfeadh feacadh   aisti   as   a háit
          thousand men C.NEG.FIN take.COND   movement out-of.it from its place
          'A thousand men couldn't budge it from its place' (a large rock) ATT 34

In (37a) the alternatives evoked have to do with the number of priests who had attended the king's feast – a set of propositions of the form: 'n priests did not attend the king's feast' ordered by the value of n. The asserted proposition is that the lowest number possible (namely none at all) attended. That is also the strongest proposition among the evoked alternatives since it entails all of the others (if it is not the case that one priest attended, then it is not the case that two attended, or that three attended, or four or …). The proposition expressed is therefore the logically strongest and the most informationally specific of the alternative-set. In (37b), the alternative propositions evoked are of the form: 'n men could not move that rock' and those propositions are ranked by the value of n from one thousand down as far as one. The strongest proposition on that scale (in the sense of entailing all of the others and of being, again, informationally more specific) is the one asserted to be true (if it is impossible for one thousand men to dislodge the rock, it is impossible for 900 to do so and also 800 and so on downwards). The meaning ultimately conveyed, then, is that the rock is likely impossible to dislodge. The proposition actually expressed is presented as being,

in both cases, at the extreme high-point of a scale of salient alternatives. This is the standard logic of scalar implicatures. It seems reasonable, then, to assume that Narrative Fronting is a syntactic operation which attracts to the xp-position of (34) constituents that evoke alternatives. (38) revises (34) accordingly:

(38) NARRATIVE FRONTING:

a. $[\text{ XP}_j \quad \text{C} \quad \text{V} \quad \ldots \ -_j \ldots]$
      $\phantom{[\text{ XP}_j \quad }[\text{NEG}] \ [\text{FIN}]$

b. where xp is alternative-evoking.

If the phrase fronted in (38) must be alternative-evoking, an additional property of Narrative Fronting falls into place. That phrase is modified very frequently by the focus-particle *féin*, a phrase-final focus-marker whose meaning is close to that of English 'even':

(39) bhí   an madra féin fachtha mífhoighneach.
      be.PAST the dog   *féin* gotten   impatient
      'Even the dog had become impatient.'   GSA 19

The particle *féin* appears very frequently as a modifier of the phrase fronted under Narrative Fronting:

(40) a. An toirneach féin ní   dhúiseodh Johnny.
        the thunder   *féin* C.NEG.FIN waken.COND
        'Even thunder wouldn't waken Johnny.'   C 17

   b. An fhuiseog féin ní   raibh   ina suí.
        the lark   *féin* C.NEG.FIN be.PAST awake
        'Even the lark wasn't awake.'   AN 43

   c. Feoirling féin ní   thabharfadh sé dhó.
        farthing *féin* C.NEG.FIN give.COND   he to.him
        'Even a farthing he wouldn't give him.'   ATIM 123

This is an expected possibility given (38) because the effect of suffixing *féin* to some phrase xp is exactly to turn xp into an alternative-evoking expression. In the case of (40b), for instance, the alternative propositions evoked have to do with what creatures were up and about that morning. Given conventional ideas about bird life-styles, the lark will always be the earliest creature awake and the proposition that the lark was not awake therefore entails all of the alternative propositions evoked (the fox was not awake; the hare was not awake; the curlew was not awake …). What is ultimately conveyed, then, is that no creature stirred and that was because it was really unusually early in the morning.

Such assertions, then, convey that the proposition actually expressed is at the upper limit of some scale of imaginable alternatives and is therefore outside the range of conventional norms and expectations, thereby evoking in hearers a sense of surprise or unexpectedness. This seems to be the principal source of the intuitively 'emphatic' character of Narrative Fronting examples – they are scalar assertions in Krifka's (1995) sense.

Negation plays a central role in these deductions. Its effect is to reverse the direction of entailment among the alternatives and therefore to reverse the ranking of those propositions on the scale of strength. Returning to example (37a), for instance: the proposition *One priest attended the king's feast* leaves open the possibility that two priests, or three, or four … attended the feast, but it entails neither those propositions nor their negations. The presence of negation changes that calculation and rules out possibilities that would be allowed in its absence; it therefore 'converts' what would be in its absence a logically weak and low-ranked proposition into a logically strong and high-ranked proposition.

This must be why the NPI's which are our central concern are so susceptible to Narrative Fronting.

If there were a class of expressions lexically specified to be alternative-evoking, we would now expect those expressions to appear naturally and frequently in the xp-position of (38). But that is exactly the claim that is at the heart of one of the most important strands of current research on the nature and licensing of NPI's – from the domain-widening of Kadmon & Landman (1993) to the explicit appeal to scalar implicatures in the work of Krifka (1995), Lee & Horn (1994), Israel (1998), Lahiri (1998), Horn (2000), Condoravdi (2008), Chierchia (2013) and Jeong & Roelefsen (2023). The central commitment in this line of work is that the limited distribution of NPI's (that is, that they may appear only in downward-entailing environments) is to be attributed to the fact that they are required in their lexical semantics to be alternative-evoking and further that they are, or at least that many of them are, lexically specified as representing minimal elements on the quantity-scale implicitly defined by those alternatives. But by the logic we just reviewed those 'minimal' elements will be strengthened exactly when they appear within the scope of negation. Different theoreticians have different ways of working this reasoning into a formal theory of NPI-licensing, but the common thread, since Krifka (1995), has been that unless such items appear within the scope of negation (or an element with similar logical properties) they run afoul of a version of Grice's (1975) Quantity Maxim ('be as informative as possible') built into the compositional mechanisms.

But negation is, of course, also the syntactic driver of Narrative Fronting. Weak NPI's and minimizers will be ideal candidates for the role of xp in (38), then,

since they are in their lexical definition alternative-evoking and minimal. In their interaction with negation, then, they will very naturally generate the logically strong propositions that are the hallmark of the construction.

Given this perspective, we understand why NPI's in Irish appear so frequently in the fronted position of Narrative Fronting structures. The two phenomena are 'entangled', as we put it above, because they exploit the same logical mechanism in evoking scalar implicatures – namely the strengthening effect of downward entailing contexts. The difference between the two is that Narrative Fronting is syntacticized and so limited to a single downward-entailing environment (the domain of sentential negation) while weak NPI's and minimizers can exploit that logic in any environment which has the appropriate semantics (those described in section 2.2). The descriptions given earlier now reduce to (41).

(41) NARRATIVE FRONTING:
      The finite negation head may include a probe which attracts XP's which are alternative-evoking.

The description in (41), unlike our earlier formulations, makes no mention of the 'emphatic' character of Narrative Fronting. That aspect of the construction, as we have seen, emerges organically from the interaction between the semantics of the negative head and the alternatives evoked by the attracted constituent.

A property of this account which is neither obviously correct nor obviously incorrect is that the fronting itself plays no role in establishing the 'emphatic' character of Narrative Fronting. That aspect of the construction, on this account, emerges from a semantic-pragmatic interaction between the attracting negation and the alternatives evoked by the fronted element – an interaction which would take place even when the alternative-evoking phrase remains in its base position. The pairs of examples in (42) and (43) should then be equally 'emphatic':

(42) a. ach ní-or   labhair   sé smid leofa
         but C.NEG-PAST speak.PAST he breath with.them
         'But he didn't breathe a word to them.'   SIF 33
     b. Smid níor labhair sé _ leofa.

(43) a. Aon mhoill ní-or   dhein   Cromaill _
         any delay C.NEG-PAST make.PAST Cromwell
         'No delay did Cromwell make.'   OOGC 199
     b. Níor dhein Cromaill aon mhoill.

Assessing whether or not this prediction is correct is a matter of such subtlety and vagueness that it will be next to impossible to investigate responsibly, I suspect.

For what it may be worth (not much), my impression is that it is not obviously incorrect.[17]

4.2 Narrative Fronting and Scope

There is a final property of Narrative Fronting that we need to attend to, one that is implicit in the preceding discussion but which should be made explicit.

It was observed in McCloskey (1996: 76-86) that Narrative Fronting does not expand the scope of the raised item, at least with respect to negation. In (44), for instance, the temporal indefinite *uair amháin* remains within the scope of negation despite apparently preceding it:

(44)   uair amháin fiú,   ní-or   cheistigh   sé conas a bhí   an
        time one   even c.neg-past question.past he how   c be.past the
        t-ullmhúchán faoi bhráid Mheiriceá ag   dul.
        preparation for   America   prog go.vn
        'Not even once did he ask how the preparation for America was going.'
                                                                        PI 67

(37a) above is similar, as are the examples in (45):

(45) a. Aon mhála amháin ní   bhfaighidh tú.
         one bag   one   c.neg.fin get.fut   you
         'Not one bag will you get.'   OTA 194

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[17]Note that to claim that certain expressions are alternative-evoking is not to claim that they are 'f-marked' in the sense familiar from work on the distribution of focal accents and contrastive focus (or to claim that Narrative Fronting is movement to a dedicated focal position). Rather I follow Krifka (1995), Jeong & Roelefsen (2023) and others in assuming that expressions in focus evoke alternatives but that that is just one of the contexts in which alternatives play a central role. See Krifka (1995) and Jeong & Roelefsen (2023) for important discussions of the issues that arise here. If we were to assume that the alternative-evoking character of NPI's reflects a kind of inherent focus-marking, we are left in a poor position to understand the differences between emphatic and non-emphatic uses of NPI's – the central concern of the discussion in Jeong & Roelefsen (2023). They assume, with Krifka (1995) and others, that all NPI's evoke alternatives, as a matter of lexical specification, but that there is also a distinction between contingently-emphatic and inherently emphatic members of the class. The latter are the minimizers and they are inherently focused; the former may or may not be focused. These commitments are entirely consistent with our discussion here. Chierchia (2013) draws the same distinction in a different way. The minimizers, because they rely on an operator like *even* for the required exhaustification of their alternative-set, are always and strongly emphatic. For run of the mill weak NPI's, like *any*, however, the activation of the relevant alternatives is often undetectable.

b. duine amháin as   ocht nduine dhéag i seomra na nuachtóirí
    person one   out-of eight person ten   in room   the journalists
    ní-or   labhair   liom   air
    C.NEG-PAST speak.PAST with.me on.it
    'Not one person out of eighteen in the newsroom spoke to me about it.
                                                                    AAG 027

c. duine acu   ní-or   aithníos
    person of.them C.NEG-PAST recognize.PAST.S1
    'I recognized none of them.'   BTFS 14

(45c), for example, in its actual context of use, does not convey that there was
one person that I did not recognize – a meaning naturally expressible in English
by means of *One of them, I didn't recognize*. Rather, the intended interpretation
has the indefinite interpreted within the scope of negation. The examples of (46)
show that fronted disjuncts also remain within the scope of the negation which
triggers Narrative Fronting.

(46) a. do   chlann ná do   chéile ní   fheicfidh tú   go deo
         your family or your spouse C.NEG.FIN see.FUT   you ever
         'You will never see either your spouse or your family.'   CDC 230
    b. Agus mionnán ná bainne ní   bheadh … an bhliain sin   aici.
        and kid-goat or milk   C.NEG.FIN be.COND   the year   DEMON at.her
        'And she would have neither a goat nor (its) milk that year.'   CC 16

For detailed discussion see McCloskey (1996).[18]

The fact, then, that weak NPI's and minimizers may appear in clause-initial
position under Narrative Fronting (as in (35) and (36)) is just one aspect of this
larger generalization. In cases like (35) and (36) the fronted NPI remains within
the scope of sentential negation, just like the indefinites of (45) and the disjuncts
of (46), and this is why such examples are fully well-formed.

4.3 Narrative Fronting and Ellipsis

If the conclusions of the previous subsection are safe, the path is clear towards
resolving the apparent anomaly we opened with – how there can be answers

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[18]Note that the claim is not that wide-scope indefinites are never found in the fronted position of
a Narrative Fronting structure. They are, though rarely. That is, they are found with the same
degree of difficulty and at the same (low) level of frequency as is characteristic of indefinites
in the base-position of the movement. That is, Narrative Fronting does not expand or change
the scopal properties of fronted elements with respect to negation.

like (2), which consist only of a negative polarity item, in apparent violation of an otherwise valid crosslinguistic generalization. Following Merchant (2004: 691), we can maintain that the possibility of fragment answers consisting of, or containing, NPI's is parasitic on a prior application of Narrative Fronting.[19] A routine application of Narrative Fronting raises the NPI to the left periphery and the clausal remnant out of which it has been raised is then, if conditions warrant, elided by a sluicing-like operation which eliminates all but the fronted phrase. The apparently isolated NPI's are well-formed because they are within the scope of negation in a pre-ellipsis representation and they have the interpretations that they do because of the scope-preserving property of Narrative Fronting. Many languages disallow the equivalents of (30d)–(31), because they lack a movement operation with the particular set of properties which we have demonstrated for Narrative Fronting in Irish (though see Laka 1993 and Giannakidou 2000 for cases of the same general type). In (47b), then, (involving a minimizer), L's response will be derived roughly as in (48b), in which I use a greyed-out font to indicate elided material.

(47) a. J: Ná   habair a dhath le   n-ár gcairde.
            C.NEG.FIN say.IMPV anything with our friends
         'Don't say anything to our friends.'

    b. L: Smid.
             breath
         'Not a word.'

(48) a. Smid ní   dhéarfaidh mé le   n-ár gcairde.
         breath C.NEG.FIN say.FUT   I   with our friends
         'I won't breathe a word to our friends.'

    b. 1. ní dhéarfaidh mé smid le n-ár gcairde.
        2. smid ní dhéarfaidh mé ＿ le n-ár gcairde.
        3. smid [ní dhéarfaidh mé ＿ le n-ár gcairde]

There is an additional set of observations which shows that the link between Narrative Fronting and legal fragment-types is very tight. There are items in Irish which resemble NPI's in many espects but to which Narrative Fronting may not apply. One of these is a focus-exceptive construction which translates English *only* and which has much in common with *ne-que* construction of French. The

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[19]The link between Narrative Fronting and the possibility of fragment NPI's is also made in D'Antuono (2024). It may be worth noting that speakers often resort to Narrative Fronting in providing full paraphrases for fragment answers.

exceptive particle *ach* in this structure attaches to a focused phrase (or a phrase which contains a focused item) within the domain of sentential negation:

(49) a. Ní-or   labhair   ach seisear.
         C.NEG-PAST speak.PAST but six-people
         'Only six people spoke.'

  b. Ní   ólaim   ach tae.
      C.NEG.FIN drink.PRES.S1 but tea
      'I drink only tea.'

  c. Ní   raibh   gluaisteán ach aige daoine saibhre an uair sin
      C.NEG.FIN be.PAST car   but at   people rich   the time DEMON
      'Only rich people had cars at that time.'   ABFS 26

Such structures are licensed in some, but not quite all, of the contexts in which NPI's are licensed. They are possible, for instance, in polar questions:

(50) a. nó an raibh ann acht rud   a samhladh   dó
         or C.Q was in-it but thing C imagine.PAST.IMPERS to-him
         'Or was it only something he imagined?'   LCS 110

  b. An raibh ach an t-aon Naomh amháin ina measc   go léir?
      C.Q was but the one   saint one   in-their-midst all
      'Or was there only one Saint among them all?'   AG 113

Despite their kinship with NPI's (discussed in McCloskey (2013)) such exceptives are excluded from Narrative Fronting structures:

(51)   *Ach do   dheartháir ní   raibh   ag an chruinniú aréir.
          but your brother   C.NEG.FIN be.PAST at the meeting   last-night
          'Only your brother was at the meeting last night.'

And they are correspondingly impossible as fragments, as shown in (52):

(52) a. Cé   a bhí   ag an chruinniú aréir?
         who C be.PAST at the meeting   last-night
         'Who was at the meeting last night?'

  b. *Ach do   dheartháir.
       but your brother
       'Only your brother.'

On the account developed here, such close correlations are to be expected.

4.4 English Redux

Before we move on to larger questions, there is a final empirical issue that should be dealt with.

This paper opened by announcing the goal of better understanding a claimed contrast between English and Irish – that Irish does, but English does not, allow fragment NPI's. There is, though, a strand of research which questions the claim for English or suggests at least that the facts are more nuanced. At issue is what we should conclude about the example-type in (53) (den Dikken et al. (2000), Valmala (2007), Weir (2014, 2015)):

(53)   Q: What DIDN'T Owen buy?   A: Any wine.

As all investigators have been careful to note, (53) is not accepted by all speakers and is, for many or most, of intermediate acceptability (I know of no quantitative study). The conditions which allow the fragment NPI in (53) seem also to be quite stringent; what is required, as noted by den Dikken et al. (2000: fn, 3, pp 44-45) and Weir (2014: 167-171), is a negative wh-question with verum focus and a discourse context which includes, implicitly or explicitly, a set of propositions like that in (54):

(54)   Owen bought pizza.
         Owen bought bottled water.
         Owen bought beer.
         Owen bought chips.

The possibility in (53) also seems to be linked to the possibility of specificational pseudoclefts in English like those in (55), in which the appearance of the NPI within the pivot position is also puzzling on most accounts.

(55) a.   What we didn't make was (we didn't make) any progress.
     b.   What Owen didn't buy was (he didnt't buy) any wine.

It is exactly this connection that den Dikken et al. (2000) are centrally concerned with and in pursuing that connection they are brought to the conclusion that (53) is an elided form of (56):

(56)   Q: What DIDN'T Owen buy?   A: [He didn't buy] any wine.

The connection with the pseudoclefts in (55) is then that the relation between the wh-clause and the pivot in such constructions is similar in essential respects to the question-answer relation in (53) and (56). In both cases, the polarity item is

licensed within a full finite clause which is subject to optional elision. Important support for this proposal derives from the generalization, which they establish, that bare NPI pivots are possible in pseudoclefts just in case the full clausal option is also possible (as illustrated in (55)).

Andrew Weir (2014, 2015) builds on these insights to develop an analysis which is consistent with the idea that fragment answers are in general derived by movement followed by elision of all but the moved element. It also accounts for the marginal character of (53) by assuming that the movement in question takes place in the derivation of phonological forms (and its effects are therefore invisible to semantic conditions such as those essential to the licensing of polarity items) and is a marked and 'last resort' operation – one that is specific to that context and one which applies only to head off the possibility that a focus-marked expression might be elided.

These issues are difficult and important, but they clearly do not challenge the empirical claim which was the starting point for the present paper: that Irish and English differ fundamentally with respect to the well-formedness of NPI-fragments. The Irish cases we have been concerned with are in no way marked or recondite; nor are they variably acceptable or restricted to very particular contexts, as is the English possibility in (53). They are simply routine aspects of the grammar of the language – productive and un-marked.

The proposals developed here account for that property of Irish and are also compatible with the framework developed for the English cases by Weir and his predecessors. The difference between the two languages is that the grammar of Irish includes a syntactic operation which is routine and productive and which renders appeal to marked or 'last resort' operations unnecessary. The grammar of English, by contrast, includes no such operation and in providing a structural description for (53) must rely on the logic of last resort.

## 4.5 The Syntax of Negation and the Syntax of Narrative Fronting

For the announced purpose of this paper (resolving the apparent anmomaly of NPI fragments), this is arguably as far as we need to go. It has been shown that the syntax of Irish must include a mechanism by which NPI's can be raised to a clause-peripheral position and that in that position raised expressions remain within the semantic scope of sentential negation and NPI's are therefore licensed. That much is close to incontrovertible. In addition, we need to appeal to an ellipsis process which elides the clause out of which the NPI has been raised; but the process we must appeal to is of a kind that is familiar, well-studied and well-attested.

There remain, though, obvious and large questions about how such a system can be integrated within some credible larger theory of Irish clausal syntax. I want to say something about those questions here, but the discussion will of necessity be somewhat unsatisfying, since the issues that arise cannot be fully addressed within the scope of an article such as this.

Consider first the extended projection of the verb-initial finite clauses of the language. Sentential negation is expressed overtly in these clauses on C; every candidate complementizer in the language (interrogative, WH, conditional, root, default …) is paired with a negative counterpart with which it competes in the system of exponence (see McCloskey (2001) for data and discussion).

McCloskey (2017), however, argues that the expression of negation in finite clauses in Irish is in fact distributed over two positions linked by an agreement relation – on C, the highest element of the extended clausal projection (where its morphological exponence appears), and on a lower polarity head, one which appears in an arguably more expected position (below the expression of clausal force). In finite clauses, the two polarity positions are separated by a head which has as its exponents the various preverbal tense markers of the language and which expresses a (limited) combination of tense and modality properties. We will call that element here TM1. (57a), then, has the structure in (57b).

(57) a. Ní- -or óladar   aon nimh sa   teach.
         C   PAST- drink.PAST.P3 any poison in-the house
         'They did not drink any poison in the house.'

   b.
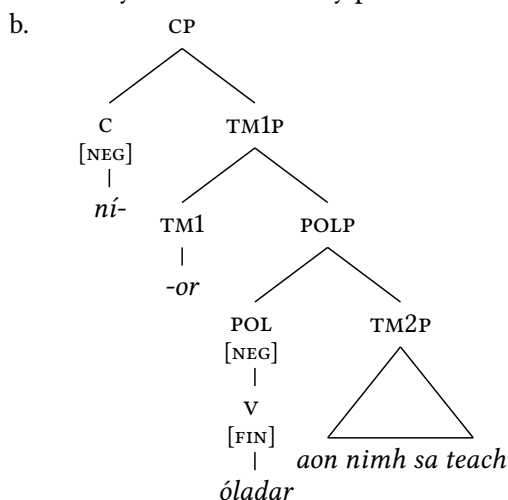
The complement of that head is, in turn, projected by a lower tense-modality head, one which expresses a set of tense and modality distinctions which further

refine those introduced by TM1. This head (TM2) is realized morphologically in the post-verbal inflectional suffixes and hosts a raised subject in its specifier, yielding VSO order.

In nonfinite clauses (characterized by an absence of head-movement) the lower polarity head hosts the overt marker of negation (*gan*), which clearly appears in a position lower than C and which precedes subject-position:

(58) Ba   mhian leat   gan   mé creidbheáil ins an rud.
      COP.PAST desire with.you NEG.NONFIN me believe.VN in   the thing
      'You wanted me not to believe in the thing.'   UMI 167

How might Narrative Fronting be integrated into this framework? The point reached in our earlier discussion is summarized in (59), repeated from (41) above.
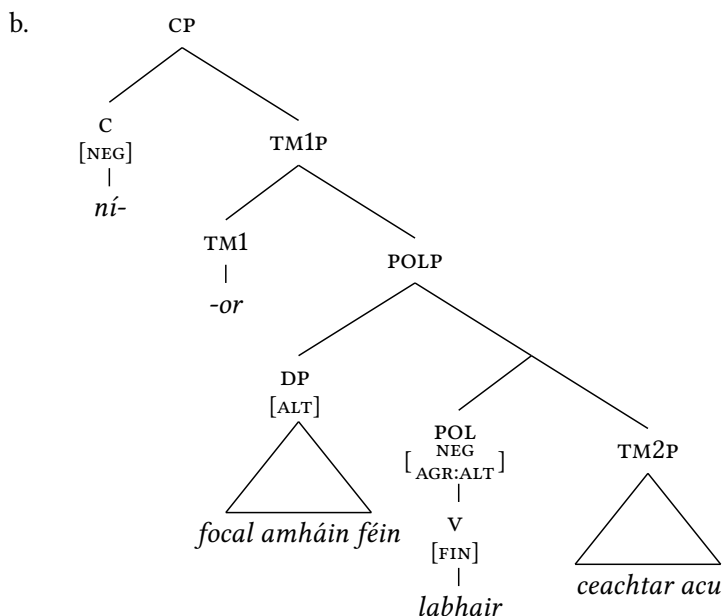
(59) NARRATIVE FRONTING:
      The finite negation head may include a probe which attracts XP's which are alternative-evoking.

We can begin by assuming that there is a feature ALT which identifies alternative-evoking expressions to the syntax. This feature, I assume, is part of the lexical specification of NPI's, one of the ways in which the pure numeral use of *aon*, for instance, is distinguished from its NPI use. Narrative Fronting, then, will be understood as a probe-goal interaction between a negative head and a phrase in its local domain which bears the ALT-feature; in that interaction the target phrase is raised to the specifier position of the polarity head.

But given the structure in (57b), we now have two candidate heads to consider when asking which head hosts the crucial probe – the higher negative C or the lower polarity head. Given that in the overt structure, the raised XP appears to the left of the negative complementizer, the answer to that question would seem to be obvious. One might think that the ALT-probe is an optional subpart of the negative complementizer and that Narrative Fronting is therefore movement to its specifier position.

Alternatively, it could be that the probe which attracts the alternative-evoking expression into its specifier position is hosted by the lower (negative) polarity head. Following raising of the finite verb to the polarity position, the fronted XP will apear to the left of the inflected verb and niched between the two (linked) expressions of negation. (60a) would then have the syntax shown in (60b).

(60)a. Focal amháin féin ní-or   labhair   ceachtar acu
        word one   even C.NEG-PAST speak.PAST either   at.them
        'Not even a single word did either of them speak.'   INIT 164

b.

```
                        CP
              ┌──────────┴──────────┐
              C                    TM1P
            [NEG]          ┌─────────┴─────────┐
              │           TM1                 POLP
             ní-           │         ┌──────────┴──────────┐
                          -or       DP                    POL
                                  [ALT]              [NEG  AGR:ALT]
                                    △                    │          TM2P
                            focal amháin féin            V           △
                                                       [FIN]
                                                         │      ceachtar acu
                                                       labhair
```

The first option (raising to the specifier of negative C) accounts immediately for the observed order of constituents – the raised XP in Narrative Fronting always precedes the expression of finite negation. But it is problematic in important ways as well. In particular, that analysis defines Narrative Fronting as a movement to the clause-edge, thus risking the incorrect prediction that the operation would have the same locality-profile as the much-studied Ā-movements of the language. It does not, though. As shown in McCloskey (1996), Narrative Fronting is movement to a TP-internal position and is strictly clause-bound.

In addition, the observed word-order in cases like (60a) is guaranteed by the proposal developed in McCloskey (1996)) that finite complementizers in general in Irish attain their pronounced positions by way of a postsyntactic operation which lowers them, across intervening material if present, to the position of the inflected verb. C-lowering, on this view, is an exact analog of English T-lowering (the 'affix-hopping' of Chomsky 1957) and is justified by exactly the same kind of argumentation. In the case of Irish, C-lowering is one of a set of postsyntactic operations which jointly create the complex morphological word known in the Irish linguistic tradition as the 'verbal complex', whose properties and intricate internal structure have been studied, for example, by Jason Ostrove (2018). In the case of (60), the effect is to create a complex morphological word of the form in (61) in the position of the polarity head:

(61)   { C-NEG⌒TM1⌒ROOT⌒VCE⌒TM2 }

In the context of the C-lowering proposal, we are free to adopt the analysis in (60b). On this account, the fronted XP is commanded by an expression of negation at every point in its derivational career and we account by way of standard (and natural) mechanisms for the fact that Narrative Fronting applies only in negative clauses (an important advance over the account offered in McCloskey (1996)), while avoiding the risk of predicting that the operation would have the locality-profile of an Ā-movement.

The proposal of C-lowering has been controversial (see for instance Maki & Ó Baoill (2017), who show that one of the strands of evidence offered in McCloskey (1996) was based on a misinterpretation of the relevant evidence), but I know of no competitor proposal which deals with the range of facts it accounts for. There is, in addition, no reason for embarrassment in a contemporary theoretical setting concerning appeal to a postsyntactic (as opposed to syntactic) lowering.

In the context of (60b), the ellipsis process appealed to in accounting for the fragment answers of, for instance, (30d), (31) or (47b), one which will eliminate all but the phrase fronted by Narrative Fronting, will emerge as a familiar kind of polarity ellipsis triggered by an ellipsis-licensing feature (Merchant's E) on the lower polarity head.[20] If we further follow Benjabi & Pesetsky (2022), we will assume that in this case the E-feature extends to the immediate projection of the polarity head, ensuring elimination from the pronounced string of all but the specifier of the licensing head.

Much hard work clearly remains to be done on all of these questions. But I hope to have shown in this brief discussion that the project of integrating the proposals of this paper into a credible larger theory of clause structure (in Irish) is far from being a hopeless one.

5 Implications

The proposal outlined here (and anticipated in Merchant's paper) depends on a central element of the 'move and delete' approach articulated by Merchant (2004) for subsentential fragments of propositional type. That approach links the ellipsis possibilities found in a given language with the inventory of movement-types available in that language. That inventory in turn reflects the inventory of probes in the language; so we have yet another case in which variation among languages has its roots in combinatorial properties of elements of the functional

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[20]For an interesting comparison see especially Gribanova (2017) on polarity ellipses in Russian.

vocabulary. In the absence of such an approach we would not be able to make the required connection between the possibility of fragment NPI's and the existence and properties of Narrative Fronting.

The analysis also preserves the essence of the generalization that NPI's may not function as fragment answers. The possibility of NPI-fragments will emerge in a language only if it has a movement operation that is not scope-enhancing and so does not raise the moved item out of the crucial licensing context. Irish does not show that the initial generalization is wrong, then, but rather suggests a refinement.[21] This clarification too depends in a fundamental way on the move-and-delete approach to this kind of fragment response.

Most important, perhaps, the arguments supporting an ellipsis-based analysis of at least this type of fragment response are quite powerful. Few expression-types are as subtly dependent on context as are NPI's; their interpretation and their well-formedness depend on very particular properties of the compositional settings they appear in. And even those who have pushed hardest to construct a fundamentally semantic or pragmatic understanding of how NPI's are licensed and interpreted recognize that the definition of that compositional setting has a syntactic component (see, for example Ladusaw (1979): 206-207)). Jon Gajewski (2005) and Vincent Homer (2011, 2021), in particular, have developed persuasive arguments that even the fundamental semantic constraint (NPI's must appear in (Strawson) downward-entailing environments) must be stated in terms both syntactic and semantic, as in (62):

(62)   An NPI α is licensed in sentence S only if there is a (syntactic) con-
        stituent A of S containing α such that A is downward-entailing with
        respect to the position of α.

<div align="right">Homer (2021: 5)</div>

That is, syntactic constituents (rather than 'operators') are downward or upward entailing (in virtue, of course, of their interpretive properties). What this means in turn is that the minimizer fragment *smid* in the exchange in (47b) above, if it is to be appropriately interpreted and licensed, must appear within a syntactic constituent whose semantic properties are such that it is (Strawson) downward entailing with respect to the position of *smid*. This is guaranteed in a straight-forward way by the ellipsis analysis, since its principal commitment is exactly

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[21]With the implication, obviously, that in diagnosing some constituent as either an NPI or a negative concord item, one should not use the fragment answer diagnostic in a simplistic way. Before concluding that an element is a negative concord item on the basis of the test, we need to ask if the language has an independently available mechanism which could displace an NPI out of a potential ellipsis-site, yielding a pattern like the one discussed here for Irish.

that the minimizer in (47b) is contained within an interpreted syntactic structure of the required kind – one, though, which happens not to be pronounced. It is difficult to imagine how the required compositional scaffolding (semantic and syntactic) might be supplied in an approach to fragments which eschewed such silent structure.

But if appeal to ellipsis is correct for this material, there are also implications for what the theory of ellipsis must then look like. Consider again some examples of NPI fragment responses:

(63) a. 'Beidh na girseachaí leat.'   'Ó go bráthach!'
         be.FUT the girls   with.you   ever
         'The girls will be with you.'   'Oh, never!'   ATFS 505
     b. 'Cá   mhéad a bhéas ar sin?' 'Pingin ar bith,' arsa bean   a'
         what amount c be.PRES on that   penny any   said woman the
         tsiopa.
         shop.GEN
         'How much will that be?'   'Not a penny,' said the shop-woman.
                                                                    BRD 81
     c. Cé   a   d'   inis   duitse go bhfuil tú ag déanamh mar is
         who c.WH PAST- tell.PAST to.you c be.PRES you PROG do.VN   as is
         ceart? Aon duine.
         right one person
         'Who told you that you were doing the right thing?' 'Nobody.'
                                                                    ISNB 139
     d. 'Beidh dornán   maith mónadh de dhíobháil ortha   le teinte a
         be.FUT quantity good peat.GEN of need   on.them to fires VCE
         choinneáil ann.'   'Fód ar bith.'
         keep.VN   in.it   sod any
         'They'll need a lot of turf (peat) to keep the fires going in it.'
         'Not a sod.'   ST 206

For each example in (63), there is a very natural paraphrase in terms of Narrative Fronting:

(64) a. Go bráthach [ní bheidh na girseachaí liom].
         'Never will the girls be with me.'
     b. Pingin ar bith [ní bheidh ar sin].
         'That won't cost a penny.'
     c. Aon duine [níor inis domh go raibh mé ag déanamh mar is ceart].
         'Not one person told me that I was doing the right thing.'

> d. Fód ar bith [ní bheidh de dhiobháil orthu].
>   'Not one sod will they need.'

In each case, the elided clause must include sentential negation – to license the stranded polarity item and to guarantee the right interpretation. No matching negation, however, appears in the apparent antecedent. Such examples are very frequent (see also (2), all four in (30d) and two in (31) above) and they add to the steady accumulation of evidence in recent years that elided clauses are not required to match their antecedents in polarity (Yoshida (2010), Toosarvandani (2013), Kroll & Rudin (2018), Rudin (2019), Kroll (2019), Anand et al. (2021), Ranero (2021)). Further, these examples are of a particular type: negation appears in the elided clause but not in its antecedent. This is worth noting because in work on sluicing in English it has been observed (Anand et al. 2021) that this pattern is rarer than its inverse (negation in the antecedent, no negation in the ellipsis-site).

The issues around antecedence do not end here though. In question-response pairs it is usually easy to identify an appropriate overt antecedent. NPI-fragments, however, also occur in contexts in which there is no such antecedent:

(65) a. Bhain   sé triail as   an uimhir fóin.   Freagra ar bith.
         took.PAST he try   out-of the number phone.GEN answer any
         'He tried the phone number. No answer.'   TAIR 114

    b. Chuaigh mé amach a dh'éisteacht le   ceol na   n-éan. Fuaim
        go.PAST I out   to-listen   with music the.GEN birds.GEN sound
        dá   laghad.
        of-the least
        'I went out to listen to the singing of the birds. Not a sound.'
                                                           RNG 20-10-18

    c. Níl   aon uaigh ann, a   Dheaid. Chuartaigh muid an áit   ó
        is-not one grave in.it voc-ptc Dad   search.PAST we   the place from
        bhun   go barr. Tada.
        bottom to top anything
        'There's no grave, Dad. We searched the place from top to bottom.
        Nothing.'   A 98

These are all attested examples. (65a) was also checked with six native speaker consultants, all of whom accepted it without hesitation as natural, well-formed and clear. The crucial property of such cases is that, although the evidence for ellipsis is as clear and as strong as for the other instances of NPI-fragments, there is no overt antecedent in the discourse context. There is, in each case however, a strongly salient but implicit question (a QUD in the sense of Roberts (2012)) –

Would he get an answer? What would he hear? What did they find? – in the local discourse context.

Given how strong the evidence for ellipsis is in such fragment answer cases, it seems we must conclude (with Merchant (2004: Section 5)) that, for certain kinds of ellipsis at least, antecedents with the necessary kind of syntactic and semantic properties may be found in discourse representations rather than in any overt linguistic signal. This conclusion runs against the grain of certain trends in the study of ellipsis, some of which tends to assume that if there is no overt antecedent there can be no 'syntax in the silence' (to use Merchant's phrase). But the conclusion is in a certain sense profoundly unsurprising. The initiators of one of the most sophisticated and influential frameworks for the study of discourse dynamics (Farkas & Bruce (2010)) take the following position:

> We follow the literature ... in having a discourse component that records the questions under discussion ... and assume that the items on it are syntactic objects paired with their denotations.

> Farkas & Bruce (2010: p. 86)

The reason that they adopt this position is exactly that 'the grammar of cross-turn conversation and ellipsis has to have access to the grammatical form (and not just the content) of immediately previous utterances' (*op. cit.* p. 86).

Conclusion

Working on ellipsis is difficult and can feel frustrating. The descriptive problems are enormously more challenging than they seemed to be fifty years ago and it is easy to yield to the feeling that even though (or because) there are so many more observations available to us, little progress has been made on the larger theoretical issues.

Part of the difficulty is that it remains unclear what phenomena the general theory of ellipsis should be responsible for. The case of subsentential fragments is a classic instance of that type, as the celebrated exchange between Stainton (2006) and Merchant (2010) in particular makes very clear. Which fragments are simply structures which happen to be smaller than clauses and which reflect clauses that have been reduced by ellipsis? I take the present paper to be a modest contribution to that difficult and important set of questions.

Working on ellipsis also, however, often brings useful spin-off results for areas that seem, on the face of it, to be unrelated. In the present case, it has led to a

more complete survey of the landscape of polarity-sensitive items in Irish than has been available before. It has also led, I believe, to a better understanding of Narrative Fronting – one of the more intriguing components of the syntax-pragmatics interface in Irish.

And finally the paper has also, I hope, provided a clearer view of what the extended projection of finite clauses in Irish looks like. Research on extended projections and research on ellipsis are deeply entangled, because the correct theory of extended projections for a given language must be such that it provides an understanding of what the inventory of ellipsis processes in that language is.

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Appendix One – The Licensing Environments

This appendix presents data concerning the range of licensing environments in which the polarity-sensitive expressions discussed in Section 2 may appear.

In Questions

All of the PSE's of Section Two appear in polar questions, root and embedded:

(66) EMBEDDED POLAR QUESTIONS:

    a. féachaint an samhlódh   faic   dom
        to-see-if C.Q imagine.IMPERS anything/nothing to-me
        'to see if anything would spring to mind for me'   AGMTS 3

    b. go bhfeicfeadh muid an raibh   tada   beo tar éis na hóiche
        C   see.COND   we   C.Q be.PAST anything alive after   the night
        'so that we could see if anything was alive after the night'   IMSBRM 55

(67) ROOT POLAR QUESTIONS:

    a. An féidir   liom   tada   a fháil   duit?
        C.Q possible with.me anything get.NON-FIN for.you
        'Can I get anything for you?'   DEAD 149

    b. Agus a-r   ghnóthaigh sí aon rás eile   i mbliana?
        and   C.Q-.PAST win.PAST   she one race other this-year
        'And did she win any other race this year?"   RNG 26-08-19

The issue of under what conditions NPI's are licensed in WH-questions has been important in debates about the nature of NPI-licensing (Giannakidou (1999, 2011), Guerzoni & Sharvit (2007), Mayr (2013)). The PSE's we care about here appear in such questions, root and embedded:

(68) WH-QUESTIONS:

    a. cé   eile a bhfuil fhios   aaige tada   faoi seo?
        who other C be.PRES knowledge at.him anything about this
        'Who else knows anything about this?'   CAB 89

    b. goidé mar a thiocfadh liom   aon fhear a phósadh?
        how   C come.COND with.me any man VCE marry.VN
        'How could I marry any man?'   AM 162

    c. cén   chaoi a mbeadh fhios   acu   tada?
        what way   C be.COND knowledge at.them anything
        'How would they know anything?'   SMC 304

d. cé   a chreidfeadh go raibh   sé ariamh bródúil?
    who c believe.COND c   be.PAST he ever   proud
    'Who would believe that he was ever proud?'   ATFS 51

Many of these cases involve rhetorical questions – (68b-d), for example; others
are information-seeking questions which require exhaustive answers, as in (68a),
a pattern which is consistent in particular with the work of Guerzoni & Sharvit
(2007) and Mayr (2013). Whether or not this pattern holds consistently is some-
thing which remains to be investigated.

In Conditional Clauses

The PSE's of Section 2 may also appear, with their characteristic existential inter-
pretation, in conditional clauses, both realis (69a) and irrealis (69b,c):

(69) a. má chaitheann tú choíchín tada   a rá,   abair
         if must.PRES you ever   anything say.NON-FIN say.IMPV
         go cuí   é
         appropriately it
         'if you ever have to say anything, say it appropriately'   AE 62

     b. dá mbeadh baint   ar bith leis na gnóithe agam
         if be.COND connection any   with the business at.me
         'if I had any say in the matter'   CLM 38

     c. dá dtarlaíodh tada   dá   hathair
         if happen.COND anything to-her father
         'if anything should happen to her father'   AA 177

In Excessive-Degree Clauses

Phrases in construction with the degree-word *ró-* ('too') also freely host PSE's:

(70) a. Tá   sé ró- mhall anois tada   a dhéanamh.
         be.PRES it too late   now   anything VCE do.VN
         'It's too late to do anything now,'   AA 158

     b. bhí   sé ró- the chun éinne bheith   ag spaisteoireacht
         be.PAST it too hot for   anyone be.NON-FIN PROG stroll.VN
         'It was too hot for anyone to be out walking.'   DPB 102

     c. duí gainmhe a bhí   ró- aimhréidh d' aon ghalfchúrsa
         dune sand.GEN c be.PAST too uneven   for any golf-course
         'a sand-dune that was too uneven for any golf-course'   LGL 170

In Equative, Comparative and Superlative Clauses

(71)   EQUATIVE CLAUSES:

    a. Bhí   cuma   air   comh folláin agus bhí   ariamh air
        be.PAST appearance on.him as   healthy and be.PAST ever   on.him
        'He looks as healthy as he ever did.'   ATFS 565

    b. culaith éadaigh   chomh deas agus a   chuir   aon fhear riamh ar
        suit   clothes.GEN as   nice as   c.WH put.PAST any man ever on
        a   dhroim
        his back
        'as nice a suit of clothes as any man ever put on his back'   EMPP 163

(72)   COMPARATIVE CLAUSES:

    a. Tá   níos mó chéill   i gcuid cainnte Dhomhnaill ná
        be.PRES more   sense.GEN in share talk.GEN   than
        aidmhigheas aon duine.
        admit.PRES.WH any person
        'There's more sense in Domhnall's talk than anyone admits.'   MO 135

    b. Bhí   fhios   aige-sean   níos fearr ná bhí   fhios
        be.PAST knowledge at.him−CONTR more better than be.PAST knowledge
        ag duine   ar bith …
        at person any
        'He knew better than anyone knew that … '   AM 415

    c. is   fusa   éinne a smachtú   ná do   chuid   féin
        COP.PRES easy.COMPAR anyone VCE discipline.VN than your portion REFL.LOG
        'It's easier to discipline anyone than your own (children).'   LGL 122

(73)   SUPERLATIVE CLAUSES:

    a. an obair thógála   ba   deacra   dár déanadh
        the work building.GEN COP.PRES difficult.COMPAR C do.PAST.IMPERS
        go hiomlán as   Gaeilge ariamh
        entirely   out-of Irish   ever
        'the most difficult building-work that was ever done entirely through
        Irish'   CCT 199

    b. an mheancóg a   ba   mhó   a   rinne   mé ariamh
        the mistake   c.WH COP.PAST big.COMPAR c.WH make.PAST I   ever
        'the biggest mistake that I ever made'   ATFS 127

See Hoeksema (1983), von Fintel (1999), Gajewski (2010), Herdan & Sharvit (2006), Bumford & Sharvit (2022), Howard (2014).

I will include in this group relative clauses attached to head nouns modified by the ordinal *céad* ('first'), though the status of such phrases as superlatives remains controversial. PSE's are licensed here:

(74) a. Siod é an chéad am a labhair mé air le aon duine
that it the first time C speak.PAST I on.it with any person
'That was the first time that I spoke about it with anyone.' SMC 287

b. an chéad ál a bhí ariamh aici
the first litter C be.PAST ever at-her
'the first litter she ever had' CA 26

In Certain Temporal Clauses

As in many other languages, PSE's in Irish appear within certain temporal clauses, notably those introduced by 'before' or 'when', but not those introduced by 'after' (Linebarger (1987), Condoravdi (2010), Krifka (2010)).

(75) a. sul a raibh am ag an sáirsint aon cheo a rá leis
before C be.PAST time at the sergeant one mist VCE say.VN with.him
'before the sergeant had time to say the slightest thing to him' LSC 202

b. sul má bheidh a fhios aige tada
before C be.FUT knowledge at-him anything
'before he knows anything' CF 129

c. sul má lonnaigh aon duine ariamh ann
before C settle.PAST any person ever there
'before anyone ever settled there' MABAT 74

(76) a. Bhí siad go han-mhaith dó nuair a bhí a dhath acu.
be.PAST they PTC very-good to-him when C be.PAST anything at-them
'They were very good to him when they had anything.' GOG 266

b. nuair a theastaíodh dada uaithi bhuaileadh sí cnag ar
when C need.PAST.HABIT anything from.her hit.PAST.HABIT she knock on
an urlár
the floor
'when she needed anything, she would bang on the floor' CG 20

c. Ní tostach dóibh nuair a thagas aon bhac in a
COP.NEG silent to.them when C come.PRES any obstacle in their
mbealach.
way
'They are not silent when any obstacle gets in their way.' CG 34

In Arguments of 'Negative' Predicates

The PSE's of Section 2 also appear in the complements of certain predicates whose meaning has a 'negative' component (in a sense which remains to be clarified). As seen in (77), for instance, they appear in the complements of so-called adversative attitude predicates – those which give rise to an implicature that the holder of the attitude has a negative view of the semantic content of that complement.

(77) a. bhí   imní orainn go dtarlódh   aon cheo dhuit
        be.PAST worry on-us C happen.COND any mist to-you
        'We were worried that anything would happen to you.'   CGC 68

   b.   Is   deacair tada   a rá
        COP hard   anything say.NON-FIN
        'It's hard to say anything.'   FB 146

   c.   ar eagla go dtarlódh   a dhath dó
        on fear C happen.COND anything to-him
        'for fear that anything might happen to him'   TAIR 182

   d.   Is   mór a' trua go gcaithfidh aon duine imeacht   as.
        COP.PRES great the pity C   must   any person leave.NON-FIN out-of.it
        'It's a great pity that anyone has to leave it.'   BRD 246

I include in this class some implicative predicates like *fail*:

(78) a. chinn   orm éinne a aimsiú.
        fail.PAST on.me anyone VCE find.VN
        'I failed to find anyone.'   TUAIR 04-10-21

   b.   chinn air   tada   in-ite a fháil.
        fail.PAST on.him anything edible VCE find.VN
        'He failed to find anything edible.'   ATT 101

Here, though, there is an interesting contrast between Irish and English. In Irish (and also in Korean, judging by Lee (1995)), PSE's may appear as direct arguments of the relevant predicates (rather than appearing only within their complements):

(79)   Chinn sé ar aon dochtúir thall ann é a   bhaint amach.
        fail.PAST it on any doctor   over there it VCE take.VN out
        'No doctor over there succeeded in extracting it.'   SJCCF 275
        (*lit.*: 'Any doctor over there failed to extract it.')

An interesting subclass of such predicates are those which express reluctance on the part of an experiencer. These are among Karttunen's (1971) negative implica-

tives – 'they seem to incorporate negation' (Karttunen (1971: 352)) and license the inference that in the preference-worlds of their experiencers the eventuality described in their complement is not instantiated.[22] NPI's in English are licensed within the complements of such predicates, but not in the experiencer argument-position. In Irish they are in addition licensed in the experiencer argument-position. I emphasize the contrast between the two languages in this respect by offering for the examples in (80) literal English translations – which are ill-formed but, interestingly, understandable.[23]

(80) a. bhí   drogall   ar aon imreoir suí   leis   ag clár   na
      be.PAST reluctance on any player   sit.NON-FIN with.him at board the.GEN
      himeartha
      playing.GEN
      'any player was reluctant to sit with him at the gaming-table'

                                                                    SJCCF 337

   b. Bhí   leisce   ar aon duine tada   a   rá.
      be.PAST reluctance on any person anything VCE say.VN
      'Anyone was reluctant to say anything.'   LGN 96

Similarly, the predicate *cuma* ('matterless, insignificant') allows NPI's in its two argument-positions:

(81) a. Ba   chuma   liom   faoi   thada.
      COP.PAST matterless with.me about anything
      'I didn't care about anything.'   RNG 31-01-20

   b. is   cuma   le   ceachtar agaibh fá'n   duine eile
      COP.PRES matterless with either of.you about.the person other
      'Neither of you cares about the other.'   ATFS 425
      (*lit.* 'Either of you doesn't care about the other.')

The English facts here may be complicated by a language-particular oddity – a requirement that the licensing element precede the licensed NPI (Ladusaw (1979: 206-7)). It is also possible that the relevant arguments in Irish are internal and therefore within the scope of the (negative component of the) licensing predicate.

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[22]For a sophisticated and relevant discussion, see von Fintel (1999: 115-121).

[23]One might avoid this puzzle by taking the examples in (79), (80) and (81) to involve 'free choice' readings. But this move is unlikely to be tenable given that the licensing conditions for such readings are not satisfied in such cases. In addition, the possibilities shown in (79)-(81) hold only for predicates whose meaning in some sense includes a negative component (Klima (1964), Karttunen (1971), Kadmon & Landman (1993), von Fintel (1999)).

In the Restrictive Clause of a Universal Quantification Structure

The final licensing environment to be documented is once again a familiar one – the restrictive clause of a universal quantification structure.

The most frequent case of this type involves NPI's which have 'free choice' or quasi-universal readings. On this possibility (in English) see Horn (2000: 163). A relative clause attached to such an element acts as the restrictor for the universal quantification that it expresses and PSE's appear freely.

(82) a. éinne   go bhfuil aon chiall aige
        anyone C   be.PRES any sense at.him
        'anyone who has any sense'   G 11

    b. Fear ar bith a bhfuil fhios   aige   tada
        man any   C be.PRES knowledge at.him anything
        'any man who knows anything'   CNF 25

    c. Am ar bith a mbeadh a dhath   le rádh   aige   liom
        time any   C be.COND anything to say.VN at.him with.me
        'any time he had anything to say to me'   LCS 201

Unconditional clauses (which in Irish are marked by means of a distinctive WH-determiner *pé*, or *cibé*) similarly host PSE's:

(83)   pé   pingin a bhí   riamh acu
        whatever penny C be.PAST ever   at-them
        'whatever pennies they ever had'   AI 199

It is hardly a surprise, then, that PSE's are also licensed within relative clauses that restrict nominals headed by explicit universal quantifiers:

(84) a. timpeall ar chuile áit   a gceapfaidís   a mbeadh aon deis   ag
        around   on every place C think.COND.P3 C be.COND any opportunity at
        an ngail a bheith   ag   éalú
        the steam be.NON-FIN PROG escape.VN
        'around every place that they'd think there was any opportunity for the steam to escape'   SJCCF 266

    b. Gach neach a thug   cath éagórach riamh d' Fhionn
        every being C give.PAST battle unjust   ever   to
        'every being who ever joined battle unjustly with Fionn'   SNAF 226

Appendix Two – Sources of Examples

A: *Aileach*, Jackie Mac Donncha, Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2010

AA: *Athaoibhneas*, Pádhraic Óg Ó Conaire, Sáirséal agus Dill, 1959

AAG: *As an nGéibheann*, Máirtín Ó Cadhain, Sáirséal agus Dill, 1973

ABFS: *An Baile i bhFad Siar*, Domhnall Mac an tSíthigh, Coiscéim, 2000

ABHM: *Ábhar Machnaimh*, An tAthair Donncha Ó Corcora, Foilseacháin Náisiúnta
        Teoranta, 1985

ACED: *An Chuid Eile Díom Féin – Aistí le Máirtín Ó Direáin*, ed. Síobhra Aiken, Cló
        Iar-Chonnacht, 2018

AE: *An Eochair*, Máirtín Ó Cadhain, Dalkey Archive Press, 2015

AFAP: *An Fear a Phléasc*, Mícheál Ó Conghaile, Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 1997

AG: *An Gabhar Sa Teampall*, Mícheál Ua Ciarmhaic, Coiscéim, 1986

AGFC: *An Grá Faoi Cheilt*, Pádraig Ó Cíobháin, Coiscéim, 1992

AGMTS: *Ar Gach Maoilinn Tá Síocháin*, Pádraig Ó Cíobháin, Coiscéim, 1991

AG: *An Gabhar Sa Teampall*, Mícheál Ua Ciarmhaic, Coiscéim, 1986

AI: *Allagar na hInise*, Tomás Ó Criomhthain, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1977

AL: *Abair Leat*, Joe Daly, ed. Pádraig Tyers, An Sagart, 1999

AM: *An Mhíorbhail*, C.B Kelland, trans. Niall Mac Suibhne, Oifig Díolta
        Foillseacháin Rialtais, 1936

AN: *Athnuachan*, Máirtín Ó Cadhain, Coiscéim, 1995

ANNF: *Ar Nós na bhFáinleog*, Siobhán Ní Shúilleabháin, Coiscéim, 2004

APB: *An Prionsa Beag*, Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, trans. Eoghan Mac Giolla Bhríde,
        Éabhlóid, 2015

ATFS: *Ag Teacht Fríd an tSeagal*, Helen Mathers, trans. Seosamh Mac Grianna,
        An Gúm, 1932

ATIM: *An tIolrach Mór, Díoghluim Gearr-Sgéal*, Pádhraic Ó Domhnalláin, Brún
        agus Ó Nualláin, 1941

ATT: *An tSraith Tógtha*, Máirtín Ó Cadhain, Sáirséal agus Dill, 1977

BM: *Bullaí Mhártain*, Síle Ní Chéileachair agus Donncha Ó Céilleachair, Sáirséal
        agus Dill, 1969

BRD: *Bean Ruadh de Dhálach*, Séamus Ó Grianna, Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin
        Rialtais, 1966

BTFS: *An Blascaod Trí Fhuinneog na Scoile*, Nóra Ní Shéaghdha, ed. Pádraig Ó hÉalaí,
        An Sagart, 2015

C: *Clochmhóin*, Joe Steve Ó Neachtain, Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 1998

CA: *Cnuasacht Airneáin*, Colm Ó Ceallaigh, Coiscéim, 2006

CAA: *Conamara agus Árainn 1880–1890: Gnéithe den Stair Shóisialta*, Micheál
        Ó Conghaile, Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 1988

CAB: *Carraig an Bháis*, Colm Ó Ceallaigh, Coiscéim, 2007

CC: *Cruithneacht agus Ceannabháin*, Tomás Bairéad, Comhlucht Oideachais
        na hÉireann, 1940

CCT: *Camchuairt Chonamara Theas*, Tim Robinson, trans. Liam Mac Con Iomaire,
        Coiscéim, 2002

CDC: *Castar na Daoine ar a Chéile, Scríbhinní Mháire 1*, Séamus Ó Grianna, ed. Nollaig Mac Congail, Coiscéim, 2002

CF: *Cois Fharraige Le Mo Linnse*, Seán Ó Conghaile, Clódhanna Teoranta, 1974

CFC: *Céad Fáilte go Cléire*, ed. Marion Gunn, An Clóchomhar Tta, 1990

CG: *Ceol na nGiolcach*, Padhraic Óg Ó Conaire, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1968

CGC: *Caillte i gConamara, Scéalta Aniar*, ed. Brian Ó Conchubhair, Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2014

CHD: *Chicago Driver*, Maidhc Dainín Ó Sé, Coiscéim, 1992

CLM: *Cúl le Muir agus Scéalta Eile*, Séamus Ó Grianna, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1961

CNF: *Clann na Feannóige*, Colm Ó Ceallaigh, Coiscéim, 2004

COC: *Cora Cinniúna*, Séamus Ó Grianna, ed. Niall Ó Domhnaill, An Gúm, 1993

CTP: *Cuimhne an tSeanpháiste*, Micheál Breatnach, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1966

D: *An Draoidín*, Séamus Ó Grianna, Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais, 1959

DEAD: *Déirc an Díomhaointis*, Pádhraic Óg Ó Conaire, Sáirséal agus Dill, 1972

DGD: *Deoir Ghoirt an Deoraí*, Colm Ó Ceallaigh, Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 1993

DPB: *Dualgas Pheadair Bhig*, trans Séamus Ó Maolchathaigh, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1953

DR: *Dracula*, Bram Stoker, trans. Seán Ó Cuirrín, An Gúm, 1933/1997

EMPP   *Eachtraí Mara Phaidí Pheadair as Toraigh*, Séamus Mac a' Bhaird, ed. Aingeal Nic a' Bhaird, Caoimhín Mac a' Bhaird, Nollaig Mac Congail, Arlen House, 2019

FB: *Feamain Bhealtaine*, Máirtín Ó Direáin, An Clóchomhar Tta., 1961

FF: *Fonn na Fola*, Beairtle Ó Conaire, Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2005

G: *Greenhorn*, Maidhc Dainín Ó Sé, Coiscéim, 1997

GDDR: *Go dTaga do Ríocht, Boicíní Bhóthar Kilburn, Cripil Inis Meáin*, Mícheál Ó Conghaile, Cló Iarr-Chonnachta, 2009

GFH: *An Ghlan-fhírinne*, Cóil Learaí Ó Finneadha, Cló Iarr-Chonnacht, 2014

GOG: *Glórtha ón Ghorta: Béaloideas na Gaeilge agus an Gorta Mór*, Cathal Póirtéir, Coiscéim, 1996

GSA: *An Giorria San Aer*, Ger Ó Cíobháin, Coiscéim, 1992

IAE: *In Aimsir Emmet*, trans. Colm Ó Gaora, Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais, Dublin, 1937

IMSBRM: *Idir Mná: Scríbhneoirí Ban Ros Muc*, ed. Máire Holmes, Pléaráca Chonamara, 1995

INIT: *Idir Neamh is Talamh*, Joe Steve Ó Neachtain, Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2014

ISNB: *Iad Seo Nach Bhfaca*, Beairtle Ó Conaire, Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2010

LAN   *Leoithne Aniar*, ed. Pádraig Tyers, Cló Dhuibhne, Baile an Fhéiritéaraigh, 1982

LCS: *Le Clap-Sholus*, Séamas Ó Grianna, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1967

LGL: *Le Gealaigh*, Pádraig Ó Cíobháin, Coiscéim, 1991

LGN: *Le Gean agus scéalta eile*, Mike P. Ó Ó Conaola, Sián, 2020

LL: *Lámh Láidir*, Joe Steve Ó Neachtain, Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 2005

LOFRS: *Liam Ó Flaithearta - Rogha Scéalta*, trans. Micheál Ó Conghaile, Cló Iar-Chonnacht, 2020

LSC: *Lig Sinn i gCathú*, Breandán Ó hEithir, Sáirséal agus Dill, 1976

MABAT: *Mar a Bhí Ar dTús: Cuimhne Seanghasúir*, Joe Steve Ó Neachtain, Cló Iarr-Chonnacht, 2018

MO: *Muintir An Oileáin*, Peadar O'Donnell, trans. Seosamh Mac Grianna, Oifig Díolta Foilseachán Rialtais, 1936

NLAB: *Na Laetha a Bhí*, Eoghan Ó Domhnaill, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1968

OMGS: *Ó Mhuir go Sliabh*, Séamus Ó Grianna, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1961

OOGC: *Ó Oileán go Cuilleán*, Muiris Ó Súilleabháin, ed. Nuala Uí Aimhirgín, Coiscéim, 2000

OTA: *Ón tSeanam Anall, Scéalta Mhicí Bháin Uí Bheirn*, ed. Mícheál Mac Giolla Easbuic, Cló Iarr-Chonnachta, 2008

PAA: *Peacaí Ár nAthaireacha*, Mícheál Ó Súilleabháin, Coiscéim, 1992

PI: *Punt Isló*, Maidhc Dainín Ó Sé, Coiscéim, 2013

PNG: *Pobal na Gaeltachta*, ed. Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, Liam Lillis Ó Laoire, Seán Ua Súillebháin, Cló Iarr-Chonnachta, 2000

RNG: *Raidió na Gaeltachta* (numerical index refers to date of broadcast)

SIF: *Seanchas Iascaireachta agus Farraige*, Seán Ó hEochaidh, *Béaloideas* 33, 1965

SJCCF: *Seanchas Jimmí Chearra Chois Fharraige*, ed. Pádraic Ó Cearra, Coiscéim, 2010

SJSJ: *Seachrán Jeaic Sheáin Johnny*, Mícheál Ó Conghaile, Cló Iarr-Chonnacht, 2002

SK: *Sáile Chaomhánach*, C.J. Kickham, trans. Máirtín Ó Cadhain, An Gúm, 1932/1986

SMC: *Stairsheanchas Mhicil Chonraí – Ón Máimín go Ráth Chairn*, ed. Conchúr Ó Giollagáin, Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 1999

SNAF: *Seanchas na Féinne*, Niall Ó Dónaill, An Gúm, 1943/1996

SRNF: *Seanchas Rann na Feirste*, Maelsheachlainn Mac Cionaoith, 2006

SSOTC: *Síscéalta ó Thír Chonaill*, ed. Seán Ó Heochaidh, Máire Ní Néill and Séamas Ó Catháin, Comhairle Bhéaloideas Éireann, 1977

ST *An Sean-Teach*, Séamas Ó Grianna, Oifig an tSoláthair, 1968

TAIR: *Tairngreacht*, Proinsias Mac a' Bhaird, Leabhair Comhar, 2018

TII: *Tone Inné agus Inniu*, Máirtín Ó Cadhain, Coiscéim, 1992

TMGB: *Thiar sa Mhainistir atá an Ghaolainn Bhreá*, Brighid Ní Mhóráin, An Sagart, 1997

TUAIR: *Tuairisc*: online newspaper: https://tuairisc.ie (numerical index refers to date of publication)

UMI: *Uaill-Mhian Iúdaigh*, Roy Bridges, trans. Tadhg Ó Rabhartaigh, Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtais, 1936