



University of Bergamo

University of Pavia

School of Doctoral Studies

Doctoral Degree in Linguistic Sciences

XXXII Cycle

SSC: L-LIN/01

**Word Order and Information Structure
in Old Irish**

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Doctoral Thesis

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Academic Year 2018/2019

Word Order and Information Structure in Old Irish

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*hogoistiu .i. dobert goiste imma bragait fadesin
oidmarb huare nadndigni abisolón achomairli*

«by a noose, i.e. he put a noose around his
own neck and killed himself, because Absalom
did not follow his counsel»

Ms. 23^b10

.i. hiroín ón

«i.e. this is irony»

Ms. 114^a10

Acknowledgments

I would like to first thank my supervisor, Elisa Roma. Her help and guidance were essential to extricate myself from the difficulties raised by this work, by far beyond my capabilities. I also thank, for their insightful comments, my co-advisors: Giuliano Bernini, Pierluigi Cuzzolin and Silvia Luraghi. This thesis has remarkably benefited from my visit at the Utrecht University. My most sincere gratitude goes to Aaron Griffith for his thoughtful advice on every methodological as well as linguistic issue I have raised with him. I am also grateful to the reviewers of this thesis for their numerous and detailed suggestions upon an earlier version of this work.

This Ph.D. would not have been completed without the support of a few people around me. Among all these friends and colleagues, Eleonora Litta deserves special mention. I am particularly grateful to Alessio Salomoni, with whom I shared most of the key moments of this journey. In the end, my deepest thanks go to Federica Massia. I owe you everything I achieved.

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List of Abbreviations

- Adj *Adjective*
Adv *Adverbial adjunct*
AM *Audacht Morainn. Kelly, F. (ed. and tr.), Audacht Morainn, Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976.*
BDD *Togail Bruidne da Derga. Knott, E. Dublin, 1936.*
BT *The Book of Taliesin, J. Gwenogvryn Evans. Llanbedrog, 1910.*
C *Constituent*
CA *Canu Aneirin, Ifor Williams. Caedydd, 1938.*
CC *Copular Clauses*
CCC *Cleft Copular Clauses*
CGH *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae I, ed. M. A. O'Brien. Dublin. 1962.*
CS *Cleft Sentence(s)*
DB *Database*
DIL *Dictionary of the Irish Language*
EC *Extra-Clausal*
ECC *Extra-Clausal Constituent*
EMPH *Nota augens*
FOC *Focus*
FP *Clause-final position*
GMW *Simon Evans (1964).*
GOg *McManus (1991).*
GOI *Thurneysen (1946).*
I *With Infix*
IB *Immram Brain: Bran's Journey to the Land of the Women. Mac Mathúna, S., Buchreihe der Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie 2, Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1985.*
IC *Indirect Complement*
IC-LD *Left Dislocation of Indirect Complement(s)*
ICE-GB *British component of International Corpus of English*
IFX *Infix*
IMP *Impersonal constructions with fil*
IND *Indefinite*
(+INFIX) *Infixed non-object pronoun*
(+INFIX/SUFFIX.O) *Infixed/suffixed object pronoun*
INT *Interrogative*
IS *Information Structure*
LD *Left Dislocation*
LD- *Left-dislocated-*

- LD IC>S/O *Left Dislocation of Indirect Complement coreferential with S/O*
- LD NP>IC *see NP>IC LD*
- LDC *Left-Dislocated Constituent*
- LL *Book of Leinster*
- LU *Lebor na hUidre, ed. R. I. Best, O. Bergin, Dublin, D. I. A. S., 1929.*
- MA *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales (second edition). Denbigh, 1870.*
- ML *the Milan glosses (Thes. I, 7-483).*
- MG *see ML.*
- MWO *Marked Word Order(s)*
- NC *Nominal Clause(s)*
- NI *No Infix*
- NP>IC-LD *Left Dislocation of NP(s) coreferential with Indirect Complement(s)*
- NVMCC *Non-V-initial Marked Copular Clauses*
- O *Direct object*
- O-LD *Left Dislocation of Object(s)*
- O-RD *Right Dislocation of Object(s)*
- OCU *Oidheadh Chloinne hUisneach, ed. C. Mac Giolla Léith, I. T. S. Ivi, London 1993.*
- p-cleft *Pseudo-cleft*
- P1 *Clause-initial position*
- P2 *First position immediately after V*
- P3 *Second position immediately after V*
- PCS *Pseudo-Cleft Sentence(s)*
- (P)CS *(Pseudo)Cleft Sentence(s)*
- Pct/PCT *Percentage*
- PN *Tonic pronoun (subject)*
- Post-V *Post-verbal position*
- Post-V/FP *Topic or focus position in the clause (post-verbal position coincident with clause-final position)*
- Pre-V *Pre-verbal position*
- RD *Right Dislocation*
- RD- *Right-dislocated-*
- RDC *Right-Dislocated Constituent*
- RelC *Relative Clause*
- S *Subject*
- S-LD *Left Dislocation of Subject(s)*
- S-RD *Right Dislocation of Subject(s)*
- S.EMPH or *Emphatic subject*
(+EMPH.SUBJ)
- Sg. *the St. Gall. Glosses. (Thes, II, 49-244).*
- SNP *Predicate noun*
- Thes. *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, scholia, prose and verse. Stokes, W. and Strachan, J. C. U. P., 1901-1903.*
- TOP *Topic*
- UCC *Unmarked Copular Clauses*
- UWO *Unmarked Word Order(s)*

V	<i>Generic verb</i>
V ₁	<i>Verb-initial</i>
V ^(COP)	<i>Copula</i>
VMCC	<i>V-initial Marked Copular Clauses</i>
V ^(REL)	<i>Relative verb form</i>
WALS	<i>The World Atlas of Language Structures</i>
Wb.	<i>the Würzburg glosses (Thes. I, 499-712).</i>
WO	<i>Word Order</i>

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1. Introduction

Old Irish belongs to the Indo-European linguistic family, as an eminent member of the Celtic languages. A discussion on the internal structure of the Celtic sub-family goes beyond the scope of this dissertation (on that note, see e.g. Koch 1992, Schmidt 1993, McCone 1994). What is certain and relevant here is that Old Irish is the most prominent language of the Goidelic branch of so-called Insular Celtic due to both historical and literary reasons (see Ball and Müller 2013, but also Stifter 2006).

The history of Old Irish as a written language begins around the 5th century AD, even though until the 8th century contemporary documents are rather scarce.¹ The oldest documents in Goidelic we possess are around a couple hundred Ogham inscriptions (McManus 1991). Ogham inscriptions tell us some useful information on the oldest phases of the language especially in terms of phonology and morphology, even if they more or less adhere to formulaic sentence types similar to “(gravestone) of X son of Y” (GOg 51-2) (McCone 1994).

As a matter of fact, the first Goidelic texts written in Latin alphabet date back to the 7th century.² Such documents are however not sufficiently reliable to be informative on the features of the language due to their fragmentary nature. The first consistent attestations of Old Irish documents start to emerge during the 8th century. More or less, all these text fall under the genre of glosses, that is, interlinear and/or marginal notes on original Latin texts. There are three major collection of glosses: the Würzburg glosses (on Paoline Epistles; *Wb.*), the Milan glosses (on a treatise on Psalms; *MI*) and the St. Gall glosses (on Priscian’s Latin grammar; *Sg.*). These collections were treasured in Irish-founded monasteries all over Europe. In addition to glosses, a few marginal Old Irish poetry texts are attested in *MI* and *Sg.* manuscripts. Other prose texts belong to the *Codex Sancti Pauli* (9th century). As for prose texts, in the *Additamenta* to the *Leabhar Ard Mhacha* (9th century) a small number of Old Irish narrations occur as well. All the Old Irish documents attested between the 8th and 9th centuries were translated and published in the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*.

¹ The oldest phases of Irish can be periodised as follows: Archaic Goidelic (up to 5th-6th centuries AD), Pre-Old Irish (7th century AD), (Classic) Old Irish (8th-9th centuries AD), Middle Irish (from 10th century AD) (McCone 1994 and Greene 1977).

² Proper names in Saints’ lives written in Latin, about four dozens of *prima manus* Würzburg glosses, the Cambrai Homily (GOI §9).

Some texts possibly composed in the Old Irish period survived in manuscripts belonging to the Middle Irish phase (ab. 12th century). Nevertheless, in those cases the scribes emended the Old Irish language with Middle/Early Modern Irish forms or spellings. This makes such texts rather unreliable to study the peculiarities of the older phase of the language.

1.1 Word Order in Old Irish: the reconstructive point of view

Perhaps because of this scarceness of coeval documents, Old Irish syntax is quite an unstudied topic:

«One area of Old Irish grammar which has been rather neglected is syntax» (McCone 1996: 18).

Actually, a flourishing literature exists on Old Irish basic word order and its origins. A detailed review of literature concerning the origin of Old Irish word order goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. I will, however, give a summary of the most prominent positions concerning the reconstructive perspective on Old Irish syntax.

According to Fife and Poppe (1991), the Insular branch of Celtic languages clearly shows a verb-initial word order. This is confirmed by diachronic data provided by the two major exponents of both Goidelic and Brittonic languages, that is, Irish and Welsh. Since the earliest extant documents of Old Irish (7th-9th centuries), Irish has been a solid VSO language. However, VSO is not the only word order attested, even though it appears to be by far the most frequent and basic. A similar point could be made for Welsh: with the notable exception of Middle Welsh (12th-14th/15th centuries), both Old Welsh (8th-12th centuries) and Modern Welsh (from the 15th century up to now) consistently display a verb-initial basic word order.

Nonetheless, a number of scholars cast doubt on this reconstruction. More specifically, they either posited a non-attested (or barely attested) original verb-final word order for Celtic languages (e.g. McCone 1979, 1985; Watkins 1963, 1969) or refused firmly the verb-initial basic word order even for Celtic languages' well-documented phases (e.g. Koch 1987, 1991). This paved the way for an intense debate.³

In 1964, Watkins pointed out some equivalences in syntax between Vedic, Hittite, Latin, Greek and Old Irish. The author aimed at analysing the relative position of four basic items which in his view constitute the bedrock of Indo-European verb phrase structure: the sentence connective (N), the pronominal enclitic element (E), the preverb (P) and the (finite) verb (V).

³ In the following pages I will summarise the main positions attested in the literature concerning Old Irish syntax in diachrony. Due to limits of space and given the synchronic perspective on syntax I will follow in this thesis, the list should not be considered exhaustive. For further references, see Budassi (2018) and Budassi and Roma (2018).

Watkins' considerations concerning basic word order in Indo-European languages are the cornerstone of the approach that views the original unmarked pattern of constituents in the Insular branch of Celtic languages as verb-final. In classical Old Irish, verbs seem to be in sentence-initial position. This is true for both simple and compound verbs. E are unstressed forms, which occur suffixed after simple verbs and infixed between P and V in case of compounds. Hence, E is always bound to Wackernagel's position. Even the relative position of N and E is consistent with other Indo-European languages. What is, thus, the relationship between syntactic patterns attested in Old Irish and those mentioned for other Indo-European languages? In order to answer this question, the so-called "Bergin's Law" and tmesis must be taken into account. Tmesis displays a behaviour which seems common to other Indo-European languages, such as Vedic or Hittite: P(E) is in sentence-initial position, while the verb is in sentence-final position. In Bergin's construction, on the other hand, simple and compound verbs occupy the sentence-final position. As a result, sentence patterns attested in Old Irish are those presented in Table 1.⁴

Formula	Simple V/Compound V	Examples from the Laws
#V(E)...#	SV	<i>rethit huili</i> (Wb. 11 ^a 4)
#. (E)...V#	SV	<i>cach n-étag tlachto do sellaib súile saigethar</i> (AM §26)
#P(E)...V#	CV	<i>ath- (mór)cathu fri crícha connámat -cuirethar</i> (AM §15)
#. (E)...PV#	CV	<i>mortlithi (mórslóg no) márlóchet di doínib dingbatar</i> (AM §15)

Table 1. Old Irish data from Watkins (1964).

The same approach is followed by McCone (1979, 1982, 1985, 1986, 2006). In McCone's view, even though verb-initial word order existed as a possibility in Indo-European, its presence is generally stylistically conditioned. The unmarked member of the syntactic opposition (SOV vs. VSO) was SOV. Indeed, if VSO were the unmarked order, Insular Celtic would be the only Indo-European sub-group displaying the verb in sentence-initial position, without the chance to oppose this syntactic pattern to sentences in which the verb's position was final.⁵

⁴ As for Irish, *nó* is treated as a member of the class P; the relative particle **-yó* is treated as a member of the class E.

⁵ In Watkins' account (1964), in Classical Old Irish the marked variant of verb-initial sentences are the emphasising sentences introduced by the copula. Their pattern is copula-noun/noun phrase-verb (e.g. *mad ar leg pridcha-sa*, Wb. 10^d 23).

According to Watkins, in Old Irish the relative position of P, E and V is fairly constant: when there is no P, V is in initial position (absolute endings) and it may be followed by E; when P is present, P is in initial position, followed by E (if E is present), possibly by other preverbs and by V (conjunct endings). These two patterns are:

- #V(E)...# (absolute endings)
- #P₁(E)(P₂...)V...# (conjunct endings)

Nevertheless, in Old Irish there are other orders of P, V and E, which are commonly referred to as tmesis and Bergin's law.⁶ According to Bergin (1938), both tmesis and Bergin's construction are survivals from a phase of Old Irish in which the usual position of the verb used to be sentence-final, as it was clearly shown by an analysis of the early Laws. Furthermore, Stokes (1895) in his *Martyrology of Gorman's* preface noted that occasionally the noun occurs before the governing verb. In his view, this would be a relict of Early Irish syntax. Even though the *Martyrology of Gorman* is not indicative for studying syntax, Bergin claimed that verbs in sentence-final position are commoner than Stokes recognised.

The same perspective is shared by Watkins (1963): tmesis and Bergin's construction are older than the classical Old Irish pattern P(E)V in sentence-initial position. Interestingly, Watkins recognises a consistent presence of alliteration between sentence-final verbs and the preceding words. In his perspective, thus, tmesis and Bergin's construction would have been preserved as conscious stylistic archaisms and features of poetic language. This reconstruction cannot be accepted indisputably, since it is not clear why tmesis and Bergin's construction have to be considered exclusively preserved in poetry as archaisms instead of poetic features *per se*. Moreover, Watkins claims that both tmesis and Bergin's construction have the sentence-final position of verb in common, though this does not correspond to Bergin's (1938) original formulation of Bergin's law, as mentioned above.

⁶ Tmesis is a construction in which the first preverb of a compound verb stands at the head of the clause, whereas the remainder part of the verb is in sentence-final position. When an infix object pronoun also occurs, it immediately follows the preverb (#P₁(E)...(P₂...)V#). Bergin's law was described for the first time by Bergin (1938). In Watkins' article (1963) Bergin's law is described, following Thurneysen (1946), in these terms: «simple and compound verbs may be placed at the end of their clause; the former then have conjunct flexion, the latter prototonic forms» (Thurneysen 1946: 327; Watkins 1963: 32). Nonetheless, Bergin's original formulation was slightly different: «when the verb does not stand at the head of its clause, particularly when it follows its subject or object, it takes the dependent form, that is, a simple verb has the conjunct ending and a compound verb is prototonic» (Bergin 1938: 197). In Thurneysen's and Watkins' formulation, in Bergin's construction the verb must be placed in sentence-final position. In Bergin's original formulation, on the other hand, this is not specified. What is certain is that restrictions on the appearance of Bergin's construction are greater than those for tmesis, given that pronominal objects cannot occur and such constructions are mandatorily non-relative.

Considering the treatment of simple and compound verbs, Watkins identifies for Old Irish the four sentence patterns already presented in Table 1 (that is, #V(E)...#; #.E...(V)#; #P(E)...V#; #.(E)...PV#). In this perspective, the Old Irish verb-initial sentence type (#V(E)...#) would be an inheritance from the Indo-European semantically marked verb-initial sentence type. According to Watkins, the position of Indo-European accent has not left any trace in Old Irish. Indeed, in Old Irish only a demarcative stress on the first syllable of the word is detectable. This would be clearly reflected by Bergin's construction, where sentence-final PV behaves as an accentual unit and as a single word, with univerbation of P and V (#...`PV#). Contrarily, in tmesis, univerbation has not taken place; hence V is a regularly accented separated word and initial P is presumably stressed in the same way (#`P(E)...`V#).

The Old Irish syntactic pattern #P(E)`V...# apparently shows an aberrant accentuation, given that P and V are juxtaposed but not univerbated. It has to be underlined that Watkins provides an explanation to the accentuation of this pattern which aims at accounting for both the aberrant stress and the initial position of #P(E)V...#: they would be due to univerbation of the tmesis type #P(E)...V#. The accented verb in type #P(E)`V...# implies that V was a separate word at the time of the stress fixation in Old Irish. Subsequently, P and V juxtaposed (#`P(E)...`V# > #P(E)`V...#). Since enclitic E was immobile in Wackernagel's position and P in sentence-initial position was likewise bound (its presence was necessary to support E), V moved because it was the only form free to do so. Before the univerbation, PE and V were independent units; however, univerbation resulted in a sort of «accentual hierarchy» (Watkins 1963: 40), in which the V accent was dominant. Therefore, in #P(E)V...# sentences, V has primary stress, P has secondary stress, while E is unstressed (e.g. #`*wo...`kerdet# > #`*wo=kerdet...# > #*wo=kerdet...# > #fo-ceird...#, McCone 1979). The lateness of univerbation is proved on the one hand by the retaining of accent on the verbal stem (as a consequence, univerbation has to be a development which followed the stress fixation in Old Irish), on the other hand by the absence of mutation of V by a preceding P. According to Watkins, this “juncture” between P and V which prevents mutation has to be considered as a «zero-infix» E (Watkins 1963: 40). This new type #P(E)V...# would have replaced tmesis type and Bergin's construction type, as it was more adaptable, in that it could support pronouns and enclitics, including that relative particle which Bergin's construction could not accommodate. Thus, the initial position of simple verbs (inherited from Indo-European, even if as a marked variant) replaced final position of simple verbs as the unmarked type. In Watkins' view, thus, it is the simple verb which follows the compound.

A similar position is endorsed by McCone (1979). The scholar takes Old Irish basic word order into account while endeavouring to explain a few anomalous mutation patterns (after preverbs *do*, *ro* and *fó*) and absolute verbal endings. The starting point is Watkins' (1963, 1964) explanation of stress patterns of Old Irish deuterotonic compound verbs analysed

above. McCone adds a new sentence type to those sketched by Watkins, that is, #C(E)...(P)V# (1):⁷

- (1) *no-m- choimmdiu -coíma*
 PV+1S Lord cherish.PRES.SUBJ.3S
 «the Lord cherishes me» (Thes. II, 290, 11).

McCone completely agrees with Watkins' theory concerning accentuation and distribution of deuterotonic compound verbs as well as sentence-initial verbal complex. The only thing McCone does not accept is the “zero infix” preventing mutation of the initial of V after a preverb, since it does not solve the problem of contrary mutation patterns after the portion of verbal complex, which originally was at the head of the sentence in tmesis in cases as (2) and (3).

- (2) #*`wo...`kerdet# > #*`wo=`kerdet...# > #*wo=`kerdet...# > #fo-ceird...# (McCone 1979).
 (3) #*`wo-me...`kerdet# > #*`wo-`ve=`xerdet...# > #*wo-`ve=`xerdet...# > #fom-cheird...# (McCone 1979).

In Indo-European enclitics could be attached to any initial constituent of the sentence. However, in Insular Celtic they are attached only to parts of the verbal complex, that is, verbs, preverbs or conjunct particles. According to McCone, this fact would only in part be due to sentence-initial position of the verbal complex, given that there are cases of non-initial verbs incompatible with enclitics (e.g. Bergin's construction).⁸ Thus, the generalisation of the verb at the beginning of the sentence must follow chronologically the rule limiting the constituents after which an enclitic could take place.

Nonetheless, McCone generally supports Watkins' theory of Old Irish basic word order, according to which univerbation and constraints upon the position of the enclitics must have caused the general VSO order in Insular Celtic. Thus, the Indo-European system of sentence types shifted in the Insular Celtic system, as displayed in Table 2.

Indo-European sentence type	Marked/Unmarked	Insular Celtic sentence type	(Marked/Unmarked)
#.(E)...V#	Unmarked	#...V#	(Unmarked)
		#VE...#	(Unmarked)

⁷ C stands for an empty preverb, such as *no-*.

⁸ In this respect, the Old Irish sentence types #.(E)...V# and #.(E)...PV# presented in Table 1 must be formulated as #...V# and #...PV# respectively.

#V(E)...#	Marked	#V(E)...#	(Marked)
#.(E)...P(P ₂)V#	Unmarked	#...P(P ₂)V#	(Unmarked)
		#PE...(P ₂)V#	(Unmarked)
#P(E)...(P ₂)V#	Marked	#P(E)...(P ₂)V#	(Marked)
#C(E)...(P)V#	Unmarked	#C(E)...(P)V#	(Unmarked)

Table 2. Data adapted from McCone (1979).⁹

After the stage shown in Table 2, the univerbation described by Watkins may be assumed to have operated, so that #`P(E)...`(P₂)V# > #PE`(P₂)V...# and #`C(E)...`(P)V# > #C(E)`PV...#. Intriguingly, according to McCone in Old Irish the alternation #...V# ~ #VE...# and #...P(P₂)V# ~ #PE`(P₂)V...# (<#`P(E)...`(P₂)V#) no longer correlates with the opposition unmarked ~ marked. Instead, types #...V# and #...P(P₂)V# occur when no enclitic is present, whereas types #VE...# and #PE`(P₂)V...# are automatically conditioned by the presence of an enclitic. Univerbation applied only to tmesis sentence types and its direct consequence was an increase of clause initial verbs. Hence, given the need to keep enclitics in second position, the only possibility to uniform the position of the verb in the sentence was replacing types #...V# and #...P(P₂)V# with sentence-initial verb types.

A completely different point of view is Koch's (1985, 1987, 1991), which in certain aspects follows Lewis' (1942) footsteps. Koch agrees with Bergin, Watkins and McCone regarding VSO order in Old Irish and Old Welsh prose to be a recent development, but in his account the Insular Celtic basic word order was likely to be verb-second. Firstly, it is worth-mentioning that in Continental Celtic VSO examples are extremely rare or even non-existent. The favourite order in Gaulish is indeed reconstructed by Koch as verb-second (4):

- (4) *Uebrumāros dede Taranū bratū decantem*
 Uebrumaros.NOM gave Taranu.DAT gratitude.DAT tithe.ACC
 «U. gave T. a tithe in gratitude» (Koch 1991).

⁹ McCone suggests that, during the Insular Celtic period, the basic device for marking constituents in Indo-European (i.e. placing them at the beginning of the sentence) lost its value, since the constraints on the position of enclitics has probably severely dislocated the Indo-European system. The fourth column in Table 2, that is "(Marked/Unmarked)", aims at showing the loss of this possibility of marking. For instance, the first Indo-European sentence type (#.(E)...V#, Unmarked) initiate two different patterns in Insular Celtic, namely #...V# and #VE...#. In theory, both of them should reflect the unmarked Indo-European type ("(Unmarked)"). However, the former shows the verb in sentence-final position, while the latter in sentence-initial position. In this way, in Insular Celtic, the fronting of constituents in sentence-initial position as a marking device becomes impossible.

Secondly, in Old Welsh poetry, verb-medial and verb-final orders constitute a remarkable portion of the total (5).

- (5) *Alexander keffei llawer nifer y wyr*
 Alexander get.IPF.3S great number his man.PL
 «Alexander was wont to get great numbers of his men» BT 53.19-20.

Cases with sentence-initial absolute verbs are considered sufficiently infrequent to be regarded as stylistically marked variants, carrying special emotive force (6).

- (6) *Seinnyessyt e gledyf ym penn mameu*
 resound.PRET.3S his sword in head mother.PL
 «his sword resounded in the heads of mothers» CA 325[A].

The widespread presence in the Cynfeirdd of preposed genitives followed by verbs (7) and SVO sentences, thus, would suggest that Brittonic had been a verb-second language.¹⁰ On the rise of V2 in Old Welsh, see what pointed out by Willis (1998, esp. pp. 97 and ff.) and –more recently– by Meelen (2018). According to both scholars, Old Welsh V2 word order had already arisen in Late-Proto-British, from Early-Proto-British V1 (and hence Insular Celtic V1).

- (7) *Mab Botgat gwnaeth gwynnyeith gwreith e law*
 son Botgat make.PRET.3S vengeance deed his hand
 «B.'s son, the deeds of whose hand wrought vengeance» CA 60-61[A].

Lastly, taking Old Irish into account, Koch highlights how Indo-Europeanists overlooked that quite often both tmesis and Bergin's construction have medial verbs, rather than final. For instance, in the Leinster genealogical poems, verb-medial Bergin's constructions frequently appear (8):

- (8) *Mac rig fallnar for tūathaib*
 son king.GEN rule.PRES.IND.3S over tribe.PL
 «the son of a king rules over tribes» (CGH 98).

¹⁰ Actually, the sentence *Mab Botgat gwnaeth gwynnyeith gwreith e law* may be interpreted differently. Koch marks *Mab Botgat* as a genitive ("of Bodgad's son"). However, according to Mac Cana (1991), *Mab Botgat* is likely to be simply a nominative ("the son of Bodgad"), so that we would have a topicalised NP in sentence-initial position, followed by a relative clause built on the genitive ("B.'s son, the deeds of whose hand wrought vengeance").

All these elements considered, in Koch's perspective there is evidence for hypothesising a stage of the language, previous to the VSO phase, in which absolute verb-initial sentences such as Brittonic # **trancīti wolouton#* (> *trengh[id]golud*, "wealth perishes", MA 859) used to be a stylistically marked alternative to a neutral order # **wolouton trancīt#*. This would be proved by Old Welsh proverbs, such as (9), in which the sense of the absolute verbal form is thrown into relief. According to Koch (1991: 4), «the sense [of the first colon of the proverb in (9)] is not the purely neutral "wealth perishes", or subj[ect]-emphatic "it is wealth that perishes", but more nearly "perishing is what wealth does"».

- (9) *Trenghit golut ny threingk molut*
 perish.PRES.IND.3S wealth NEG perish.PRES.IND.3S fame
 «wealth perishes, fame perishes not» (GMW §129.d.1).

Despite verb-final and verb-medial theories, a considerable number of scholars retain that Insular Celtic was originally verb-initial. An interesting point of view on why the verb ought to be reconstructed in sentence-initial position is Isaac's (1993) typological reflection concerning Watkins and McCone's model. As seen above, in Watkins' and McCone's perspective, Insular Celtic used to be a SOV language, even though a wide range of other orders were possible. In Isaac's account, the first question to be answered in this scenario is whether a language with the syntactic characteristics described by Watkins and McCone could have allowed all the morphophonological developments necessary to originate the attested Insular Celtic languages or not. Venneman's (1974) hypothesis, based on a typological analysis, endeavours to offer a solution: Insular Celtic verb-final word order changed in Insular Celtic languages' verb-initial word order because of the elimination of the case system, in order to avoid ambiguity. This analysis has been confuted by Li and Thompson (1974: 212):

«It is much more likely that the phonological obliteration occurs as a result rather than a cause of the degeneration of case system».

On the basis of inherited patterns of the attested Insular Celtic languages it is possible to reconstruct some other constituent orders, that is, prepositions (and not postpositions), numerals before nouns, demonstratives before nouns, adjectives after nouns (but also before nouns), genitives after nouns, relative clauses after nouns (PREP & NumN & DemN & (AN)/NA & NG & NRel) (Hawkins, 1983). Insular Celtic languages may be said to have prepositions because there are cases of old phrases the mutation patterns of which guarantee they used to have prepositions. For instance, Welsh *erbyn* is the lexicalised cognate of Old Irish *ar chiunn* ("facing"). Both of them derive from **are kwennū*. Numerals precede nouns

irrefutably (e.g. Old Irish *secht mbráithir*, “seven brothers”; Middle Welsh *seith mroder*, “seven brothers”; cfr. ogam TRIA MAQQA). Both Irish and Welsh display demonstratives in *s postposed (e.g. Old Irish *in lebor-sin*, “this book”; Welsh *y llyfr hwnnw*, “this book”). However, the differences between Irish indeclinable forms and Welsh inflected forms mean that these are likely to be independent innovations in the two branches of Insular Celtic. According to Thurneysen (1946), it is possible that the articles of both Irish and Welsh derive from preposed s-demonstratives, so that Old Irish genitive singular/nominative plural *ind fír* (“of the man/the men”) comes from **sindī wirī*, and Welsh *y fyddyn* (“of the army”) from **sindā budinā*. Adjectives follow nouns quite clearly (Old Irish *lám thiug*, “strong hand”; Old Welsh *llaw dew*, “strong hand”). Nonetheless, both branches show certain adjectives preposed in composition (Old Irish *fír-aingliu*, “true angel”; Old Welsh *gwir grefydd*, “true religion”). The order noun-genitive is very well-attested (Old Irish *bess ind liacc*, “habit of the pillar-stone”; Welsh *lliw gwallt merch*, “the hair-colour of the girl”). Lastly, relativisation underwent different developments in Irish and Welsh, but it is anyhow possible to identify inherited patterns in the older languages, such as the relative form of the copula (Old Irish *aní [...]* as *chotarsne*, “what is contrary” Old Welsh *ir .e. hinnuith issid diguedham oll*, “that e which is last of all”).

Given all these remarks, Isaac (1993) tries to answer two crucial questions. The first one is: are all those constituent orders consistent with a SOV language (as Watkins and McCone’s Insular Celtic was supposed to be)? Furthermore, according to Watkins’ and McCone’s models, Insular Celtic used to be characterised by a mobile sentence structure, albeit the reconstruction of all the above-shown constituent orders requires great stability within phrases (so that initial mutations could be grammaticalised); but are mobile sentence structure and stable constituent order compatible with each other?

The answer to the first question is not trivial. Isaac’s (1993) reasoning develops as follows. Firstly, the correspondence between the constituent orders displayed by Insular Celtic and a verb-final language appears problematic. Isaac takes into account, on this matter, a few Greenbergian word order correlations, even though certain scholars (see e.g. Dryer 1992, 2011) have shown a number of them to be false, or at least not significantly correlated. According to Greenberg’s (1966) universal 4, indeed, it is statistically very unlikely that SOV languages are prepositional. Moreover, universal 41 states that if a language has a verb-final word order, that language has (at least) a case system. Thus, if the Insular Celtic case system was abandoned by Brittonic before the apocope (as it seems probable), Brittonic must have passed through a stage identified by the universal as highly unlikely. A third relevant point concerns the relative position of adjectives and nouns (mainly NA in Insular Celtic with a few AN cases) in parallel to the relative position of nouns and genitives (NG in Insular Celtic). Hawkins (1983) analysed a sample of 336 languages, in which there were no examples of SOV languages with adjectives preceding nouns and genitives following nouns (*SOV & AN &

NG).¹¹ Even if Hawkins's results are difficult to interpret and not clear-cut (Payne 1985), there is substantial statistical evidence against Insular Celtic being SOV from a typological point of view.

In Isaac's (1993) view, it is highly unlikely that a mobile sentence structure is compatible with a stable constituent order. It is not easy to comprehend why the case system should have been abandoned in Brittonic when a flexible word order would appear to demand a clear morphological marking of the functions of constituents. Thus, given that Insular Celtic languages have a fully grammaticalised mutation system, given that they display shared and stable constituent orders, and given that Brittonic has lost the case system, Watkins and McCone's model of univerbation appears unsatisfactory.

The onset of this third perspective concerning basic word order in the Insular branch of Celtic languages (that is, VSO) goes back to Dillon (1947). In Old Irish, an object pronoun may happen to be affixed to a simple verb and must be infixes after a conjunct particle or a preverb, so that for example *berid* ("he carries") results in *beirthius* or *no-s-mbeir* ("he carries them") (on the alternation of suffixed and infixes pronouns, see more specifically Cowgill 1987). Similarly, Dillon maintains that it is possible to recognise a subject pronoun affixed to simple verbal forms in cases such as *berid* (< **beret is*) and a subject pronoun infixes in compound verbal forms in cases such as *du-bbeir* (< **to-(i)s-beret*). Intriguingly, this (*i*)*s* particle contains the same *s* which Thurneysen (1907) had supposed was infixes in all compound verbs (though Thurneysen thought that *s* came from the copula **est*) and that Strachan (1907) had recognised in Welsh compound verbs. In this perspective, both simple verbs and compound verbs would tend to be forced in sentence-initial position by Wackernagel's law, as they contain enclitic pronouns (see Vendryes 1912).

A remarkable contribution to this theory, furthermore, comes from Carney (1978). The scholar takes Bergin's construction into account, aiming at showing that Watkins' theory concerning Insular Celtic verbs (that is, that they were originally placed in sentence-final position) is problematic. The source of evidence Carney employs are the so-called Leinster poems, a group of poems in stressed metres and stanzaic form, found in the Leinster genealogies. They date back to the sixth or the early seventh century and they consist of over 600 lines. The Leinster poems display a considerable amount of instances of Bergin's constructions (although there are no cases of tmesis). The reason of the choice of these texts lies in Wagner (1967) and Greene's (1977) rejection of Bergin's law, which was due to the fact that examples of Bergin's construction were always drawn from highly stylised and artificial texts or quasi-metrical legal *formulae*. Hence, Carney considers the case of the Leinster poems because, though not lacking in art, they are not artificial. The Leinster poems were conceived

¹¹ Remarkably, Hawkins found 10 cases of SOV & NA & NG against 38 of VSO & NA & NG, 13 of VSO & AN & NG, 56 of SVO & NA & NG and 17 of SVO & AN & NG.

to be immediately understood by their public, and their language was likely to be similar to everyday spoken language; indeed, metrical boundaries are often ignored, and sense may happen to cross the limits of the *caesura*, the line or the stanza. According to Carney, for example, the poem *Énna Labraid luad cáich* is «nothing more than a mnemonic jingle from which the students could learn the pedigree of the Leinster kings [...]» (Carney 1978: 432).

In short, in Carney's view, Wagner (1967) and Greene's (1977) rejection of Bergin (1938) and Watkins' (1963, 1969) claim that Bergin's constructions are proofs of the original sentence-final position of the Insular Celtic verb is correct. Indeed, only a small number of cases in the Leinster Poems exhibit the verb in final position.¹²

1.2 Word Order in Old Irish: the synchronic point of view

Although extremely inspiring, all the works shown in the previous section tell us nothing concerning Old Irish syntax synchronically. Following Isaac (2003),

«I am drawing a distinction here between comparative historical work of that sort and work which has at his aim the elucidation of Old Irish syntax itself (that is, not its origins). I mean studies concerned with understanding how Old Irish sentences mean what they do mean, regardless of what equivalent utterances may have sounded like in a reconstructed past» (Isaac 2003: 182).

Exhaustive examinations on the syntax of the language not under a reconstructive/comparative perspective are rare in the case of Irish. This constitutes the main motivation of this work.

Regardless of how Old Irish (or Insular Celtic at large) came up to generalise it, Old Irish is a solid VSO language. In addition to the basic VSO order, however, Old Irish displays a considerable number of other possible constituent orders.¹³ “Movements” of constituents are not only allowed but also extremely frequent (Mac Coisdealbha 1998).¹⁴

Old Irish constituents can move rightward and leftward. According to Stifter (2013), the rightward “movement” of constituents is mainly due to discourse-pragmatic reasons: the constituents consisting of more than two parts are shifted to the right edge of the clause if the

¹² These are generally instances in which the verb includes the subject: *maicni nAilb áirmi*, “you reckon the sons of Alb”.

¹³ In the number of these non-VSO orders Bergin's construction and tmesis will not be considered here.

¹⁴ “Movement” is put in inverted commas because it is an ambiguous term. Indeed, in the matter of constituent order, “movement” assumes a very specific meaning which is linked with the generative perspective of syntax. This is not the sense in which “movement” has to be intended here. Every time that “movements” of constituents will be mentioned, they will have to be considered “relocations” of constituents linked with the information structure of the sentence.

successive constituent is considerably shorter in order to keep the structure of the sentence transparent (10).¹⁵

- (10) [*ní* *foircnea*]_v [*in* *finí*]_o
 NEG put-an-end.PRES.IND.3S ART.ACC.S vine.ACC.S
 [*ithe* *neich* *di* *anúas*]_s
 eat.VN indef.N.GEN.S of+3S.F from-above
 «eating something of it from above does not put an end to a vine» (ML. 102^a15).

For Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980), a nominal subject/object is removed from its normal syntactic position and placed at the end of the sentence also when it is qualified by a relative clause (11):

- (11) *Doberat* *do* *réir* *duit*
 give.FUT.3PL POSS.2S will.ACC to+2S
in *lucht* *maidfit* *maidm* *fort*
 DET.NOM people.NOM route.FUT.3PL route.VN for+2S
 «The people who will route you will give you what you demand» (LU 9615).

In this work, it will be clarified how rightward “movements” of constituents should be intended as twofold: on the one hand, they could be instances of right-dislocations (see Chapter 5), on the other hand, they could be due to marked variants of basic word orders (see Chapter 4).

As for leftward-moved constituents, they have been deeply analysed by Mac Cana (1973). Sentence types with initial subject or object are shown to be marked by comparative evidence from Irish and Welsh. The most common type of leftward “movement” is the so-called cleft sentence,¹⁶ that is, a syntactic construction in which the fronted phrase is introduced by an appropriate form of the copula and the rest of the sentence follows in a relative construction (12).

- (12) *is* *óenfer* *gaibes* *búaid*
 be.PRES.IND.3S one-man take.PRES.IND.3S.REL victory.ACC
diib

¹⁵ This reflects Behaghel’s “fourth law” of word order (Behaghel 1932).

¹⁶ In theory, cleft sentences do not display a non-VSO order, as the copula (V) is followed by its subject (S). Nevertheless, I will consider here cleft sentences as displaying a non-basic order since they are “marked” variants of plain declarative VSO clauses.

from+3PL

«it is one man of them who takes victory» (Wb. 11^a 4).

Cleft sentences and pseudo-cleft sentences will be taken into consideration in a specific chapter within this work (Chapter 6).

A further typology of leftward “movement” is the so-called *nominativus pendens*, in which the fronted phrase is placed in the nominative case, without being introduced by the copula, and the remaining part of the sentence follows in a non-relative construction.¹⁷ The fronted phrase is resumed by a pronominal element (13).

- (13) *cluiche* *n-aímin* *inmeldach*
 game.NOM.S NAS-delightful delightful
agtaít [...] *fír* *ocus* *mná*
 play.PRES.IND.3PL+OBJ3S.M [...] man.NOM.PL and woman.NOM.PL
 «a pleasant and delightful game, men and women play it» (IB 41).

Instances of *nominativus pendens* will be particularly examined in this thesis. They will be treated as sentences featuring extra-clausal constituents, and analysed in Chapter 5.

In addition to the above-shown syntactic structures, Mac Cana (1991) has also drawn attention to a further pattern relevant to the oldest phases of Irish. It can be found in (14):

- (14) *rí* *amra* *roboí* *for*
 king.NOM.S extraordinary.NOM.S be.PRET.3S over
Laignib *.i.* *Rónán* *mac* *Aeda*
 Leinsterman.DAT.PL id-est R.NOM son.NOM.S Aed.GEN
 «there was an extraordinary king over the Leinstermen, Rónán son of Aed» (Mac Cana, 1991: 71).

This example reflects the common practice among Irish (as well as Welsh) storytellers to open their tales inverting the normal VSO order. Similar constructions will be treated in Chapter 4, classified as instances of leftward rhematisation.

As argued in Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980), in Old Irish there is a considerable body of non-VSO sentences which does not fall into the above-described well-defined categories. He

¹⁷ Actually, whether the *nominativus pendens* has to be considered an instance of fronting is a matter for discussion (see Section 5.2.1.1). The sentence-initial constituent in the nominative case occurs outside the clause boundaries. This construction can thus be intended as a dislocation. In any event, the *nominativus pendens* is relevant here as it displays a non-basic order of constituents.

observed that subjects and objects may be placed at the end of the sentence for structural and contextual reasons, that is, when:

- a. they are modified by relative clauses;
- b. they are ‘comparatively long’ (Heavy NPs);
- c. they function as Verbal Noun Phrases;
- d. doing so imparts a ‘heightened’ feeling to the sentence (i.e. ‘emphasis’);
- e. two consecutive actions are contrasted with each other;
- f. they represent previously known information that is reintroduced into the discourse after a lengthy break or (in)direct speech (change of focus).¹⁸

Furthermore, according to Mac Giolla Easpaig subjects may be final due to contextual factors, as in (15):

(15)	<i>ni</i>	<i>marba</i>	<i>eónu</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>mac</i>	<i>sin</i>
	NEG	kill.SUBJ.PRES.3S	bird.ACC.PL	ART.NOM.S	son.NOM.S	DEM
	7	<i>bid</i>	<i>Conaire</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ainm</i>	
	and	be.FUT.3S	C.	POSS.3S.M	name.NOM.S	
	«that son may not kill birds and his name will be Conaire» (BDD, 94).					

In this case, the emphasis seems not primarily on the displaced word, but it is rather borne by the sentence as a whole. The emphatic shifts can be understood on the basis of the previous context («They are coming from the king to destroy your house and to take you to him by force and you will be pregnant by me and you will bear a son from it and that son may not kill birds and his name will be Conaire»). According to Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980: 30), the sentence with variant order carries a special emphasis as it express «a prohibition or a taboo». All similar examples, which do not show a syntactic specific marker favouring their classification, will be scrutinised in Chapter 4.

1.2.1 Pádraig Mac Coisdealbha

Pádraig Mac Coisdealbha’s dissertation (1998) signs the bedrock of every later work dealing with Old Irish syntax.¹⁹ The aim of the scholar was presented by Mac Coisdealbha himself as follows:

¹⁸ List from Lash (2014).

¹⁹ The actual date of Mac Coisdealbha’s dissertation is 1974, even if the author’s work will be henceforth referred to as Mac Coisdealbha (1998), year of the publication of a version of the book edited by Graham R. Isaac.

«This present work has been prompted by recent research in Celtic word order and in O[ld] Ir[ish] word order in particular. Since the Continental Celtic material does not allow of a textual study with regard to the position of the elements in the sentence, it would appear worthwhile to make a study in depth of the various components of O[ld] Ir[ish] word order» (Mac Coisdealbha, 1998: 3).

Although extremely complete, not all the areas of Old Irish syntax have been inquired in Mac Coisdealbha's work. For example, consideration of sequences like S-O/O-S, sequences of clauses or positions of adverbial phrases are neglected. Mostly, the scholar focuses on copular clauses, cleft sentences and instances of resumption (e.g. so-called *nominativus pendens* construction).²⁰

As for the texts taken into account, Mac Coisdealbha decides to focus on the Würzburg glosses, as he perceived this text to show representative traits of Old Irish. As a methodological note, it is worth mentioning how the scholar decided to compare the results which came out from the analysis of Wb. with the results which came out from a similar analysis conducted on three law texts (that is, *Bretha Déin Chécht*, *Críth Gablach* and *Bretha Crólige*).²¹

Mac Coisdealbha decides to follow this methodology also because he is aware of the inherent peculiarity of the glosses as a textual genre, given the fact that they cannot be properly understood without a deep consideration of the sometimes rather tangled Latin text they are referring to. Mac Coisdealbha recognises four basic types of gloss: TRANSLATION-GLOSS (attempting at a direct translation of Latin), PARAPHRASE-GLOSS (Latin is phrased differently but the main sense is retained), INTERPRETATION-GLOSS (very loose paraphrase of Latin or glosses bearing little relation to the content of Latin which the glossator is endeavouring to interpret), COMMENT-GLOSS (commenting on grammatical usage or the purpose of the author of Latin in using certain expressions). Interpreting glosses following one or another of those categories will have serious influence on the analysis performed in this work in terms of Information Structure (I will specifically deal with this problem in Chapter 2).

A pivotal aspect of Mac Coisdealbha's work regards the establishment for the first time in his field of research of a stable relationship between what he calls «the field of linear order and the distribution of elements (words, syntagms) within the sentence» (Mac Coisdealbha 1998: 6) and what he calls «the communicative purpose of the utterance» (Mac Coisdealbha 1998: 6), that is, the syntax of Old Irish sentences and their discourse context.

As a first point, the scholar refuses to talk about “linguistic choices” to motivate differences in grammatical structure or linear order of sentences approximating in meaning. This is due to the fact that the notion of style does not bring the analysis closer to a linguistic

²⁰ In a diachronic stance, Bergin's constructions are inquired as well in the final part of the work.

²¹ *Bretha Déin Chécht*: Binchy ed., *Ériu* XX 1966 pp. 1–66; *Críth Gablach*: Binchy ed., 1970; *Bretha Crólige*: Binchy ed., *Ériu* XII 1934 pp. 1–77.

interpretation behind such a difference.²² Therefore, Mac Coisdealbha endorses the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective (FSP). FSP is rooted in Mathesius' and his Prague school followers (Mathesius 1929, but see also Weil 1879),²³ as well as in notions such as “psychological subject” and “psychological predicate” (representing *what is spoken about* and *what is said about it* in the communicative structure of the utterance; von der Gabelentz 1901). The Prague school intensively focussed on the communicative function of utterances (see e.g. Sgall et al. 1973), coming up to posit a linear progression of the sentence from *theme* to *rheme*.²⁴ All this led to Halliday's formulation of FSP, according to which the sentence's parts have a function in the total communication process (Halliday 1974), since the various elements of a sentence contribute to the communicative dynamism of the sentence itself.²⁵ As a consequence, under the FSP's perspective, a proper analysis of a sentence must consider the correlation of its grammatical structure with those contextual components playing a part in its thematic organisation.

Mac Coisdealbha, in analysing Old Irish syntax, adheres to the notions of theme (in the sense of *that which is being spoken about*) and rheme, so that considerable attention can be turned to the dichotomy involved in the relation rather than to a unidirectional scale of communicative importance proceeding from theme to rheme. Thus, the scholar takes into account the contextual dependence or independence of sentences' elements as part of a text (that is, given/new items), crucially considering their communicative dynamism in advancing the communication. This strongly contributed to pave the way for subsequent works on Old Irish syntax and Information Structure.

1.2.2 Old Irish syntax and Information Structure

Among all the authors who worked on Old Irish syntax synchronically, of a paramount relevance is Lash. Lash is one of the very few scholars who addressed the issue of Old Irish syntax deeply taking Information Structure into account. In 2014 he conducted a corpus study involving both the pre- and post-adverbial definite subjects in POMIC (*Parsed Old and Middle Irish Corpus*) as well as some other texts, which shows that information structure is the key to

²² See e.g. Enkvist (1973: 17): «the term *style* will here be reserved for that type of linguistic variation which correlates with context in a wide sense of the term, including both textual context and situational context. But as *style* is a notational term rather than a linguistic prime, it should be emphasized that other definitions and terminologies are possible and perhaps even plausible».

²³ Accordingly, a sentence contains a point of departure (that is, an initial notion) and a goal of discourse. Normally, in non-free word order languages the grammatical subject expresses the point of departure of the utterance (Firbas 1974).

²⁴ On the definitions of *theme* and *rheme* see Firbas (1957: 72 and 94).

²⁵ «The concept of communicative dynamism is based on the fact that linguistic communication is not a static, but a dynamic phenomenon. By C[ommunicative] D[ynamism] I understand a property of communication displayed in the course of the development of communication to be conveyed and consisting in advancing this development» (Sgall et al. 1973: 24).

understanding the difference between pre- and post-adverbial definite subjects.²⁶ On the basis of his analysis, pre-adverbial definite and proper noun subjects resulted to be related to discourse old information; conversely, post-adverbial subject resulted to be related to discourse new information.²⁷ The great merit of Lash is thus the first (or at least first to be noted) application of a method well-established for syntactic analyses of other Indo-European languages (e.g. Lehmann 2008) to the Celtic family. In Lash’s work, Information Structure does not have the status of being an “intuitive” phenomenon, as in all the papers and books mentioned in Section 1.2, but is accounted for scientifically and treated as a methodological cornerstone.

As for Information Structure, Lash does not follow a unique theoretical model. Concerning topic(s), Lash differentiates among

- i. PRESENTATIONAL FOCUS: wholly new, that is, never-mentioned in texts items;
- ii. SWITCH TOPIC: hearer/speaker-old but discourse-new items;
- iii. CONTINUING TOPIC: hearer/speaker-old and discourse-old items.

This method allows to examine the context in which sentences occur to evaluate the Information Structure of items, and goes back to Prince’s (1992) concept of “discourse familiarity”. Moreover, Lash follows also Hinterhölzl and Petrova’s (2010: 320) definition of Aboutness Topic position,²⁸ which is applied to certain pre-adverbial subjects.

Schram’s (2016) RMA Thesis, entitled “*Tidings of Cú Chulainn, it is those which are here related*”: *How cleft sentence and nominativus pendens express emphasis in the Táin Bó Cúailnge*,²⁹ is also worth of mention. Schram matches cleft sentences and *nominativus pendens* constructions taken from the *Táin* to their Information Structure,³⁰ following Neeleman and Vermeulen (2012) outline on Topic and Focus:

Topic	Focus
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²⁶ That of 2014 is not the only work made by Lash on the syntax of Old Irish. His Ph.D. thesis titled *A Synchronic and Diachronic Analysis of Old Irish Copular Clauses*, for instance, is a central work on copular clauses in Old Irish. It is not cited here, but is referenced in Chapter 7 of this thesis, where I will focus on copular clauses specifically.

²⁷ In Lash’s terms, subjects belonging to the subject-1 category (pre-adverbial subjects) can either be a Familiar Topic or an Aboutness Topic and in fact do not have to be actual subjects in terms of syntactic function. Subjects belonging to the subject-2 category (post-adverbial subjects) can either be Switch Topics (i.e. it is speaker/hearer-old but context-new) or bear Presentational Focus (i.e. it is wholly new in the discourse). According to the information structure model presented in Chapter 2, the former group falls under the definition of Topic, the latter under the definition of Focus.

²⁸ “What the sentence is about” or “what is a matter of standing and current interest or concern”.

²⁹ I owe a debt of gratitude to the author and to Aaron Griffith for sharing this work with me.

³⁰ Only narrative sections of the *Táin* are analysed.

	Aboutness topic [TOPIC]	New information focus [FOCUS]
<i>Contrast</i>	Contrastive topic [TOPIC, CONTRAST]	Contrastive focus [FOCUS, CONTRAST]

Table 3. Neeleman and Vermeulen (2012) sketch of Topic-Focus.

For Schram, Neeleman and Vermeulen’s position on Topic and Focus has the great merit of explicitly distinguishing between Focus and Contrast. As a consequence, a few basic definitions can be delineated:

- i. TOPIC: speakers’ intuition regarding what a sentence is about;
- ii. FOCUS: new information in a sentence;
- iii. CONTRAST: extra quality that can be valid for both Topic and Focus, to make one of them stand out even more. This leads to other two sub-definitions:
 - a. contrastive topic: statement where the speaker is unwilling or unable to make an alternative statement;
 - b. contrastive focus: statement where there is at least one alternative that is not true for the speaker.

Regardless of the fact that this approach to Information Structure raises some criticalities (I will focus on Information Structure theory specifically in Chapter 2), Schram’s work results commendable for having applied such theoretical linguistics-driven notions to Medieval Irish, within a coherent model of Information Structure. The result of this procedure is summarised in Table 4.

Information Structure	Definition	Example
Aboutness TOP	Fronted element acting as the topic and focal point of the sentence, but any particular emphasis is not given.	<i>Asbert Medb iarum fria h-araid a l-láa documlásat: ‘Cach óen scaras sund trá indiu,’ ol sí, ‘fria chóem & a charait, dobérat maldachtain form-sa úair is mé dorinól in slúagad sa.’³¹</i>
Contrastive TOP	Similar to Ab. TOP, but with the added function of contrast.	<i>‘Bangal báethúallach insín,’ or Fíngín. ‘Is dóig bid fír,’ ol Cethern. ‘Dománic ben máethaineach bánaineach lecanfata cháinmar. (long description)</i>

³¹ Translation: “Then, on the day that they set forth, Medb said to her charioteer: ‘All those who part here today from comrade and friend will curse me for it is I who have mustered this hosting’.”. O’Rahilly (1976: 125 and following).

		<i>Is mór a delb. Is é rombí & cetadomthánic.’ ‘Aill amae!’ or Cú Chulaind. Meadb Crúachan sin.³²</i>
New Information FOC	Fronted element introducing new information in a neutral way.	<i>‘Ní duilig a aithní,’ for Cú Chulaind. Mo poba Fergus dotháet and co r-robad & co n-airchisecht (...)³³</i>
Contrastive FOC	Fronted element making clear that something is specifically this way and not another way.	<i>‘Is espa didiu,’ ‘ol Medb,’ ‘a techt. Is foraib bíaid búaid in t-slóig.’ Is airiund arbáget dano,’ or Ailill.³⁴</i>

Table 4. Examples of Neeleman and Vermeulen’s Information Structure categories from *Táin*.

According to Schram, in the *Táin* cleft sentences most often express a Focus (even though not exclusively), whereas *nominativus pendens* constructions always express a Topic. As for Contrast, 70% of emphatic examples bears contrastive value. This goes against Neeleman and Vermeulen’s (2012) claim based on Modern English data that every fronted element has contrastive emphasis. Remarkably, the author recognises the possibility for NP occurring in sentence-initial position not to be either *nominativus pendens* nor cleft elements in zero-copula clefts. A detailed classification of these items is not provided, but under the Information Structure perspective they coherently express emphasis.

Lastly, we must consider DiGirolamo’s chapter (2018) on word order and information structure in the Würzburg glosses. The Information Structure model followed by DiGirolamo is Krifka’s (2007). Accordingly, Information Structure is a method of information packaging responding to communicative needs of interlocutors, which organises the information in terms of salience, topics and relevant alternatives. Krifka’s (2007) theory of Information Structure relies on the following pivotal definitions:

- i. *Givenness* (from Prince 1981): necessary item to allow listeners to keep track of the major players in a story. Promoting *given* expressions to the beginning of sentences and shifting new information to the end of sentences helps hearers to prepare to evaluate new information.

³² Translation: “Those are wounds inflicted by a proud and foolish woman,’ said Fíngin. ‘It is likely that it is so,’ said Cethern. ‘There came to me a tall beautiful woman with pale, tender face and long cheeks. (...) Great was her beauty. She it was who first came to me and wounded me.’ ‘Aye indeed!’ said Cú Chulainn. ‘That was Medb from Crúachu.’”. O’Rahilly (1976: 210).

³³ Translation: “It is not hard to recognize him,’ said Cú Chulainn. ‘That is my master Fergus, coming to give me a friendly warning (...)’”. O’Rahilly (1976: 199).

³⁴ Translation: “So it is useless for them (the Gailiún) to go on this expedition,’ said Medb, ‘for it is they who will take credit for the victory of the army.’ ‘Yet it is for us they fight,’ said Ailill.’. O’Rahilly (1976: 129).

- ii. *Focus* (from Rooth 1985): brings into salience a Hamblin-style (Hamblin 1973) set of alternatives.³⁵
- iii. *Topic*: changing structure of an organised conversation. Assuming Roberts' (1996) Question Under Discussion perspective, where the goal of a conversation is represented as a question, topics can be understood as 'file cards' (Reinhart 1981) focussing around a certain sub-question of the main conversational question.

By basing her analysis mostly on the corpus of Würzburg glosses, DiGirolamo examines argument-initial sentences in Old Irish. More specifically, the scholar focuses on:

- a. *intí*-sentences (that is, fronted relative clauses);³⁶
- b. invisible clefts (that is, clefts with the (first) copula omitted);
- c. fronting + cleft structures.³⁷

For DiGirolamo, a.-type *intí*-sentences are featured by topic-shift, which falls under Krikfa's (2007) definition of "contrastive topic":

«aboutness topic that contains a focus, which is doing what focus always does, namely indicating an alternative. In this case, it indicates alternative aboutness topics».

As for b.-type invisible clefts, the author compares them to instances in which an element is fronted for focus, which appears to be a working strategy in the case of Goidelic. This is due to the fact that in most cases the relative marking on the verb in the case of cleft sentences is not overt as well as to the fact that clefted items are usually focal in Old Irish.

Lastly, c.-type fronting + cleft structures are taken into consideration. DiGirolamo shows how in certain cases fronted elements can be considered instances of pure aboutness topics, while other fall under the definition of contrastive topics.

1.3 Outline

This thesis is organised as follows. In Chapter 2 I will present the methodology I will follow to carry out the analysis proposed in this thesis. I will specifically focus on which model of

³⁵ This means that e.g. when in a given clause *John* is the focus, the set containing all the other people that are different from *John* becomes relevant, but the proposition is stated to be true of John and not necessarily true of anyone else.

³⁶ *Intí*-sentences are clauses where a full relative clause, headed by *intí*, is found at the beginning of the sentence followed by a non-relativised verb, and sometimes by a cleft sentence. From a morphological perspective, *intí* is a determiner *int* + indeclinable pronoun *í*.

³⁷ That is, sentences where a fronted element is resumed in a copular cleft.

Information Structure I will adhere to (Section 2.1), on which syntactic units I will employ (Section 2.2) and on issues linked to the corpus selection (Section 2.2). I will then define and analyse in both syntactic and Information Structure terms all sentence types reducible to unmarked orders (Chapter 3). To this category belong V S O IC orders (Section 3.1), V S IC/Adv orders (Section 3.2), V O IC/Adv orders (Section 3.3), VIC/Adv orders (Section 3.4), impersonal constructions (Section 3.5), sentences introduced by interrogative *cía* (Section 3.6), sentences introduced by indefinite *sechi/cía* (Section 3.7), sentences introduced by interrogative *in* (Section 3.8). My analysis will then move to marked orders (Chapter 4). This group of sentences comprehends both V-initial marked orders (Section 4.1), such as V IC S or V O IC orders, and Non V-initial marked orders (Section 4.2), such as S V orders or O V orders. In Chapter 5 I will specifically deal with extra-clausal constituents. Left-dislocations (Section 5.2.1) and right-dislocations (Section 5.2.2) fall under this definition. After that, in Chapter 6 I will consider cleft (Section 6.1) and pseudo-cleft (Section 6.2) structures. Chapter 7 will revolve around copular clauses, which will be accounted for according to their unmarked structure (Section 7.1), according to their marked structure (Section 7.2), according to the presence of extra-clausal constituents (Section 7.3), or according to their (pseudo)cleft structure (Section 7.4). Nominal clauses will be matter for discussion in Chapter 8. The end of the analysis of sentence types will be Chapter 9, where NPs/PPs modified by relative clauses (Section 9.1) and copula + verbal of necessity clauses (Section 9.2) will be considered. Lastly, in Chapter 10 I will summarise the obtained results, and define which synchronic trends outcome from the compared analysis of word order and Information Structure in all the Old Irish sentence-types considered.

2. Methodology

In this thesis, an analysis of Old Irish syntax is performed in a brand-new fashion. The syntax as well as Information Structure (henceforth IS) of the language are deeply scrutinised and compared, so that eventual synchronic trends and consistencies can come to light. Of course, it would be false claiming that the syntax of Old (but also Middle) Irish sentences has never been considered in its IS components (see Section 1.3). However, the examination and comparison of the two has not yet been accomplished systematically. This is precisely the aim of this work.

Talking about syntax and Information Structure at large is however not sufficient to immediately understand the perspective adopted in the following chapters. Theoretical perspectives on both of them abound, and adhering to one or the other is massively relevant to prioritise certain aspects of the analysis rather than others. Before moving to data, thus, these aspects need to be clarified.

2.1 A model of Information Structure: Lambrecht (1994)

In general, language serves a number of crucial functions, such as transmitting/requesting information or actions, or expressing social relationships. These constructions afford different possibilities for ‘packaging’ information (Foley and Van Valin 1985). A key notion to consider in this respect is that of context:

«Context is the background against which people interpret the meaning and relevance of new utterances so that the utterances go together to make up a discourse. A discourse is not merely a set of sentences randomly strung together, but is rather a structural series, the development of which constitutes a coherent whole and is recognized as such by speakers of a language. A context is a situation defined by the interlocutors: a set of circumstances given a cultural interpretation. Within this framework a particular speech activity is carried out and interpreted» (Foley and Van Valin 1985: 282-283).

This has some implications on how referents are affected in terms of information packaging in a sentence, that is, a referent may be newly introduced into the discourse (thus constituting new information) or it can be already established in the discourse (thus constituting given information). Of course, referents are also given with some sort of inherent

salience, which is due to their nature. This is accurately described by the so-called “hierarchy of inherent salience” (Foley and Van Valin 1985):

Speaker/addressee > 3rd person pronouns > human proper nouns > human common nouns > other animate nouns > inanimate nouns.

Packaging variations can be achieved in different languages according to different strategies. By and large, such strategies can be lexical, morphological or syntactic.

Lexical packaging strategies take advantage of the presence of more than one predicate usually available for describing a given state, event or action (e.g. English *buy*, which tends to make the recipient of the action topical, vs. *sell*, which tends to make the vendor topical).

Morphological packaging strategies are of two types: one concerns the semantics of actor and undergoer choice; one expresses the information status of arguments as determined by discourse factors or inherent properties.³⁸

Syntactic packaging strategies can be clause-internal or clause-external. Clause-internal strategies are e.g. passives (both backgrounding, that is, passives serving to remove the actor from the core of the clause, and foregrounding, that is, passives permitting a non-actor to occur as “pivot”³⁹), antipassives and dative shifts. Clause-external strategies are e.g. topicalisations, dislocations, cleft sentences and pseudo-cleft sentences.

This extremely complex framework led some scholars (e.g. Halliday 1967, Vallduví 1993) to posit a separate sentence level structure specifically dealing with variations of sentential structure along certain parameters to modulate the presentation of the information imparted by the sentence in such a way as to relate that information to prior context, that is, Information Structure (IS).

To specify what is intended in this thesis with IS, among all the existing varieties and different proposals concerning this level of linguistic analysis, I follow Lambrecht’s definition (1994: 5):

«that component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexico-grammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts».

³⁸ Note that a variation in the status of actor may be coded lexically in certain languages (e.g. English) but may be expressed by morphological means in other languages (e.g. Tagalog).

³⁹ In Foley and Van Valin’s terms, a *pivot* is «any NP type to which a particular grammatical process is sensitive, either as controller or as target».

According to Roberts (2012), discourse is organised around certain conversational goals and the plans or strategies which participants develop to achieve them. Two oppositions appear crucial in this respect, that is, topic vs. comment and focus vs. background.

Broadly speaking, the topic of a sentence can be defined as the referent which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about.⁴⁰ Clearly, such a definition is extremely problematic, since it is vague. Moreover, this inherent vagueness has consequences for the grammatical coding of topics in sentences, so that sometimes it seems rather impossible to determine which is the topic of a sentence only on the basis of syntax. In order to coherently identify the topic of a sentence, it is necessary to take into account the discourse context in which the sentence is embedded. Consider, for example, the cases below:⁴¹

- a. (What did the children do next?) The children went to school.
- b. (Who went to school?) The children went to school.
- c. (What happened?) The children went to school.

Only in the case of (a) it is possible to claim without any doubt that “the children” is the referent about which the sentence is (so that it can be labelled as the topic of the sentence). In the case of (b), which is an instance of an identificational sentence,⁴² it is not clear whether the subject NP can be identified as its topic.⁴³

Topic continuity in discourse is a crucial issue, on which Givón (1983) specifically researched on. The author identifies some actual “discourse measurements” affecting the degree of difficulty that speakers/hearers may experience in identifying a topic in discourse:

- 1) Length of absence from the register: «if a topic is indefinite and thus introduced for the first time, it is *maximally difficult* to process» (Givón 1983: 11);
- 2) Potential interference from other topics;
- 3) Availability of semantic information;
- 4) Availability of thematic information.

Remarkably, Givón underlines how the text itself does not happen to reveal assumptions made by speakers/hearers as to topic identifiability in a direct way, but it reveals two types of information, perhaps correlated, that is, the grammatical devices used by the

⁴⁰ See also Neeleman and Titov (2009) and Reinhart (1981).

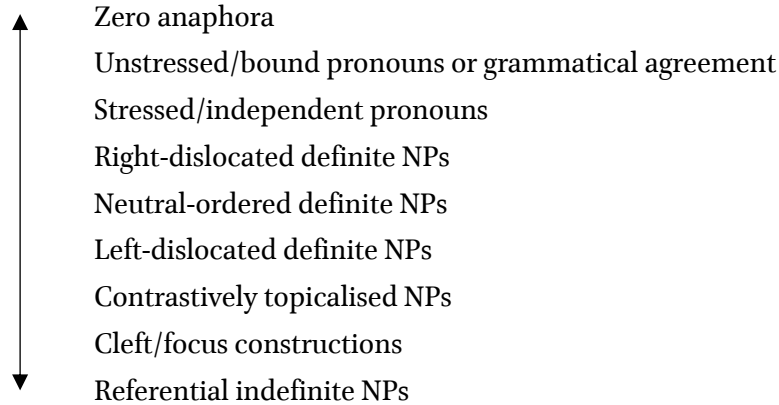
⁴¹ They are taken from Lambrecht (1994: 121).

⁴² Given that it serves «to identify a referent as the missing argument in an open proposition» (Lambrecht 1994: 122).

⁴³ According to Lambrecht’s “topic acceptability scale”, a brand-new unanchored referent is rather unacceptable as a topic.

speaker to code various topics/participants in the discourse and the exact position of such topics in the discourse. This leads Givón to sketch a scale in the coding of topic accessibility, which mostly relies on (morpho)syntactic devices:

Most continuous/accessible topic



Most discontinuous/inaccessible topic

Although based on typological data, and thus not necessarily perfectly applicable to Old Irish, Givón's perspective has the great merit of presenting topics as non-atomic/discrete entities: different 'topics' exist, since the area of topic identification in discourse is a complex scalar functional domain, which has to be intended as a graded *continuum*.

As for the focus of a sentence, it is commonly defined as the new information conveyed about a topic. The most glaring limit of this definition is however that not all sentences have a topic. As a consequence, the focus has to be defined independently from its potential relation with the topic. Hence, once more following Lambrecht (1994),⁴⁴ I will consider the focus as the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element in an utterance.

The bedrock of Lambrecht's perspective is Halliday's (1967: 204) definition of focus:

«the focus of the message [...] is that which is represented by the speaker as being new, textually (and situationally) non-derivable information».

Even Halliday's definition runs the risk of being imprecise, given that it seems wrong to assume *a priori* the coincidence of the focus with the new information within an utterance. There are cases in which the focal element is not 'new', as in the following example, where the focus is underlined:

⁴⁴ But on the IS model I will adhere to see also e.g. Gregory and Michaelis (2001) and Michaelis and Lambrecht (1996).

- (16) *Ora gli sembra che l'anello oscilli leggermente, o il pianeta dentro l'anello, e l'uno e l'altro ruotino su se stessi; in realtà è la testa del signor Palomar che oscilla.* “Now it seems to him that the ring is slightly swinging, or the planet within the ring, and the one and the other are rotating; actually, it is Mr. Palomar’s head, which is swinging”.⁴⁵

Three notions are central to understand such a perspective:

- i. PRAGMATIC PRESUPPOSITION: the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in a sentence that the speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered;
- ii. PRAGMATIC ASSERTION: the proposition expressed by a sentence that the speaker expects the hearer to know or believe or take for granted as a result of hearing the utterance;
- iii. FOCUS: that component of a pragmatically structured proposition whereby the pragmatic assertion differs from the presupposition. The focus component is by definition an unpredicable part of the proposition.

‘New’ is thus not necessarily the referent in focus, but rather the relationship between such a referent and the predication of the sentence to which it belongs. Accordingly, if a sentence is thought as an open proposition $P(x)$, the focus is the element which can replace the variable x in order to complete the sentence:

- a. (Chi ha ammonito l’arbitro?) (“Who did the referee book?”)
- b. L’arbitro ha ammonito il centravanti (“The referee booked the forward”)
 - $[P(x): \text{“L’arbitro ha ammonito } x\text{”} (\text{“The referee booked } x\text{”}), x = \text{il centravanti} (\text{“}x = \text{the forward”})]$.⁴⁶

This leads to three further notions, which happen to be pivotal in the IS framework I will adopt, that is, K-presupposition (“knowledge presupposition”), C-presupposition (“consciousness presupposition”) and T-presupposition (“topicality presupposition”).

- i. K-PRESUPPOSITION: corresponds to PRAGMATIC PRESUPPOSITION above, namely, the set of propositions lexico-grammatically evoked in a sentence that the

⁴⁵ The example is from Andorno (2003).

⁴⁶ The example is from Andorno (2003).

speaker assumes the hearer already knows or believes or is ready to take for granted at the time the sentence is uttered;

- ii. C-PRESUPPOSITION: an entity or proposition is consciousness-presupposed if the speaker assumes that its mental representation has been activated in the interlocutors' short-term memory at the time of the utterance;
- iii. T-PRESUPPOSITION: an entity or proposition is topicality-presupposed if at utterance time the speaker assumes that the hearer considers it a center of current interest and hence a potential locus of predication. A topical *denotatum* is by definition a relatively predictable element in a proposition.

As for the focus-presupposition articulation, Lambrecht (1994) roughly posits three possible alternatives:

- a. Predicate-focus sentence: predicates a property relative to a given topic;
- b. Argument-focus sentence: identifies or specifies an argument in a presupposed open proposition;
- c. Sentence-focus sentence: introduces a new discourse referent/expresses an event involving such a referent.

All these notions as well as the so-intended topic and focus are therefore the basic units of analysis for Old Irish IS I will employ.

In Chapter 1, I focussed on the works of a few scholars who dealt with Old Irish syntax by considering the IS of the language (i.e. Lash 2014, Schram 2016 and DiGirolamo 2018). Nevertheless, their theoretical positions on IS are different from the one adopted in this thesis, under many points of view. Table 5 below summarises Lash's, Schram's and DiGirolamo's positions on IS.

Scholar	Lash	Schram	DiGirolamo
Model	Prince (1992) + Hinterhölzl and Petrova's (2010)	Neelman and Vermeulen (2012)	Krifka (2007)
(Peculiar) Key Notions	<i>Discourse Familiarity</i>	<i>Contrast</i> ⁴⁷	<i>Givenness</i> ⁴⁸
Types of Topic	- SWITCH TOPIC: hearer/speaker-old	- ABOUTNESS TOPIC: speakers' intuition	- ABOUTNESS TOPIC: changing structure

⁴⁷ That is, extra quality that can be valid for both Topic and Focus, to make one of them stand out even more.

⁴⁸ That is, necessary item to allow listeners to keep track of the major players in a story. Promoting *given* expressions to the beginning of sentences and shifting new information to the end of sentences helps hearers to prepare to evaluate new information (Prince 1981).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - but discourse-new items; - CONTINUING TOPIC: hearer/speaker-old and discourse-old items; - ABOUTNESS TOPIC: what is a matter of standing and current interest or concern. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - regarding what a sentence is about; - CONTRASTIVE TOPIC: statement where the speaker is unwilling or unable to make an alternative statement. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - of an organised conversation; - CONTRASTIVE TOPIC: aboutness topic that contains a focus, which is doing what focus always does, namely indicating an alternative.
Types of Focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - PRESENTATIONAL FOCUS: wholly new, that is, never-mentioned in text items. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - NEW INFORMATION FOCUS: new information in a sentence; - CONTRASTIVE FOCUS: statement where there is at least one alternative that is not true for the speaker. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - FOCUS: item bringing into salience a Hamblin-style (Hamblin 1973) set of alternatives.⁴⁹

Table 5. Summary of Lash's, Schram's and DiGirolamo's positions on IS.

Lambrecht's position on IS – that is the one adopted in this thesis – considers focus differently from Lash's framework: in Lambrecht's account, not only wholly new items are focal, but also already-mentioned items, when in a new relationship with the predication they belong to. The main discrepancy existing with Schram's, as well as DiGirolamo's theoretical framework, consists in the view on contrastive topic, which Lambrecht tends to label and consider as focus.

2.2 Syntactic Units

The units of analysis I employ for syntax stand halfway between being immediate constituents and functional dependencies. On the one hand, a group NP.NOM + NP.GEN is considered a single element, on the other hand a direct object is not part of the VP, and the syntactic function of units is declared by labels attached to units themselves.

⁴⁹ E.g. when in a given clause *John* is focussed, the set containing all the other people that are different from *John* becomes relevant, but the proposition is stated to be true of John and not necessarily true of anyone else.

Consider example (17):⁵⁰

- (17) *dognitis* *óintaid* *comairle* *donum* [leg. *dodenum*]
 (they) made alliance of counsel for doing
 huilc *friumsa*
 of evil to me
 «they used to make an alliance of counsel to do evil to me» (Ml. 132^c4).

This sentence has a verb (*dognitis*) with a 3rd plural subject (expressed by the verbal ending), a direct object NP (*óintaid comairle*, which is itself made of a NP.ACC + NP.GEN), and the construction *dodenum huilc friumsa*, functioning as an indirect (that is, prepositional) complement (henceforth IC). To summarise, it can be claimed that the word order in sentence (17) is

V-O-IC.

A few remarks must be added. First, the NP.ACC *óintad* and the NP.GEN *comairle* belong to the same syntactic unit (namely, O), since they are part of the same constituent. On the contrary, the VP (*dognitis*) and the direct object do not belong to the same syntactic unit, although – at least under certain theoretical perspectives on constituency – they belong to the same constituent. The construction *dodenum huilc friumsa* can be analysed in a similar way. The NP.GEN *huilc* is regularly governed by *denum*, being its direct object, and the PP *friumsa* modifies *do denum* as well. As a consequence, *dodenum huilc friumsa* is analysed as a single constituent, labelled as IC (PP) since its syntactic function is that of an indirect complement governed by the main verb of the clause (*dognitis*).

This example is pretty helpful also to unravel the methodological choice made in case of verbal nouns. Verbal nouns in Irish feature a ‘double’ nature, which is at the same time nominal and verbal. As shown in (17), the nominal nature of verbal nouns is always preferred to their verbal nature. This is consistent with what stated by Thurneysen (1946):

«Syntactically it [i.e. the verbal noun] is a substantive: subject or object is expressed by a following genitive [...], and no question of tense, mood, or voice arises» (GOI, §720).

⁵⁰ Example (17) shows well how Old Irish examples will be glossed in this work. More than actual (morphological) glosses, what is performed in the case of specifically examined examples is more similar to an interlinear translation of the Irish. This choice allows for a quicker comprehension of the sentence than morphological glosses. Also given the considerable amount of cases taken into account in the following chapters, then, an interlinear translation highlights more effectively the relevant information needed to examine the interactions occurring between word order of sentences and their IS.

The preferred nominal nature of verbal nouns is well exemplified also by examples (18) and (19) below:

- (18) *.i. cu cuimsed dia les*
 that is that could God for him
forsoirad arsenachrib
 your delivery from Sennacherib
 «that is, that, in his opinion, God could deliver you (pl) from Sennacherib» (Ml. 33^b 21).
- (19) *mbis confitebor duathlugud bude.*
 that is confitebor for giving thanks
 «that *confitebor* is for giving thanks» (Ml. 26^c 4).

In (18), the verbal noun (*soirad*) plays the syntactic role of direct object of the verb (*cuimsed*). Accordingly, it is labelled as O. In (19), the verbal noun (*atlugud*) is governed by preposition *do* and plays the syntactic role of indirect complement of the verb (*mbis*). Accordingly, it is labelled as IC. Hence, the resulting word orders of sentences (18) and (19) are

V-S-IC-O

and

V-S-IC

respectively.

The case of NPs/PPs modified by a relative clause is also worth mentioning. As said above, NPs governing e.g. NPs.GEN are understood to belong to a single syntactic unit. The same thing is valid for NPs/PPs governing relative clauses (20):

- (20) *.i. afaciem asbersom*
 that is the faciem that he(EMPH) speaks of
 «that is, the *faciem* which he speaks of» (Ml. 101^c 13).

Here, the relative clause *asbersom* modifies *afaciem*. Therefore, they belong to the same syntactic unit.

A further crucial point concerns the relationship between the so-intended units of syntax and morphology. From the standpoint adopted, morphology is secondary to syntax in all cases. Indeed, units of analysis are labelled as Os, ICs or whichever syntactic role they play in a given sentence regardless of their morphology. Sentence (21) shows a relevant example:

- (21) *as ngair mbis*
 is brief that exists
 «it is briefly that it exists» (Ml. 57^c12).

Example (21) is an instance of cleft sentence. Cleft sentences, which will be accounted for in detail in Chapter 6, are ubiquitous in Old Irish. Syntactically, they are featured by a cleft NP or PP, introduced by a form of the copula, and followed by a pseudo-relative clause. The label attached to such clefted items indicates in every case the syntactic function the item itself has in the pseudorelative clause. For an example, if a clefted item is the subject of the pseudorelative clause, it is labelled as S: *as a ainm bis isnaib titlaib* “it is his name that is usually in the headings” (Ml. 2^c3) [Word Order: V^(COP)-S-V-IC], where *a ainm* is the subject of *bis*. The relation between the copula and the clefted item is not considered.

In example (21), the clefted item is *ngair* (“brief”). Morphologically, this word is an adjective, but given the syntactic function it plays in the pseudorelative clause, it is labelled as Adv (that is, adverbial adjuncts), so that word order behind (21) is

V^(COP)-Adv-V.

A last but crucial issue needing mention is that of the verb “to be”. Old Irish differentiates between a substantive verb (*at-tá*) and a copula (*is*). This differentiation was highlighted by literature since Strachan (1899). According to Lash (2011: 32), in predicational sentences

«the ASC [i.e. Ascriptional Copula]⁵¹ is used with nominal or adjectival predicates, the ADC [i.e. Adverbial Copula]⁵² is used to introduce an adverbial predicate, i.e. a predicate that is formed with a locative, temporal or manner phrase. A final use of the ADC is as an existential verb».

This has of course some serious implications for word orders of clauses *is* or *at-tá* belong to, which will be matter of investigation for relevant chapters later in this thesis. It is critical to highlight how differently *is* and *at-tá* will be classified in the following analysis: the

⁵¹ That is, the copula according to Lash’s terminology.

⁵² That is, the substantive verb according to Lash’s terminology.

substantive verb is always labelled as V and treated as any other (intransitive) verb as in (22) [Word Order: V-S-IC], the copula is considered differently if it is followed by i. a predicative adjective (23) or ii. a predicate noun (24).

- (22) *nadmbed* *dliged remdeicsen* *dá* *dudoinib*
 that there is not law of providence of God for men
 «that there is not a law of the providence of God for men» (Ml. 55^d25).
- (23) *.i.* *huare* *rombu imaircide* *dopersin*
 that is because was appropriate to person
moysi. *insalmso*
 of M. this psalm
 «i.e. because this psalm was appropriate to the person of Moses» (Ml. 2^b6).
- (24) *as* *forgartaid* *am* *manifestare*
 that is imperative the manifestare
 «that *manifestare* is an imperative» (Ml. 101^c6-7).

In the case shown in (23), the sequence copula + predicate adjective is tagged as V, and analysed as all other Old Irish verbs. In the case shown in (24), the sequence copula + predicate noun is tagged as V^(COP) + SNP (the label employed for predicate nouns), and thus marked differently from all other Old Irish verbs.

This choice has the clear advantage of making immediately recognisable predication patterns involving predicate nouns. As a matter of fact, as noted by many authors (e.g. Thurneysen 1946: 475-492, Greene 1958: 109, Carnie 1995: 130, Lash 2011: 32-33), the syntax of this predication type is rather different in Old Irish from the great majority of predication types. In Old Irish standard predicate noun clauses, the order copula + predicate noun + subject tends to occur. This fact marks a sharp difference with other basic sentence types, where – if explicit – the subject tends to follow immediately the verb. Furthermore, as will be shown in Chapter 7, Old Irish copular clauses display a wide variety of possible word orders, which still require to be meticulously accounted for.

To summarise what maintained above, word orders of (23) and (24) will thus be

V-IC-S

and

V^(COP)-SNP-S.

A further relevant point concerns the treatment of *acht*. Consider the following sentence (25):

- (25) *.i. contaibrea* [leg. *conf*] *feuchrai* *fir* *messa*
 that is that (he) may not inflict severity of true judgement
foraib *acht* *cosc* *tantum*
 on them but reproof only
 «that is, so that he may not inflict on them the severity of true judgment, but reproof only» (Ml. 109^c14).

This sentence shows a V (*contaibrea*), an O (*feuchrai fir messa*), an IC (*foraib*) and a final constituent introduced by *acht*, that is, *acht cosc tantum*. *Acht* functions in several ways in Old Irish (see e.g. De Vries 2010). Even though certain authors maintain that *acht* has, in cases such as (25), the role of preposition followed by the accusative case (Hull 1956), this is not how I will consider it in this thesis. Following the Milan glosses Database analysis, I will analyse similar forms of *acht* as focalising particles and not as ICs. This is not different from what happens in sentences such as (26):

- (26) *7 nad taibrem ni acht oincheill asindi*
 and NEG bring we(EMPH) but one sense from it
as int sanctis
 from the sanctis
 «and we bring only one sense from it, from the *sanctis*» (Ml. 37^a10).

In (26), *acht* focalises *oincheill*, and the resulting sentence structure in terms of both syntax and IS is V-S.^{EMPH}-[O]_{FOC}-[IC-IC]_{TOP}. In a similar way, the analysis of (25) will not be

V-O-IC-IC,

but will be

V-O-IC-O.

The schema V-O-IC-O does not imply the existence of some sort of ‘double’ direct object on the syntactic level, where the O of V *contaibrea* is only and indisputably *feuchrai fir messa*. Nevertheless, on the IS level, sentences like (25) above display the presence of two Os, of which one is negated and one is asserted. This allows one to posit a doubling of IS

information related to O, and *acht* plays the role of signaling the focus. Hence, the analysis of (25) results in

$$V-[O]_{\text{TOP-IC}}-[O]_{\text{FOC}}.^{53}$$

A similar analysis is done also in cases as that shown in (27):

- (27) *.i. is inunn intliucht ₇ chiall fil is indí*
 that is is same meaning and sense that are in what
asrubart ad adnuntiandam usque tuam
 that (he) said ad adnuntiandam usque tuam
₇ *aní asrubart riam bonum*
 and what (he) said before bonum
 «that is, the meaning and the sense which are in what he has said, *adnuntiandam* to *tuam*, are the same as what he has said before, *bonum* etc.» (ML. 112^d2).

In this sentence, both *intliucht ₇ chiall fil is indí asrubart* and *aní asrubart riam* are glossed as Ss of V (*is inunn*), so that the resulting analysis of ML. 112^d2 is

$$V-[S]_{\text{TOP}}-[S]_{\text{FOC}}.$$

On the basis of the methodology described, a considerable number of labels (or tags) attachable to both syntactic and IS units were identified. They are summarised in Table 6.

Linguistic Level	Label	Meaning
Syntax	V	Generic verb, substantive verb, sequence copula + predicate adjective
Syntax	V ^(COP)	Copula (not in sequence copula + predicate adjective)
Syntax	V ^(REL)	Relative verb form
Syntax	S	Subject
Syntax	O	Direct object
Syntax	IC	Indirect complement
Syntax	SNP	Predicate noun
Syntax	Adv	Adverbial adjunct

⁵³ Sentences as (25) with word order V-O-IC-O are classified together with sentences with word order V-O-IC. Similarly, sentences with word order e.g. V-S-IC-S-IC (*.i. [air ní conrobæ]_v [ní]_s [form]_{ic} [acht failte tantum]_s [iar musoirad]_{ic}*, “that is, for there has been nothing upon me but joy only after my deliverance”, ML. 104^d2), are classified together with sentences with word order V-S-IC-IC. ‘Doubled’ arguments are thus not taken into account for the syntactic categorisation.

Syntax	Adj	<i>Adjective</i> ⁵⁴
Syntax	PN	<i>Tonic pronoun (subject)</i> ⁵⁵
Syntax	S. ^{EMPH} or (+EMPH.SUBJ) ⁵⁶	<i>Emphatic subject</i>
Syntax	(+INFIX/SUFFIX.O)	<i>Infix/suffixed object pronoun</i>
Syntax	(+INFIX)	<i>Infix non-object pronoun</i>
IS	TOP	<i>Topic</i>
IS	FOC	<i>Focus</i>

Table 6. List of labels employed in the analysis of syntax and IS.

With labels S, O or IC may also be intended subordinate clauses, when they have a clear IS value. Consider e.g. *ML. 94^c3: Amal nad techta nech asiansu corai intan in bís immescai*, “as someone does not have his proper senses when he is intoxicated”. After a V (*nad techta*), occur its S (*nech*) and O (*asiansu corai*). After them, there is a circumstantial temporal clause (*intan in bís immescai*), with focal value (see Chapter 3). Given its importance in both word order and IS terms, I decided to treat this and similar cases by assimilating subordinate clauses to their syntactic function with respect to the main clause they are referring to, that is, S in case of subject clauses, O in case of object clauses, IC in case of adverb clauses.

According to this set of labels, a multi-layered analysis of Old Irish sentences is possible, so that correlations and/or implications occurring between the word orders of clauses and their IS could come to light. For example, compare (28) and (29):

- (28) *ciaduerchomraictis doib incloini*
 if (they) should gather to them the iniquity
 «if they should gather the iniquity to themselves» (*ML. 61^b16*).
- (29) *.i. intan foruirim obell 7 astric foir*
 that is when he had put obelus and asterisk on it
 «that is, when he had put an obelus and an asterisk on it» (*ML. 2^a6*).

⁵⁴ This is a rather rare label. It is essentially employed only in the case of sequences copula + predicate adjective where the copula is omitted.

⁵⁵ The fact that in Insular Celtic a subject pronoun never occurs with a fully inflected verb is commonly acknowledged by scholars (see *GOI* §254, McCone 1994, Roma 2000), with the notable exception of cleft sentences. To the label PN will in this work correspond pronouns which are morpho-phonologically tonic subject, but with no argumental value.

⁵⁶ Label S.^{EMPH} is employed when the *nota augens* is not attached to the verb (e.g. *dobeir som*); label (+EMPH.SUBJ) is employed when the *nota augens* is attached to the verb (e.g. *asbeirsom*). This distinction does not appear significant in terms of Information Structure.

Sentence (28) has word order: V-IC-O. At the IS level, given the context of the gloss, *doib* results focal and *incloini* results topical (see Latin: *CONGREGAUERUNT INIQUITATEM SIBI*). Thus, by matching syntax and IS, the analysis of (28) would result in

V-[IC]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}.

Sentence (29), on the other hand, has word order: V-O-IC. As for its IS, *foir* is topical since it refers back to a referent activated in the previous part of the gloss (that is, *intintud septien* “the translation of the Septuagint”).⁵⁷ The direct object (*obell* ₇ *astric*) is the focus of the predication. On the basis of the match between syntax and IS, the analysis of (29) would result as

V-[O]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}.

Regardless of more fine-grained considerations on basic vs. non-basic word orders in Old Irish and how such orders correlate with IS (which will be matter for discussion in Chapters 3 and 4), comparing (28) and (29) immediately offers food for thought. Indeed, given the same units of analysis (V, IC, O, TOP and FOC), different word orders (V-IC-O and V-O-IC) correspond to similar IS structures (FOC-TOP and FOC-TOP).

2.3 Corpus Selection: the Milan Glosses

With the scope of carrying on a so-detailed analysis of Old Irish sentences, choosing the proper corpus becomes a key passage. As anticipated in Chapter 1, I performed my analysis on the Milan glosses (henceforth MG).

The glosses are crucial texts for studying Old Irish. More specifically, MG (Thes. i 7-483) are the largest extant corpus of glosses, made of interlinear and marginal notes to (and translations of) a Latin commentary on the Psalms (manuscript Ambrosianus C301).

MG are the perfect choice for the analysis at the core of this thesis for several reasons, both at theoretical and philological level. The main reason lies in the glosses as a genre:

- i. they are old texts (8th-9th century; see Stokes and Strachan 1987);

⁵⁷ The entire gloss is: *amal bid horaili nuasligi .i. in nuaethintudsa dorigenuassa hoebreib .i. caicert som intintud septien hitosuch .i. intan foruirim obell **7** astric foir **7** roásaiset drissi innasenchomrorcan tarsodin iterum crícht les innaallsige ut praediximus* (“as though it were by a new clearing, that is, this new translation which I made from the Hebrews; that is, he has emended the translation of the Septuagint at first, when he had put an obelus and asterisk on it, and the brambles of old errors had grown over it again, so that there was need of the second clearing, as we have said above”). In bold font is the passage analysed here.

- ii. they are the almost only extant Old Irish text from contemporary sources. For this reason, their language is less likely to show modifications due to more recent linguistic phases of Irish;
- iii. they are prose texts: prose texts are by far preferable if compared to poetry texts to study Old Irish syntax. This position was clearly held by scholars since O'Donovan (1845: «In poetry, or poetical prose, the natural order of sentences is sometimes inverted»; but see also Mac Cana 1973, 1991).

A second set of reasons lies specifically in the Milan glosses:

- i. they are easy to access, thanks to Griffith and Stifter's (2013) database;⁵⁸
- ii. they show a large variety of syntactic as well as IS orders;
- iii. they are always featured by a Latin passage (which itself is often a commentary or gloss on another Latin text, that is, the Psalm verse). This, with the addition of previous and following glosses, offer a rare case of well-built universe of discourse from which IS can be identified rather visibly (see Bisagni 2014 and Moran 2015).

Needless to say, a strict comparison with the (Latin) universe of discourse of glosses has major consequences on the examination of word order and IS of Old Irish sentences. Consider sentence (30):

(30) *huasrungaib corp fulach innafochodo*
 when surpassed body resistance of the pain
 «when tolerance for pain surpasses the body» (Ml. 22^d9).

Example (30) is a quite straightforward case of V-O-S sentence, where a NP.ACC (*corp*) precedes the subject of the sentence (*fulach innafochodo*). The glossed Latin passage is the following: *tribulatio ista, quam patior, excesso*⁽⁹⁾ {*I cesso sit in aliis*} *corpore usque ad animæ*

⁵⁸ For the methodology employed by Griffith and Stifter to compile the database, see what follows: «As a starting point for the compilation of a dictionary and a database of the Old-Irish glosses from the Milan MS Ambr. C301 inf., Dr. Aaron Griffith typed in the entire text as found in *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (*Thes. Pal.*). Those corrections and additions found at the end of volumes 1 and 2 of *Thes. Pal.* were silently included. While the project progressed, further necessary revisions that became apparent during the work were included in the text so that its final version, available for download below, occasionally differs from the one in *Thes. Pal.* Basis for the revision was primarily the facsimile edition of the glosses (Richard I. Best, *The Commentary on the Psalms with glosses in Old-Irish preserved in the Ambrosian Library (MS. C 301 inf.)*. Collotype facsimile, with Introduction, Dublin: Royal Irish Academy 1936). Especially difficult passages were checked against the manuscript itself during a visit to Milan in December 2010 by Dr. Griffith. Also helpful was Graziadio Isaia Ascoli's *Il Codice irlandese dell'Ambrosiana* [= Archivio glottologico 5-6], Roma: Ermanno Loescher 1878-9».

interiora peruenit. Note how the same referents belong both to the Irish and to the Latin sentences: Old Irish *corp* = Latin *corpore*, Old Irish *fulach innafochodo* = Latin *tribulatio ista quam patior*. In terms of IS, the Latin adheres to a TOP-FOC alignment, where [*tribulatio ista, quam patior*]_{TOP} is topical, and [*excesso*⁽⁹⁾ {*! cesso sit in aliis*} *corpore usque ad animæ interiora*]_{FOC} is focal. Crucially, the topical referent in Latin is topical in Irish as well; the same is valid for the focal referent. As a consequence, comparing the Latin passage and the Irish gloss may be represented as portrayed in Table 7.

IS	Topic	Focus	None
Latin	<i>tribulatio ista, quam patior</i>	<i>excesso</i> ⁽⁹⁾ { <i>! cesso sit in aliis</i> } <i>corpore usque ad animæ interiora</i>	<i>peruenit</i>
Irish	<i>fulach innafochodo</i>	<i>corp</i>	<i>huasrungaib</i>

Table 7. IS comparison of ML. 22^d9 and its Latin corresponding passage.

This may give clues on the marked word orders observable in the Irish sentence: with the aim of rendering the meaning of the Latin passage, also by tracing its alignment in terms of IS, the Irish clause had to alter its basic order of words, pulling the O back towards the sentence-initial verb. In this way, it came to occur in an emphasising position, which made it perceivable as focal.

The MG corpus amounts to 8,444 glosses. The pipeline adopted to conduct the analysis of their syntactic aspects is the following:

- i. not all the glosses are relevant for a syntactic analysis. Hence,
 - a. single-word glosses (e.g. ML. 102^b13: *taræsi*, “for”) were not taken into account;
 - b. glosses without predication (e.g. ML. 102^a5: *.i. huile tír tairngeri*, “that is, the whole Land of Promise”) were not taken into account;⁵⁹
 - c. glosses featured by indefinite *sechi/saichi* + copula + tonic pronoun (e.g. ML. 69^a18: *sechitat háé*, “whatever they are”) were also not taken into account. Though inflected, the copula attached to *sechi* looks more like a relic than an actual still functioning verb. This choice is coherent with what is done in the case of *sechis*, which is always neglected. On that note,

⁵⁹ While glosses without predication were neglected, nominal clauses (namely, copular clauses with an understood/omitted copula) were always considered and analysed (e.g. ML. 87^d7: *debe tintuda inso*, “this [is] a difference of rendering”). Indeed, they show clear and comparable patterns in terms of word orders and ISs (in the case of ML. 87^d7, for instance, [SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}). On that note, see Chapter 8.

it must also be stressed that *(s)ón*, when co-occurring with *sechis/sechip/nochis*, is always considered non-argumental but expletive (see example 1. below, *.i. nochis conacertussa ón*);

- ii. classification of relevant clauses according to their syntactic type (e.g. V-S-O, V-IC-O, cleft sentences, etc.);
- iii. annotation of IS of relevant clauses according to the above-defined notions of topic and focus.

Consider the beginning of MG database. Reported below are the first three glosses:

1. *.i. nochis conacertussa ón*
«i.e. that is, I had emended» (Ml. 2^a1)
2. *tentathig*
«translators» (Ml. 2^a2).
3. *.i. ciarudbói aururas form*
«i.e. though there has been haste upon me» (Ml. 2^a3).

Sentence 1. has no relevant features in terms of word order. After the introductory *.i.*, it is made of a conjunction (*nochis*, which is analysed as a whole, with no attention paid to its morphological origin *noch + is*), a verb + emphatic subject (*conacertus + sa*) and an expletive pronoun occurring in correlation with *nochis* (*ón*). Thus, Ml. 2^a1 is not considered in the analysis.

Sentence 2. is a single-word gloss. Ml. 2^a2 is therefore not considered in the analysis.

Sentence 3 is a slightly more structured gloss, which is made of a VP (*ciarudbói*), a S (*aururas*) and an IC (*form*). This makes of Ml. 2^a3 a worth-examining gloss. The gloss has word order

V-S-IC,

which is a basic word order in Old Irish. There is an infixed pronoun *-d-* within the verb form, which however plays no role in terms of syntactic analysis (see GOI §426).

As far as IS is concerned, to retrieve the correct topic of the gloss it is necessary to refer back to the Latin text: *Psalterium Romæ dudum possitus emendaueram⁽¹⁾, et iuxta lxxa interpretes⁽²⁾, licet cursim⁽³⁾ magna tamen illud ex parte correxeram.*⁶⁰ On this basis, it can be

⁶⁰ When apex numbers occur in Latin passages, they serve to connect the Latin to the corresponding Irish gloss. For an example, ⁽¹⁾, ⁽²⁾, and ⁽³⁾ in the just seen Latin passage, refer to Ml. 2^a1, Ml. 2^a2 and Ml. 2^a3 respectively (examples 1., 2. and 3. above).

understood that Old Irish *aururas* is already introduced in the universe of discourse and is given (Lat. *cursim*). Reference to Latin is also what helps us to unravel the focus of the Irish gloss, namely *form*. Indeed, according to our defining criteria of focus, what is ‘new’ in Ml. 2^a3 is the relationship between *form* and the predication of the sentence to which it belongs. On a more communicative level, this gloss aims at stressing how that *aururas* which is mentioned in the Latin passage (*cursim*) is upon the writer.

To summarise, Ml. 2^a3 can be analysed as follows:

V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}.

As it is clear on the basis of these examples, MG look like the perfect corpus to investigate matters of word order and IS: the total number of glosses is high, a wide range of word orders is attested, the reference to rich Latin passages helps to disentangle the IS of each gloss. Nevertheless, MG offer some serious criticalities as well.

The first issue concerns the number of usable sentences. As has been seen, out of all the 8,444 glosses belonging to MG, a significant number has to be left out. This causes a sharp decrease of the corpus width. In total, the number of glosses considered in this thesis is 2,665 (that is, 31.56% of total). The list of Milan glosses considered in the analysis is reported in Appendix A.

A second major problem raised by employing MG as a corpus is due to its multi-layered nature. The glosses belonging to MG translate and/or comment upon Latin passages, which themselves happen to be translations/comments upon (Latin) psalms. This causes an intricate knot of cross-references which is necessary to unravel to properly understand the IS of Old Irish.

All this can be more easily figured out by considering an example, that is, the case of the Latin word *sensus*.

- (31) *is hé incét sians didiu*
 is it the first meaning then
 «this is the first meaning then» (Ml. 36^a32).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

- (32) *is he incetnae sians inso*
 is it the first meaning this
 «this is the first meaning» (Ml. 36^a33).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$

- (33) *issi* *so* *achiall*
 is she this its meaning
 «this is its meaning» (Ml. 65^a3).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

- (34) *issí* *ciall* *gaibes* *in testimín so corici* *aliter*
 is she meaning that utters this text as far as aliter
 «this is the sense which this text utters as far as *aliter*» (Ml. 101^c6-7).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

Sentences (31-34) show four short examples from MG, which share certain commonalities:

- i. they all have a similar meaning (namely, “this is its meaning”);
- ii. they all gloss Latin *sensus* (“meaning”);
- iii. they are all made of the same morphosyntactic items: forms of copula, tonic pronouns,⁶¹ demonstratives, NPs.

Despite these shared points, however, sentences (31-34) display different syntactic structures and different ISs. Those are due to the different relationships the Old Irish glosses hold with the Latin texts they refer to.

Examples (31) and (32) gloss the following Latin passage: *duplex in hoc uersiculo sensus inducitur*³². *id est*³³, *quod neque condemnauerit acceptis muneribus innocentem [...]*.⁶² In (31), Old Irish *sians* directly glosses Latin *sensus*. *Sensus/sians*, although active in the universe of discourse, is focal in both Latin and Irish. This is proven by example (32), which constitutes the subsequent gloss in MG, and which refers back to the same Latin passage. The sentence structure is identical to Ml. 36^a32, with the sole, but critical, difference of the presence of the demonstrative (*inso*). *Inso* is not only the subject of the copular clause (understood in Ml. 36^a32), but also the topical referent of both sentences (31 and 32).

⁶¹ Tonic pronouns will not be accounted for here. Their role in copular clauses will be examined in Chapter 7.

⁶² Example (31), that is, Ml. 36^a32 refers to apex number ³² in the Latin; example (32), that is, Ml. 36^a33 refers to apex number ³³ in the Latin.

Example (33) glosses the following Latin text: *et est sensus³: sicut es credentibus admirabilis, sic resultantibus debes esse terribilis*. In (33), *achiall* (“its meaning”) glosses Latin *sensus* directly. Differently from (31) and (32), *achiall* is the topical subject of the copular clause, while the focus of the sentence and predicate noun of the copular clause is the demonstrative (*so*), which was focal in (31) and (32). Indeed, the Old Irish demonstrative is coreferential with Latin *sicut es credentibus admirabilis* [...], which constitutes the unanchored new (thus focal) information of the Latin passage. Note also the different syntactic order of (32) on the one hand, (33) on the other: in the first case the NP occurs immediately after the copula and precedes the demonstrative, in the second case it is the pronoun which occurs immediately after the copula and precedes the NP.

Example (34) glosses the following Latin passage: ⁶⁻⁷*QUI SEDES usque MANNESSE*. In sentence (34), *ciall* is topical. What is focal is the portion of the Irish gloss coreferent to cataphoric *si* (*condárbais frecúndarcus du fortachtæ dunaib trebaib so diasoirad*, “that You (sg) may show the presence of Your (sg) help to these tribes for their deliverance”). Hence, *si* here functions anaphorically.⁶³

Table 8 summarises the analyses just performed of examples (31-34). In the column “*sensus*” the Old Irish word translating Latin *sensus* and its role in terms of IS are reported.

Locus	Word Order	Topic	Focus	<i>sensus</i>
Ml. 36 ^a 32	V ^(COP) -PN-SNP	Zero Anaphora	SNP (NP)	<i>sians</i> (FOC)
Ml. 36 ^a 33	V ^(COP) -PN-SNP-S	S (dem.)	SNP (NP)	<i>sians</i> (FOC)
Ml. 65 ^a 3	V ^(COP) -PN-SNP-S	S (NP)	SNP (dem.)	(<i>a</i>) <i>chiall</i> (TOP)
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	V ^(COP) -PN-S	PN (*anaph.)	SNP (PN)	<i>ciall</i> (TOP)

Table 8. Comparison of Ml. 36^a32, Ml. 36^a33, Ml. 65^a3 and Ml. 74^c21. V^(COP) stands for copula, PN stands for tonic pronoun, SNP stands for predicate noun, S stands for subject, dem. stands for demonstrative, *dem. stands for pronouns functioning anaphorically.

What emerges clearly on the basis of Table 8 is how the same few linguistic items can be differently aligned both in terms of word order and in terms of IS just on the basis of different contexts. NPs, demonstratives and even tonic pronouns can be topical; NPs as well as demonstratives can be focal. What marks such differences is always the different universe of discourse each gloss is delved in. In order to disentangle the universe of discourse of every gloss, all the Latin levels as well as preceding and following glosses must be taken into account and scrutinised carefully.

⁶³ This peculiar type of copular clause will be accounted for in greater detail in Chapter 7.

3. Unmarked Orders

The fact that Old Irish is (synchronically) characterised by a basic VSO word order is clearly shown also by the Milan glosses. Out of the 4,282 sentences considered in my analysis, 1,664 show an unmarked word order (that is, 38.84%).

Before considering in greater detail all the typologies of ‘basic’ orders at the core of this chapter, however, what ‘unmarked order’ means requires to be clearly defined. Below, a list of all the categories falling under this classification are summarised:

- i. order V S (O (IC));
- ii. order V S IC/Adv;
- iii. order V O (^{EMPH.SUBJ})(IC);
- iv. order V IC/Adv;
- v. impersonal constructions;
- vi. sentences introduced by interrogative *cía*;
- vii. sentences introduced by indefinite *sechi/cía*;
- viii. sentences introduced by the interrogative particle *in*.

Category i. groups V S, V S O and V S O IC sentences. Category ii. groups V S IC/Adv sentences, which could behave differently according to the presence/typology of infixed pronoun occurring within the verb: a V S IC sentence can display no infixed pronoun, an infixed object, an formally infixed object not functioning as O, an infixed pronominal element such as in cases with the verb *imm(e)-airicc* (see GOI §423), a relative infix or an infixed subject. Category iii. groups V O, V O^{EMPH.SUBJ} and V O^{EMPH.SUBJ} IC sentences, where the O can or cannot be an infix. Category iv. groups V IC/Adv sentences, with no explicit S or O. Category v. groups impersonal constructions, that is, a peculiar and identifiable Old Irish syntactic type featured by the accusative case of the required argument and by certain verb forms (e.g. *ní-fe(i)l*, *ní-fil*, but also *do-ella*, all translatable with “there is/are (not)”). Category vi. groups all those sentences in which *cía* acts as an interrogative element meaning “what/who”. Category vii. groups clauses introduced by *sechi/cía* + copula, with an indefinite value. Category viii. groups Old Irish polar questions, introduced by *in*.

The definition of ‘unmarked’ employed for orders listed above is motivated quantitatively: on the basis of data emerging from the Milan glosses corpus, they are by far the

most widely attested. In Chapter 4, ‘marked’ word orders will be dealt with. On the notion of ‘markedness’, see Haspelmath et al. (2001). In Chapter 4, marked orders will therefore be considered all those syntactic patterns which do not align to a plain order of constituents, that is, V S O IC, in all the variants sketched in points i.-v. above (for example, V IC S).

Cleft/pseudo-cleft structures are also cases of marked orders, or rather non-unmarked orders, in a broad sense. Nevertheless, they are kept separated from actual marked word orders (see Chapter 6). This choice is not due to the scarce frequency of such syntactic patterns (they are actually quite diffused in the language), but to their peculiar IS. (Pseudo)cleft sentences are indeed characterised by a recurrent focalisation of clefted items, which – together with a well-codified syntax of the construction – brought me to consider them alone. Among non-unmarked orders, but analysed on their own, there are also cases of fronting, where an extra-clausal constituent precedes a sentence to which it is linked via a pronominal element (see Chapter 5). Copular clauses are classified as non-unmarked orders as well. This is based on several reasons: the divergent syntactic structure of copular clauses in Old Irish (see Chapter 7, but also Chapter 2); the remarkably high number of different possibilities in terms of syntactic patterns of copular clauses ($V^{(COP)} \text{ SNP S}$, $V^{(COP)} \text{ SNP IC S}$, $V^{(COP)} \text{ PN SNP}$, $V^{(COP)} \text{ PN S}$, etc.); the possible intersection of copular clauses with other syntactic expedients such as (pseudo)cleft sentences, or fronting. In the end, nominal clauses and sentences made of verbs only (e.g. $V^{(COP)} \text{ V/Verb of necessity}$) are also kept separated from unmarked orders, and taken into account independently.

As for categories vi.-ix. above, they are classified as unmarked orders because, even if they show a characteristic syntactic behaviour, they adhere to the (basic) V S O IC syntactic type. For an example, consider Ml. 91^d 4 (35):

- (35) *.i.* *in damsoirthae* *dulamaib*
 that is whether I might be delivered from hands
 munat [leg. *munamat*] *fanaic*
 of my enemies or not
 «that is, whether I might be delivered from the hands of my enemies or not» (Ml. 91^d 4).

Regardless of the presence of the conjunct particle *in*, the word order of this sentence can be assimilated to a V IC order (V: *in damsoirthae*; IC: *dulamaib muna[ma]t*).

3.1 VS (O (IC)) orders

The V S (O (IC)) order amounts to 468 examples within the Milan glosses corpus. This constitutes 10.93% of total number of sentences in my analysis, and 28.11% of sentences showing an unmarked word order.

3.1.1 VS O IC orders

The actual number of sentences showing the presence of all V, S, O, and IC is much lower than the total of this sub-group (V S O IC/Adv sentences are only 62, that is, 3.72% of sentences with unmarked word order and 1.45% of all sentences). A first case of V S O IC sentence both in terms of syntax and IS is shown in (36):

- (36) *.i. dorat dia forcell desom.*
 that is gave God testimony about him
 «that is, God has given testimony about him» (Ml. 22^d19).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{FOC}-O-[IC]_{TOP}

In (36), the IS of Old Irish retraces that of the Latin glossed passage: *cum {adit inplorat} possit in sufragium ueniæ multa á sé prius³⁷ bene acta¹⁸ numerare, quæ utique sunt **diuino⁹ testimonio** comprobata²⁰*. In Latin, *diuino testimonio* has focal value. The same happens in the case of *dia* in Old Irish. What is topical, then, is the pronominal element occurring in the inflected preposition *desom*, which refers to the psalm locutor.

A second possible analysis of example (36) understands the O (*forcell*) as topical and the sentence-final IC (*desom*) as focal. This analysis would rely on the fact that what is glossed by Ml. 22^d19 is *diuino testimonio*. This would make Old Irish *desom* the unpredictable part of information which is added to the universe of discourse,⁶⁴ and *forcell* topical.

Even if in the case of example (36) I would follow the first analysis, V S O IC examples with topical O and focal IC are relatively numerous in the Milan glosses corpus. Comparable cases are reported in Table 9.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 14 ^b 4	<i>.i. ni digned Duid innuaisletaid innafindbuide adfiadar isintsalmso dothaisilbiud dondfiur adrodar idlu.</i>	that is, David would not have ascribed the height of bliss that is declared in this psalm to the man who worshipped idols	V-S-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

⁶⁴ Note that “him” would not be in this case un-given *per se*, but new would be its relation with *dorat* in this context.

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<p> Ml. 30^a9 <i>.i. foragab duaid inna anman adiecta cen tabairt anman trén fríu.</i> </p>	<p>that is, David left the adjectives without adding substantives to them</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 40^c17 <i>.i. tuc duaid fersu hitadbadar inducbál dé , a huaisletu inarrad innafersae hitadbadar cosmailius do frisnariga talmandi.</i> </p>	<p>that is, David has put verses in which the glory of God and his elevation are shown beside the verses in which is set forth His likeness to the earthly kings</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 42^c10 <i>.i. intan radas nech insci abelrai fesin frinech nachidetargéuin</i> </p>	<p>that is, when someone speaks the speech of his own language to one who does not know it</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 54^c18 <i>arduecommnacht dia incathraig hilama cald.</i> </p>	<p>since God had delivered the city into the hands of the Chaldeans</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 54^c23 <i>donecommnacht dia incathraig illama cald</i> </p>	<p>that God had delivered the city into the hands of the Chaldeans</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 54^c26 <i>air doecommnacht dia incaraigse [leg. incathraigse] hilama cald</i> </p>	<p>for God has delivered this city into the hands of the Chaldeans</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 65^b10 <i>.i. dubeir cách a chorp hí cotarsnae friachele</i> </p>	<p>that is, everyone puts his body in opposition to the other</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 82^c8 <i>.i. amal duratsat sacaird tall bendachta forsín pol [leg. popul] octuidecht tri muir robur</i> </p>	<p>that is, as priests at that time had blessed the people when they came through the Red Sea</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 90^c14 <i>.i. intan dobera dia fochraicci ar degnimu</i> </p>	<p>that is, when God will give rewards for good work</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 90^d3 <i>.i. am [leg. ama] dungní nech són caratrad du etuch dia ditin ar huacht</i> </p>	<p>that is, as someone forms a friendship for a garment to defend him from cold</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 94^c3 <i>amal nad techta nech asiansu corai intan in bís immescai</i> </p>	<p>as someone does not have his proper senses when he is intoxicated</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 115^a2 <i>labraid inspiurt noib inso trigiun duaid</i> </p>	<p>the Holy Spirit speaks this through the mouth of David</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 122^d7 <i>is indí rombú foraimítech side ataircítíl beus cosinnuair rondchomallastar</i> </p>	<p>in that he had been mindful of His prophecy still till the time that he had fulfilled it</p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 136^c1 <i>.i. duuc duaid á sed exaltaui animam meam etir sí non humiliter sentiebam , etir sicut lactans gaudet</i> </p>	<p>that is, David has put <i>sed exaltaui animam meam</i> between <i>si non humiliter sentiebam</i> and <i>sicut lactans gaudet</i></p>	<p>V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>

Table 9. V S O IC sentences with topical O and focal IC.

A few remarks on sentences reported in Table 9 must be added. As for *ML. 14^b 4*, the object of the sentence is the complex phrase *innuaisletaid innafindbuide adfiadar isintsalmso dothaisilbiud*, which represents the construction NP + *do* + verbal noun of a transitive verb (see GOI §720). This phrase is also the topical element of the sentence, as it is introduced in the universe of discourse by the Latin text (*huic ergo qui templum Dei spoliauit⁽¹⁾ et omnia intus {i. intemplo} possita dona contrassit⁽²⁾ ac misit ea uiro alienigenæ impio atque sacrilego quod profeta⁽³⁾ Dauid beatitudinis apicem⁽⁴⁾ contulisset*). The Irish gloss here must be interpreted as an explanation of the Latin. In *ML. 94^c 3*, the IC, focal, is a sentence itself: *intan in bís immescai*. This sentence is glossed as IC since its function with respect to the main clause is that of a PP (on circumstantial temporal clauses labelled as ICs, see Section 2.2.). In the end, in *ML. 122^d 7*, note that what is glossed as O is a NP in the genitive case. This is because *foraithmitech* is an adjective (which thus constitutes a predicate adjective with the copula) derived from *foraithmet*, verbal noun of *for-aithminedar*, which requires the genitive to express the direct object.

More generally, it must be stressed how the non-topicality of Ss can be ascribed to the peculiar typology of referents playing the role of S in sentences shown in Table 9. We have: *duaid* (“David”) 4 occurrences, *dia* (“God”) 4 occurrences, *nech* (“someone”) 3 occurrences, *cách* (“everyone”) 1 occurrence, *inspiurt noib* (“the Holy Spirit”) 1 occurrence, *side* (“he”) 1 occurrence and *sacaird* (“priests”) 1 occurrence. With the sole exception of *sacaird* (and perhaps in this case also *side*), all the other subjects are referents which tend to be non-topical in the Milan glosses. *Duaid*, *dia* and *inspiurt noib* are extremely frequent in Milan, but tend to be not actual referents playing significant roles within the universe of discourse, but background participants to the action described by the verb. They are on the one hand inherently given, but on the other not sufficiently ‘core’ in the universe of discourse to be set as topics (of course, not in every case).

V S O IC clauses with topical O and focal IC are attested also with *notae augentes* as Ss. Needless to say, in similar cases it is not the *nota augens* playing the syntactic role of S, but the subject of the verb, expressed by the verbal ending, which the *nota augens* is coreferent with. Nevertheless, to mark the difference among V S O IC cases, where the emphatic particle is expressed, and V O IC cases, where the subject of the verb expressed by the verbal ending is not reinforced by the *nota augens*, V S.^{EMPH} O IC examples are assimilated to V S O IC cases.

For an example of V S.^{EMPH} O IC with topical O and focal IC, see (37):

- (37) *nad* *techtadsom* *dliged* *coimdemnachtæ* *isnaib*
 that not had right of lordship in the
 dulib
 elements

«if He had not had [lit. that He did not have] the right of lordship over the elements» (Ml. 17^b6).

Word order and information structure: V^(+EMPH.SUBJ)-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

In (37), the topical status of *dliged coimdemnachtæ* is made clear by Latin (*non ergo nuper additam et⁽⁴⁾ uelut nouellam⁽⁵⁾ habet possessionem, quia inconueniens⁽⁶⁾ erat ut nihil iuris haberet in his quæ ipse considerat*) and by the previous gloss (*nuaidi .i. ní nuæ ndo anatrabsin*). These cases reveal how the referent is already introduced and well-set in the universe of discourse. As far as the focal status of the indirect complement is concerned, then, this can be understood also on the basis of the fact that the referent newly introduced by the indirect complement then becomes the most salient (as well as topical) element of the following relative clauses: *nad techtadsom dliged coimdemnachtæ isnaib dulib doforsat , immanaccai* (“if he had not had [lit. that He did not have] the right of lordship over the elements which He has created and watches over”). It is then necessary to stress how the referent of emphatic subject *-som*, is once more God. Examples similar to (37) above are shown in Table 10.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^b 4	<i>ciasidciamni titlu recech oin salm</i>	although we see headings before every single psalm	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^a 23	<i>.i. asbeirsom in dérgud arangalar</i>	that is, he says “the bed” for “the sickness”	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 78 ^b 12	<i>.i. dobeir so [leg. som] ainm cathrach dun cennadaig aradaingni</i>	that is, he gives the name of town to the district for its strength	V-S. ^{EMPH} -[O] _{TOP} -IC- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^c 17	<i>.i. ciadurat som digail forassaru</i>	that is, though He has inflicted punishment on the Assyrians	V-S. ^{EMPH} -[O] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 106 ^c 12	<i>.i. cenid tabair siu digail forsna naimtea fochetóir</i>	that is, although You (sg) do not inflict punishment on the foes at once	V-S. ^{EMPH} -[O] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 134 ^d 3	<i>.i. artroidfeasiu inna drochdaini adáé diananduch</i>	that is, You (sg) will restrain the evil men, O God, from their iniquity	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}

Table 10. V S.^{EMPH} O IC sentences with topical O and focal IC.

In 4 out of 6 cases, the referent indicated by the *nota augens* is God. The peculiarity and strong tendency identified by V S O IC contexts with topical O and focal IC in terms of

subject identification may thus lead to hypothesise that such a IS alignment is not the less marked one.

Example (38), although once more it features word order V S O IC, behaves differently in terms of IS:

- (38) *.i. nírecat greic les tintuda doib*
 that is do not reach Greeks need of translation to them
 «that is, the Greeks do not need a translation for them(selves)» (Ml. 3^a14).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}-IC

Here, what is topical is S (*greic*), and what is focal is O (*les tintuda*).⁶⁵ One may perhaps tend to believe that this is the base IS alignment with V S O IC sentences, but things are seriously made difficult by the scarce number of similar cases occurring in the Milan glosses. They are reported in Table 11.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 36 ^c 10	<i>.i. ní ric dia les neich dichumachtu huainni</i>	that is, God does not need any power from us	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 128 ^a 8	<i>air ní cinni donec aimsir isnaib desmrehtaib se</i>	for <i>donec</i> does not define time in these instances	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC} -IC

Table 11. V S O IC sentences with topical S and focal O.

Sentence Ml. 36^c10 shows a syntactic structure very close to example (38) above, with *ro·icc* + *les* + NP in the genitive, which is rather peculiar in Old Irish. Sentence Ml. 128^a8, instead, is a metalinguistic gloss, where a Latin word (*donec*) functions as subject of V (*air ní cinni*).

Similarly to what shown above for V S O IC orders with topical O and focal IC, example (39) shows an instance of V S O IC order with topical S and focal O where S is a *nota augens*:

- (39) *noch immurgu nírolsat som*
 yet however (they) did not cast they(EMPH)

⁶⁵ The verb *ro·icc*, when followed by *les* (“need”, accusative singular noun) + NP in the genitive, means “need something”, where “something” is the NP in the genitive. On choices made as for the IS of the sentences, see Latin text: *quod opusculum meum si in Grecum, ut polliceris, transtuleris*⁽³³⁾ αντιφιλονεικων τοις κατασυρουσιν *et imperitiæ meæ doctissimos uiros quoque testes facere dicam tibi illud*⁽¹⁴⁾ {*.i. præuerbium*} *orationum* [leg. *Horatianum*]^(14a), *in siluam ne ligna feras*.

cumachtae *ní dé* *diib* *calleic*
 power of God from them still
tri *bas* *doinachtae* *críst*
 through death of humanity of Christ

«and yet they nevertheless did not cast the power of God from them through the death of the Manhood of Christ» (Ml. 16^d2).

Word order and information structure: V-[S.^{EMPH}]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC-IC}-IC

All the other similar cases attested among the Milan glosses are reported in Table 12.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 21 ^c 3	<i>condermanammarni innaimnedsin imbiam isindlaithiu trichumsanad inna aidche dodiamorat.</i>	so that we may forget those troubles in which we are in the day through the repose of the night that follows it	V[(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 49 ^d 3	<i>.i. ní frithalimse rucai nammebuil dam hisasuithin</i>	that is, I do not expect shame or disgrace to me for ever	V[(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>ní derlegaesiu intitule roscribais huas inchroich du dílsigud cesta críst</i>	to renounce the Passion of Christ, you (sg) may not obliterate the title that you (sg) have written over the Cross	V[(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 75 ^d 10	<i>.i. amal nadtuksat som cecruth rombatar innannoidenacht aranoitid</i>	that is, as because of their youth they did not understand how they had been in their infancy	V-[S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC-IC}

Table 12. V S.^{EMPH} O IC sentences with topical S and focal O.

In Ml. 75^d10, what is tagged as O is a sentence itself: *cecruth rombatar innannoidenacht* (“how they had been in their infancy”).

Partially assimilable to these cases but deserving a deeper look is (40):

(40) *imfolngai són* *immurgu* *bibdamnacht do* *doinib*
 causes that however criminality to men
 «that, however, causes criminality to men» (Ml. 69^a23).

Word order and information structure: V-[S.^{ANAPH}]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC-IC}

In (40) the topical subject is *són*. *Són* is a linguistic item hard to classify in Old Irish. It may happen to behave as an actual argumental (neuter) pronoun (as in (40) above), or rather to function as an expletive pronominal element as in (41):

- (41) *intan immeromastar són nach noib*
 when sins EXPL any saint
 «when any saint sins» (Ml. 51^a18).

In (41), the non-argumental status of *són* is witnessed by the co-occurrence with the subject of an intransitive verb (*immeromastar*), that is, *nach noib*. Even in the Milan glosses database, Griffith and Stifter (2013) – although showing a clear trend in analysing (*s*)*ón* – do not always label it coherently. As far as I am concerned, I will tend to stick to Griffith and Stifter’s database analysis, according to which in the great majority of cases (*s*)*ón* is labelled as EXPL (expletive pronominal element). In a few cases, however, such as in (40), *són* is understood as argumental.

The next step of the analysis of V S O IC examples consists in taking into consideration cases where we have a topical S followed by a focal IC (42):

- (42) *.i. coruagathar inmae [leg. inmenmae] dia*
 that is that may fear the mind God
ladethin [leg. ladethidin] nandegnimae
 with care of good works
 «that is, that the mind may fear God with care for good works» (Ml. 66^a2).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP}-O-[IC]_{FOC}

In (42), a definite topical referent (*inmenmae*) functions as S of a transitive V (*coruagathar*). O of the sentence is *dia*, “God”, non-salient according to what seen above, and the final IC marks the informative peak of the sentence, thus acquiring the status of focus.

Table 13 reports all the other cases of V S O IC with topical S and focal IC within the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 48 ^c 8	<i>roort dia assaru síc</i>	God slew the Assyrians thus	V-[S] _{TOP} -O- [Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^c 19	<i>.i. ducoíd cách huainn aleth forassreud</i>	that is, each of us went apart [lit. his direction] in dispersal	V-[S] _{TOP} -O-[IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 66 ^b ₅	<i>.i. segait indfirien innafochaidi arsaigid innangnimae foirbthe</i>	that is, the righteous seek tribulations in order to attain to perfect deeds	V-[S] _{TOP} -O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^d ₈	<i>.i. duimchella son incathraig andes 7 aniar 7 antuaid</i>	that is, it surrounds the city on the south, the west, and the north	V-[S] _{TOP} -O- [Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^a ₁₃	<i>.i. molad cechoin incoimdid hí cech ait isinchathrig</i>	that is, let every one praise the Lord in every place in the city	V-[S] _{TOP} -O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 113 ^c ₈	<i>.i. roétrummaigset in babillondai són doiri forsna cenela echtranna robatar fuammám artuidecht leu dobrith macc n israhel indoiri</i>	that is, in return for their coming with them to carry the Children of Israel into captivity, the Babylonians lightened the captivity for the foreign nations that were subject to them	V-[S] _{TOP} -O-IC- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^b ₇	<i>contoroe farao achride do miscuis macc n israhel</i>	Pharaoh had turned his heart to hatred of the Children of Israel	V-[S] _{TOP} -O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^d ₁₃	<i>air carait sidi cach icoitchennas</i>	for they love all in common	V-[S] _{TOP} -O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^d ₁	<i>.i. confresced inpopul á íc arduaid</i>	that is, that the people might expect its deliverance on account of David	V-[S] _{TOP} -O-[IC] _{FOC}

Table 13. V S O IC sentences with topical S and focal IC.

In Table 13, note that in Ml. 48^c₈ and Ml. 67^d₈ the sentence-final focal constituent is not labelled as IC, but as Adv. Even if each case must be carefully taken into consideration on its own, in Old Irish ICs and AdvS may happen to be assimilated, also because it is not always easy to differentiate between them with certainty (see, for example, the case of *and* “in it/there”).

Table 5 shows a consistent amount of V S O IC cases with topical S and focal IC, which seem to behave coherently under the IS point of view. As a matter of fact, all focal items are actual referents belonging to the universe of discourse surrounding the gloss (and not backgrounded referents as when focal are Os). Note also that when more than one final IC is present (Ml. 113^c₈), it is the last one to be focal.

The prototypical consistency of V S O IC cases with topical S and focal IC is shown by the only example attested among the Milan glosses where S is not a NP but is a *nota augens* (43):

(43)	<i>acht</i>	<i>durumenar</i>	<i>som</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>diadermut</i>
	but	forgot	he(EMPH)	God	through his forgetting
	<i>propter</i>	<i>peccatum</i>	<i>suum</i>		
	propter	peccatum	suum		

«but that he forgot God through his forgetting *propter peccatum suum*» (Ml. 32^d10).

Word order and information structure: V-[S.^{EMPH}]_{TOP}-O-[IC]_{FOC}

As seen above, the sentence-final focal IC is a complex phrase identifying a referent belonging to the universe of discourse of the gloss (see Latin: *sicut⁶ igitur deuotus famulus timens offensam⁷ domini longiorem propter peccatum quidem suum iuste se excedisse⁸ zeli⁹ memoriae¹¹ confitetur*). The fact that (43) is the only case with topical emphatic S in Milan cannot pass unnoticed. The absence of topical emphatic subject can be read as follows: when, in basic word order sentences, the topical subject is not an actual NP but is expressed by the verbal ending, there is no need to emphasise it via *nota augens*. Emphatic particles are inserted instead when the referent they are denoting is – although eventually topical – somehow non-standard (see what highlighted in Table 10).

The last major category identifiable in case of V S O IC sentences is that defined by a focal O and topical sentence-final IC (44):

- (44) *.i. dorat saul athissi foir*
 that is gives Saul insults on him
 «that is, Saul cast revilings on him» (Ml. 54^c16).

Word order and information structure: V-S-[O]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}

Only one further example is attested with non-emphatic S, that is, (45):

- (45) *dombera dia fortacht*
 that will give God help
dondfiur firien diaditin
 to the man righteous for his protection
ar in pecthach
 from the sinner
 «that God will give help to the righteous man to defend him from the sinner»
 (Ml. 57^c4).

Word order and information structure: V-S-[O]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}

In (45), the last IC, that is, *diaditin ar in pecthach* modifies the O, that is, *fortacht*. Remarkably, in both (44) and (45) the S referent belongs to the backgrounded type (Saul, God).⁶⁶

Slightly more consistent under the quantitative standpoint are V S O IC cases with focal O and topical IC showing an emphatic S (Table 14). This does not surprise given what has just been said on the backgrounded status of S referents and even more so given the metalinguistic nature of roughly all the glosses collected in Table 14.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 51 ^d 2	<i>.i. nítuic som dobrethir is indí siu</i>	that is, he has not put an adverb in this	V-S. ^{EMPH} -[O] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 7	<i>.i. asbeirsom iustos doib</i>	that is, he calls them <i>iustos</i>	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 77 ^a 2	<i>.i. dubeir som ainm claidib donaib briathraib</i>	that is, he gives the name of sword to the words	V-S. ^{EMPH} -[O] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 104 ^b 5	<i>ailessom fordiuclaim 7 apthain inna innamat [leg. innanamat] huantenid</i>	he requests the devouring and death of the enemies by the fire	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}

Table 14. V S.^{EMPH} O IC sentences with focal O and topical IC.

The IS of Ml. 77^a2 can be realised by considering the Latin: *locuntur uerba peiora gladiis*². *Gladiis* is the glossed Latin word and is focal in the Irish gloss; what is topical is Lat. *uerba*.

Table 15 reports all the other cases of V S O IC attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 35 ^b 1	<i>.i. nied amet demnigmini arndligeda hotestinnib screptaire</i>	that is, not only do we confirm our sayings by texts of Scripture	[V] _{FOC} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP-} [O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 20	<i>rosuidigestar l. suidigfith dia recht ndo dia etarcnu</i>	God has established, or will establish, a Law for him in order [for him] to understand it	[V] _{FOC-S} -[O] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 49 ^a 17	<i>.i. dufutharctar som ol [leg. olc] doib</i>	that is, they wished evil to them	[V-S. ^{EMPH} -O] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}

⁶⁶ Both (44) and (45) show the light verb (in the terms defined by Gross 1975) *do-beir* + O: *do-beir athissi* “he gives insults” > “he insults”; *do-beir fortacht* “he gives help” > “he helps”. Similar light verbs are widespread in the Irish glosses. In the case of such constructions, I did not apply a systematic rule to examine them (e.g. consider V+O > V), but I took each case into account singularly (see e.g. Table 15).

Ml. 52 ^x 00	<i>air du corastar dia deilb mordraige 7 firboith forsinní dauid diadamlad</i>	for God had put a form of ghostly appearance and of a simpleton on David to disguise him	[V-S-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^d 5	<i>.i. dobiursa fortachtain doib nachtan ronecat ales</i>	that is, I give them help whenever they need it	[V] _{FOC} ^(+EMPHSUBJ) - [O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 83 ^b 11	<i>.i. diatartaisi fortachtain doib som</i>	that is, if you give them help	[V] _{FOC} ^(+EMPHSUBJ) - [O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^c 18	<i>.i. intan nad tarat dia fortachtain dam ón· dumsoirad dilamaib munamat</i>	that is, when God had not given me help to deliver me from the hands of my enemies	V-S-O-[IC] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^c 10	<i>.i. huare nad tabair siu digail fochetóir forru</i>	that is, because You (sg) do not inflict punishment on them at once	V-S. ^{EMPH} -O- [Adv] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^a 5	<i>.i. amal dunem side nech iarnachúil hícath</i>	that is, as he protects one behind him in battle	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -O-IC- IC
Ml. 112 ^b 16	<i>.i. anadcumget olca ní dait</i>	that is, when evils cannot do anything to you	[V-S-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^b 13	<i>.i. lase dofich dia fornancridesi forcách</i>	that is, when God avenges your injuries on all	[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 123 ^b 13	<i>.i. ciarudmrehtnigestar so [leg. som] briathra 7 persona híc</i>	that is, though he has varied words and persons <i>híc</i>	[V] _{FOC} -S. ^{EMPH} -[O] _{TOP} - Adv
Ml. 127 ^b 6	<i>.i. taibred dia digail forru tarési ápecthadamsa</i>	that is, let God inflict punishment on them for their sin	V-S-O-[IC] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 12	<i>.i. ar congaibsom toib 7 erchinn issuidiu</i>	that is, for it holds side and front therein	[V] _{FOC} ^(+EMPHSUBJ)] _{TOP} - [O-Adv] _{FOC}

Table 15. Further examples of V S O IC sentences.

Ml. 35^b1 is an example of sentence focus, where all the predication is in emphasis and is about a non-overt topical S referent (in the gloss recalled by the enclitic nota augens *-ní*). A similar case is shown by Ml. 131^c12. In Ml. 46^c20 what is topical is the first IC, which has the morphological shape of an inflected preposition. The fact that not only the O is focal is shown by the doubling of verb in the sentence (*rosuidigestar l. suidigfith*). The same IS of Ml. 46^c20 is shared by Ml. 58^d5⁶⁷ and Ml. 83^d11. In both cases the topical IC is an inflected preposition.

A different example of sentence focus is shown by Ml. 49^a17. Here, a sentence final topical IC (inflected preposition) is preceded by a whole focal predication. Rather similar to this case is Ml. 52^x00, where however the topical IC is followed by a focal IC belonging to the predication on focus.

⁶⁷ Regarding Ml. 58^d5, note that *nachtan* is actually a NP in the accusative according to the database analysis.

Both Ml. 90^c18 and Ml. 127^b6 feature a first topical IC followed by a sentence-final focal IC. Once more the topical element is morphologically pronominal. Contrastingly, in Ml. 93^c10 it is the first IC (under the shape of an Adv) which is focal, followed by a sentence-final topical inflected preposition (*forru*).

To conclude, Ml. 112^a5 and Ml. 123^b13 show cases of predicate focus. The only difference is that in the former what is topical is S (anaphoric pronoun), while in the latter it is O.

Table 16 summarises the quantitative analysis of V S O IC sentences, ordered from the most frequent to the less attested typology.

Analysis	Type of S	Instances	% out of V S O IC	% out of UWO ⁶⁸
V-S-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	15	24.20%	0.90%
V-[S] _{TOP} -O-[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	10	16.10%	0.60%
V-S-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{EMPH}	6	9.68%	0.36%
V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC} -IC	S. ^{EMPH}	5	8.06%	0.30%
V-S-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{EMPH}	4	7.45%	0.24%
V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC} -IC	S. ^{NP}	3	4.84%	0.18%
V-S-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	2	3.23%	0.12%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -[O]-IC _{FOC}	S. ^{EMPH}	2	3.23%	0.12%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC	S. ^{EMPH}	2	3.23%	0.12%
V-S-O-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	2	3.23%	0.12%
[V-S-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	2	3.23%	0.12%
V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC} -IC	S. ^{ANAPH}	1	1.61%	0.06%
V-[S] _{TOP} -O-[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{EMPH}	1	1.61%	0.06%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC	S. ^{NP}	1	1.61%	0.06%
[V-S-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{EMPH}	1	1.61%	0.06%
V-S-O-[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{EMPH}	1	1.61%	0.06%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -O-IC-IC	S. ^{ANAPH}	1	1.61%	0.06%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{TOP} -IC	S. ^{EMPH}	1	1.61%	0.06%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{TOP} -IC	S. ^{NP}	1	1.61%	0.06%
V-[S] _{FOC} -O-[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	1	1.61%	0.06%

Table 16. Quantitative analysis of V S O IC sentences (with Ss' types differentiation).

Table 16 differentiates among V S O IC cases disciplined differently in terms of both IS and typology of Ss. On its basis, V S O IC examples with topical O and focal IC seem by far the most frequent with all V, S, O and IC constituents involved in Old Irish clauses, even if they appeared not to be prototypical in terms of IS alignment, as shown above. A coherent picture

⁶⁸ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

emerges from the data reported in Table 17, where no difference is made among different typologies of Ss.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V S O IC	% out of UWO ⁶⁹
V-S-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	21	34.28%	1.26%
V-[S] _{TOP} -O-[IC] _{FOC}	11	17.25%	0.66%
V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC} -IC	9	14.51%	0.54%
V-S-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	7	11.29%	0.42%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC	3	4.84%	0.18%
[V-S-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	3	4.84%	0.18%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -[O-IC] _{FOC}	2	3.23%	0.12%
V-S-O-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	2	3.23%	0.12%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{TOP} -IC	2	3.23%	0.12%
V-S-O-[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	1	1.61%	0.06%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -O-IC-IC	1	1.61%	0.06%
V-[S] _{FOC} -O-[IC] _{TOP}	1	1.61%	0.06%

Table 17. Quantitative analysis of V S O IC sentences (with no S's types differentiation).

3.1.2 VS O orders

V S O sentences attested within my corpus are 97, that is, 5.84% of sentences with unmarked word order and 2.26% of total. For a first analysis of how the IS is disciplined in V S O clauses, consider (46):

- (46) *.i. amal sluces anadnacul n-ersoilcthe*
 that is as swallows the grave opened
nítete ind
 anything that goes in it
 «that is, as the open sepulcher swallows anything that goes into it» (Ml. 22^b1).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}

In (46), S is topical and O is focal. As for the topic, note how S (*anadnacul*) is strongly set in the universe of discourse in the Latin passage glossed by this sentence: *sepulcrorum⁽¹⁾ uice longe horrorem foetoris eructant*. This combination between syntax and IS looks pretty much canonical. The only objection one can put forward against this analysis is that the sentence-final position of O is due to its morphosyntactic heaviness, since it is made of a

⁶⁹ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

pronoun (*ní*) + a relative clause (*tete ind*). Examples such as (47) below nevertheless show how O may occur at the end of the clause and in focal position also when it is not a heavy constituent.

- (47) *citabiat iarum inchnamai infochaid*
 feel after that the bones the suffering
 «then the bones feel the suffering» (Ml. 22^d7).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}

The consistency of the V S O pattern with topical S and focal O is demonstrated also by the high number of similar cases out of the total of V S O sentences in the Milan glosses. Table 18 reports all the V S O sentences with topical S and focal O, where S is a NP and not a *nota augens*.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 16 ^a 4	<i>.i. anarróet deacht donacht [leg. doinacht]</i>	that is, when the Godhead assumed Manhood	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^b 10	<i>huare nadndigni abisolón achomairli</i>	because Absalom did not follow his counsel	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^c 15	<i>.i. fortgellat agnimai sainemlaisom nadnderginisom anuilesin.</i>	that is, his excellent works attest that he did not do all that	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 25 ^a 8	<i>.i. nolínfed precept asoscelai innule cuaird in talman</i>	that is, the preaching of His Gospel would fill the whole circuit of the earth	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 25 ^d 18	<i>.i. intan asmbeir apstal cum dicat</i>	that is, when the apostle says <i>cum dicat</i>	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^b 1	<i>.i. intan citambí ind lám interochraic</i>	that is, when the hand feels the reward	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^c 22	<i>.i. amal donemat eoin asuthu</i>	that is, as birds protect their young	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^d 6	<i>.i. intan cairleci dia etarthothaim innamat [leg. innanamat]</i>	that is, when God permits the utter ruin of the enemies	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 7	<i>.i. nítucai cách dib bebrae alaili</i>	that is, each of them does not understand the language of the other	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 8	<i>.i. airthuccai cach chenel hí coitchet chenas [leg. coitchenas] aninisci sidi</i>	that is, for each nation together understands its [lit. their] speech	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 28	<i>.i. du arbuid infaith ata ninunn in pecthi diarogaid inpopul fuairrigi</i>	that is, the prophet showed that the sins for which the people	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}

	<i>ndæ , ad(il)gadchi , inna hí diarogad(a)tar in popul robo [leg. roboi] in(ege)pt</i>	sought the clemency of God and His forgiveness, and those for which the people that was in Egypt prayed, are the same	
Ml. 49 ^b 7	<i>.i. intan dober dia indigail</i>	that is, when God inflicts the punishment	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^b 7	<i>dommuinetar indoiss [leg. indoini iss] ferc do insin</i>	men think that that is anger in Him	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^a 16	<i>aran dena nech dinaib noibaib huail cosmail frissinní dorigni ezechias arangé dilgud</i>	that anyone of the saints be guilty of pride like to that of which Hezekiah was guilty	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 8	<i>.i. dobeir dia aithesc</i>	that is, God gives an answer	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 10	<i>.i. intan asmber duaid intellectum tibi dabo</i>	that is, when David says <i>intellectum tibi dabo</i>	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c 5	<i>.i. duarbaid dia indéni as comallaidi aforgaire</i>	that is, God showed the speed with which his command must be fulfilled	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^a 2	<i>.i. forceilla trummae innafochodo as comacus ambás</i>	that is, the heaviness of the tribulation declares that death is near	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^b 9	<i>arnacathar nech inna rétu inducbaidi inbetha so</i>	that no one sees the glorious things of this world	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^a 12	<i>.i. air duroimnibetar mopopuise arrecht</i>	that is, for my peoples will forget their Law	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^d 6	<i>.i. amal nad fulaing nech mescai indfino</i>	that is, as a man does not endure the intoxication of wine	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^b 17	<i>.i. amal caras athir achláinn</i>	that is, as a father loves his children	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 3	<i>imfolígai son legad doibsom , techt hipiana</i>	that causes them to melt and to go into torments	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 97 ^d 4	<i>nad coimnacur [leg. nad coimnacuir] dia tabairt uisci doib is indiserto</i>	that God was not able to give them water in the wilderness	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 135 ^d 4	<i>.i. sechnicoimnactar arnamait són fortanbristis ní</i>	that is, our enemies have not been able to crush us	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 137 ^c 2	<i>.i. ithid cach diib biad álaili</i>	that is, each of them eats the food of the other	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^c 4	<i>.i. air nítechtat sidi anmain</i>	that is, for they do not have a soul	V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}

Table 18. V S O sentences with topical S and focal O.

A few further notes must be added regarding examples in Table 18. In Ml. 23^c15 a clause (*nadnderginisom anuilesin*, “that he did not do all that”) plays the syntactic function of direct

object of *fortgellat* (“attest”).⁷⁰ *ML. 25^d18* attests a widespread pattern in the Milan glosses, that is, that of Latin words or sentences behaving in Old Irish as if they were NPs. In the case of this gloss, Latin *cum dicat* functions as O of *asmbeir* (“says”). In *ML. 46^b28*, the direct object of *du-arbuid* is the whole sentence *ata ninunn in pecthi diarogaid inpopul fuairrigi ndæ 7 ad(il)gadchi 7 inna hí diarogad(a)tar in popul robo [leg. roboi] in(ege)pt* (“that the sins for which the people sought the clemency of God and His forgiveness, and those for which the people that was in Egypt prayed, are the same”). Similarly, in *49^b7* *is ferc do insin* (“that that is anger in him”) plays the syntactic role of O of *dommuinetar*; in *ML. 64^a2* *as comacus ambás* (“that death is near”) plays the syntactic role of O of *forceilla*; in *ML. 135^d4* *fortanbristis ni* (“they should crush us”) plays the syntactic role of O of *sechnicoimmnactar*. In the end, in *ML. 94^b3* the PP *doibsom* modifies the O *legad*, and is thus not labelled as a separate constituent.

The number of contexts featured by V S O word order with topical S and focal O where S is a *nota augens* (48) is also significant:

- (48) *.i. niruforaithmenair=som afirinni fadesin*
 that is did not remember=he(EMPH) his righteousness own
 «that is, he did not remember his own righteousness» (*ML. 24^a17*).

Word order and information structure: $V^{[+EMPH.SUBJ]}_{TOP-}[O]_{FOC}$

Table 19 summarises all similar cases attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>ML. 30^c9</i>	<i>.i. ní dígenamni nach ngnim fornammestar som</i>	that is, we will not do any work on which He will not pass judgment	$V^{[+EMPH.SUBJ]}_{TOP-}$ [O] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 34^d5</i>	<i>.i. intan asmbeirsom cia dobera íc dosión</i>	that is, when he says, “who will give salvation from Zion?”	$V^{[+EMPH.SUBJ]}_{TOP-}$ [O] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 36^a32</i>	<i>rafetarsa at friansu</i>	I know you are right	$V^{[+EMPH.SUBJ]}_{TOP-}$ [O] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 37^d10</i>	<i>foracabsom lethosmailiusin [leg. lethchosmailius] immuig</i>	he has left out half of the comparison	$V^{[+EMPH.SUBJ]}_{TOP-}$ [O] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 53^d9</i>	<i>ní coimnacmarni atuidecht fornochumsí</i>	we were unable to thus come to you (pl)	$V^{[+EMPH.SUBJ]}_{TOP-}$ [O] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 74^d13</i>	<i>.i. didiu ní derlegusiu anim [leg. derlegasiu ainm] duaid as intitule</i>	that is, you (sg) may not obliterate the name of David from the title	$V^{[+EMPH.SUBJ]}_{TOP-}$ [O] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 75^c4</i>	<i>.i. caraid som inna aidmi inchiuil</i>	that is, he loves the instruments of music	$V-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP-}[O]_{FOC}$
<i>ML. 77^a12</i>	<i>dianuilemarbae siu anaimtea</i>	if You utterly slay their enemies	$V-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP-}[O]_{FOC}$

⁷⁰ On the infixation of a 3rd singular neuter pronoun on the main verb (*for-t-gellat*), see GOI §423.

<p> Ml. 77^d6 <i>ní fulgam ní trummai innafochodo- indaroncomarlecis</i> </p>	<p> we do not endure the heaviness of the tribulation into which You (sg) have let us </p>	<p> $V-[S.^{EMPH}]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 87^d1 <i>air intan adfét som inna olca</i> </p>	<p> for when he speaks of the evil </p>	<p> $V-[S.^{EMPH}]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 89^c5 <i>seichfedsom dufrinnisiu</i> </p>	<p> he will follow Your righteousness </p>	<p> $V[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP}-$ $[O]_{FOC}$ </p>

Table 19. V S.^{EMPH} O sentences with topical S and focal O.

Ml. 34^d5 shows a peculiarity that is worth of notice. The O, namely the sentence *cia dobera íc dosiún* (“who will give salvation from Zion?”) is a direct quote from Latin: “*quis dabit ex Sion salutem Israhel?*”. The argumental role played by clauses in Old Irish glosses is not an innovation (cfr. e.g. Ml. 36^a32: O is the sentence *at firiansu*, “you are right”), but in this case the intertextuality between Latin and Irish shows well how the two languages must be considered as a whole in analysing glosses.

Comparable to sentences in Table 19 is (49):

- (49) *.i. asingaib=side mod aschoir*
 that is exceeds=it measure that is proper
dothabairt diglae
 for inflicting of vengeance
 «that is, it exceeds the measure which is proper for the infliction of vengeance»
 (Ml. 57^d16).

Word order and information structure: $V[^{(+ANAPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}$

In (49), word order is again V S O, with topical S and focal O, but S is morphologically an anaphoric pronoun (*side*).

Sentences such as (50) behave in the opposite way:

- (50) *forcain didiu ermitiu omno dæ an ecnae sin*
 teaches then reverence of fear of God that knowledge
 «the reverence of the fear of God then teaches that knowledge» (Ml. 128^d9).

Word order and information structure: $V-[S]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}$

In (50), the sentence-final O is topical. This is inferable on the basis of the whole gloss, from which sentence (50) is extrapolated: *.i. ised inse an ecnae .i. dlegud* [leg. *deligud*] *etir*

maith₇ olc [...] (“i.e. this is the knowledge, i.e. the discrimination between good and bad [...]”). “The knowledge” is well-set in the universe of discourse, and even referred to by a demonstrative (*an - sin*) in example (50).

Other similar cases in terms of both syntax and IS are listed in Table 20.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 30 ^a 10	<i>cenidleci inmetur tabairt indanmae triuin frisanainm nadiacht</i>	although the meter does not allow the substantive to be added to the adjective	V-[S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 42 ^b 11- 12	<i>aranosailcea indargumint innord inna dolo insin [leg. hisin]</i>	that the argument might open up the order of that creation	V-[S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^b 14	<i>.i. cunic cid acumachtae ñ doindae ñ dunema induine aralailiu</i>	that is, even human power is able to protect a man against another	V-[S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^d 16	<i>.i. conárdamat in pecthaig apecthu són</i>	that is, so that the sinners may admit their sins	V-[S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 140 ^c 10	<i>.i. ní fitir idal inna inchlidi</i>	that is, an idol does not know the hidden things	V-[S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}

Table 20. V S O sentences with focal S and topical O.

Definiteness of constituents seems to play a major role in the topical status of Os (see e.g. Ml. 42^b11-12 *innord inna dolo insin* [leg. *hisin*], “the order of that creation”; Ml. 140^c10 *inna inchlidi*, “the hidden things”). Moreover, also the heaviness of constituents in morphosyntactic terms justifies the sentence-final position of (topical) Os (see e.g. Ml. 30^a10 *tabairt indanmae triuin frisanainm nadiacht*, “the substantive to be added to the adjective”). When no morphological item justifies the abnormal inversion of IS between S and O, Old Irish resorts to analytic mechanisms to identify e.g. the focus. Consider Ml. 74^b14, where S is *acumachtae ñ doindae* (“the human power”) and is focalised by *cid*. On V S O sentences with focal S and topical O, highly notable is also the fact that only in one case (51), the second-position focal subject is a *nota augens*.

- (51) *.i. diangessid si dia*
that is if pray you(EMPH) God
«that is, if you pray to God» (Ml. 53^b19).

Word order and information structure: V-[S.^{EMPH}]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}

The IS of this sentence emerges if example (51) is compared to the following portion of Ml. 53^b19: *.i. diangessid si dia amal nundguidemni*, “i.e. if you (pl.) pray to God as we pray to

Him”. The contrast between “you” (pl.) and “we” in the gloss supports the analysis of *sí* as FOC; the fact that “God” occurs as an infixed O in the second part of the gloss supports the analysis of *día* as TOP.

Considering cases of sentence-final topical Os a minority would be careless. See, for instance, example (52).

- (52) *.i. níted scís mochnamai ón*
 that is did not reach fatigue my bones EXPL⁷¹
 «that is, weariness did not use to come to my bones» (ML. 41^d9).

Word order and information structure: [V-S]_{FOC-}[O]_{TOP}

In this sentence the topicality of O (*mochnamai*) emerges on the basis of Latin: *ET NON SUNT INFIRMATA UESTIGIA MEA*. The Old Irish sentence is the perfect translation of the Latin passage, although the diathesis of the verb is active instead of passive. *Vestigia mea* is thus topical in Latin as well as in Irish (*mochnamai*). On the focal status of both V and S, note the passive as well as negative form of the verb, which causes the S to be involved in the informative peak of the action described by *níticed*. Also, Old Irish *níticed scís* is the V S rendering of Latin *non sunt infirmata* (focal V only).

The sub-group of V S O sentences with focal V+S and topical sentence-final O is relevant from a quantitative perspective. Table 21 reports all the examples with NP Ss.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
ML. 37 ^b 26	<i>nadndenat indidail inna hí</i>	that the idols do not do those things	[V-S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
ML. 51 ^a 19	<i>.i. arnatomnad nech aepert do som</i>	that is, that no one might suppose him to say	[V-S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
ML. 51 ^d 28	<i>.i. amal attreba nech áor [leg. áorbe] saindiles</i>	that is, as one possesses his own inheritance	[V-S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
ML. 53 ^b 27	<i>.i. ai [leg. ar] ange cach dia</i>	that is, everyone should pray to God	[V-S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
ML. 56 ^b 31	<i>.i. ciatechtid nach aile ní adchobraisiu , nitechtaisiu ón</i>	that is, though another might possess what you (sg) desire and you (sg) do not possess	[V-S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
ML. 58 ^c 6	<i>nileic duaid anisin</i>	David did not allow that	[V-S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
ML. 60 ^b 6	<i>.i. ní cumcat idail ní donaib adamraib sin dodenum</i>	that is, idols cannot do anything of those marvels	[V-S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
ML. 63 ^c 18	<i>.i. ruuc cách arainn dísin</i>	that is, each took his share of it	[V-S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}

⁷¹ *Ón* is glossed as EXPL although its analysis in the database is left blank.

Ml. 74 ^b 7	<i>.i. ardurigeni Mathathias digail tairmtehta rechto dáé</i>	that is, for Mathathias had wrought vengeance for the transgression of the Law of God	[V-S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^d 12	<i>intan dungni nech olc</i>	when someone does evil	[V-S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^b 10	<i>.i. maní comalla nech aní forchongair dia do</i>	that is, if anyone should not fulfill that which God commands him	[V-S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 123 ^c 1	<i>dungenad dia aní durairigert</i>	that God would do that which He had promised	[V-S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^d 13	<i>.i. conigestais huili taidchor as indoiri</i>	that is, that all should pray for a return out of the Captivity	[V-S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}

Table 21. V S O sentences with focal V+S and topical O.

The focal V+S and topical O IS alignment of V S O sentences is rather peculiar. Roughly, it may be due to a few main reasons: passive verbs (see (52) above), negative sentences, demonstrative objects, backgrounded status or even indefinite status of subjects.

Negations tend to expand the scope of focal verbs also to their subjects. See e.g. Ml. 37^b26, where *nadndenat + indidail* is on focus,⁷² but also Ml. 60^b6. These two glosses clearly show the contribution of demonstratives in topicalising sentence-final Os (O is *inna hí* in Ml. 37^b26).

As for Ml. 74^b7, on the topical status of *digail tairmtehta rechto dáé* see Ml. 74^b5, where the same *ardigail tairmtehta rechta dáé* (“on account of vengeance for the transgression of Law of God”) is introduced in the universe of discourse. The backgrounded nature of S (*Mathathias*), then, puts it together in IS terms with focal V. Ml. 58^c3 behaves similarly, showing both a backgrounded subject (*duaid*) and a negative verb (*nileic*).

The great majority of V S O sentences with focal V+S and topical O features an indefinite subject, such as *nech* (“someone”: Ml. 51^d28, Ml. 90^d12, Ml. 94^b10),⁷³ *cach* (“anyone”: Ml. 53^b27, 63^c18), *nach aile* (“another one”: Ml. 56^b31),⁷⁴ or *huili* (“all”: Ml. 131^d13). This may lead us to suppose that V S O sentences with focal V+S and topical O are rather similar to V O sentences with predicate focus and topical O. The considerable number of V S O (focal V+S, topical O) with *notae augentes* as Ss, namely 21, such as (53), goes in this direction:

⁷² On the focality of *indidail* see Latin *simile est⁷⁴ et quod idola eorum infirmitates uocauit ab eo quod cultores suos iuuare non possint nec adminiculo suor⁷⁵ facere⁷⁶ fortiores de ré quae illis {idulis} inerat conueniens nomen inponens.*

⁷³ Note how in Ml. 94^b10 all the above-described factors co-occur: S is indefinite (*nech*), topical O is heavy (*aní forchongair dia do*), V is negative (*maní comalla*).

⁷⁴ In the case of Ml. 56^b31, note the heaviness of topical O (*ni adchobraisiu , nitechtaisiu ón*), which translates Latin *id quod concupiscas alter patiatur³⁰⁻³¹ [leg potiatur], ipse careas.*

- (53) *ni ar roit som insin*
 NEG received he(EMPH) that
 «he did not receive that» (Ml. 36^a34).

Word order and information structure: [V- S.^{EMPH}]_{FOC-}[O]_{TOP}

In (53), V is once more negative (*ni-arroit*), and the topical O is a demonstrative (*insin*). All the other V S.^{EMPH} O cases with focal V+S and topical O attested in the Milan glosses are listed in Table 22.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 37 ^c 02	<i>.i. nidigensa ón insin</i>	that is, I will not do that	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^a 17	<i>.i. intan asrubart som gigas non saluabitur</i>	that is, when he said <i>gigas non saluabitur</i>	[V-S. ^{EMPH}] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^b 18	<i>.i. confodlaibidsi arinsorchugud ni ón</i>	that is, you will share in our illumination	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>Ícaid som didiu anisin</i>	he solves that then	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 13	<i>.i. huare nadnairillisiu buith hicotarsnaib 7 fochaidib</i>	that is, because you do not deserve to be in adversities and tribulations	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 21	<i>cenidfetarsa andliged nisin</i>	though I do not know that law	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^b 3	<i>.i. intan asmbersom pes 7 manus</i>	that is, when he says <i>pes</i> and <i>manus</i>	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^c 7	<i>.i. air ci [leg. cia] dutairsetar [leg. dufuthairsetar] som ingrain innafirían</i>	that is, for though they desire the persecution of the righteous	[V-S. ^{EMPH}] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>.i. intan asmbeirsom sagittæ tuæ rl.</i>	that is, when he says <i>sagittæ tuæ</i> etc.	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^b 2	<i>intan asmbeirsom scitote gentes</i>	when he says <i>scitote gentes</i>	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^a 5	<i>cid intan nad coimnactarsom inpecad nisin etir</i>	even when they were incapable of that sin at all	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 100 ^c 7	<i>duadbatsom indinchlidid inna debthi nobetis la israheldu iartain</i>	he shows covertly the dissensions that would be among the Israelites afterwards	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 104 ^c 5	<i>.i. asindet som tuidech [leg. tuidecht] doib dochum attire 7 inna loc hirobatar riam</i>	that is, he speaks of their return to their land and to the places in which they had been before	[V-S. ^{EMPH}] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}

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Ml. 106 ^d 11	<i>.i. air ní tormenatar som etir an ditin , an ícc</i>	that is, for they had not at all expected to be protected and saved	[V-S. ^{EMPH}] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^b 6	<i>.i. noch is asindetsom buith doib indoiri</i>	that is, namely, he relates their being in captivity	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^d 11	<i>.i. ni erthaisiesiu tinnacul damsa inna fechnige trisindamrobae molad cose</i>	that is, may you not keep silence about the giving to me of the prosperity through which I have had praise until now	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^a 2a	<i>.i. intan asrñbeirsom beatus uir rl.</i>	that is, when he says <i>beatus uir</i> etc.	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 132 ^c 15	<i>.i. eroímsiu mo ærchóiltiusa</i>	that is, accept my resolves	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 140 ^b 3	<i>.i. asgensu innahi ata fidumnu huamingnusa</i>	that is, You (sg) have understood the things that are deeper than my understanding	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 145 ^d 8	<i>lase forruchongart som ambuith</i>	when He had ordered them to be	[V-S. ^{EMPH}] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}

Table 22. V S.^{EMPH} O sentences with focal V+S and topical O.

The IS in the case of V S O sentences, which logically follows that just described, is the one with topical S and focal V+O (54).

- (54) *dindí nadrochoilset indassair tempul*
 because had not defiled the Assyrians temple
 «for the fact that the Assyrians had not defiled the temple» (Ml. 48^d28).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}

Again, in (54) V is negative, and S is backgrounded. A similar picture is portrayed by the other cases attested in the Milan glosses (Table 23).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 62 ^b 21	<i>.i. sechis anrunaninraccaigestar dia aditin som</i>	that is, when God disdained to protect him	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^a 8	<i>.i. intan nad cumgat anamait ni</i>	that is, when its enemies cannot do anything	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}

Table 23. V S O sentences with topical S and focal V+O.

This, in addition to the low number of contexts in the corpus analysed this way, may lead to suppose that V S O sentences with topical S and focal V+O once more are preferably to be compared to V O sentences in case of sentence focus. This hypothesis seems supported by the higher number of occurrences of V S O sentences with topical S and focal V+O attested when S is a *nota augens* (55):

- (55) *nogaibtissom* *dunad hisuidiu*
 they(EMPH) grasped camp then
 «then they used to camp» (Ml. 83^a4).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}[^(+EMPH.SUBJ)]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}

For all the other cases see Table 24.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 54 ^b 30	<i>.i. airmí comtacht som nibed uilliu duthabairt foraib som difochaid</i>	that is, for he did not ask that any more suffering should be inflicted on them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^a 7	<i>.i. dobersom innaccuis</i>	that is, he gives the cause	[V] _{FOC} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^c 5	<i>folostais som buith is indoiri</i>	that they bear being in the Captivity	[V] _{FOC} -[S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC}
Ml. 145 ^d 4	<i>.i. ní [add. ? ed] amét asmbeir som inna aitribthi [leg. aitribthidí] domolad dé acht asber cid arindmolatar innime [leg. innanime] fesin</i>	that is, not only does he tell the inhabitants to praise God, but he even says that the heavens themselves praise Him	V ^(COP) -PN-Adv- [V] _{FOC} -[S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC} /[V-O] _{FOC}

Table 24. V S.^{EMPH} O sentences with topical S and focal V+O.

In Ml. 54^b30 the partitive *difochaid* modifies *ní*. Ml. 90^a7 is even more relevant for what hypothesised above concerning the assimilation in quantitative terms of V S O sentences with topical S and focal V+O to [V-O]_{FOC} sentences. In this gloss, *dober innaccuis* (“gives the cause”) is all focal, and it ‘explains’ *erbirigidid* (“he explains”), which occurs in the previous portion of the gloss (.i. *erbirigidid* [leg. *erbirigid*] .i. *dobersom innaccuis*), thus behaving as a whole (cfr. also Latin *causatur*⁽⁷⁾).

A short premise is necessary to account for Ml. 145^d4, which is a problematic gloss. *Ní (ed) amét* is a focaliser of the verb(s) (*asmbeir* and *asber*). Hence, the two verbs *asmbeir* and *asber* are both focal, and they are linked by *acht*, which itself functions as a focaliser of V. The

fact that $V^{(COP)} + ed + amét$ is a fixed construction justifies the fact that the first construction is not analysed as an instance of clefting, but as a case of V S O. In the second sentence, instead, the sentence pattern and IS is identical, but S^{EMPH} does not occur, so that the sentence analysis is $[V O]_{FOC}$.

Table 25 summarises the last examples of V S O attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 42 ^c 4	<i>imfolngai són amlabar inní frissarater do aneulchaib inbelraisin</i>	that makes dumb the one of the non-knowers of that language to whom it is said	$[V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-O$
Ml. 51 ^d 2	<i>nítabair som tra insin</i>	he does not then put that	$[V]_{FOC}-S^{EMPH}-[O]_{TOP}$
Ml. 87 ^d 13	<i>.i. nádchum nech dundabera dialailiu</i>	that is, what no one would be able to give to another	$[V^{(REL)}]_{FOC}-S-[O]_{FOC}$
Ml. 91 ^c 9	<i>.i. incomscar dia són acairde durigni frinnai fanaic</i>	that is, whether God annulled the covenant that He had made with us or not	$[V]_{FOC}-S-[O]_{TOP}$

Table 25. Further examples of V S O sentences.

It is worth-noting that, in Ml. 42^c4, worth-noting is how S stands before *amlabar*, which can be considered part of the predication.⁷⁵ Regarding Ml. 87^d13, at last, see how O is a sentence itself (*dundabera dialailiu*). What is topical is the non-overt head (“help”) of the relative clause (*nádchum* etc.), which is also coreferent with *-nd-* in *dundabera*.

Table 26 summarises the quantitative analysis of V S O sentences, ordered from the most frequent to the less attested typology.

Analysis	Type of S	Instances	% out of V S O	% out of UWO ⁷⁶
$V-[S]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}$	S^{NP}	30	30.93%	1.80%
$[V-S]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}$	S^{EMPH}	21	21.65%	1.26%
$[V-S]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}$	S^{NP}	13	13.40%	0.78%
$V-[S]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}$	S^{EMPH}	12	12.38%	0.72%
$V-[S]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}$	S^{NP}	6	6.19%	0.36%
$[V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}$	S^{EMPH}	5	5.15%	0.30%
$[V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}$	S^{NP}	3	3.09%	0.18%
$[V]_{FOC}-S-[O]_{TOP}$	S^{NP}	1	1.03%	0.06%
$V-[S]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}$	S^{ANAPH}	1	1.03%	0.06%
$V-[S]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}$	S^{EMPH}	1	1.03%	0.06%
$[V]_{FOC}-S-[O]_{TOP}$	S^{EMPH}	1	1.03%	0.06%

⁷⁵ On the possible argumental status of *són* see what specified above.

⁷⁶ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -O	S. ^{NP}	1	1.03%	0.06%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	1	1.03%	0.06%

Table 26. Quantitative analysis of V S O sentences (with Ss' types differentiation).

Table 26 differentiates among V S O cases disciplined differently in terms of both IS and typology of Ss. V S O sentences with topical S and focal O are the most frequent as well as 'standard' in terms of matching between syntax and IS. The fact that in most of those cases S is an actual NP and not a *nota augens* is coherent with this position. V S O sentences with focal V+S and topical sentence-final O are also very widespread. Nevertheless, as shown in the analysis above, similar instances seem to be comparable more to V O predicate focus than to other V S O instances. This is mostly due to the peculiar nature of Ss (backgrounded or indefinite, see Table 21; emphatic Ss, see Table 22). A complete picture of all V S O data, regardless of the nature of Ss, is shown by Table 27. Nevertheless, at least for V S O orders, it has been shown how whether Ss are NPs or *notae augentes* is crucial for a proper analysis of syntactic patterns.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V S O	% out of UWO ⁷⁷
V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}	43	44.33%	2.58%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	34	35.95%	2.04%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}	8	8.25%	0.48%
V-[S] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	7	7.22%	0.42%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{TOP}	2	2.06%	0.12%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -O	1	1.03%	0.06%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[O] _{FOC}	1	1.03%	0.06%

Table 27. Quantitative analysis of V S O sentences (with no Ss' types differentiation).

3.1.3 VS orders

V S sentences are the great majority of V S (O (IC)) sentences. The total amount of V S sentences in my corpus is 309, that is, 18.62% of sentences with unmarked word order and 7.24% of total. The most frequently attested IS alignment is that shown by examples (56) and (57):

- (56) *diatormastar* *amét*
 if is increased its quantity
 «if its quantity should be increased» (Ml. 20^a19).

⁷⁷ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

- (57) *.i. intan forcomnacuir ingnímsó crochtha crist*
 that is when it happened this act of crucifying Christ
 «that is, when this act of crucifying Christ had taken place» (Ml. 16^c5).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

In (56), *diatormastar amét* glosses Latin *mole* (the whole Latin *locus* is: *quid*⁽¹⁸⁾ *uocare consueuimus quod uel mole*⁽¹⁹⁾ *sui uel natura*⁽²⁰⁾ *multi ponderis*⁽²¹⁾ *inuenitur adpensum*⁽²²⁾), thus inflating a NP > V+S.

In (57), the topical S (*ingnímsó crochtha crist*), which is indicated also by the demonstrative, occurs in second position, after the focal verb. V adds further information to a given topic, allowing the communicative exchange to continue.

On a more methodological level, I should specify that:

- i. V+S.^{EMPH} constructions (e.g. Ml. 72^b4: *airnírbu chumachtachsom*, «for he(EMPH) was not powerful») were not taken into account, given their homogeneity and lack of differentiation in IS terms;
- ii. V S sentences such *ol duaid* (“says David”, Ml. 44^c1) were considered, since the construction demonstrated to be productive within the Milan glosses (see e.g. *ol ezechias*, “says Hezekiah”, Ml. 49^c5; *ol stoirier*, “says the commentator”, Ml. 50^a8; *ol dia*, “says God”, Ml. 103^b2), adapting themselves to different universes of discourse.⁷⁸

All the V S sentences with focal V and topical S are collected in Table 28.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 14 ^c 4	<i>.i. nísonartnaigedar nechtar de</i>	that is, neither of the two strengthens	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 14 ^c 11	<i>.i. isreid foglaim inbesgnai</i>	that is, it is easy to learn morality	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 14 ^d 3	<i>nisechmalfáider cuimre and dano</i>	brevity will not then be neglected therein	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 14 ^d 13	<i>.i. conid sain int hí dianaiperr impius, peccator híc</i>	that is, so that the person called <i>impius</i> and <i>peccator</i> here is different	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

⁷⁸ Direct speeches in case of *ol* + S sentences were not considered arguments of *ol*.

Ml. 15 ^a 6	<i>.i. ho burorbaithe ingním olc nomaith</i>	that is, after the good or evil action has been finished	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 16 ^c 5	<i>asrubartatar fír betho</i>	the men of the world said	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 16 ^c 10	<i>cich side</i>	he wept	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 19 ^c 15	<i>ambandiuscartae inmesbaid .i. indebaib [leg. indebaid].</i>	when the rivalry, that is, the strife, was removed	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 20 ^a 19	<i>.i. cid etrum aicned indreto</i>	that is, although the nature of the thing may be light	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 22 ^d 9	<i>.i. anas nesngabthi incorp</i>	that is, when the body is surpassed	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^a 13	<i>.i. robtar lugu nadær</i>	that is, the tears were fewer	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^b 7	<i>.i. huare baferr inchomairle dombert side</i>	that is, because the counsel which he gave was better	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^b 11	<i>.i. dorigni achitofel</i>	that is, what Achitofel had done	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^d 17	<i>.i. formbed aainm ind firso</i>	that is, the name of this man should survive	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^c 12	<i>.i. ciabu olc ágnim</i>	that is, although his deed was evil	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 17	<i>asfír aní asber titul</i>	that that which the title says is true	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 22	<i>.i. níredigedar dano intliucht indsailm</i>	that is, the sense of the psalm moreover is not clear	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 22	<i>cenífesser indaimser</i>	if the time is not known	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 22	<i>γ cenib fír intitil</i>	and if the title is not true	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 25	<i>asberat immurgu heritic</i>	heretics, however, say	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 26 ^a 5	<i>.i. cotí lae messa</i>	that is, until the Day of Judgment comes	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 26 ^b 8	<i>.i. amal rombói ingnae cáich</i>	that is, as was the understanding of each	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 26 ^d 12	<i>ciasu erchride a ningraim.</i>	although their persecution is transitory	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 27 ^c 1	<i>.i. amal adnairghther fírbrithem beres digail cech ancrídi</i>	that is, as a just judge is feared who inflicts punishment for every wrong	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 27 ^c 4	<i>.i. anatisset etir indigal</i>	that is, so that the vengeance might not come at all	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 27 ^c 20	<i>ambataircide intodernam</i>	when the punishment was inflicted	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 27 ^d 13	<i>immæsaitar ingimsin [leg. ingnimsin]</i>	that that deed should be beset	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^a 3	<i>.i. amal nadnairghther γ nadfintar andugnither hisuidi</i>	that is, just as that which is done in it [i.e. the night] is not perceived and discovered	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^b 27	<i>.i. ata incoimdiu</i>	that is, the Lord is	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 30 ^d 2	<i>.i. amal mbias agnim cáich 7 a airilliud</i>	that is, as the work of each and his desert will be	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^d 13	<i>.i. arandentar anindarbae</i>	that is, that their expulsion may be brought about	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^d 23	<i>marisar infer hisin</i>	if that man should be found	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^a 3	<i>.i. amal rumbói abram 7 isac 7 iacob</i>	that is, as were Abraham and Isaac and Jacob	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^a 12	<i>.i. amal as nesrantaíd cech maith ind indithem andgáidsin inna ndoine</i>	that is, as that wicked intentness of men is deprived of every good	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^b 1	<i>anguaigedar alaile</i>	when the one lies	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^b 24	<i>is immaircide andurigni duaid</i>	that which David did is appropriate	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^b 24	<i>noch ní ærbara [leg. ærbarad] són calleic</i>	however, for all that, it had not been said	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^b 25	<i>amal bite ingnimae</i>	as the deeds are	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^d 9	<i>.i. conaib fir aní asbera insce dé</i>	that is, so that that which the word of God may say should not be true	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 32 ^b 1	<i>.i. amal ataturcabthi inná epertasin</i>	that is, as those sayings are brought forth	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 32 ^c 9	<i>.i. ho durogbad inpeccad</i>	that is, since the sin was committed	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 33 ^c 21	<i>.i. sechis ní consechmallad nech són</i>	that is, namely, no one avoided	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^a 25	<i>anasndithrechthe [leg. anasndithrechte] int sonartae</i>	when the strength is weakened	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^b 6	<i>.i. amal nadngaiblius disuidiu</i>	that is, as no disgust of that [i.e. the eating of bread] takes hold	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^c 14	<i>annatorchar nech</i>	when no one fell	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^c 23	<i>.i. armbad mou de armitiu feid int aiththisc [leg. aithisc]</i>	that is, so that the respect for the answer might be the greater	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^d 22	<i>odib sainemail nanní labrathar</i>	so that whatever he says may be excellent	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^c 21	<i>is erlamaidirsin in síans remiærbartmar</i>	even as ready to hand as that is the meaning which we mentioned above	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 38 ^d 8	<i>intan rosoirtha ind firien.</i>	when the righteous were delivered	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 38 ^d 15-16	<i>.i. amal chon noscaigther tene</i>	that is, as fire is moved	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 39 ^a 13	<i>.i. ciabed ammet inna fochaide 7 innaningramman</i>	that is, whatever the size of the tribulations and the persecutions might be	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Ms. 39 ^c 7	<i>.i. amal dunemar in macc imblissen</i>	that is, as the pupil of an eye is protected	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 40 ^c 17	<i>bed nísel inti dia</i>	that that God was mean	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 40 ^d 20	<i>.i. cenitabarthaie indaisndis nuallach tropdae</i>	that is, though the clamorous figurative declaration had not been put	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 40 ^d 23	<i>.i. airis nephchumscaigthe side</i>	that is, for he is immovable	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 43 ^a 11	<i>nitechtae totnugud dosuidib</i>	pleasing them is not proper	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 44 ^a 11	<i>intan dofuissemar sechtair a sil sin</i>	when that seed is brought forth	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 44 ^b 4	<i>.i. intan citaroichet insalmsa</i>	that is, when this psalm was first sung	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 44 ^b 24	<i>.i. ol duaid</i>	that is, says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 44 ^b 30	<i>.i. ol duaid</i>	that is, says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 44 ^c 1	<i>ol duaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 45 ^a 3	<i>.i. assain indiuogor fuandrogab infaith , indrún fuantaibret insuiscelaichthi [leg. insuiscelaichthi]</i>	that is, that the figure in accordance with which the prophet uttered it and the mystic sense in accordance with which the evangelists apply it are different	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 45 ^d 20	<i>.i. nianse són</i>	that is, it is not difficult	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 46 ^a 19	<i>.i. nadnersoilcfitis nadoirse</i>	that is, that the doors would not be opened	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 46 ^b 1	<i>.i. doberar aithirriuch ánim[.]chomarc</i>	that is, the question is put again	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 47 ^a 5	<i>anas tedbarthe inmes</i>	when the examination is applied	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 48 ^a 20	<i>.i. ol inti ezechias</i>	that is, says Hezekiah	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 49 ^c 8	<i>ol ezechias</i>	says Hezekiah	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 50 ^a 8	<i>ol stoirier</i>	says the commentator	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 50 ^a 10	<i>.i. aris cosmail aní fuandrogab infaith , fuanrogab crist</i>	that is, for that with reference to which the prophet uttered it and that with reference to which Christ uttered it are alike	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 50 ^b 6	<i>.i. airnignath aforaithmet adi</i>	that is, for remembering it is not customary	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 50 ^d 18	<i>ol stoirier</i>	says the commentator	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 51 ^a 18	<i>intan immeromastar són nach noib</i>	when any saint sins	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 51 ^c 14	<i>.i. airniruguigter gnimai dæ</i>	that is, for the works of God cannot be falsified	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 51 ^d 11	<i>.i. sechis agatar ind huili doini són· file isintalam</i>	that is, namely, let all the men who are on the earth fear	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ms. 51 ^d 14-15	<i>condat reli ina aicsin hisin</i>	so that those causes are manifest	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 53 ^c 2	<i>.i. coduema· angelus</i>	that is, so that the angel might protect	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^c 18	<i>.i. ní lour indegforcitlaid</i>	that is, the good instructor is not enough	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^d 3	<i>.i. ba fomraid abellraesidi</i>	that is, his speech was a deceit	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 32	<i>techtas nebrae</i>	that the Hebrew has	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^c 21	<i>.i. asluad inti heremias</i>	that is, that Jeremiah used to go forth	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^a 13	<i>ol duaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>asber· mailgaimrid</i>	Maildaimrid says	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^c 9	<i>ní fuidema intí dia</i>	God will not suffer	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^c 14	<i>ol intrachtaire</i>	says the commentator	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^d 2	<i>.i. ní oduair ní doforaithmiut etir</i>	that is, there will not remain anything at all of memory	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^d 6	<i>.i. sechis conscera dia són</i>	that is, namely, God will overthrow	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^a 10	<i>amal arindchrin dáé</i>	as smoke perishes	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^c 12	<i>.i. amal as ndian ade</i>	that is, as it is swift	V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^d 2a	<i>ol duaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^a 9	<i>.i. céin nombetis innaisigtea tuidmíthi innafeuil</i>	that is, as long as the arrows were fixed in his flesh	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>immefrecreat tra inda fersin</i>	these two verses then correspond	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>immefrecreat dano indaferso</i>	these two verses then correspond	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^c 1	<i>ol duaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^c 6	<i>intan asmbert side</i>	when he said	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^a 7	<i>.i. is miscsigiu , is trummu aní inchoissig aní asrubbart som</i>	that is, what is indicated by what he has said [lit. that which what he says indicates], namely is more odious and heavier	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^b 2	<i>ol duaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^d 6	<i>.i. is garait arsaigul</i>	that is, our life is short	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 60 ^b 16	<i>ronictha ind huli doini rochreitset inchoillugud crist</i>	that all men who believed the incarnation of Christ were saved	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 60 ^d 1	<i>ol duaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^b 12	<i>.i. connaconbia foraitmet nde etir</i>	that is, so that there will be no mention of him at all	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^b 15	<i>bed ningcert intestiminso</i>	that this text is corrupt	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^c 8	<i>robumou·de· int erchot</i>	the greater was the hurt	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^b 22	<i>l. arrunétuailngistar [leg. arrunétuailngigestar] dia</i>	or when God was impatient	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^c 25	<i>is inunn argument doib</i>	their argument is the same	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^d 2	<i>.i. amal nibad fiu ní dubairt [leg. duthabairt] tararnæsi</i>	that is, as though it were not worth while to give anything for us	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 64 ^a 2	<i>as comacus ambás</i>	that death is near	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^c 9	<i>.i. airis mor atúdmaire side 7 amboltaighetu</i>	that is, for their odor and their fragrance is great	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^b 7	<i>oldia</i>	says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^a 20	<i>.i. amal dunnic anaccubur</i>	that is, as the desire of them comes	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 70 ^a 5	<i>.i. combad toisgiu foilsigud inna caire</i>	that is, that the manifestation of the fault might be first	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 70 ^d 5	<i>ol dia</i>	says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 71 ^a 2	<i>.i. isfetae introcaire mór dutodlugud</i>	that is, it is wise to crave great mercy	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 71 ^b 8	<i>.i. olduaid</i>	that is, says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 71 ^c 19	<i>.i. duستا muglanadsa</i>	that is, my purification is lacking	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 72 ^b 21	<i>.i. rumidair duaid</i>	that is, David judged	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 72 ^c 2	<i>olduaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 73 ^c 9	<i>.i. ambat nerchoissi indaughtair inna cloine</i>	that is, when the authors of the iniquity are impeded	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^b 13	<i>.i. ní dimicthi cumachtae ñ dé dusoirad 7 cumachtae ñ duini du ingraimmim</i>	that is, the power of God for deliverance and the power of a man for persecution is not despicable	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^c 19	<i>.i. olduaid</i>	that is, says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^c 20	<i>.i. huare rocomallada inna inneda</i>	that is, because the troubles have been fulfilled	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^d 4	<i>ol duaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^d 7	<i>.i. is inunn áquoniam eripuisti rl. asbeirsom 7 aní remiérbart .i. in me sunt uota rl.</i>	that is, the <i>quoniam eripuisti</i> etc. which he says and that which he had said before, namely, <i>in me sunt uota</i> etc.	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^d 7	<i>.i. is inunn inne fil indib diblinaib</i>	that is, the sense that is in both is the same	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 75 ^a 7	<i>.i. is inunn óin a confidet 7 á miserere</i>	that is, <i>confidet</i> and <i>miserere</i> are one and the same	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 75 ^b 1	<i>.i. airis mór angerisidi</i>	that is, for their savageness is great	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 75 ^c 4	<i>amal carthar inducbál</i>	as glory is loved	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^a 13	<i>.i. is inunn ciall fil is indligud sa 7 indligud remeperthiu</i>	that is, the sense that is in the present saying and in the aforesaid saying is the same	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^d 6	<i>.i. ol duaid</i>	that is, says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 77 ^b 1	<i>.i. is inunn chiall fil is indligud so 7 is indremeperthiu</i>	that is, the sense that is in this expression is the same as in the aforesaid	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 78 ^a 7	<i>.i. oldia</i>	that is, says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

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Ml. 78 ^a ₉	<i>olduaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 78 ^d ₃	<i>ol duaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 80 ^b ₁₀	<i>nad fess ingnám dorigensat</i>	that the deed which they had done was not known	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 80 ^b ₁₁	<i>.i. air rofes ingníngensat som</i> [leg. <i>rogensat som</i>]	that is, for the deed that they had done was known	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 82 ^d ₁₁	<i>is cosmail innmolad so rongab duaid octabairt inna arcae dochum hirusalem .i. exsurgat deus rl. 7 innmolad rongab in pop</i> [leg. <i>popul</i>] <i>hurubith ánéil impe actuidecht a egipt .i. exsurge domine</i>	this praise that David sang bringing the Ark to Jerusalem, namely, <i>exsurgat Deus</i> etc., and the praise that the people sang when His cloud had been about it (the Ark) in coming out of Egypt, namely, <i>exsurge Domine</i> , are similar	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 83 ^a ₄	<i>.i. intan conucbad innél nobith immunnairc</i>	that is, when the cloud that used to be about the Ark used to be raised	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 83 ^a ₄	<i>intan dano nunanad innél hisin</i>	when, moreover, that cloud used to rest	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 83 ^d ₆	<i>durim</i> [leg. <i>durimí</i>] <i>duaid</i>	David recounts	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 84 ^a ₄	<i>.i. amal astoirtech</i> [leg. <i>toirthech</i>] <i>athalam</i>	that is, as its soil is fruitful	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 84 ^b ₂	<i>istoirtech</i> [leg. <i>toirthech</i>] <i>ón</i>	it is fruitful	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 84 ^c ₁₉	<i>.i. is coir atuic indiad</i>	that is, that which he put afterwards is fitting	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^a ₄	<i>is coir dano iarum cobsaide oc diten amuntairai</i>	firmness in protecting His folk is right, then as well	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^d ₈	<i>.i. arnach aipled ind hires ón</i>	that is, that the faith might not perish	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^d ₉	<i>amtis forbristi ind rí</i>	when the kings were overthrown	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^d ₁₀	<i>ma forbrissitis ind rí fuarobatar mam</i>	if the kings to whom they were subject were overthrown	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 86 ^a ₉	<i>.i. ol duaid</i>	that is, says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 86 ^d ₁₁	<i>cid saicc h no maith són</i>	whether bad or good	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^a ₁₃	<i>.i. scribtar ananman</i>	that is, that their names be written	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^b ₅	<i>ol duaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^d ₁₄	<i>.i. ronecar les inna diten</i>	that is, that the protection is needed	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^d ₁₅	<i>.i. hua duemar nech suidighther loc daingen do inna agathar ní</i>	that is, since is protected anyone to whom is established a strong place in which he fears nothing	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 88 ^a ₁₀	<i>.i. forberad muchland beus</i>	that is, (when) my clan used to increase further	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 88 ^a 11	<i>.i. dunindbithé muchland beus</i>	that is, (when) my clan used to be diminished further	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 88 ^a 15	<i>.i. arnabéth in chomairle se</i>	that is, that there might not be this counsel	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^b 9	<i>.i. robad maith aflaithe mnas</i>	that is, his sovereignty would be good	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^b 11	<i>comallaibther indfaithsine sin</i>	that prophecy will be fulfilled	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^b 15	<i>.i. combad firián a brithemnacht</i>	that is, that his judgement might be righteous	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^c 10	<i>bith suthin side</i>	it will be everlasting	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^c 10	<i>amal as suthin riuth grene</i>	as the course of the sun is everlasting	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^b 10	<i>.i. amal as suthain riuth grene</i>	that is, as the course of the sun is everlasting	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^b 12	<i>.i. madgenatar á thimthirthidi</i>	that is, blessed are his servants	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^c 25	<i>.i. robtar bec [leg. beca] innaplaga dorata foraib</i>	that is, the plagues that had been inflicted on them were little	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^d 1	<i>.i. durormacht cech nolc foralaill ón</i>	that is, every evil had been added upon another	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^d 11	<i>.i. airnidlegar accubur innan drochgnimae</i>	that is, for the desire of evil deeds is not due	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^a 16	<i>ol inpopul</i>	the people say	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^c 1	<i>dús in retarscar cairde n̄ dæ , aremcaissiu</i>	whether the covenant of God and His Providence had departed	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 93 ^a 1	<i>.i. arna derntar anadrad</i>	that is, that their worship may not be performed	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 93 ^a 4	<i>ol ind namait</i>	say the enemies	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 93 ^a 23	<i>.i. intan as aithrech ní duthabairt</i>	that is, when he is repentant of giving something	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 93 ^b 12-13	<i>.i. amal dete cechuisque coitchenn</i>	that is, as any common water goes	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^c 10	<i>nad desta ní du digail</i>	nothing of punishment is lacking	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^c 12	<i>condib lán inderidech</i>	that the cup may be full	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 95 ^d 7	<i>olduaid</i>	says David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^a 10	<i>.i. robú mór ahomun liumsa ón</i>	that is, my fear of it was great	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^b 5	<i>amal rocretset arnaitir</i>	as our fathers believed	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^b 14	<i>durimi duaid</i>	David recounts	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^b 17	<i>.i. baglas , baténtide asliab</i>	that is, the mountain was green and fiery	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^c 1	<i>.i. dufuargabsat huisci moro robuir</i>	that is, the waters of the Red Sea rose	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^c 4	<i>andurinfid gaith</i>	when the wind had blown	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^c 13	<i>connachagluaistis incharbait</i>	so that the chariots could not move	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

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Ml. 96 ^d ₁	<i>.i. adches ríndatu taicniudsiu</i> [leg. <i>taicnidsiu</i>] <i>adæ</i>	that is, the mysteriousness of Your nature, o God, was seen	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 97 ^b ₂	<i>.i. nírbufoirbthe aniræs , achretem india</i>	that is, their faith and their belief in God were not perfect	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 97 ^d ₅	<i>nad coimnacur</i> [leg. <i>nad coimnacuir</i>] <i>dia</i>	that God could not	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 98 ^c ₅	<i>.i. ciaptar mora apecthaisom</i>	that is, though their sins were great	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 98 ^c ₆	<i>combu uisse anepeltu inoinecht</i>	that their dying at one time would have been just	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 98 ^c ₁₀	<i>.i. daadbat ammemoratus est fil hi sunt</i>	that is, the <i>memoratus est</i> that is here shows	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 99 ^a ₈	<i>airis maith afolud hitorsata</i>	for the substance in which they had been created is good	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 99 ^b ₁₀	<i>.i. amal nadfinntar sidi</i>	that is, as they do not discover	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 100 ^a ₁₀	<i>is trom achotlud adi</i>	his sleep is heavy	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 100 ^b ₈	<i>.i. asindet duaid</i>	that is, David declares	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 100 ^b ₉	<i>.i. is inunn diateit lesom an ioseph , an efracim</i>	that is, that to which Joseph and Ephraim apply is in his opinion the same thing	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 100 ^b ₂₂	<i>.i. nibutechtae fodail for deichthriub , dethriub</i>	that is, a division of Ten Tribes and Two Tribes was not fitting	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 100 ^c ₁₆₋₁₇	<i>.i. anat n uaibrighthi in bæσαι cosecarthi</i>	that is, when the consecrated customs are mocked	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^c ₆₋₇	<i>is assu immurgu atabairt astorier as forgartaid am manifestare</i>	however, deducing from the commentator that <i>manifestare</i> is an imperative is easier	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^a ₁₅	<i>amal dungní int ais sechmaill asmbeir som</i>	as the passers-by of whom he speaks do	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^d ₅	<i>.i. lasse corunes dia</i>	that is, when God inculcated (lit. trampled upon)	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^a ₂	<i>.i. ol dia</i>	that is, says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^a ₃	<i>.i. ol dia</i>	that is, says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^b ₂	<i>ol dia</i>	says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 104 ^a ₆	<i>.i. dindí as nansae , as linmar á ceneál sin</i>	that is, because that nation is troublesome and numerous	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 104 ^b ₄	<i>.i. amal nad tairissidar side</i>	that is, as it does not stop at all	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 105 ^b ₁₄	<i>.i. nocomallaibthe , rombad firien insce dæ</i>	that is, that the word of God would be fulfilled and would be righteous	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^a ₆	<i>.i. oldia</i>	that is, says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^a ₇	<i>oldia</i>	says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^a ₁₅	<i>bit</i> [leg. <i>bid</i>] <i>failed nachóin adidtrefea</i>	every one who will dwell so will be joyful	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 108 ^b 4	<i>lase dufuinchidet ind hí dano quos solet experiri aduersitas</i>	when they <i>quos</i> etc. then descend (?)	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^c 4	<i>oldia</i>	says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^c 5	<i>oldia</i>	says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^d 5	<i>anas ñ diuscartae infeid</i>	when the calm is removed	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 109 ^c 12	<i>ol dia</i>	says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 109 ^d 9	<i>.i. amal as suthain adae</i>	that is, as it is lasting	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^b 15	<i>cid garait anaimser</i> [leg. <i>arnaimser</i>]	although our time may be short	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^d 4	<i>nombiad aní duerchanar and</i>	that which is prophesied there would come to pass	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^b 20	<i>is huaisliu a folud saidi</i>	their substance is nobler	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^c 5	<i>.i. oldia són</i>	that is, says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^d 7	<i>.i. nadtuctar gnimai dæ són</i>	that is, that the works of God are not understood	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^d 9	<i>.i. cia genter</i> [leg. <i>gnetir</i>] <i>degnimai olchena</i>	that is, although other good deeds be done	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 113 ^a 8	<i>.i. ol inpopul</i>	that is, says the people	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 113 ^c 2	<i>arrunetendiged indoire</i>	when the captivity had been relaxed	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^b 5	<i>.i. airbid firien pián</i>	that is, for the punishment will be just	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^a 14	<i>doberthe digal</i>	that punishment used to be inflicted	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^a 17	<i>oldia</i>	says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^b 1	<i>aram betis ingnimai sin</i>	that those deeds should be	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^d 8	<i>cid airechdu , cid soiriu á cenél</i>	though his race be nobler and freer	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 116 ^a 1	<i>.i. connabí asse a aicsín leu</i>	that is, so that for him to be seen by them is not easy	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 6	<i>.i. is mithich forchenn furi ón</i>	that is, the end for it is timely	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 15	<i>combúmithich ateilciud as ind(oiri)ón</i>	so that their release from captivity was timely	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 119 ^d 6	<i>.i. connabad suthin indigal formn</i>	that is, that the punishment upon us should not be eternal	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 123 ^a 8	<i>ol in batar maicc israhel</i>	than were the Children of Israel	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^b 15	<i>.i. it cosmaili anargumenta</i>	that is, their arguments are similar	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^c 17	<i>amal conestar findchoire innindmatar cossa</i>	as a water-pot in which feet are washed is trampled	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^c 12	<i>.i. amal inbite ineuin utmaill sin</i>	that is, as those restless birds are wont to be	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^c 25	<i>.i. ambat nersaighthi</i> [leg. <i>nerasaighthi</i>] <i>anaimsi</i>	that is, when their attempts will be rendered void	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 128 ^d 3	<i>.i. amal dungniat doini ón</i>	that is, as men do	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

ML. 128 ^d 3	<i>.i. air ni bi firian án digal ade</i>	that is, for their punishment is not wont to be just	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 129 ^a 2a	<i>nant beatus intí nad agathar incoimdid₇ follaignedar atimnae</i>	he who does not fear the Lord and who neglects His commandments is not <i>beatus</i>	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 129 ^a 8	<i>.i. is asse tabairt neich huad</i>	that is, getting something from him is easy	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 131 ^b 4	<i>.i. airis ansu de adothaim</i>	that is, for their falling is the harder	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 131 ^d 1	<i>toforsailced indoire són</i>	the Captivity has been loosened	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 133 ^b 7	<i>.i. amal as reid₇ as cobsud indrói doglennar dosuidiu</i>	that is, as the plain which is selected for this is level and firm	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 133 ^b 7	<i>bacobsud indré ingaibthe cech salm</i>	the space in which each psalm used to be sung was firm	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 134 ^d 3	<i>airis fechnach an andach</i>	for their iniquity is prosperous	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 137 ^c 3	<i>oldia</i>	says God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 138 ^a 5	<i>.i. as nephatdanaigthe intimthrecht hisin</i>	that is, that that service is unremunerated	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 138 ^b 1	<i>.i. an dufurgaib in chomfrithorcun ón</i>	that is, when the collision produces	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 138 ^d 8	<i>cid arretae ind uisci</i>	even when the waters run	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 145 ^c 3	<i>.i. cid mór in duil</i>	that is, whether the element be great	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 145 ^c 5	<i>intinscana duaid</i>	David begins	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 145 ^d 3	<i>.i. issain intsoilse</i>	that is, the light is different	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 145 ^d 3	<i>it saini inna rinn</i>	the stars are different	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 28. V S sentences with focal V and topical S.

In general, Table 28 shows how V S order with focal V and topical S is the canonical syntactic-IS order in case of intransitive verbs (e.g. ML. 57^a10), passive verbs (e.g. ML. 38^d15-16), transitive verbs used intransitively (e.g. ML. 72^b21).

More specifically, some further comments on sentences collected in Table 28 must be added. ML. 14^c4 displays a typical matching both between syntax and IS in V S sentences and between Old Irish and Latin, with a one-to-one correspondence among the two levels: *nísonartnaigedar* = *ad perfectionem ualet*; *nechtar de* = *neutrum*. In ML. 14^d13, S of the sentence is the whole complex phrase *int hí dianaiperr impius₇ peccator híc*; that is, a pronominal head + relative clause. Regarding ML. 19^d5, *dliged remdeícsem* occurs already in ML. 19^d2 (*.i. nífel nech lasambéd dliged remdeicsen dodechrugud etir maithi₇ ulcu*, “there is no one who has (lit. with whom there is) a law of providence to distinguish between good and evil people”) so that it can be claimed to be well-established in the universe of discourse, and thus topical.

This point is relevant for the analysis of *at-tá*-clauses I will sketch below. On the analysis of Ml. 20^a19 compare Old Irish to Latin: *quid*⁽¹⁸⁾ *uocare consueuimus quod uel mole*⁽¹⁹⁾ *sui uel natura*⁽²⁰⁾ *multi ponderis*⁽²¹⁾ *inuenitur adpensum*⁽²²⁾. On the topical status of *indaimser* in the first sentence of Ml. 24^d22, see Ml. 24^d20; on the topical status of *intitul* in the second sentence of Ml. 24^d22, see Ml. 24^d21. Similarly, as for Ml. 26^b8, on the topical status of *ingnae cáich*, see Latin (*quorum*⁽⁸⁾ *capacitate dictorum suorum modum uoluit exæquare*). Ml. 30^b27 shows a rather peculiar construction: *.i. ata incoimdiu*, “that is, the Lord is”. The meaning of the gloss can be understood by contextualising what is in Irish into the Latin passage: *ita enim ait, “Dominus {.i. ata incoimdiu} in cælo sedis eius.*”. In Ml. 31^b24, the actual subject of *is immaircide* is much longer than reported: *andurigni duaid ingnimsin intengad duairbirt argnimaib inchoirp olchenae*, “that which David did, using that work of the tongue for the actions of the body generally”. On the IS of Ml. 34^b6, see Latin (*nonné scient qui operantur iniquitatem. qui deuorant plebem meam sicut*⁽⁶⁾ *cibum panis): sicut cibum panis* is introduced in the universe of discourse in Latin, and thus set as topical. For a proper analysis of Ml. 54^a32 (*techtas nebrae*, “that the Hebrew has”), the whole context must be taken into consideration: *.i. is hé asrubartmar techtas inebrae* (“that is, it is this that we have said that the Hebrew has”). *Techtás nebrae* is a dependent clause, where (*n*)*ebrae* (see Latin *secundum hunc sensum in Ebreo quoque*) is topical, and the predication is on focus. In Ml. 57^a10, an infix occurs with *ara-chrin*, about which I refer to GOI §423. In Ml. 74^b13, *ní dimicthi* is labelled as V even if it is made of a copula + verbal of necessity. In Ml. 84^c19, what is tagged as S is an open relative clause (i.e. *atuic indiad*). In the case of Ml. 90^d1, the analysis is not conspicuously correct: *foralaill* is intended as depending on *cech nolc*, but it would also make sense to analyse it as a separate IC, thus making the V S sentence a V S IC sentence. In Ml. 100^b9, what is tagged as S is a headless relative clause (that is, *diateit lesom an ioseph , an effraim*). In Ml. 116^a1, *connabí*, although morphologically it is a form of the substantive verb, behaves syntactically here as a form of the copula – and hence it is analysed as one.

Quite relevant is the case shown by glosses such as Ml. 16^c5: *asrubartatar fir betho*, “the men of the world said”. This sentence is analysed as a V S clause, even if it would more properly have to be considered part of a broader V S O construction. *Asrubartatar* governs a phrasal O (i.e. *tiagar huáin dochum hi[ru] salem dúis cid forchomnacuir indi indinainso airis ingnad linn anadciam*, “let one go from us to Jerusalem to learn what it is that has happened there at this time, for that which we see is strange for us”). Even if slightly differently, the same situation is valid for cases such as e.g. Ml. 24^b25, where instead of a direct discourse the phrasal O is an argumental clause: *asberat immurgu heritic asned dechur tabadar* [leg. *tadbadar*] *isindísín*, “heretics, however, say that this is the difference that is shown therein”. Nevertheless, in all those cases the choice of leaving out long phrasal Os has been made, since irrelevant under the IS perspective. Consider Ml. 58^c6. The V S (O) Irish text is the following: *intan asmbert side*

tiagsa ctall achenn [...], “when he said: let me go to take the head [...]”. If we broaden the analysis to a wider context, we can see how what is actually focal is not the phrasal O, but V (see previous co-text: *.i. ioab bafercachsom frisuide*, “i.e. Joab. He (David) was angry with him (Joab)”, **when he said** ...). Exclusively in the case of instances similar to that just described, V S O clauses with phrasal Os have been analysed as examples of V S. Oppositely, when Os are relevant from the IS point of view, a V S O analysis was preferred (on that note, see the section on V S O orders).

In the case of certain sentences (e.g. *ML. 16^c10*, *ML. 40^d23*, *ML. 58^c6*, *ML. 89^c10*, *ML. 99^b10*, *ML. 104^b4*), S is an anaphoric pronoun (*side/sidi*). This was signaled in previous sections, where different types of Ss were highlighted and kept separated (S.^{NP}, S.^{EMPH}, S.^{ANAPH}). Given that, in the case of V S clauses, the methodological choice of not analysing differently Ss was made, S.^{ANAPH}s are assimilated to S.^{NP}s. In the case of (*s*)*ón* analysed as argumental (e.g. *ML. 31^b24*, *ML. 45^d20*, *ML. 84^b2*, *ML. 86^d11*), see what specified in previous sections. I limit myself to add here a note on the fact that (*s*)*ón* tends to be considered non-argumental. Take into account *ML. 112^c5*: *.i. oldia són*, “that is, God says”. This sentence is identical to plenty of V S clauses attested in the Milan glosses, but with the addition of a sentence-final *són*. This element is surely non-argumental, given the frequency of contexts such as *ML. 115^a17* (but also *ML. 78^a7*, *ML. 78^a9*, and so forth).

Even if – as seen before – a huge amount of V S sentences shows focal V and topical S, other IS alignments are also attested in the Milan glosses. Consider example (58):

- (58) *.i. combeth cid dath deithbir*
 that is so that there should be even colour fitting
 «that is, so there would be even a fitting color» (*ML. 29^b14*).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}

This sentence features a form of *at-tá* (*combeth*), followed by its subject (*dath deithbir*). *Dath deithbir* appears topical (it directly glosses Latin *colore*). The presence of focalising *cid*, however, indicates that the same referent plays the IS function of focus of the sentence. This way, due to the coincidence of topic and focus, *ML. 29^b14* has to be signalled as an instance of presentational clause. This peculiar alignment is typical with *at-tá*.

Table 29 reports all the V S examples with topical and focal S attested in the corpus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>ML. 21^d4</i>	<i>air ataat alai</i> [leg. <i>alaili</i>] <i>feidligte ho aimsir</i>	for there are some who remain for a time	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
<i>ML. 23^a1</i>	<i>nad ndixnigedar nech</i>	that there is no one	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}

Ml. 23 ^d 11	<i>.i. arnabeth andermet</i>	that is, so that they should not be forgotten [lit. so that there could not be their forgetting]	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 28 ^d 3	<i>.i. ní rabaie accuis</i>	that is, there is no reason	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 29 ^b 11	<i>7 imbí dano inchlóine</i>	and in whom, moreover, there is the iniquity	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 31 ^d 6	<i>.i. conna bí ní frestai á mes ón</i>	that is, so that there is nothing which opposes its valuation	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 33 ^a 5	<i>ní boi ní nogabad díbsom tabart fochaide foir</i>	there was not anything that could have prevented them from inflicting tribulations on him	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 9	<i>.i. amal rumboi anæsæрге docholain crist</i>	that is, as there was the resurrection to the body of Christ	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 41 ^a 4	<i>.i. combeth ré·imradad són 7 nombeth cen olc huadibsom</i>	that is, so that there should be a time that he might think and that he might be without evil from them	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 5	<i>.i. arnabeth imresan immoslucud innathrach [leg. innacathrach]</i>	that is, so that there might be no contention about the opening of the city	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 51 ^a 2	<i>.i. ní ɔrobae ní bedmo</i>	that is, there was not anything that could be greater	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 13	<i>.i. ní ɔfel ní dugáitha adi [leg. dudngáitha adi]</i>	that is, there is nothing that can deceive him	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 55 ^d 21	<i>.i. ata dlíged remdeicsen arandenisiu anuile se frisna doini</i>	that is, there is a law of providence on account of which You (sg) do all this towards men	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 56 ^c 8	<i>.i. ní conbia ní dot gnímaib nad ecaíl</i>	that is, there will be nothing of your (sg) deeds that He does not examine	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 60 ^d 3	<i>nístasom immurgu calleic cumang dommorcuinse</i>	for all that, however, they do not have the power to slay me	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 67 ^c 14	<i>.i. ní bia essíd nido</i>	that is, there will be no destruction to it	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 74 ^b 13	<i>air ní bói numsoiradsa archumachtae ñ duini ocmíngraimmim</i>	for there was nothing that delivers me from the power of a man persecuting me»	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 80 ^c 9	<i>.i. connaconrobae ní roscrutais</i>	that is, so that there was nothing for them to examine	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 90 ^c 16	<i>.i. connachamrobae dlíged són</i>	that is, so that there is no principle	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}

Table 29. V S sentences with topical and focal S.

The just seen uses of *at-tá* on the one hand and e.g. Table 28 Ml. 56^d2 on the other (*.i ní c̄diuair ní doforaithmiut etir*, “that is, there will not remain anything at all of memory”) are worth comparing. Both typologies of clauses are V S, and in both cases the verb is a form of the substantive verb. Nevertheless, in Ml. 56^d2 V is focal and S is topical, while, in the cases presented in Table 29, S is both topical and focal. This is due to different uses of *at-tá*. When employed to introduce a presentative clause, its alignment in terms of IS sees the coincidence of topic and focus. In Ml. 56^d2, instead, *at-tá* preserves its meaning of “there is” in spatial terms (even if on an abstract level). Therefore the analysis of the sentence is different.⁷⁹ *At-tá* is consistently used also in a third sentence type in Old Irish, that is, the possessive construction, which shows an even different IS alignment. This will be however matter for discussion in later sections, since an IC is involved.

A further V S sentence type quite frequently attested is the one exemplified in (59):

- (59) *dumbera cechae diib*
 that give each of them
 «that each of them give» (Ml. 40^c21).

Word order and information structure: [V^(REL)-S]_{FOC}

Here, V is relative, and the head of the relative clause is outside the Irish sentence. As for Ml. 40^c21, consider the Latin corresponding *locus. de Deo iudicium {I in-} dare*²¹. Topic of the Irish clause is the head of the relative clause, that is, Lat. *iudicium*, about which on focus *dumbera cechae diib* is added. This makes similar cases assimilable to NPs/PPs modified by a relative clause in terms of IS (see Section 9.1), but given the absence of the head in Irish, they must be considered on their own.

Table 30 reports all the focal V^(REL) S examples attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 35 ^a 7	<i>.i. asrubart pól</i>	that is, which Paul said	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 21	<i>dumberat huili</i>	that all give	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 35	<i>.i. foradair [leg. foradamair] heremias</i>	that is, which Jeremiah suffered	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^a 14	<i>.i. chontarchomraic inpecthach</i>	that is, that the sinner collected	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}

⁷⁹ This behaviour is not unique. See e.g. Italian *esserci*, which can both function as part of a presentative clause (*c'era una volta un re*, “once upon a time, there was a king”) and as part of a non-presentative clause as an intransitive verb (*c'era un gatto in giardino*, “there was a cat in the garden”).

Ml. 70 ^d 10	<i>.i. trisambé formíc</i>	that is, through which may be your salvation	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^a 10	<i>.i. fuácbat innaleomain</i>	that is, which the lions leave	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 84 ^c 1	<i>.i. durigensat ægiptii</i>	that is, which the Egyptians had done	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 86 ^c 9	<i>.i. dungníat ind namait</i>	that is, which the enemies do	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^d 4	<i>.i. durigni dia</i>	that is, which God had wrought	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^d 7	<i>.i. dorigni iudas</i>	that is, which Judas had made	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^b 11	<i>durairngert dia</i>	which God had promised	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^d 17	<i>.i. hírobæ huathad don(aib) isra(eldaib)</i>	that is, in which there had been few of the Israelites	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^d 3	<i>.i. donarobu gnath techt forculu</i>	that is, to whom going backwards was not customary	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC}

Table 30. Focal V^(REL) S sentences.

Table 31 summarises the last examples of V S attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 24 ^d 14	<i>.i. diafessar indaimser hi rogabthar insalm</i>	that is, if the time at which the psalm might be sung is known	V-[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 14	<i>asfir ani chanas</i>	that that which it says is true	V-[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 21	<i>.i. nochomallad nech</i>	that is, which anyone used to fulfill	[V-S] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^c 15	<i>conugabtis adi</i>	that they might receive	[V-S] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^d 10	<i>dorigensat assir</i>	the Assyrians practiced	[V-S] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^a 5	<i>nad cho [leg. chom] nech acht hesom fesin</i>	which no one may have power over unless [it is] He Himself	V-[S] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 72 ^d 15	<i>meit atan echtrainn</i>	as far as they are foreigners	[meit] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) (REL)-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^d 2	<i>.i. is inunn intliucht 7 chiall fil is indí asrubart ad adnuntiandam usque tuam 7 aní asrubart riam bonum etc.</i>	that is, the meaning and the sense which are in what he has said, <i>adnuntiandam</i> to <i>tuam</i> , are the same as what he has said before, <i>bonum</i> etc.	V-[S] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^b 18	<i>.i. nadfil nech congne fris ón acht dia</i>	that is, that there is no one to help him but God	V-[S] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}

Table 31. Further examples of V S sentences.

In four cases, the IS alignment we are dealing with is sentence focus, so that both V and S are on focus due to the fact that the topic is outside the clause. V S sentences featuring doubling of S (one topical and one focal, e.g. *ML. 112^d2*) are accounted for in Section 2.2. V S orders show four of such examples. Lastly, *ML. 72^d15* shows a rare and particular word order. *Meit* syntactically functions as the head of the relative verb (*atan*). Nevertheless, its function is not that of a NP, even though it is on focus. Note also that *atan* is a form of the copula behaving as a form of the substantive verb. This is the reason why it is analysed as V and not as $V^{(COP)}$.

Table 32 summarises the quantitative analysis of V S sentences, ordered from the most to the less attested typology. As immediately clear on the basis of data, prototypically V S orders are predicate focus sentences.

Analysis	Instances	% out of VS	% out of UWO ⁸⁰
$[V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$	253	83.27%	15.20%
$V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}$	27	8.84%	1.62%
$[V^{(REL)}-S]_{FOC}$	14	4.53%	0.84%
$V-[S]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$	4	1.29%	0.24%
$V-[S]_{FOC}$	3	0.97%	0.18%
$[V-S]_{FOC}$	3	0.97%	0.18%
$[meit]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)(REL)}-[S]_{TOP}$	1	0.31%	0.06%

Table 32. Quantitative analysis of V S sentences (with no Ss' types differentiation).

3.2 V S IC/Adv orders

The V S IC/Adv order amounts to 459 examples within the Milan glosses corpus. This constitutes 10.72% of the total number of sentences analysed in this work, and 27.60% of sentences showing an unmarked word order. Roughly, there are two types of V S IC/Adv orders: on the one hand 'pure' V S IC orders, on the other V S IC orders where some sort of pronominal infix occurs.

3.2.1 VS IC orders with no infix

V S IC/Adv orders with no infix are the majority of V S IC orders. They amount to 343 examples (74.73% of V S IC sentences). As expected, in most cases, what is topical is S and what is focal is IC, as in example (60):

⁸⁰ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

- (60) *biid non dano amal[sodin] frisugeserat*
 is non then in that case with sugeserat
 «and *non* also in that case is with *suggesterat*» (Ml. 15^a12).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

Sentence (60) is a good example of how Latin and Irish could interact in the glosses. Latin words here behave as actual referents: *non* is S, *suggesterat* is the NP which together with *fri* constitutes the IC. The IS alignment becomes clear by glancing the Latin context of Ml. 15^a12, that is, *quod uero ait, 'non stetit' { .i. iustus}, in opus { malum} exiisse⁽¹²⁾ { .i. peccator} indicat, id quod cogitatio ante **suggesterat**. quam tunc inplemus cum dilectat in aliis operibus gradum figure ac sepius resistitare. The Irish gloss concerns Lat. *non*. What the glossator is making clearer is the link between the given *non* and the later-occurring *suggesterat*.*

All the other V S IC/Adv examples with topical S and focal IC are reported in Table 33. Note that Ss are actual NPs. V S IC examples with S^{EMPH}s will be treated below.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 3 ^a 6	<i>nítat lora sidi leu</i>	they do not deem them sufficient	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 3 ^a 14	<i>.i. airataat iltintudai leu cene</i>	that is, for they have many translations already	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -Adv
Ml. 14 ^b 6	<i>.i. is(nephi)mmaircide anadfiadar isint salmso fribésu indí iodaé</i>	that is, what is declared in this psalm is inappropriate to the customs of Joas	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 14 ^c 4	<i>manibet andiis do imfolung foirbthetad</i>	unless they both be present to cause perfection	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 14 ^c 15	<i>.i. arosailther hires tri degním</i>	that is, faith is opened through doing good	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 14 ^c 16	<i>.i. innarbar [leg. innarbanar] hires dano trí drochgnimu</i>	that is, faith, then, is driven out through evil deeds	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 15 ^c 7	<i>.i. nitibertais piana foraib</i>	that is, punishments would not be inflicted on them	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 15 ^c 8	<i>.i. roptis imdai piana donaib anmanaib</i>	that is, punishments to the souls would be abundant	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 15 ^c 8	<i>ceni esærsitis inchoirp aracenn</i>	even if the bodies did not rise to meet them	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 16 ^c 10	<i>huid ingrain foraculu coic brotu deac</i>	the sun went backwards fifteen moments	V-[S] _{TOP} -[Adv-Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 17 ^c 7	<i>aslaigiú deacht maicc indaas deacht athar</i>	that the divinity of the Son is less than the divinity of the Father	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 17 ^c 7	<i>is laigiú didiu intí arafoim· indaas intí honeroimer</i>	therefore he who receives is less than he from whom it is received	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

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Ml. 17 ^c 7	<i>is</i> [leg. <i>is laigiú</i>] <i>intí danaighther indaas intí naddanaigedar</i>	he who is endowed [is less] than he who endows it	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 18 ^d 20	<i>huare rombu suidigthe indíc hísín dosom india</i>	because that salvation was established for him in God	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 21 ^c 3	<i>.i. intan téte alaíthe díchíunn cosnaib gnímaib 7 cosnaib innedaib gníter and</i>	that is, when the day, with the deeds and the troubles which are done in it, ends	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -IC-IC
Ml. 23 ^a 7	<i>l. maní be tempus hífóitsecht</i>	or if <i>tempus</i> should not be understood	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^b 8	<i>dorimther ascelsa hílebraib ríg</i>	this story is related in the books of kings	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^c 20	<i>airis uilliu son indaas nadndene olc frínech</i>	for that is more than that you should not do evil to anyone	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^c 2	<i>.i. doberthar dígal forcechrain pectha bias leu</i>	that is, punishment will be inflicted on every part of sin that they have	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 14	<i>onic domberthar forceill dintitul</i>	a testimony about the title may be given	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 23	<i>aslaigiú deacht maicc indaas deacht athar</i>	that the divinity of the Son is less than the divinity of the Father	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 31	<i>.i. air doratad ermitiu feid deachtae dodoinacht maicc</i>	that is, for the honor of divinity was given to the humanity of the Son	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 25 ^b 6	<i>tobertar desmreta</i> [leg. <i>desmrehta</i>] <i>foilsí diarelad 7 diademnígud</i>	clear examples are given to manifest it and to confirm it	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^c 1	<i>intan dongníter dasalm la ebreu dí confitebor</i>	when, with the Hebrews, two psalms are made from <i>confitebor</i>	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^c 4	<i>mbis confitebor duatlugud bude</i>	that <i>confitebor</i> is for giving thanks	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^c 6	<i>7 bertair dano briathra asinstoirsea innun do fuíllned inna salm innun</i>	and words from this commentary are then brought in to complete the psalms afterwards	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^d 6	<i>.i. ʒarrceoratar</i> [leg. <i>ʒarrcheoratar</i>] <i>anarma doib</i>	that is, so that their weapons failed them	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 28 ^a 10	<i>.i. dorega pían forru hiloc ácloine</i>	that is, punishment will come upon them into the place of their wicked deeds	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 28 ^d 3	<i>arambeth enim and</i>	for which <i>enim</i> should be in it	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^c 17	<i>.i. doinnasatar innapiana hilani innacorpu 7 innananmana</i>	that is, the punishments will be given in fullness into their bodies and their souls	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 10	<i>⟨a⟩ nadrobae etugud dáe desom ⟨dáe desom⟩</i>	that there was no zeal towards God concerning him	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^c 17	<i>nad robae nech cen peccad</i>	that there was no one without sin	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 34 ^d 6	<i>.i. asberat alaili ciasu for oin fiur ataat inda nainm so .i. iacob 7 israhel.</i>	that is, some say that though these two names, to wit, Jacob and Israel, are on one man	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^a 7	<i>.i. immeairic insalm so du iudeib 7 gentib</i>	that is, this psalm is appropriate to Jews and Gentiles	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^b 3	<i>hórbi lán alám ditherfochraic</i>	after his hand has been filled with reward	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 19	<i>.i. asbeir side dundrubrigach techtas nech</i>	that is, he says of the preeminent thing that anyone has	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 23	<i>donadbastae molad dæ triachaingnímu</i>	the praise of God might be shown forth through his good deeds	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^c 7	<i>ðimthe duaid huadia</i>	that David might be protected by God	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^b 9	<i>.i. amal as már agalar de</i>	that is, as his sickness is great because of it	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 1	<i>airis gnáth lassar hitiarmoracht diad</i>	for a flame is usual following smoke	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^d 3	<i>.i. duadbadar huaisletu dé trí huaisletu ind uisci fuasnaidi fil isindaier</i>	that is, the exaltation of God is shown through the exaltation of the troubled water that is in the air	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^d 16	<i>.i. ðruptar fadirci indusci robatar hifudumnaib talman trí indlach innatalman nisin</i>	that is, so that the waters which were in the depths of the earths were visible through the cleaving of those earths	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^b 18	<i>asnindet lathar innandule dodia</i>	the disposition of the elements sets forth concerning God	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 17	<i>duadbadar huaisletu ind choimded tri huaisletu ingníma sin</i>	the elevation of the Lord is shown through the elevation of that deed	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 23	<i>.i. is mo de accobras si lacách trissanínnaide aranetersí isindaichí</i>	that is, desire for it is the greater with everyone through the expectation with which it is expected in the night	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^b 15	<i>ol inpopul contra ezechiam</i>	said the people to Hezekiah	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^c 15	<i>ata són hondí as potento</i>	this is from <i>potento</i>	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^d 18	<i>.i. it uilliu innammai [leg. innammaini] dorataissiu damsá in datae indánai innanguide rongadsa daitsiu adé</i>	that is, greater are the treasures You (sg) have given to me than are the gifts of the prayers which I have prayed to You (sg), O God	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 10- 11	<i>arcríst friathír</i>	said Christ to the Father	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 29	<i>.i. intan doratad foich [leg. foichaid] forumsa trim peccad</i>	that is, when tribulation was inflicted on me through my sin	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}

Unmarked Orders

<p> Ml. 46^b27 <i>.i. olinfaith apersain inpopuil</i> </p>	<p>that is, says the prophet on the part of the people</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 47^a14 <i>airis toisechu· anisiu indaas andabeirsom [leg. andu-] arthuus</i> </p>	<p>for this is prior to that which he puts first</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 47^b13 <i>.i. ni sain mognim frisaní noradim</i> </p>	<p>that is, my deed is not different from that which I say</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 51^d13 <i>.i. huare forcomnactar inna duli iarna epirt do dia biat</i> </p>	<p>that is, because the elements came into being after God said, let them be</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 52^x00 <i>dialuid dauid forlongais có-iadomdu· l. co ammondú· resául</i> </p>	<p>(when) David went into exile to the Edomites, or to the Ammonites, before Saul</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC-IC}</p>
<p> Ml. 53^d6 <i>nambutressa dia hirusalem imbóí dia cecha cathrach olche [leg. olchene]</i> </p>	<p>that the God of Jerusalem was not stronger than the god of any other city was</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 54^c17 <i>.i. dorata athissi foir dano</i> </p>	<p>that is, revilings were cast on him as well</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 54^d3 <i>.i. nad ndechuid a ernaig [leg. ernaigde] huadsom dochum ndæ</i> </p>	<p>that is, that his prayer had not gone from him to God</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP-IC}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 55^c1 <i>diluid [leg. dialuid] duaid forlongais resaul</i> </p>	<p>when David went into exile before Saul</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC-IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 55^c1 <i>luide [leg. luidside] iarum dia thosun som cosluag</i> </p>	<p>he went afterwards to pursue him with a host</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC-IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 55^c1 <i>luid iarum inti duaid hitelaig banessam dindslog</i> </p>	<p>afterwards David went to the hill that was next the army</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 55^d25 <i>nadmbed dligned remdeicsen dá dudoinib</i> </p>	<p>that there is not a law of the providence of God for men</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 55^d25 <i>sech remideci dia dunaib anmandib amlabrib</i> </p>	<p>in spite of the fact that God provides for the dumb animals</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 56^a13 <i>ciaduindnastar ani sin huait siu adæ</i> </p>	<p>if that should be given by you, o God</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 57^a13 <i>sechis arleicfíther son dunpecthach ón</i> </p>	<p>that is, it will be lent to the sinner</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 58^c4 <i>.i. dialuid duaid forlongais triglenn- iosofád</i> </p>	<p>that is, when David went into exile through the valley of Jehoshaphat</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC-IC}</p>
<p> Ml. 59^a18 <i>nadrabae remdeicsiu dá dim so [leg. sa]</i> </p>	<p>that there was no providence of God for me</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 61^a8 <i>airis inunn folud techtas fris inbocht</i> </p>	<p>for the substance that he has is the same as the poor man</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 61^a13 <i>.i. doregat techta hochalldaib dofis indadamrisin</i> </p>	<p>that is, messengers from the Chaldeans will come to learn of that marvel</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP-IC}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>

Ml. 62 ^d ₅	<i>niar indi nombetis arcinnta friusom</i>	it is not because our offences were against them	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^a ₄	<i>.i. hubatar sidi [leg. huabatar sidi] inegipt</i>	that is, since they were in Egypt	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^c ₁₆	<i>dufornditer dano angnimae innarig sin tridelba ban</i>	moreover the deeds of those kings are represented by figures of women	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^c ₁₆	<i>.i. du cuatar assir innatúre taranási</i>	that is, the Assyrians went into their lands on their behalf	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 67 ^c ₂	<i>.i. is huilliu anasbersom donaib geintlidib .i. atabairt fuchossa .i. quando dicit sub pedibus indaas infoummamugud [leg. infoammamugud] asbeirsom dia chomfulidil [leg. chomfulidib] fessin. .i. subiecit populus</i>	that is, what he says of the Gentiles, to wit, putting them under foot (i.e. when he says <i>sub pedibus</i>), is more than the subjugation that he speaks of concerning his own kinsmen, i.e. <i>subiecit populos</i>	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^b ₄	<i>.i. amal dundrigensat maic israhel duthir tairngiri. iarnergannandae [leg. iarnergannad nacannandae] as</i>	that is, as the Children of Israel had done to the Land of Promise after clearing the Canaanites out of it	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 71 ^b ₁₀	<i>.i. airní bí inrí. nó int aircinnech fumáam nachaili nisi dei tantum</i>	that is, for the king or the prince is not wont to be subject to any other but to God only [lit. for there is not king or prince under the yoke of anyone but God]	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 72 ^d ₁	<i>.i. iarsindí bes tuídchisse deichtrib indoiri dochum dethribo</i>	that is, after the Ten Tribes shall have been led into captivity to the Two Tribes	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 77 ^d ₃	<i>duber <som> [leg. duberr] ainm fíno dunplaig duber [leg. duberr] fornech 7 nad fulaing</i>	the name of wine is given to the affliction that is brought upon a man, and which he does not endure	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 82 ^c ₈	<i>dorata bendachta forsipopul octuidecht atoiri babelone</i>	benedictions had been bestowed upon the people as they came out of the Captivity of Babylon	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 82 ^d ₁₁	<i>hurubíth ánel impe actuidecht a egipt</i>	when His cloud had been about it (the Ark) in coming out of Egypt	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC]-IC _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^c ₁₄	<i>airis ansu turcbál essisi ara rigni 7 adomnai indaas cech cré</i>	for it is more difficult to emerge from it on account of its tenacity and its depth than any clay	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 86 ^b ₅	<i>.i. amal as ngnath inmoidem hisin hifledtigib</i>	that is, as that boasting is custom in houses of revelry	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 86 ^d ₁₁	<i>.i. is uilliu asomailse is indaímsir imbi failed nech indaas amal inbiṭe</i>	that is, the sweetness of them is greater at the time in which one is joyous than they usually are	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 88 ^b ₁₅	<i>.i. arnabeth aní immefolangar treædosom</i>	that is, that that which is caused through it (i.e. the counsel) might not be for him	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^a ₇	<i>aratartad indermitiu feid mórsa· du solmain</i>	why this great reverence had been given to Solomon	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^a ₉	<i>ní leicfíther flaithefnacht du saint etir</i>	sovereignty will not be permitted to cupidity at all	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^c ₄	<i>.i. combad mou de aserc ladia triepert dosom adruthreb side indib</i>	that is, that God's love for them might be the greater through his saying that He had dwelt in them	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^c ₃	<i>intan conoscaigter siansai inna ndoine triasnainneda [leg. trisna-] 7 nafochaidi imbiat</i>	when men's senses are moved through the troubles and afflictions in which they are	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^c ₁₇	<i>ata digal aile les forpecthachu dano</i>	He has still other punishment for sinners	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^a ₁₃	<i>.i. lase rombatar ananai innalamaib ón</i>	that is, when their riches were in their hands	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^c ₁	<i>intan romboi popul dáé foramuir</i>	when the people of God was on (the) sea-shore	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^c ₁₁	<i>amal focerdatar saichtea fornaimtea</i>	as arrows are cast on enemies	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 97 ^d ₁₀	<i>dufuairthed ní leu forasaith din main</i>	some of the manna for them for their fill used to remain over	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 98 ^b ₈	<i>.i. rogiúil ambiad innambragait</i>	that is, their food stuck in their throat	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 98 ^c ₆	<i>.i. is huilliu introcaire dorigeni dia indate inpecthai dorogabsat som</i>	that is, the mercy that God has exercised is greater than the sins that they had committed	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 99 ^d ₁	<i>.i. amal dunerberar fidboc hicaímmi fridibirciud n as</i>	that is, as a bow has been bent into crookedness in order to shoot from it	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 100 ^a ₃	<i>.i. robói asaindodcad forcach</i>	that is, on each was his peculiar misfortune	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^c ₉	<i>.i. air nocainte tobchetal leu som hitosuch· cech mís</i>	that is, for a trumpet-song used to be sung among them at the beginning of every month	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^d ₁₇	<i>rosoirtha inmachabdi hua dia· dinaib imnedaib hirobatar</i>	the Machabees were delivered by God from the troubles in which they had been	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^a ₁₀	<i>linfidir dognim [leg. dogin] horath inspiur [leg. inspiurta] noib</i>	that your (sg) mouth will be filled with the grace of the Holy Spirit	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 103 ^c 3	<i>air ní bí nach cumachtach cenpeccad</i>	for any powerful man is not wont to be without sin	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^a 8	<i>.i. amal runucad buáid diib in aimsir innam britheman</i>	that is, as victory had been won over them in the time of the Judges	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^a 8	<i>ɔructhae buaid diib in aimsir innam machabdae</i>	that victory might be won over them in the time of the Machabees	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^b 2	<i>.i. amal duratad pián forsna hí robatar in endor</i>	that is, as punishment was inflicted on those that were in Endor	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^b 2	<i>tabarr pian fors na hí frisorcait dunaib machabdib</i>	let punishment be inflicted on those who do hurt to the Machabees	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^c 16	<i>.i. is assu de tabairt indferso huachtaraig .i. in me fermata est rl. duthabairt inchosmailseo dombeirsom híc</i>	that is, construing the above verse, to wit, <i>in me firmata est</i> etc., is the easier through the giving of the comparison that he gives here	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 110 ^d 6	<i>cia aristae ciall chosmail dund salm so in libris moysis</i>	that a sense similar to this psalm should be found <i>in libris Moysis</i>	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^c 14	<i>.i. amal dundechutar doínmecha dunni triarpecthu</i>	that is, as adversities have come to us through our sins	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^c 14	<i>doregat dano soinmecha dún triar ñ degnimu</i>	prosperities will accordingly come to us through our good works	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^b 20	<i>is toisgiu atuistiú oldatae indoini</i>	their creation is prior to men	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^d 1	<i>.i. is tabartha bonum est fricehtar indafersaso</i>	that is, <i>bonum est</i> is to be put with each of these two verses	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 116 ^b 9	<i>.i. air soisgithir anaim ind firiéin trí degnimu</i>	that is, for the soul of the righteous is illuminated through good works	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 117 ^b 7	<i>.i. arnabé anfochell leu cenatlugud buide diasoirad</i>	that is, that there may not be carelessness with them not to return thanks for their deliverance	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^c 12	<i>.i. ɔoscaigther duscath immut lacumscugud inna grene</i>	that is, your (sg) shadow is moved about you (sg) by the movement of the sun	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^c 5	<i>.i. imfolangar molad duibsi- tri molad duib degnimae ñ dáé</i>	that is, praise is caused to you (pl) through your (pl) praising the good works of God	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^a 8	<i>.i. airrobtar lia sidi ol in batar maicc israhel</i>	that is, for they were more numerous than the Children of Israel	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 123 ^c 3	<i>.i. ni comtacht frepaid dianíc duntedmáim ddaánaic innaríga</i>	that is, a remedy has not been sought to cure them of the plague which had come to them, (i.e.) to the kings	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^c 4	<i>.i. amal dunedbarar dethiden ícce du neuch dia cuinchetar frepthi dia ícc</i>	that is, as care of healing is applied to any one for whom remedies are sought to heal him	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^c 10	<i>is huilliu són didiu indaas bid censomataid leu doathchretis</i>	that then is more than if it were without wealth with them that they had been redeemed	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^a 2	<i>.i. amal tigtae [leg. tiagtae] mná hua chelib cofriu [leg. cofriu] aili</i>	that is, as wives go from their husbands to other men	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^b 6	<i>.i. is étrum indigal imméit inpectho</i>	that is, the punishment is light for the greatness of the sin	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 14	<i>.i. incoissegar deacht₇ doinacht críst tris in loc innaisndísen asber híc</i>	that is, the Godhead and the Manhood of Christ are indicated through the passage of the narration that he speaks of here	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^d 13-14	<i>.i. it mathi inna ganema ocoul indlénda</i>	that is, the sands are good at absorbing the liquid	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^a 12	<i>.i. armbat chosmaili indoinisin fria nídlu</i>	that is, that those men may be like their idols	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 135 ^a 13	<i>.i. is huilliu introcaire oldatae ar nairilltinni</i>	that is, the mercy is greater than our deserts	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 135 ^a 13	<i>ní lugu immefolngi sonartai do neuch incothud indaas bid suide garait nosessed etarlam.</i>	it is not less that sleep produces strength to anyone than if it were (lit. though it were) a short sitting that he would sit	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 140 ^b 3	<i>.i. is uilliu tingnae indaas mingnae se</i>	that is, Your (sg) understanding is greater than my understanding	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 140 ^c 3	<i>.i. nibí adaig daitsiu. adé</i>	that is, there is no night to You (sg), O God	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 145 ^c 4	<i>sic imfolangar oínmolad do dia trichocetal inna nule ndule</i>	so one praise is effected to God through the concert of all the elements	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 146 ^a 2-3	<i>.i. is cotarsnae cechae díb fri alail</i>	that is, each of these is contrary to the other	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 146 ^a 2-3	<i>.i. is cotarsne aicned in tened fri cassair</i>	that is, the nature of fire is contrary to hail	V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

Table 33. V S IC/Adv sentences with topical S and focal IC.

As it is evident from Table 33, in a few cases Ss happen to be not NPs but anaphoric pronouns (e.g. Ml. 3^a6, Ml. 37^b19, Ml. 63^a4, Ml. 123^a8). This is consistent with what highlighted in previous sections. Glosses such as Ml. 43^c15 (but also e.g. Ml. 57^a13, Ml. 123^c10) show an argumental analysis of *són*, which was accounted for in previous sections.

In Ml. 3^a6 note how the topical status of *sidi* can be understood on the basis of the previous Irish sentence (.i. *sechis nascripturi mora són*), which introduces *nascripturi mora*, that is, the phrase co-referenced to *sidi*, into the universe of discourse. In Ml. 14^b6, *anadfiadar isint salmso* (“what is declared in this psalm”), although syntactically an open relative clause, is considered a NP with the syntactic function of subject of *is(nephi)mmaircide*. In Ml. 14^c4, *andiis* is labelled as S according to GOI §251. This is a particular construction, with a possessive + appositional dative functioning as S. In Ml. 16^c10, *foraculu* is considered an adverb even though originally it was a prepositional phrase: *for + a + culu*. On the topical status of *desmreta foilsí* in Ml. 25^b6 see Latin: *atque ideo etiam beatus David immo sancti spiritus gratia ita dispensavit, ut híc profetia {ablativus}, quæ in Christo dicta est, alia⁽⁶⁾ quæ evidenter facta sunt, miscerentur, per quæ⁽⁷⁾ etiam illa, quæ superius in honorem eius relata sunt, ad ipsum {christum} pertinere nullus {ut} ambigeat. Ml. 54^c17 (.i. *dorata athissi foir dano*, “that is, revilings were cast on him as well”) appears interesting if compared to Ml. 54^c16 (i. *dorat saul athissi foir intan romboi hi cotarsnatu fris*, “i.e. Saul cast revilings on him when he was in opposition to him”). To be noted is the passive vs. active verb as well as the different IS alignment: IC is topical and O is focal in Ml. 54^c16, S is topical and IC is focal in Ml. 54^c17. In Ml. 85^c14, not the whole S is topical, but *essisi* only. In Ml. 112^d1, what is tagged as V is actually made of a copula + verbal of necessity. In Ml. 123^a8, what is glossed as IC is a sentence itself (*ol in batar maicc israhe*). The analysis of Ml. 135^a13 is questionable. Besides the analysis proposed above, it may also be intended as an instance of clefting (V^(COP) + cleft adjective with function of Adv, that is, *lugu*),⁸¹ where in the pseudo-relative clause a V O IC order is attested + IC functioning as second term of comparison. I defend a V S IC analysis with topical S and focal IC, prioritising the comparative construction over the cleft construction. It seems to me that the function of *lugu* is not primarily that of an adverb. Accordingly, the whole V O S sentence *immefolngi sonartai do neuch incothud* would function as S of *ní lugu*, and would be topical as clear on the basis of the Latin: *non minus³³ quippe somno quam modica sessione⁴⁴ laborantium recreatur uirtu*. In the end, as for the IS of the two sentences from Ml. 146^a2-3, see Ml. 129^d5 (61):*

(61)	.i.	is	cotarsnae	fri	aicned
	that is	is	contrary	to	nature

⁸¹ On this label in similar cleft contexts see Chapter 6.

<i>innangnimae</i>	<i>dorigeni</i>	<i>som</i>	<i>hitosuch</i>
of the deeds	that did	he(EMPH)	at first
<i>andurigeni</i>	<i>indib</i>	<i>iterum</i>	
that which (he) did	in them	again	

«that is, contrary to the nature of the deeds which He had done at first is that which He has done in them again» (Ml. 129^d5).

Word order and information structure: V-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

The syntactic construction occurring in (61) involves the same elements of Ml. 146^a2-3, even if the IC occurs earlier in the sentence. What must be underlined is that the IC (*fri* + NP) should not be considered as part of the same constituent of V (*is cotarsnae*). This comes out quite clearly in what attested in Ml. 146^a2-3, where *fri alail* occurs in sentence-final position.

Ml. 17^c7 gives the opportunity to account for a rather widespread construction occurring in V S IC sentences: the comparative clause. As shown in the analysis, *indaas* is here treated as a preposition although its origin is verbal. Thus, in similar cases the second term of the comparison is labelled as IC, and it is mostly focal. The topicality of S (“the divinity of the Son”), in Ml. 17^c7, can be understood on the basis of the previous part of the gloss: *.i. huare is athir* [leg. *hoathir*] *arroét macc cumachtae*. Comparable to Ml. 17^c7 is Ml. 23^c20. The topicality of S can be once more understood on the basis of the previous part of the gloss (i.e. *.i. nephdenum neich diulc frinnech dogní olc frit*, “that is, not to do anything evil to anyone who does evil to you”). Similarly behaving glosses are e.g. Ml. 123^c10, Ml. 135^a13.

V S IC/Adv sentences displaying more than one IC are assimilated to V S IC/Adv sentences with only one IC. The total amount of V S IC IC sentences is 37. In 21 out of 37 cases it is the last IC that is focal (V-[S]_{TOP}-IC-[IC]_{FOC}), in 12 out of 37 cases it is the first IC that is focal (V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}-IC), while in 4 out of 37 cases both the ICs are on focus (V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC-IC]_{FOC}). Remarkably, sentence-final focal ICs are typical with heavy constituents (e.g. Ml. 145^c4), especially after ICs which morphologically are inflected prepositions (e.g. Ml. 122^c5).

The IS of Ml. 18^d20 can be understood from the Latin (*quare*⁽²⁰⁾ *salus eius quæ erat in Deo possita nutare*⁽²¹⁾ *credatur*). The Irish gloss explains the Latin, modifying the sentence structure to give emphasis to the last IC. Ml. 28^a10 is comparatively interesting. This sentence features an active verb (*dorega*). The same gloss Ml. 28^a10, then, shows a sentence with the same referents involved but a sentence-structure built around a passive verb (*doberthar*: *.i. doberthar pian forru tara nési*, “that is, punishment will be inflicted on them for them”). Even if also this second sentence shows a V S IC order, its IS analysis is different. As will be seen below, V S and IC are focal, while the last IC is topical. What is crucial here is to show how

strongly the diathesis of verbs interferes with ISs of otherwise syntactically (and semantically) similar sentences. In *ML. 97^d10*, the partitive *din main* modifies *ní*. *Din main* only is however topical.

In the previous section two typologies of sentences involving the substantive verb were taken into account. *V SIC* sentences show also the last structure involving *at-tá* occurring in Old Irish, that is, the possessive construction (e.g. *ML. 98^c8*: *.i. connabiad dliged nerchissechta ladia*, “that is, so that there would be no principle of compassion with God”). The IS of those structures may either put the possessed item on focus and the possessor in topical position, or vice versa, depending on the context. This trend will be confirmed in later sections also by marked *V IC S* orders with possessive meaning, where the topical element is once more the IC.

V SIC/Adv sentences can feature also emphatic *Ss* (62):

- (62) *.i. combad echtransom hochomrorcain*
 that is that was strange he(EMPH) about error
 «that is, that he would be a stranger to error» (*ML. 14^a7*).

Word order and information structure: $V[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC}$

In (62), The focal status of *hochomrorcain* is confirmed by Latin (*et ab omni⁽⁷⁾ errore amore uirtutis⁽⁸⁾ alienum? cui {ioae} in regum libris nullum testimonium de perfectione perhibetur in quibus ita dicitur et fecit ioas rectum {i. opus} ante dominum omnibus diebus quibus inluminabat eum {i. ioam} ioada pontifex*). Other similar examples are reported in Table 34.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>ML. 23^d23</i>	<i>airmi ardu ni de tridul isna lucu arda</i>	for we are higher for it through going into the high places	$V-[S^{(EMPH)}]_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC}$
<i>ML. 25^a3</i>	<i>nisechmalfamní and centadal</i>	that is, we will not pass by there without a comment [lit. a touching (on)]	$V[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP-}Adv-[IC]_{FOC}$
<i>ML. 29^d7</i>	<i>olsem [leg. olesom] friamuntair</i>	he says to his followers	$V[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC}$
<i>ML. 31^a17</i>	<i>.i. nibiat som friatogais adi etir</i>	that is, they do not seek to deceive them at all	$V-[S^{(EMPH)}]_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC-Adv}$
<i>ML. 32^d10</i>	<i>docoid som aforaithmiut dæ</i>	that he has gone away from remembering God	$V-[S^{(EMPH)}]_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC}$
<i>ML. 33^a1</i>	<i>ceine nosoisiu huáim</i>	as long as you turn from me	$V[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC}$

Ml. 43 ^b 13	<i>.i. dorigensat som do ecnduch dá</i>	that is, which they did to blaspheme God	V-[S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^d 1	<i>.i. intan asrubart sum frimmacu israhel</i>	that is, when he said to the children of Israel	V-[S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^a 1	<i>.i. iarsindí adcuaid som dineuch immethcrathar críst dianehtair</i>	that is, after he has spoken of what covers Christ externally	V[(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^b 6	<i>.i. adgainemmar ni hi críst</i>	that is, we are born again in Christ	V-[S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^a 10	<i>.i. nosoirfitissom tripecthu innannamat</i>	that is, they would be delivered through the sins of the enemies	V[(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^b 18	<i>bednísel som tritaidbsin afuilliuchtæ hisleb sina hominibus</i>	He was lowly through the showing of His footprints to men on Mount Sinai	V-[S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 99 ^d 1	<i>duarbarthasom indrochgnima [leg. -gnimu] a bonís operibus</i>	they were inclined to evil deeds <i>a bonis operibus</i>	V[(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 102 ^d 17	<i>amal rusoirtha som hisleib sina tritogairm nanmae dá 7 arim adegmaine</i>	as they were delivered on Mount Sinai through calling on the name of God and enumerating His benefits	V-[S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC-IC}

Table 34. V S.^{EMPH} IC/Adv sentences with topical S and focal IC.

In Ml. 25^a3, the topical status of 1st plural emphatic subject can be understood from the Latin: *sed iam strictim {breuiter} carpentes⁽³⁾ singula non patiemur expositionem nostram⁽⁴⁾ longius euagar⁽⁵⁾*. The focal status of *centadal* on the other hand is underlined also by its position, which is sentence-final, after *and*. In the case of V S.^{EMPH} IC/Adv clauses with more than one IC, the trend highlighted for V S.^{NP} IC sentences is confirmed: the last IC tends to be focal if heavy morphosyntactically and if the first IC is an inflected preposition (e.g. Ml. 23^d23, Ml. 25^a3).

A second IS alignment attested in the Milan glosses in case of V S IC/Adv sentences features focal S and topical IC (63).

- (63) *roásaiset drissi innasenchomrorcan tarsodin iterum*
had grown brambles of old errors over it again
«and the brambles of old errors had grown over it again» (Ml 2^a6).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}

In (63), *tarsodin* is topical, and it refers back to a referent activated in the previous part of the gloss (that is, *intintud septien* “the translation of the Septuagint”).⁸² The subject *drissi innasenchomrorcan* is instead clearly focal.

Other similar cases are reported in Table 35.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 15 ^d 9	<i>.i. huare nad robae ní dodegnímaib leu</i>	that is, because there were not any good deeds with them	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 22 ^b 1	<i>₇ dutét bréntu as</i>	and a stench comes out of it	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 11	<i>.i. ní buthi saithar nimbi</i>	that is, there should not be labor concerning it	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^a 9	<i>.i. nitabarr ainm trén friu</i>	that is, a substantive is not added to them	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^d 13	<i>₇ arnarogabthar midesmrecht díb</i>	and that a bad example may not be taken from them	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 33 ^c 7	<i>.i. manibé ómun dée les</i>	that is, if the fear of God would not be with him	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>.i. huare ataas ilchialla isint sun ebraidiu</i>	that is, because there are many senses in the Hebrew word	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^d 6	<i>.i. connabí ingnae les fritabairt nachreto</i>	that is, so that it does not have knowledge for the understanding of anything	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^c 7	<i>dia roib tofortacht su lium</i>	if I have your help	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^d 12	<i>.i. dutiagat muirgobuil ind</i>	that is, the inlets of the sea come into it	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^d 15	<i>níbí super and</i>	<i>super</i> is not usually there	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 47 ^a 14	<i>atá imthuus an [leg. and] dano</i>	and there is moreover an inversion in it	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^c 18	<i>ma ní be indithem leir, menma ad blam, etarscarthae fri cech n dethidin las in [add. ndescipul] do eitsecht amagistir</i>	if the disciple has not careful attention, and a mind ready and separated from every care, to listen to his teacher	V-[S] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>büid chiall intamlae is indí a [leg. as] zelaueris</i>	there is the sense of imitation in <i>zelaveris</i>	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^c 5	<i>.i. airni fil cumachtae lapecthachu</i>	that is, for sinners have no power	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>atá trá imfrecae <rae> etir inna cethri fersu fil isintsalm tall iar duaid</i>	there is then correspondence between the four verses that are in the psalm yonder according to David	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}

⁸² The entire gloss is: *amal bid horaili nuasligi .i. in nuaethintudsa dorigenuassa hoebreib .i. jaicert som intintud septien hitosuch .i. intan foruirim obell, astric foir, roásaiset drissi innasenchomrorcan tarsodin iterum cricht les innaallsige ut praediximus*. In bold font is the passage analysed here.

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 60 ^a 4	<i>.i. airroboi frescissiu lesom beus</i>	that is, for he had still hope	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^c 8	<i>huare rombói intamail caratraid and</i>	because there was a semblance of friendship in it	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^b 6	<i>.i. ní bith chomdidnad damsa indib</i>	that is, I did not use to have consolation in them	V-[S] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^d 5	<i>.i. níardad nammór taraméisi</i>	that is, nothing great was given for us	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^d 16	<i>.i. airní tárbas achumachtae hisuidiu nach mór</i>	that is, for His power was not shown herein to any extent	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 69 ^b 3	<i>ní bí dano cida fresciso [leg. frescissiu] inbáis etir lasna doini so</i>	there is moreover not even an expectation of death at all with these men	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 71 ^c 12	<i>rubatar peccthi less</i>	there were sins with him	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 71 ^c 14	<i>.i. nadfil gním foirbthe les</i>	that is, that there is no perfect work with him	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 72 ^d 12	<i>.i. intan mbís int imfognam friainsid dundí as iudica</i>	that is, when the construction with <i>iudica</i> is with the accusative	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^a 6	<i>niéperr buith cen pecad doib intainsin</i>	it is not said that they are without sin at that time [lit. it is not said their being without sin at that time]	V-[S] _{FOC} -[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 88 ^b 15	<i>.i. arna imfolangide rucacae do treae</i>	that is, that shame might not be caused to him through it	V-[S] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^c 9	<i>nadrobae remcaissiu dae diib</i>	that there was no providence of God for them	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^a 10	<i>cení betis degairiltin leu fessin</i>	even if they had no merits themselves	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^c 8	<i>huare [...] nad m bí ní duailgen indi</i>	because there is nothing soft in it	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 97 ^a 1	<i>.i. bieit ilgné indisón</i>	that is, there will be many kinds in it	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 98 ^c 8	<i>.i. connabiad dlíged nerchissechta ladia</i>	that is, so that there would be no principle of compassion with God	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 105 ^a 4	<i>.i. huare nadrofeidligset arnathir indib</i>	that is, because our fathers did not continue in them	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^c 12	<i>.i. combetis degnímai leu trissanetis [leg. -etaitis(?)] bethaid afrithissi</i>	that is, that they should have good works, through which they would obtain life again	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 113 ^b 11	<i>.i. combed [add. imbed] clainde leu ón</i>	that is, that they might have abundance of offspring	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 120 ^d 2	<i>.i. amal duneclan [leg. duneclannar] etach n derscaigthe hitig cennaigi dobuith imm(i)nríg</i>	that is, as a garment of surpassing excellence is sought out in the house of a merchant to be about the king	V-[S] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}

Ml. 120 ^d 2	<i>issaml(aid) duérglas :: [leg. in (?)] soilse sainriud asnaib dulib do imthimchiull in choimded</i>	it is so that the radiance in particular has been sought out from the elements to surround the Lord	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^a 7	<i>bias ícc do huadia</i>	he shall have salvation from God	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 127 ^a 14	<i>.i. arnachontartar fortacht doib dianechtair honeuch</i>	that is, so that help may not be given to them from without by any one	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} - Adv-IC
Ml. 129 ^a 9	<i>.i. connaccon bet acht degnímai less</i>	that is, so that he may have only good works	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^b 7	<i>.i. amal forcongair athir diamaccaib</i>	that is, as a father gives command to his children	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^c 13	<i>.i. roboi dethiden mór oca togu són</i>	that is, there has been great care in choosing it	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 133 ^a 10	<i>coneperr cedardae cech [leg. ducech] óin diachláind</i>	so that every one of his offspring is called a Kedarite	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 137 ^c 8	<i>.i. robói chocad etir deichthriub, dethriub corricisin</i>	that is, there had been war between the Ten Tribes and the Two Tribes until then	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 138 ^c 3	<i>amal dungiúter idail huadib</i>	as idols are made by them	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}

Table 35. V S IC/Adv sentences with focal S and topical IC.

In Ml. 15^d9, the indirect complement is topical and the subject is focal given that the Irish gloss serves to explain why *peribit iter impiorum*. In Ml. 24^d11, the predicate is a verbal of necessity (*buthi*). In Ml. 44^d6, *fritaibairt nachreto* is not glossed as an own-standing IC since it belongs to the same (focal) constituent of *ingnae*. Note that in cases such as Ml. 60^a4 or 69^b3 adverbs *beus* (“still”) and *etir* (“even”) are not labelled as Adv, since neglectable as own-standing constituents in both IS and syntactic terms. In Ml. 72^d12, the IC *dundí as iudica* modifies the S *int infognam* even if it occurs in sentence-final position. In Ml. 107^c12 the relative clause *trissanetis bethaid afrithissi* modifies *degnímai*. Lastly, according to the analysis proposed for Ml. 120^d2, *issamlaid* is considered a conjunction, correlating with *amal* in the previous part of the gloss (see the whole gloss: *.i. amal duneclan [leg. duneclannar] etach n̄ derscaigthe hitig cennaigi dobuith imm (i)nríg issaml(aid) duérglas :: [leg. in (?)] soilse sainriud asnaib dulib do imthimchiull in choimded*, “that is, as a garment of surpassing excellence is sought out in the house of a merchant to be about the king, it is so that the radiance in particular has been sought out from the elements to surround the Lord”).

The 9 cases where more than one IC occurs are equally distributed into sentences showing the topical IC in sentence-final position and sentences showing the topical IC after the focal S.

At last, what needs to be underlined is how, in the case of V S IC/Adv sentences with focal S and topical IC, cases where S is an emphatic subject are not attested.

Presentative clauses occur also in sentences with an IC added to a V S structure (see Table 29 above), as shown in (64):

- (64) *.i. rombói dliged remdeicsen dé dosom*
 that is there was law of providence of God for him
 «that is, there was a law of the providence of God for him» (Ml. 19^d17).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}-IC

All the other examples of topical and focal S attested in the Milan glosses in the case of V S IC/Adv sentences are reported in Table 36.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 20 ^b 2	<i>nadrobae remdeicsiu na lather ndæ diadulib</i>	(that) there is no providence or dispensation of God for His creatures	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 26 ^d 12	<i>.i. ní con bia cumscugud forpianad bith suthin innaní ingrennat innafirianu</i>	that is, there will be no change in the everlasting punishment of those who persecute the righteous	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 31 ^c 29	<i>.i. conabitalam and</i>	that is, so that there is no earth in it	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 38 ^d 4	<i>.i. nad rabae deithbiur huaduaid</i>	that is, that there was no blame on David's part	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 43 ^d 1	<i>imbói dioinachdaib leu robeth fordib milib ech</i>	whether there were riders among them for two thousand horses	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 50 ^d 1	<i>namboi remcisiu dæ de</i>	that there was no providence of God for him	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 55 ^c 10	<i>ata tra cid diltud isindisin</i>	there is then even a negative therein	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>.i. ataat mesai dé nephchomtetarrachtí amal abis, amalfudumain</i>	that is, there are judgements of God incomprehensible like an abyss and like a depth	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 55 ^d 25	<i>.i. nífil chosmailius fir doneuch asber nadmbed dliged remdeicsen dé dudoinib</i>	that is, there is not a semblance of truth to anyone who says that there is not a law of the providence of God for men	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 78 ^b 11	<i>.i. robói commant netarru du denum uilc frimmaccu israhel</i>	that is, there was a covenant between them to do evil to the Children of Israel	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC

Ml. 82 ^d 6	<i>.i. nábí comrorcon ánd</i>	that is, so that there is not error there	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC/Adv}
Ml. 89 ^c 15	<i>.i. bieid rath somailse for a belru , áilgine amal bróin nailgen sniges hicnai</i>	that is, there will be the grace of sweetness on his speech, and gentleness as the gentle rain that drops into a fleece	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC/[S]_{TOP/FOC}}
Ml. 93 ^b 12-13	<i>.i. acht intan m bis tolae flechuid indib</i>	that is, save when there is a flood of rain in them	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC}
Ml. 95 ^b 6	<i>air biid aslach oceráil innabritthemnachtae</i>	for there is a suggestion enjoining the judgement	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC}
Ml. 97 ^a 4	<i>.i. ní bí quae. and</i>	that is, <i>quae</i> is not there	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC/Adv}
Ml. 100 ^b 21	<i>ní bí. suum sic. isindremepertiu</i>	there is thus no <i>suum</i> in the aforesaid	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC}
Ml. 107 ^d 12	<i>.i. manud fil etir áforaithmet leu</i>	that is, if there is any memory of them at all with them	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC}
Ml. 108 ^a 11	<i>.i. cia beith soilse isindlau</i>	that is, though there be light in the day	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC}
Ml. 114 ^a 14	<i>.i. ata dechur n aisndissen for cech ae</i>	that is, there is a difference of explanation on each of them	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC}
Ml. 118 ^a 7	<i>.i. arnaroib áes drochbæsgnai isindelais [leg. isindeclais] diangabthar drochdesmrecht</i>	that is, that there may not be in the church people of evil ways, from whom a bad example may be taken	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC-IC}

Table 36. V S IC/Adv sentences with topical and focal S.

In Ml. 38^d4, *deithbiur* is an instance of partitive subject. Similarly, in Ml. 43^d1, *dioinachdaib* is a partitive subject. *leu* occurs between the head of the relative clause (*dioinachdaib*) and the relative clause itself (*robeth fordib milib ech*). In Ml. 55^d11 it is not clear whether the clause should be considered an instance of V-[S]_{TOP/FOC-IC} or rather an instance of V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}, thus analysing *amal abis* , *amal fudumain* as belonging to the same constituent of *mesai dáé*. The choice between the two does not make however a huge difference in terms of the classification of this sentence, since V-[S]_{TOP/FOC-IC} and V-[S]_{TOP/FOC} orders are assimilable. Ml. 107^d12, although analysed as a presentative clause, is borderline possessive (“that is, if they have any memory of them”, V-[S]_{FOC-[IC]_{TOP}}). Also given the translation proposed in Griffith and Stifter’s database, the presentative analysis has been preferred. In Ml. 118^a7, the relative clause (*diangabthar drochdesmrecht*) modifies the S (*áes drochbæsgnai*).

Ml. 82^d6 offers the chance to spend a few words on *and*. *And* (that is, i + 3rd singular neuter pronoun) is an item that is not easy to classify: it stands halfway between ICs and Advs. Accordingly, *.i. nábí comrorcon ánd* may well be translated “that is, so that there is not error

there” or “that is, so that there is not error in it”. In the former case, *and* would require Adv as a label, in the latter *and* would require IC as a label. Due to this ‘fluidity’ among ICs and Adv in certain cases, no great distinction will be made in this thesis between those two labels. This is consistent with what happens also in other languages, where the adverbial function can be expressed through both a phrase and a single word (cfr. German *Zug hält **mittig*** (Adv) and Italian *Il treno si ferma **al centro*** (phrase)).

A further type of IS attested in the corpus in case of V S IC/Adv sentences is characterised by predicate focus (65):

- (65) *.i. huare as failith inmenmae isinmatin*
 that is because that is glad the mind in the morning
ocærgiu iarfoscaigiú [leg. iarfoscaigiud] inna aithche·
 upon getting up after removing of the night
 «that is, because the mind is glad in the morning upon getting up after the
 departure of the night» (Ml. 21^c3).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-IC-IC-IC

To account for the IS of this sentence, consider the whole gloss: *.i. adaig tar æsi laíthi .i. intan téte alaithe dichuinn cosnaib gnimaib 7 cosnaib imnedaib gniter and dotét iarum imthanu [leg. imthanud] aidche tar [leg. tara] hæsi condermanammarni innaimnedsin imbiam isindlaithiu trichumsanad inna aidche dodiarriorat· 7 isdindfaihti bis isinmatin indad [leg. indiad] inna aidchesin is nomen mane· .i. huare as failith inmenmae isinmatin ocærgiu iarfoscaigiú [leg. iarfoscaigiud] inna aithche· trimiberar dindaimsir matíndisin ani as mane æperr dindfaihti bis indi .i. mane failid iarsindí· ba mane moch riam.*, “i.e. night after day, i.e. when the day, with the deeds and the troubles which are done in it, ends, then comes the alternation of night after it so that we may forget those troubles in which we are in the day through the repose of the night that follows it, and it is to the gladness that is in the morning after that night that *mane* is name, i.e. because the mind is glad in the morning upon getting up after the departure of the night, that which is *mane* is transferred from that morning time, and is given as a name to the gladness that is in it, i.e. *mane* [is] “gladsome” after *mane* was “early” beforehand”. The referents labelled as ICs (that is, the morning and the night) are given in the universe of discourse, and hence not focal. What is added in terms of information to the topical *menmae* is conveyed by V, *as failith*.

The other cases of predicate focus in V S IC/Adv sentences are reported in Table 37.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
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Ml. 19 ^d 5	<i>.i. conabad dlged remdéicsen oco tuistin sidi</i>	that is, so that it should not be a law of providence at their creation	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 22 ^d 7	<i>.i. horudeda indfeúil forsnaib cnamaib</i>	that is, after the flesh on the bones melts away	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 22 ^d 26	<i>.i. cnabeth forraithmet dáe hisuidiu</i>	that is, that there should be no memory of God therein	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 25 ^c 5	<i>as nisel indóinacht iar naicniud</i>	that the humanity is lowly according to nature	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 29 ^c 1	<i>.i. rollaad crannchur foir</i>	that is, a lot was cast upon it	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 30 ^d 24	<i>7 isbronach abethu amal sodin</i>	and his life is sad in that case	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC/Adv}
Ml. 36 ^c 20	<i>.i. is mór áerlamae inna cellesin as</i>	that is, great is the readiness of that sense from it	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 49 ^a 16	<i>.i. airroptar sonartu maicc israhel intain sin</i>	that is, for the children of Israel were stronger at that time	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 51 ^d 1	<i>as mor cumachte trít</i>	that is great (his) power thereby	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 54 ^b 30	<i>indaas indaricc som [leg. indaas aricc som] foir som</i>	than he finds on himself	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 57 ^c 7	<i>.i. intan luaithfider achaingensom hitig dáe</i>	that is, when his case will be discussed in the house of God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 88 ^b 4	<i>.i. nírbuo [leg. nírbu] sain mo bríg leu</i>	that is, for them, my worth was not special	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 88 ^b 16	<i>.i. mani fortachtaiged dia dam</i>	that is, unless God were to help me	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 90 ^a 11	<i>.i. condid étrummu dáe ón in bochtae bís triarchellad donaib sommaib ananae airnaib bochtaib trifrescissin messa firiein indríg doib iarum</i>	that is, so that the poverty, which is a result of the rich taking their riches from the poor, is the lighter through the expectation by them of the just judgment of the king afterwards	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 98 ^c 6	<i>combu uisse anepeltu inoinecht</i>	that their dying at one time would have been just	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 104 ^d 4	<i>.i. airt gnátha sidi in dithrub</i>	that is, for they are customary in the wilderness	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 112 ^d 8	<i>.i. cia dugnetar fertai fiadaib</i>	that is, although miracles be wrought before them	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 120 ^d 5	<i>.i. amal as soirb anersolcud ade occuindchid neich indib</i>	that is, as it is easy to open them in seeking anything in them	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}

Table 37. V S IC/Adv sentences with focal V and topical S.

On the IS of Ml. 90^a11, see Latin: *in sustentationem sui ex bono æquitatis {i. iudicii regis} solacium paupertas inueniet⁽¹¹⁾⁻⁽¹²⁾*.

Only one case of V S IC/Adv order with focal V and topical S with emphatic S is attested in the corpus (66):

- (66) *mani bat fer=som· de· tri æsnadud*
 if not are better=they(EMPH) for it through delaying
innadiglae dothabairt foraib
 of the punishment to take upon them
 «if they are not better for it through the postponing of the infliction of
 punishment upon them» (Ml. 24^c1).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-[S^(EMPH)]_{TOP}-IC-IC

Similar cases of predicate focus but with also the final IC on focus are attested in the Milan glosses. A clear example is shown in (67):

- (67) *dorolgida apecthi do*
 were forgiven his sins to him
 «that his sins had forgiven him» (Ml. 32^c15).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

Here, what is predicated about topical *apecthi* (“his sins”) is that they were forgiven to him. *Do* is not only argumental, but strictly bound to the action described by *dorolgida*, so that it can be considered as part of the predication itself. The other cases of predicate focus (IC included) attested in the Milan glosses in case of V S IC/Adv sentences are reported in Table 38.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 14 ^d 1	<i>mani bé· est ánd tuas</i>	if <i>est</i> be not there above	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 16 ^c 5	<i>dodechuid temel tarsingréin</i>	darkness came over the sun	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>.i. connabeth in finem and</i>	that is, that <i>in finem</i> should not be there	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>manibed in finem and</i>	had <i>in finem</i> not been there	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^a 5	<i>.i. cein nadmibid fortacht dé desom</i>	that is, as long as there was not the help of God for him	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 38 ^c 5	<i>.i. issain fuintuc side</i> [leg. <i>fuintuc side</i>] <i>frisní</i> [leg. <i>frisani</i>] <i>fuandragab petar</i>	that is, that [sense] to which he has applied it is different from that in which Peter uttered it	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^d 1	<i>.i. amal dunesmar</i> ₇ <i>asroither uisce fortalmain cech leth</i>	that is, as water is poured forth and scattered on the earth on every side	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC} -Adv
Ml. 44 ^d 2	<i>.i. rolaad cech alt asachoir dam</i>	that is, every joint has been put from its proper place for me	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 50 ^c 8	<i>.i. airni robae side leusom fricaldeu</i>	that is, for they do not have it [occasionem insultationis] against the Chaldeans	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 52 ^x 00	<i>conranaic side laithe nand iarsin fridauid</i>	one day thereafter he met David	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -Adv- IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^a 13	<i>duesemar animbed immalle</i>	their abundance is poured forth together	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^c 11	<i>nadndichil ní ar dia ingnimaib cech óin</i>	that nothing is hidden from God in the deeds of every one	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^a 9	<i>.i. air arrocheisside dibochtai chaich</i>	that is, for he had compassion on the poverty of all	[V] _{FOC} [^(+ANAPH.S)] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^b 22	<i>.i. arrombu lonn dia frissom</i>	that is, when God was angry with him	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^c 9	<i>ducuaid inducbal cruche crist fundomun</i>	the glory of the Cross of Christ has gone throughout the world	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^b 25	<i>airis ildae ápopulus huacheill</i>	for <i>populus</i> is plural in sense	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^c 12	<i>.i. ðdib immaircide inmold friaicned innadeachtae</i>	that is, that the praise may be suitable to the nature of the Godhead	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 73 ^a 4	<i>olduaid apersin ezechiaë</i>	says David in the person of Hezekiah	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 84 ^b 1	<i>.i. duoscibet sidi hua etrachtai cumachtai sech cechriga</i>	that is, they will be preeminent in splendor of power beyond all kings	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^b 11	<i>air amal as toisegiu grián indáas laithe</i>	for as the sun is prior to the day	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^b 11	<i>is toissigiu gein maicc hua athair recech dúil</i>	the birth of the Son from the Father is prior to every element	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^a 4	<i>betan duthrachaig agnimai som dodia</i>	that his deeds will be devoted to God	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 98 ^b 8	<i>nídechuid ambiad asambelaib</i>	their food did not go from their mouths	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^a 8	<i>.i. dúfórmastar cech fechtnaige foraraili doib iar ríchtin tire taimgeri</i>	that is, each prosperity will be added upon another to them after reaching the Land of Promise	[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC} -IC-IC

<p> Ml. 112^d₂ <i>is inunn intliucht fil is dí as ueritatem rl. 7 psallere rl.</i> </p>	<p> the meaning which is in <i>ueritatem</i> etc. is the same as in <i>psallere</i> etc. </p>	<p> [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}- [IC]_{FOC} </p>
<p> Ml. 114^b₁ <i>.i. is inunn chiall fil is indi ascit 7 as nóuit is indib desmrechtaibso</i> </p>	<p> that is, the sense in <i>scit</i> and in <i>nóuit</i> is the same in these two examples </p>	<p> [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}- [IC]_{FOC} </p>
<p> Ml. 114^c₁₅ <i>ol cach díib fri alaile</i> </p>	<p> says each of them to the other </p>	<p> [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}- [IC]_{FOC} </p>
<p> Ml. 115^d₇ <i>.i. ced nessa cenél neich alailiu</i> </p>	<p> that is, though the stock of one be nearer than (that of) another </p>	<p> [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}- [IC]_{FOC} </p>
<p> Ml. 115^d₈ <i>.i. cid huaisliu grad neich alailiu</i> </p>	<p> that is, though the rank of one may be nobler than (that of) another </p>	<p> [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}- [IC]_{FOC} </p>
<p> Ml. 118^d₂₂ <i>.i. dobærthar talam tire taingeri [leg. taimgeri] doib</i> </p>	<p> that is, the soil of the Land of Promise will be given to them </p>	<p> [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}- [IC]_{FOC} </p>
<p> Ml. 129^c₂₀ <i>.i. amal lengtae sidi inarddai</i> </p>	<p> that is, as they leap up high </p>	<p> [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}- [IC]_{FOC} </p>
<p> Ml. 131^b₄ <i>mani airissedar ind lam fritalmain oco</i> </p>	<p> if the hand does not rest on the ground at it </p>	<p> [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}- [IC]_{FOC}-IC </p>
<p> Ml. 136^d₂ <i>dia feidliged ires foirbthe leu asoertha dinaib imnedaib</i> </p>	<p> if perfect faith in their deliverance from the troubles remained with them </p>	<p> [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}- [IC]_{FOC} </p>

Table 38. V S IC/Adv sentences with focal V + IC and topical S.

On the information structure of Ml. 14^d₁, see the following portion of the gloss: *7 ma* [leg. *mad*] *argumento· bes ant.* Note that there might be some minor inconsistencies in labelling *and* (e.g. Ml. 14^d₁, Ml. 32^d₅), due to its uncertain status which stands between being an inflected preposition (“in it”) and being an adverb (“there”). Such discrepancies do not affect the syntactic analysis of sentences. In Ml. 115^d₇ and Ml. 115^d₈, what is tagged as IC is actually a NP in the dative. The label IC is chosen since NPs in the dative are governed by comparatives. Hence, such NPs are functionally equivalent to second terms of comparison introduced by *indaas*, which are labelled as ICs. In Ml. 136^d₂, the sentence-final NP (*asoertha dinaib imnedaib*) modifies the S (*ires foirbthe*). Note, then, how glosses such as Ml. 50^c₈, Ml. 52^x₀₀, Ml. 61^a₉, Ml. 84^b₁, Ml. 129^c₂₀ feature an anaphoric subject.

Example (68) shows a V S IC sentence with focal V + IC and topical S where S is an emphatic subject.

- (68) *.i. combad chomaicsiu side dodia*
 that is so that was nearer he to God
 «that is, that he was nearer to God» (Ml. 21^d₁).

Word order and information structure: $[V]_{\text{FOC}}-[S.^{\text{EMPH}}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$

All other similar cases attested in the corpus are reported in Table 39.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 44 ^c 11	<i>corogemar sa , cotabéu triut su ádxæ</i>	so that I was born and so that I am alive through You (sg), O God	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}([S.^{\text{EMPH}}])_{\text{TOP}}/[V-IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 58 ^d 9	<i>.i. cid lase nombiinnse lasinnisin</i>	that is, even when I used to be with him	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{EMPH.SUBJ})}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 107 ^d 11	<i>.i. ní tergamni is in bethaid frecndairc iterum</i>	that is, we will not come into the present life <i>iterum</i>	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{EMPH.SUBJ})}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC-Adv]_{\text{FOC}}$

Table 39. V S.^{EMPH} IC/Adv sentences with focal V + IC and topical S.

A further widely attested IS alignment in case of V S IC/Adv sentences is shown by example (69)

- (69) *.i. arnate nech tria lugae*
 that is that might go anyone through his oath
 «that is, that no one might break his oath» (Ml. 36^a23).

Word order and information structure: $[V-S]_{\text{FOC}}-[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$

In (69), V + S is focal and the sentence-final IC is topical. For this sentence type, in cases in which more than one IC occurs, the former may or may not be included into the predication on focus, while the last one is topical. All the other attestations of this sentence type are reported in Table 40.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 21 ^c 3	<i>dotét iarum imthanu [leg. imthanud] aidche tar [leg. tara] hæsi</i>	then comes the alternation of night after it	$[V-S]_{\text{FOC}}-[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$
Ml. 28 ^a 10	<i>.i. doberthar pian forru tara nési</i>	that is, punishment will be inflicted on them for them [i.e. the wicked deeds]	$[V-S-IC]_{\text{FOC}}-[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$
Ml. 28 ^a 10	<i>acht duberthar pian forru tara n esi</i>	but punishment will be inflicted on them for them	$[V-S-IC]_{\text{FOC}}-[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$
Ml. 40 ^a 20	<i>.i. atá debe mec nand archuít forgnuso</i>	that is, there is a little difference there as to form	$[V-S]_{\text{FOC}}-IC-[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 46 ^a 19	<i>nad ticfed inrí nach in popul asindoiri</i>	that neither the King nor his people would come out of the captivity	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 50 ^d 1	<i>nadmbí ciall la nech disluindi dliged remdeicsen</i>	that there is not sense in anyone who denies the rule of Providence	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^b 17	<i>.i. comaicsigfid dia dún trisodin</i>	that is, God will draw near to us through that	[V-S] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>dluid [leg. doluid] duaid iarum aidchi roboi cucu innan dunad</i>	David then came one night [or: the following night] into their camp	[V-S] _{FOC} -Adv-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^a 9	<i>nad cbiad íc do</i>	that there would be no healing to him	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^c 18	<i>amal dundgniat geinti dinaib brataib bertae hodie</i>	as do the nations of the spoils that they carry off today	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^d 5	<i>.i. conatait fortacht dá andochum</i>	that is, so that the help of God does not come to them	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^b 1	<i>intan dumbéartar fochaidi forru</i>	when tribulations are inflicted upon them	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 72 ^b 17	<i>.i. ní cdiurat ní diib dia éis</i>	that is, nothing of them remains after it (the razor)	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^c 20	<i>foruirmed cenn forsnaib cotarsnaib durairngirtsiu</i>	an end has been put upon the adversities that You had prophesied	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^a 3	<i>.i. na bith chiniud huadib</i>	that is, let there be no offspring from them	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 92 ^c 4	<i>adruthreb side indib</i>	that He had dwelt in them	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^b 3	<i>amal forndacongair dia doib</i>	as God orders them to do	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 95 ^b 6	<i>condárbastar gné firinne fuiri</i>	that the appearance of righteousness be shown on it	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 98 ^b 8	<i>cdardad digal foraiib</i>	until punishment had been inflicted on them	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^d 6	<i>airnitabartar digla for sudib</i>	for punishments are not inflicted on them	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^a 8	<i>.i. rasaig acrích cuccai</i>	that is, their boundary extends to it	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^b 13	<i>donindnagar cech maith duibsi-deg innananisín</i>	that every good thing is given to you (pl) because of those things	[V-S-IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 109 ^d 5	<i>.i. nítaít dia fotairngere conidchumscaiged</i>	that is, God does not come under a promise that He should alter it	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 121 ^a 1	<i>.i. amal immetimcheltar nech huabrot</i>	that is, as one is surrounded by a cloak	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 122 ^d 7	<i>rombói remdeicsiu dá diib som hisuidi</i>	that there had been providence of God for them in it	[V-S] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}

Ml. 123 ^b 8	<i>.i. cein rombói foraitmet n ioseph les</i>	that is, as long as he had had remembrance of Joseph	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 124 ^c 19	<i>.i. com beth anim and</i>	that is, that there should be a soul there	[V-S] _{FOC} - [IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^d 6	<i>.i. rehait uisci innamedón·són</i>	that is, waters run in their center	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 145 ^c 3	<i>ni eperr nephmolad dæ di</i>	it is not said that it is not to praise God	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}

Table 40. V S IC/Adv sentences with focal V + S and topical IC.

Ml. 28^a10 features a passive verb functioning as a light verb, that is, V + S (*doberthar pian*) stands for a single V: punishment will be inflicted. This justifies well the participation of both V and S to the focus of the clause. In Ml. 55^c1, *roboi* is considered a relative form modifying *aidchi*. The interpretation of this gloss is however not commonly shared by scholars.⁸³ As for Ml. 63^c18, the sentence belongs to this section even if the verb shows an infix pronoun (–*nd*–, 3rd sing. neut.). This infix is nevertheless due to the relative *amal*. In the end, Ml. 92^c4 shows an anaphoric S. In Ml. 122^d7, *diib* does not belong to the same constituent of *remdeicsiu dæ*. For a discussion on this kind of construction see Section 3.5 below.

In a considerable number of cases, V S IC/Adv sentences with focal V + S and topical IC show emphatic subjects (70). This sentence type is comparable to V IC clauses (see following sections), with focal V and topical IC. Other similar cases are summarized in Table 41.

(70)	<i>immurgu ní</i>	<i>aircibeasom</i>	<i>innaicsin</i>	<i>nisin</i>
	however	NEG	he will come upon	the cause/seeing
	that			
	«however he will not come upon that cause / seeing» (Ml. 29 ^b 14).			

Word order and information structure: [V^(+EMPH.SUBJ)]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 44 ^b 29	<i>ní ruthórbasa is inninsce sea fris cissen in diut su híorthorbatar maithir</i>	I arrived not at this expression of hope in You (sg), at which my fathers arrived	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC} - [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^c 26	<i>.i. asberinse friusom</i>	that is, I used to say to them	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC} - [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^b 31	<i>níetaighthersu immanisin</i>	you (sg) should not be jealous concerning it	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC} - [IC] _{TOP}

⁸³ On the discussion about this gloss, see: <https://listserv.heanet.ie/cgi-bin/wa?A2=ind1203&L=OLD-IRISH-L&D=0&P=39335> (last access 29/09/2019).

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Ml. 57 ^c 7	<i>bith soer som asinbrithemnacht hisin</i>	he will be free from that judgement	[V-S. ^{EMPH}] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^c 6	<i>bafercachsom frisuide</i>	he was angry with	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^d 12	<i>.i. condechuidsom isna adradu hisin</i>	that is, so that he went to those adorations	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^c 12	<i>nítrachta som tra forsanisiu</i>	he does not, then, comment upon this	[V-S. ^{EMPH}] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^d 26	<i>trachtaid som foir</i>	he is commenting upon it	[V-S. ^{EMPH}] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 104 ^d 3	<i>.i. corupsa lán diib</i>	that is, so that I was full of them	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 110 ^c 5	<i>.i. amal adcuidsom hisuidiu dutrocairi</i>	that is, as he had spoken therein of mercy	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} IC/Adv-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 8	<i>ní trachtasom forsani siu</i>	he does not comment on this	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 121 ^a 8	<i>rotracht som riam anuas forsín canoin se</i>	he has commented before above on this text	[V-S. ^{EMPH}] _{FOC-} Adv- Adv-[IC] _{TOP}

Table 41. V S.^{EMPH} IC/Adv sentences with focal V + S and topical IC.

In the end, in Table 42 are reported all the other cases of V S IC/Adv sentences in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 3 ^a 15	<i>nadtintaesiu allatin do gregaib</i>	you should not translate out of Latin for Greeks	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -IC- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^c 5	<i>bed netarscarthe intí dia huaid tríabuith adi innim 7 hæsium italam</i>	that God is separated from him through His being in Heaven and him on earth	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^d 10	<i>imfolngar gním disuidib fochetoir iarnalabrad</i>	a deed is affected from them at once after there having been spoken	[V-S] _{FOC-} [IC] _{TOP} - Adv-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^a 3	<i>dia corastar saul foir is innuaim im bóí</i>	when Saul happened upon him into the cave in which he was	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^b 2	<i>.i. lassambí indfeuchrae 7 incrodatu quam nechtar dæ</i>	that is, with whom is savageness and cruelty than (he with whom is) one of the two	[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 50 ^c 7	<i>.i. durigensat caldai friúdeu</i>	that is, which the Chaldeans did against the Jews	[V-S-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^b 8	<i>ní cainibsa [leg.-ainiubsa] dut moladsu hicech aimsir</i>	I will not cease praising You (sg) at every time	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[IC] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 54 ^c 31	<i>forchainnse</i> [leg. <i>forchanainnse</i>] <i>doibsom</i>	which I used to teach them	[V ^{(REL)(+EMPH.SUBJ)}] IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^b 13	<i>domberaesiu dams adæ</i>	which you will give to me, o God	[V ^{(REL)(+EMPH.SUBJ)}] IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>gabthe dunad les fris arinoillus</i>	a camp was pitched by him against him for protection	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC-
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>.i. amal duberad nech hí ceist do duaid</i>	that is, as though someone had put as a question to David	V-S-[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^a 13	<i>amal duberad nech do hiceist</i>	as though someone had put to him by way of a question	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^d 6	<i>.i. durigénsat som frinni centorgabail friu</i>	that is, which they did to us without offence against them	[V ^(REL) -S. ^{EMPH} -IC- IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^c 10	<i>.i. asrindid intí duaid innasalm</i>	that is, which David has declared in his psalm	[V ^(REL) -S-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^d 13	<i>.i. huare nad tarbas amorchumachtae som hisuidiu nachmór</i>	that is, because His great power was not shown in this to any great extent	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 72 ^d 1	<i>dunathfoichret iarum huli as indoirisin</i>	all shall return afterwards from that captivity	[V] _{FOC} -S-Adv- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 73 ^c 2	<i>fristemlighther cid indaier airi intan sin</i>	even the air is obscured to him at that time	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} - Adv
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>.i. olinspiurt noib trigiun infatho frípont phelait</i>	that is, says the Holy Spirit through the mouth of the prophet to Pontius Pilate	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 81 ^a 5	<i>.i. dughnisom in elimentis</i>	that is, which He exercises <i>in</i> <i>elementis</i>	[V ^{(REL)(+EMPH.SUBJ)}] IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 81 ^c 3	<i>.i. is gnath lie inaibnib indigaid flechud</i>	that is, a flood is customary in rivers after great rains	[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 96 ^b 9	<i>.i. rondanáigestar dia dianaitrib</i>	that is, which God had given unto their fathers	[V ^(REL) -S-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^d 3	<i>.i. durigni dia erru</i> [leg. <i>erriu</i>]	that is, which God had wrought for them	[V ^(REL) -S-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^d 2	<i>.i. air ní conrobae ní form acht failte tantum iar musoirad</i>	that is, for there has been nothing upon me but joy only after my deliverance	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC} - IC
Ml. 108 ^c 2	<i>durairngert dia doduaid</i>	which God promised to David	[V ^(REL) -S-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 121 ^a 12	<i>.i. rosudigersu doib adæ</i>	that is, which You (sg) have set for them, O God	[V ^{(REL)(+EMPH.SUBJ)}] IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^c 8	<i>huare saithraigte in doini friu</i>	because men labor at them	[V] _{FOC} -S-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^d 15	<i>.i. combíth loch foraib arneit inna tepairsen</i>	that is, so that there used to be a lake upon them for the quantity of the springs	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^c 12	<i>.i. dorairngert dia do duaid</i>	that is, which God had promised to David	[V ^(REL) -S-IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 138 ^b 8 <i>.i. duroigasú adé oín fecht</i>	that is, whom You (sg), O God, have chosen once	$[V^{(REL)(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{-}$ Adv] _{FOC}
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Table 42. Further examples of V S IC/Adv sentences.

The only two categories showing a consistent amount of data among those shown in Table 42 are: V S IC IC clauses with the first IC as topical and the second IC as focal (e.g. Ml. 129^d15); V S IC/Adv clauses with relative verb and sentence focus (e.g. Ml. 136^c12). The former category amounts to 5 examples (out of which 1 shows emphatic S); the latter amounts to 11 cases (6 with S.^{EMPH}s, 5 with S.^{NP}s). In this very last case, it must be stressed how S.^{NP}s are in one case the deictic *intí*, in four cases *día* (“God”). This distribution seems relevant since $[V^{(REL)}-S-IC]_{FOC}$ clauses are sentences with a topical NP outside the sentence (the head of the relative clause). Hence, the fact that S.^{NP}s are in most of cases “God”, that is, one of those referents identified as ‘backgrounded’ in previous sections, substantiates the thesis that they are particular NPs under the IS perspective.

In Ml. 30^c5, the topical status of “he” is confirmed both by the previous part of the same gloss (i.e. *.i. airis etarscarthe*, “that is, for he is separated”) and by the Latin passage to which the gloss is referred (i.e. *et ne æstimes quoniam hic Dominus in cælo possitus ab his qui in terra sunt ipsa sit regionum diuersitate sepossitus*).

Table 43 summarises the quantitative analysis of V S IC/Adv sentences, ordered from the most to the less frequently attested typology. As is clear on the basis of data, in prototypical V S IC sentences S is topical and IC is focal.

Analysis	Type of S	Instances	% out of V S IC/Adv NI ⁸⁴	% out of UWO ⁸⁵
V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	128	37.35%	7.69%
V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	46	13.53%	2.76%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	30	8.82%	1.80%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	28	8.23%	1.68%
V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC	S. ^{NP}	22	6.47%	1.32%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC	S. ^{NP}	19	5%	1.14%
V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{EMPH}	15	4.12%	0.84%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{EMPH}	13	3.53%	0.72%
$[V^{(REL)}-S-IC]_{FOC}$	S. ^{EMPH}	6	1.76%	0.36%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{ANAPH}	5	1.47%	0.30%
$[V^{(REL)}-S-IC]_{FOC}$	S. ^{NP}	5	1.47%	0.30%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{EMPH}	4	1.17%	0.24%

⁸⁴ NI stands for *No Infix*.

⁸⁵ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{ANAPH}	4	1.17%	0.24%
V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	4	1.17%	0.24%
V-S-[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	2	0.59%	0.12%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	2	0.59%	0.12%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC	S. ^{EMPH}	1	0.29%	0.06%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	S. ^{ANAPH}	1	0.29%	0.06%
V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{EMPH}	1	0.29%	0.06%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	1	0.29%	0.06%
[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC} -IC	S. ^{NP}	1	0.29%	0.06%
[V-S-IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	1	0.29%	0.06%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC	S. ^{NP}	1	0.29%	0.06%
V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	1	0.29%	0.06%
V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -Adv	S. ^{NP}	1	0.29%	0.06%
V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC} -IC	S. ^{NP}	1	0.29%	0.06%
V-S-[IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{EMPH}	1	0.29%	0.06%

Table 43. Quantitative analysis of V S IC/Adv sentences with no infix (with Ss' types differentiation).

Table 44 differentiates among V S IC/Adv cases disciplined differently in terms of IS but not for typology of Ss. V S IC sentences with topical S and focal IC are the most frequent as well as 'plain' in terms of match between syntax and IS, and the difference with other types appears more solid if S.^{NP}s and S.^{EMPH}s are grouped together.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V S IC/Adv NI ⁸⁶	% out of UWO ⁸⁷
V-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	146	42.65%	8.71%
V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	45	14.03%	2.76%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	42	12.35%	2.52%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	39	11.45%	2.34%
V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC	22	6.47%	1.32%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC	18	5.29%	1.08%
[V ^(REL) -S-IC] _{FOC}	11	3.24%	0.66%
V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	5	1.47%	0.30%
V-S-[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	2	0.59%	0.12%
[V] _{FOC} -S-[IC] _{TOP}	2	0.59%	0.12%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.29%	0.06%
[V ^(REL) -S] _{FOC} -IC	1	0.29%	0.06%
[V-S-IC] _{FOC}	1	0.29%	0.06%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC	1	0.29%	0.06%

⁸⁶ NI stands for *No Infix*.

⁸⁷ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.29%	0.06%
V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -Adv	1	0.29%	0.06%
V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC} -IC	1	0.29%	0.06%
V-S-[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.29%	0.06%

Table 44. Quantitative analysis of V S IC/Adv sentences with no infix (with no Ss' types differentiation).

3.2.2 VSIC orders with infix

V S IC/Adv orders with infix amount to 116 examples (25.44% of V S IC sentences). In most cases the infix is a direct object of V, which is mostly topical (71):

- (71) *.i. is indí rondnainmnigestar dia*
 that is in that named him God
hondanmim asberr iesus
 from the name is said Jesus
 «that is, in that God named Him by the name which is called Jesus» (Ml. 17^b9).

Word order and information structure: V^[(+INFIX.O)]_{TOP}-S-[IC]_{FOC}

In (71), what is focal is the last IC. Similar cases are reported in Table 45.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 21 ^b 9	<i>nondages daitsiu</i>	(that) I ask you for them	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^c 6	<i>.i. condagaibtis intais amprom trianintleda</i>	that is, that the wicked used to seize them through their snares	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
(Ml. 46 ^b 29	<i>fochosmailius dundrolgis don popul robo [leg. roboi] inegept</i>	in the same way as You (sg) forgave it to the people that was in Egypt	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>arnachróthechta nachaile hicuturummus frit</i>	so that another may not possess it equally with you (sg)	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -S- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^c 13	<i>.i. rosgab hual dí imbiud asoimniche</i>	that is, pride seized them on account of the abundance of their prosperity	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -S- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^c 4	<i>dambidc· semei· dichlochaib ocatecht</i>	Shimei pelted him with stones as he so went	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -S- [IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 61 ^a 16	<i>.i. arammuinfetar feid huili doini talman trissa nadamrae sin</i>	that is, all men of the earth will honor Him through that marvel	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -S- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^c 14	<i>.i. dandersaig dia diambriht huanchadraig</i>	that is, God stirred him up to carry them from the city	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -S- [IC] _{FOC}

Table 45. $V^{(+INFIX.O)}$ S IC/Adv sentences with topical O and focal IC.

In Table 46, sentences with similar ICs are reported. They nevertheless feature S^{EMPH} .

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 28 ^d 8	<i>.i. cenid epertaisom hobriathraib</i>	that is, though they did not use to say it in words	$V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_{-}$ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 4	<i>.i. danuicsom dofortacht in dligid rogabad tri·immaircidetaid fris innaicsinforarobae</i>	that is, on account of [its] congruence to the cause on which he was engaged, he has cited it in order to support the saying that was uttered	$V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_{-}$ IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^d 9	<i>.i. air atroillessidi [leg. atroillessit sidi] arandrognimaib</i>	that is, for they deserved it for their evil deeds	$V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_{-}$ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^c 15	<i>.i. iarsindí doibroigasa [leg. doibroigasa] immess fira [leg. fírían] dobrith forcach</i>	that is, after I had chosen you (pl) in passing righteous judgment upon all	$V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_{-}$ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^c 15	<i>rasoisitsi ón ingoi , anfir</i>	you (pl) have turned it into falsehood and untruth	$V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_{-}$ [IC] _{FOC}

Table 46. $V^{(+INFIX.O)}$ S^{EMPH} IC/Adv sentences with topical O and focal IC.

After a topical infixed object, S can also be focal (72), instead of the IC as seen in Tables 45 and 46:

- (72) *.i. conidchuale éitsecht dáé*
 that is heard it hearing of God
 «that is, the hearing of God heard it» (Ml. 20^a2).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}$ -[S]_{FOC}

All the other so-analysable cases are reported in Table 47.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 20 ^d 11	<i>.i. atabgabed farcaire</i>	that is, let your (pl) reproach reprehend you (pl)	$V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}$ -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 22 ^c 1	<i>air nach rí olc</i>	so that evil does not reach him	$V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}$ -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^c 2	<i>acht dagniat cid innacialla mrechnigthi fil ánd</i>	rather, also the varied senses which are in it do it	$V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}$ -[S] _{FOC}

Ml. 27 ^c 21	<i>fochosmailius aringair recht</i>	just as the Law hinders it	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^a 10	<i>.i. dathluchethar intintliucht</i>	that is, the sense demands it	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^b 2	<i>ataroigrainn saul</i>	Saul persecuted them	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 32	<i>arnachtfordiucail infer sommae</i>	that the rich man may not devour you	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^c 22	<i>arinderoima som dia samlid</i>	may God protect him thus	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 14	<i>nachabticfed for rí nach far tuad atoiri do imthecht foirb [leg. foirib] a doirse</i>	that neither your (pl) king nor your (pl) people would come to you (pl) out of captivity to pass over you (pl), o doors	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} - [S] _{FOC} -IC-IC
Ml. 66 ^c 12	<i>.i. amal dundarchechainn essaías</i>	that is, as Isaiah prophesied it	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^b 13	<i>manimsoirad cumachtae ñ dé</i>	if the power of God had not delivered me	V ^[-(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} - [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 106 ^c 11	<i>amal dundatmecetarsu ind amaireasaig</i>	as the unbelieving despise You (sg)	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^d 12	<i>.i. huare asinrubartat tris pueri</i>	that is, because <i>tres pueri</i> had said it	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 140 ^c 10	<i>amal rundfitir dia</i>	as God knows them	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 145 ^d 4	<i>arindmolatar innime [leg. innanime] fesin</i>	the heavens themselves praise Him	V ^[(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}

Table 47. V^[(+INFIX.O)] S IC/Adv sentences with topical O and focal S.

On the IS of Ml. 20^d11, see the Latin: *uobis⁽ⁿ⁾ reatús adfigite*.

In two cases only, the focal S is emphatic. To understand this sentence type, consider (73):

- (73) *amal rundalegsamni*
as we(EMPH) read it
«as we have read it» (Ml. 24^d24).

Word order and information structure: V^[(+INFIX.O)]_{TOP}[^(+EMPH.SUBJ)]_{FOC}

The second so-behaving examples is Ml. 124^d9: *amal asindbertatar som fris*, “as they had said to him”, where the focal status of *som* is clear on the basis of the alternation between a 3rd sing. subject and a 3rd pl. subject occurring in the whole gloss: *.i. huare nad rotodlaigestar som co dia inna huisciu amal asindbertatar som fris* , *huare asmbert cia duthluich* [leg. *duthluiched*] *nadétatais*, “i.e. because he had not craved of God the waters, as they had said it to him, and because he said that, although he craved, they could not be gotten”.

Ml. 90^c19 is the only sentence featuring, besides a topical infixed O, a focal V (74):

- (74) *in damsoirfad* *dia*
 whether would deliver me God
 «whether God would deliver me» (Ml. 90^c19).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}[^(+INFIX.O)]_{TOP-S}

This particular behaviour is due to the fact that the gloss continues with *fanacc* (“or not”), thus putting V only on focus.

The vast majority of V S IC/Adv sentences with infixed topical O displays cases of sentence focus, where V S and eventually IC are extra information added to a topical given (pronominal) O (75).

- (75) *nondasoirfea* *dia*
 will save them God
 «that God will save them» (Ml. 27^a6).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}[^(+INFIX.O)]_{TOP-S}[S]_{FOC}

Table 48 reports all the V S IC/Adv sentences with topical infixed O showing sentence focus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 32 ^d 12	<i>.i. conach naccaitis adi</i>	that is, so that they should not see him	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^a 1	<i>fritammiurat inna huli remiærbartmar</i>	all the things that we mentioned above will afflict me	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^d 9	<i>annu[n] dacomart [a] chlaideb</i>	when his sword slew them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 22	<i>rosnainmnigestar duaid</i>	David named them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^a 13	<i>.i. nimthorgaith mofrescissiu</i>	that is, my expectation has not deceived me	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 5	<i>funtuc side</i> [leg. <i>fuantuc side</i>]	to which he has applied it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 5	<i>fuandragab petar</i>	in which Peter uttered it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^c 7	<i>connachroig ní doadarc nofrithorcuin</i>	so that nothing reaches it to ??? or injure [it]	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S-IC] _{FOC}

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 39 ^d 22	<i>.i. iidrogbad huall triachumgabail , trimolad [leg. triamolad] doib som</i>	that is, that pride could seize him through his being extolled and praised by them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 41 ^d 17	<i>andundinfet gáith</i>	when the wind blows it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 12	<i>.i. dusnucai cech mbélae</i>	that is, every language understands them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^a 14	<i>.i. nongaib format friu diasoinmichi</i>	that is, envy of them for their prosperity seizes us	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^c 19	<i>nirasoir áchoimdiu inrufrescachae-intí duaid</i>	that his Lord, in whom David hoped, did not deliver him	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^a 16	<i>amal dundrigni ezechias</i>	as Hezekiah did it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 7	<i>manídtarti écnae dæ</i>	unless God's knowledge can give it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 52 ^x 00	<i>connach ningeuin intí abi melech</i>	so that Abimelech did not recognise him	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 34	<i>.i. dusrigeni dia erru</i>	that is, God did them for them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 55 ^c 3	<i>sechis darigni intanfírian</i>	that is, the unrighteous man did it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 7	<i>.i. mnach fessed dia</i>	that is, that God should know it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^c 7	<i>mani chomarlecea dia doib</i>	unless God permits it to them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^a 7	<i>.i. air nísder dia</i>	that is, for God will not abandon them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^c 5	<i>maniscomairlecea dia fuammam</i>	unless God should let them (fall) under their yoke	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^b 29	<i>ánunda íca dia</i>	when God heals it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^d 18	<i>an imdaig dia</i>	when God drives them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^b 8	<i>.i. amal dundraingertar [leg. dundrainmertar] fathi</i>	that is, as prophets had prophesied it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 76 ^b 5	<i>.i. shuithi [leg. shuicthi] alluathred</i>	that is, the dust swallows it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+SUFF.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^a 14	<i>.i. amal núntet cách</i>	that is, as each goes to it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 79 ^b 2	<i>.i. ar nachnetarscara homun fri frecur ceill dæ</i>	that is, that fear may not part it from the worship of God	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 84 ^c 20	<i>airdusleichfítis ind egeptachai</i>	for the Egyptians would have destroyed them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}

Ml. 97 ^d 10	<i>nandatiberad dia doib</i>	that God would not give it to them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 104 ^a 6	<i>condaarthroithad dia</i>	that God might restrain them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^b 20	<i>arnach rísat fochaidi demuin</i>	so that the trials of the Devil may not reach him	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^b 8	<i>anaramroet dia</i>	when God had received me	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 9	<i>nondasoirfed dia</i>	that God would deliver them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^d 14	<i>amal rondgatar .iii. pueri</i>	as <i>tres pueri</i> had prayed for it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 132 ^c 8	<i>.i. romgab meirc són</i>	that is, wrinkledness has seized me	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC}

Table 48. V^(+INFIX.O) S IC/Adv sentences with topical O and focal V+S(+IC).

In Ml. 39^c7, *adarc* has unknown meaning. In Ml. 76^b5, the affix is actually suffixed to the verb and not infixed into the verb. Lastly, Ml. 38^c5 shows an anaphoric S.

Table 49 reports all the V S.^{EMPH} IC/Adv sentences with topical infixed O showing sentence focus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 24 ^d 24	<i>acht rondasaibset som</i>	except that they have perverted it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S ^{EMPH}] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^b 2	<i>manidanaighthersu dam</i>	if you do not give it to me	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} IC
Ml. 44 ^c 20	<i>.i. amal dunthluichiursa cucut a dæ</i>	that is, as I ask it of you, o God	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} IC
Ml. 53 ^d 9	<i>aircein nant rochomairleic som dumni</i>	for as long as He did not permit it to us	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S. ^{EMPH-IC}] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^a 9	<i>.i. nísdenaimse frinnachnaile</i>	that is, I do not do it towards any other	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] ₋ IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^d 6	<i>amal dundadbat som síis on</i>	as he shows it below	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S. ^{EMPH-} Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 17	<i>.i. cotnessiusa huamchosaib</i>	that is, I trample him with my feet	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] ₋ IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^d 5	<i>.i. air tomména [leg. tomménarsa] dia</i>	that is, for I thought myself a God	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [^{(+EMPH.S)-O}] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 10	<i>Huare fritracatar som a deo</i>	because they had hoped for it <i>a Deo</i>	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S. ^{EMPH-IC}] _{FOC}

Table 49. $V^{(+INFX,O)}$ S.^{EMPH} IC/Adv sentences with topical O and focal V+S(+IC).

In Ml. 130^d5, O is improperly used as a label. *Dia* is a predicative complement. This is a particular example, with a reflexive O coreferent to the S. In this gloss both infixed O and emphatic S occur.

Only a minority of examples with infixed O is characterised by the non-topicality of the infix. They are reported in Table 50.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 14 ^b 14	<i>.i. airdanimmart greim á aite</i>	that is, for the authority of his tutors restrained him	$[V^{(+INFX,O)}]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 23 ^b 5	<i>.i. nacharomarbsom dia indigail neich dorigensat friduid</i>	that is, that God did not slay them in punishment for something which they had done to David	$V^{(+INFX,O)}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 29 ^d 3	<i>.i. sechis cotammoscaigse isnaib slebib</i>	that is, namely, I should move in the mountains	$V^{(+INFX,O)}[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 37 ^a 15	<i>níntanic ade</i>	that has not come to us	$[V^{(+INFX,O)}]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 38 ^c 21	<i>nimdichimse formnaimtea</i>	I do not avenge myself upon my enemies	$[V]_{FOC}[^{(+INFX,O)(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 50 ^d 18	<i>fuandtuic apstal</i>	in accordance to which the apostle has applied it	$[V^{(+INFX,O)}-S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 59 ^a 21	<i>ma atamscartis se tra inna fochaidi asin</i>	if the tribulations were to drive me from there	$[V^{(+INFX,O)}]_{FOC}-S-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 69 ^a 17	<i>.i. onachgabad huall de</i>	that is, that pride might not seize him therefrom	$[V^{(+INFX,O)}]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-IC$
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>.i. nimalartae siu·hua inscribiunt intituil</i>	that is, you may not obliterate him from the inscription of the title	$[V^{(+INFX,O)}]_{FOC}-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP}-IC$
Ml. 94 ^c 8	<i>fafuasna són</i>	it perturbs him	$[V^{(+INFX,O)}]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 108 ^a 9	<i>animmuntimchella ni uisce</i>	when water surrounds us	$[V^{(+INFX,O)}]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

Table 50. $V^{(+INFX,O)}$ S IC/Adv sentences with non-topical O.

In Ml. 14^b14, *greim á aite*, and not the infix O, is the topic. This is because it is introduced in the universe of discourse by the Latin passage (*curam sedulam*). In Ml. 74^d13, the 2nd person singular, topical, is Pontius Pilate, who is introduced in the sentence *.i. olinspiurt noib trigiun infatho frípont phelait*. (“that is, says the Holy Spirit through the mouth of the prophet to Pontius Pilate”). In Ml. 94^c8, *són* is considered topical (see previous sections).

Infixed pronouns might however function differently from Os as well. Consider, for example, (76):

- (76) *imme airc son dano ezechiaë*
 is suitable it then to Hezekiah
 «it is suitable also to Hezekiah» (Ml. 72^d9).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(+INFIX)}-[S^{ANAPH}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$

An infix occurs between the preverb and the verb stem. Nevertheless, this pronoun does not play the role of O (despite its morphology). The presence of infix with *imm-airicc*, as in (76), is well understood in literature (see GOI §423), and the 3rd sing. neut. infix has neither syntactic nor lexical value. Thus, example (76) above may be assimilated to a V S IC sentence, with topical S and focal IC.

Table 51 reports all the V S IC/Adv sentences with non-O infixed pronouns.⁸⁸ As is clear, a significant variety of different pronouns is attested: in certain cases (e.g. with V *imm-airicc*) such infix can be neglected in IS terms; in certain others (e.g. when employed to indicate the possessor with *at-tá*), they may have relevance on the IS of sentences.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^a 3	<i>.i. ciarudbói aururas form</i>	That is, though there has been haste upon me	$V^{(+INFIX)}-[S]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 14 ^d 4	<i>níntanic ón isinremaisndís</i>	it has not come to us in the preface	$[V^{(+INFIX)}]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-IC$
Ml. 19 ^b 11	<i>dundicfet infochaidi</i> [leg. <i>innafochaidi</i>] , <i>intsoirthi dinaib fochaidibsin</i> [leg. <i>fochaidibsin</i>].	the afflictions will come thus and the deliverances from those afflictions	$[V^{(+INFIX)}]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 19 ^c 5	<i>.i. cianudadbartaigtissom damsa</i>	that is, although they were opposed, thus, to me	$V^{(+INFIX)}[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 20 ^c 3	<i>.i. rongab remcaissiu dé dinaib dulib</i>	that is, there is a providence of God for the creatures	$V^{(+INFIX)}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 27 ^a 7-8	<i>.i. arrambia soirad dinaib inmadaib imbia</i>	that is, for it [i.e. <i>populus</i>] will have deliverance from the afflictions in which it will be	$V[^{(+POSS.INFIX)}]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 33 ^b 13	<i>rondabiad cech maith tri buith hicoimtecht sennachrib</i>	that they would have every good thing through being in the company of Sennacherib	$V^{(+POSS.INFIX)}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$

⁸⁸ Infixed pronouns are not Ss or relative pronouns as well in these sentences. Such forms will be investigated below.

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 36 ^d 16	<i>co atbeltais· indoini adordais innaidlu</i>	that the men who were worshipping the idols would die	$[V^{(+INFLX)}]_{FOC-}[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 38 ^b 2	<i>noch dachotar coirp immurgu</i>	however, bodies nevertheless went thus	$[V^{(+INFLX)}]_{FOC-}[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 41 ^a 5	<i>ni adrobae som indraesin</i>	he did not have that time	$[V^{(+POSS.INFLX)}]_{FOC-}[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 69 ^a 8	<i>ni adabia nem acht sírbiúth inadnaclaib</i>	they will not have heaven, but will be for ever in graves	$V^{(+POSS.INFLX)-}[S]_{TOP-}[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 73 ^c 2	<i>.i. intan aracrinat acharait arnech no anerta</i>	that is, when a man's friend perishes, or his strength	$[V^{(+INFLX)}]_{FOC-}[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 73 ^c 5	<i>.i. ní m rabaie soirad etir</i>	that is, there was no deliverance for me at all	$[V^{(+POSS.INFLX)}]_{FOC-}[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 78 ^a 4	<i>.i. nimbóí ní bed sruithiu daradochtaised</i>	that is, He had nothing nobler by which He could have sworn	$V^{(+POSS.INFLX)}]_{TOP-}[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 86 ^c 12	<i>.i. ní mbia fortacht tar an aesi</i>	that is, I will have no help on account of them	$V^{(+POSS.INFLX)}]_{TOP-}[S]_{FOC-IC}$
Ml. 102 ^d 4	<i>indabíad torbae fanaic domol [leg. domolad] dé</i>	whether it would profit them or not to praise God	$V^{(+POSS.INFLX)}]_{TOP-}[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 122 ^a 17	<i>.i. mannimbáe [leg. manisimbáe] bíad</i>	that is, if they do not have food	$[V^{(+POSS.INFLX)}]_{FOC-}[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 126 ^d 11	<i>condamroib molad dano beus· tri thinnacul dam innafechtnigesin</i>	so that I may have praise still through the giving to me of that prosperity	$V^{(+POSS.INFLX)}]_{TOP-}[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 131 ^c 9	<i>arndabeth intairsem [leg. intairissem] hirobatar riam 7 indairechas cétnae 7 richtu tire tairngeri doib iterum</i>	they would have the state in which they had been before, and the same preeminence, and their reaching the Land of Promise again	$V^{(+POSS.INFLX)}]_{TOP-}[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 136 ^b 7	<i>indaas rondbóí míngnae</i>	than is my understanding	$V^{(+POSS.INFLX)-}[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 140 ^b 7	<i>.i. nítha [leg. nímta] cumtachtæ [leg. cumachtæ] índo</i>	I do not have power for it	$V^{(+POSS.INFLX)}]_{TOP-}[S]_{FOC-IC}$

Table 51. $V^{(+INFLX.O)}$ S IC/Adv sentences with non-O infix.

The analysis of examples in Table 51 is two-fold. On the one hand, there is their morphosyntax. Even if the infixed pronouns are not Os, their analysis is in fact clear. Table 52 summarises all the reasons why infixed pronouns occur in Table 51 sentences.

Gloss number	Type of infix
Ml. 2 ^a 3; Ml. 19 ^c 5	After <i>cía/ma</i> (GOI §426)
Ml. 14 ^d 4; Ml. 19 ^b 11; Ml. 38 ^b 2	With motion Vs

Ml. 20 ^c 3	In nasalising relative clauses with <i>ro-gab</i> (GOI §424)
Ml. 27 ^a 7-8; Ml. 33 ^b 13; Ml. 41 ^a 5; Ml. 69 ^a 8; Ml. 73 ^c 5; Ml. 78 ^a 4; Ml. 86 ^c 12; Ml. 102 ^d 4; Ml. 122 ^a 17; Ml. 126 ^d 11; Ml. 131 ^c 9; Ml. 136 ^b 7; Ml. 140 ^b 7	With substantive V, to express possessor
Ml. 36 ^d 16; Ml. 72 ^d 9; Ml. 73 ^c 2	With certain Vs (GOI §423)

Table 52. Non-O infixes classification.

On the other hand, then, there is the IS of Table 51's sentences. In the case of IS, only infixes occurring with *at-tá* to express possessor demonstrated to have an impact. As a consequence, in Table 53 the syntax-IS pairings of such contexts will be accounted for (Ml. 69^a8 (Table 51) is not included in this table due to its peculiar syntactic structure, on which see Chapter 2).

Analysis	Function of infix	Gloss number
$V^{(+POSS.INFIX)}_{TOP-}[S]_{FOC}$	Expresses possessor	Ml. 27 ^a 7-8; Ml. 78 ^a 4; Ml. 86 ^c 12; Ml. 102 ^d 4; Ml. 126 ^d 11; Ml. 131 ^c 9; Ml. 140 ^b 7
$V^{(+POSS.INFIX)}_{-}[S]_{TOP}(-[IC]_{FOC})$	Expresses possessor	Ml. 33 ^b 13; Ml. 136 ^b 7
$[V^{(+POSS.INFIX)}]_{FOC-}[S]_{TOP}$	Expresses possessor	Ml. 41 ^a 5; Ml. 73 ^c 5; Ml. 122 ^a 17

Table 53. V S IC/Adv with non-O infixes sentence types.

In general terms, Table 53 shows clearly how in 11 out of 12 cases the infix employed to express the possessor with *at-tá* has an IS value. This value tends to be topical or focal (together with the verb), according to the polarity of sentences: if the clause is negative, the scope of the negation includes $V_{+}^{POSS.INFIX}$, and they are focal; if the clause is positive, the possessive infix is topical.

In the end, a few specific notes must be added. In Ml. 14^d4, The IS can be driven by looking at the Latin passage glossed: *et si necesse fuerit⁽³⁾ pro consideratione rerum occurrentium aliqua latius explicare, non obliuiscemur tamen eius quam promisimus⁽⁴⁾ in præfatione breuitatis*. On the argumental status of (*s*)ón see previous sections. On the IS of Ml. 19^c5, see Latin: *signanter autem possuit "aduersantes mihi sine causa⁽⁵⁾"*.

Two cases in the corpus show V S IC/Adv order with relative Vs and infixation. They are reported in Table 54.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 19 ^d 2	<i>lasambed dliged remdeicsen dodechrugud etir maithi , ulcu</i>	who has [lit. with whom there is] a law of providence to	$[V^{(+REL)}_{-}S-IC]_{FOC}$

		distinguish between good and evil people	
Ml. 24 ^c 8	<i>andurigni abisolón fris</i>	that which Absalom had done to him	[V ^(+REL) -S-IC] _{FOC}

Table 54. V^(+REL,PTC) S IC/Adv sentences.

Ml. 19^d2 is a relative clause depending on *nifel nech*. As a consequence, its IS is similar to sentences accounted for in Table 42 above. Ml. 24^c8, shows a relative clause depending on a generic head (*a*), which once more causes the whole relative clause to be focal.

In the end, infix pronouns may (rarely) play the syntactic role of Ss (see Table 55), when occurring with passive verb forms, and exclusively when pronouns of 1st and 2nd persons (see GOI §409).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 53 ^b 15	<i>sechis codobemthar si ón hodia tribuith oc comguidi dæ frinni immelle</i>	that you may be protected by God through being in joint prayer together with us	V ^(+INFIX.S) -S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} -IC- [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^a 22	<i>.i. nacham indarbanarsa fochomturusib innandiummassach</i>	that is, let me not be banished under the incursions of the prouds	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.SUBJ) -S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^d 7	<i>.i. condansamailter fricech ndodcadchai</i>	that is, so that we are compared to every infelicity	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.SUBJ)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

Table 55. V^(+INFIX.S) S IC/Adv sentences.

Interestingly, in 2 out of 3 total cases (Ml. 53^b15 and Ml. 56^a22), the infix S is recalled by a *nota augens*.

Table 56 summarises the quantitative analysis of V S IC/Adv sentences with infix pronouns, sorted from the most to the less frequently attested typology. As clear on the basis of data, in prototypical V S IC sentences with infix, the infix plays the syntactic function of O and is topical. What tends to be on focus is the whole rest of the predication.

Analysis	Type of S	Instances	% out of V S IC/Adv I ⁸⁹	% out of UWO ⁹⁰
[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S-IC] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	38	32.76%	2.23%
V ^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	16	13.79%	0.96%

⁸⁹ I stands for *With Infix*.

⁹⁰ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S\text{-IC}]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{EMPH}	10	8.62%	0.60%
$V[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S\text{-IC}]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{NP}	8	6.90%	0.48%
$V[^{(+\text{POSS.INFIX})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S]_{\text{FOC}}\text{-IC}$	S. ^{NP}	7	6.03%	0.42%
$V[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S\text{-IC}]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{EMPH}	6	5.17%	0.36%
$[V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{FOC}}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}$	S. ^{NP}	5	4.31%	0.30%
$[V^{(+\text{INFIX})}]_{\text{FOC}}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-IC}$	S. ^{NP}	5	4.31%	0.30%
$[V^{(+\text{POSS.INFIX})}]_{\text{FOC}}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}$	S. ^{NP}	3	2.59%	0.18%
$V[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{EMPH}	2	1.72%	0.12%
$V^{(+\text{INFIX})}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{NP}	2	1.72%	0.12%
$[V^{(+\text{REL})}\text{-S-IC}]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{NP}	2	1.72%	0.12%
$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-S}$	S. ^{NP}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V^{(+\text{INFIX})}\text{-}[S]_{\text{FOC}}\text{-}[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$	S. ^{NP}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S\text{-IC}]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{ANAPH}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{NP}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}\text{-S}]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{NP}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{FOC}}\text{-S-}[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$	S. ^{NP}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{EMPH}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}\text{-S}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{EMPH}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{FOC}}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-IC}$	S. ^{EMPH}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V^{(+\text{INFIX})}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{ANAPH}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V^{(+\text{INFIX})}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$	S. ^{EMPH}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V[^{(+\text{INFIX.S})}\text{-S.}^{\text{EMPH}}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-IC-}[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$	INFIX.S + S. ^{EMPH}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.SUBJ})}\text{-S.}^{\text{EMPH}}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$	INFIX.S + S. ^{EMPH}	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.SUBJ})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$	INFIX.S	1	0.86%	0.06%

Table 56. Quantitative analysis of V S IC/Adv sentences with infix (with Ss' types differentiation).

When V S IC/Adv sentences present an infixed pronoun, this plays the syntactic function of O in 79.31% of cases. Remarkably, in such cases O is topical in 88.04% of cases.

Table 57 differentiates among V S IC/Adv cases with infixed pronouns disciplined differently in terms of both IS and typology of infix.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V S IC/Adv I ⁹¹	% out of UWO ⁹²
$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S\text{-IC}]_{\text{FOC}}$	48	41.38%	2.89%
$V[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S]_{\text{FOC}}$	18	15.52%	1.08%
$V[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S\text{-IC}]_{\text{FOC}}$	14	12.93%	0.84%
$[V^{(+\text{INFIX})}]_{\text{FOC}}\text{-}[S]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-IC}$	7	6.03%	0.42%
$V[^{(+\text{POSS.INFIX})}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[S]_{\text{FOC}}\text{-IC}$	7	6.03%	0.42%

⁹¹ I stands for *With Infix*.

⁹² UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

$V^{(+INFIX)}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$	5	4.31%	0.30%
$[V^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$	4	3.45%	0.24%
$[V^{(+POSS.INFIX)}]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$	3	2.59%	0.18%
$[V^{(+REL)}-S-IC]_{FOC}$	2	1.72%	0.12%
$[V]_{FOC}[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}-S$	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V^{(+INFIX.O)}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V^{(+INFIX.O)}-S]_{FOC}$	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{FOC}-S-[IC]_{TOP}$	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V^{(+INFIX.O)}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V[^{(+INFIX.O)}-S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$	1	0.86%	0.06%
$V[^{(+INFIX.S)}-S.EMPH]_{TOP}-IC-[IC]_{FOC}$	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V]_{FOC}[^{(+INFIX.SUBJ)}-S.EMPH]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$	1	0.86%	0.06%
$[V]_{FOC}[^{(+INFIX.SUBJ)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$	1	0.86%	0.06%

Table 57. Quantitative analysis of V S IC/Adv sentences with infix (with no Ss' types differentiation).

3.3 V O (IC/Adv) orders

As will be seen below, V O (IC/Adv) orders are unmarked V S (O (IC/Adv)) orders where S is not expressed by a NP/pronominal element, but it is conveyed by the verbal ending only. The V O (IC/Adv) order amounts to 333 examples within the Milan glosses corpus. This constitutes 7.77% of total number of sentences analysed in this work, and 20.02% of sentences showing an unmarked word order. To the macro-category of V O (IC/Adv) orders belong both V O (IC) orders where Os are NPs and V O (IC) orders where Os are infixed pronouns.

3.3.1 V O (IC/Adv) orders where O is a NP

V O (IC/Adv) sentences where the O is a NP are 275 (82.58% of V O (IC/Adv) orders). The sentence-final IC/Adv may or may not occur, so that V O (IC/Adv) orders where O is a NP collect both V O IC/Adv (Section 3.3.1.1) and V O (Section 3.3.1.2) sentences.

3.3.1.1 V O IC/Adv

V O IC/Adv clauses are 126 (45.82% of V O IC/Adv clauses with O.^{NP}s and 37.84% of V O IC/Adv clauses). The IS type which could be expected to be prototypical as for V S IC/Adv sentences with O.^{NP}s features topical O and focal IC (77):

- (77) *.i douic nadegnimu arnaib foraiccib* [leg. *fochraiccib*]
 that is put the good deeds for the rewards
 «that is, he has put the good deeds for the rewards» (ML. 18^c5).

Word order and information structure: $V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$

In this gloss, note that the second part of the gloss is not analysed (γ *inna dualchi arnaib pianaib*, “and the vices for the punishments”). It nevertheless follows the same syntax as well as information structure of the above analysed sentence, with the omission of verb.

Table 58 reports all the V O IC/Adv clauses with topical O.^{NP}s and focal ICs.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 21 ^a 8	<i>.i. intan domberam armenmain intiu colleir</i>	that is, when we give our mind to them diligently	V-[O] _{TOP} -IC-[Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^b 10	<i>.i. dobert goiste imma bragait fadesin</i>	that is, he put a noose around his own neck	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 20	<i>.i. ainí ærbarad són <hobriath > hobriathraib</i>	that is, for he would not have said this in words	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^c 9	<i>arremiroid ammiseriam duthabairt arthuus</i>	when he moved the <i>miseriam</i> forward in order to put [it] first	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^b 5	<i>anarochret áic triafirinni fessin</i>	so that he did not believe in his salvation through his own righteousness	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 1	<i>ní contarat athis forachomnesam</i>	he has not put reproach on his neighbour	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 32	<i>ní ñrogab terochraic ho fiur sommú arforbrissiud fir truaig</i>	he has not taken a reward from a rich man for oppressing a wretched man	V-[O] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 32	<i>ní ñrogab terochraic ho fiur dommu arepirt afirinne less</i>	he has not taken a reward from a poor man for declaring his righteousness	V-[O] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 16	<i>acht asberam sanctos sainredchu norubriciu· doib dint sainriud inna noibe techtæ</i>	but we ascribe <i>sanctos</i> , special or preeminent to them from the peculiarity of the holiness that they have	V-[O] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 28	<i>.i. asrubart anainm so do dia</i>	that is, he applied this name to God	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^c 15	<i>.i. maní dene chathu ocditin dothuathæ</i>	that is, if you do not do battle in defense of your people	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 22	<i>duic [leg. duuic] fersu hitadbadar inducbal dé indiad inna fersæ hitadbadar agráin fochosmailius innaríg talmandæ</i>	he has put the verses in which the glory of God is shown after the verses in which is shown the horror of them after the manner of earthly kings	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^a 20	<i>.i. doberæ digail forsandered duruarid dib</i>	that is, You (sg) will inflict punishment on the remainder which remains of them	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

Unmarked Orders

<p> Ml. 46^c17 <i>dober athuasulgud innadiad is intsalm</i> </p>	<p> he gives the solution of it afterwards in the psalm </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 60^a10 <i>coní deninn uide foto do tuidecht asindoiri</i> </p>	<p> that I might not make a long journey to come out of the Captivity </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 61^b17 <i>.i. duárchomraicset cloini n doib fesin meriti</i> </p>	<p> that is, they gathered iniquity to themselves <i>meriti</i> </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 72^c13 <i>.i. nirufrescisset olc n doib is indúsin</i> </p>	<p> that is, they had not expected evil to themselves in that place </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 73^d12 <i>.i. cia duberat argat dait siu arasoira</i> </p>	<p> that is, though they give you silver for their deliverance </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-IC-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 74^d5 <i>.i. arrocomallus duthnae [leg. duthimnae] cid isna [leg. isnaib] fochaidib</i> </p>	<p> that is, for I have fulfilled Your commandments even in tribulations </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 76^d14 <i>.i. cladait- innalige imbiat diandítin ar huacht</i> </p>	<p> that is, they dig the lairs in which they are for their protection against cold </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 84^c24 <i>.i. duuic infoiltne indiad inchínn</i> </p>	<p> that is, he has put the hair after the head </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 94^a1 <i>.i. ní berae asalm ar assaph trínephscibend intituilse riam</i> </p>	<p> that is, you (sg) should not take from Asaph his psalm by not writing this title before it </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-IC-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 94^c3 <i>anatechtat asiansu coria fridenum maith</i> </p>	<p> so that they do not have their proper senses to do good </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 98^a4 <i>arosailcim arúitige riam dothabairt neich essib do</i> </p>	<p> we open our granaries before him to give him something out of them </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-IC-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 102^d7 <i>.i. ní culatar [leg. cualatar] guth dæ resin</i> </p>	<p> that is, they had not heard the voice of God before that </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC/Adv]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 106^c12 <i>dugní trocairi frinni calleic</i> </p>	<p> You (sg) nevertheless show mercy to us </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 114^b16 <i>.i. connafacaib cechrainn á huair cen mes</i> </p>	<p> that is, so that it does not leave each part in turn without judgment </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 119^b6 <i>.i. arnatormal mosaigul nuile indoiri</i> </p>	<p> that is, that I may not spend my whole life in captivity </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 124^c6 <i>.i. rosoisset atoil huathui [leg. huathui] dáé</i> </p>	<p> that is, they had turned their will from God's will </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 127^d10-11 <i>.i. dober comermitin feid fris fessin , fri deacht maic dano do doinacht maic</i> </p>	<p> that is, He gives to the Manhood of the Son honor equal with Himself and also with the Godhead of the Son </p>	<p>V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>

Ml. 132 ^c 4 <i>dognitís óintaid comairle donum [leg. dodenum] huilc friumsa</i>	that is, they used to make an alliance of counsel to do evil to me	V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
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Table 58. V O IC/Adv sentences with topical O.^{NP} and focal IC.

In Ml. 21^a8, the first part of the gloss (*dochuimlechtigthe*, “accommodated”) tells us why *colleir* can be interpreted as focal. It is known, indeed, that “our mind is given to them”, but what is new is how this happens, that is, *colleir*, “diligently”, which specifies *dochuimlechtigthe*, “accommodated”, which itself glosses the Latin *adcommodata*. Ml. 36^a1 is the perfect translation of Latin: *ET OBPROBRIUM NON ACCIPIT ADUERSUS PROXIMUM. SUUM*. In Latin, *adversus proximum suum* is focal and has a non-standard syntactic position, that is, it is post-verbal. In the same way, although syntactically regular, *forachomnesam* is analysed as focal in Irish. On the topical status of *terochraic* in Ml. 36^a1, see Ml. 36^a31 (.i. *ter* < *achr*) *ochraicci*, “i.e. rewards”). In Ml. 127^d10-11, note that the two ICs *feid fris fessin* and *do doinacht maic* modify the NP *comermítin*. In the end, on the argumental status of *són* (e.g. Ml. 31^b20), see previous sections.

V O.^{NP} IC/Adv clauses may also happen to behave inversely in terms of IS, that is, they can show focal O and topical IC (78):

- (78) *.i. intan foruirim obell 7 astric foir*
 that is when he had put obelus and asterisk on it
 «that is, when he had put an obelus and an asterisk on it» (Ml. 2^a6).

Word order and information structure: V-[O]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}

In (78), *foir* is topical, and it refers back to a referent activated in the previous part of the gloss (that is, *intintud septien* “the translation of the Septuagint”).⁹³ What is focal is the direct object *obell 7 astric*.

In Table 59 are reported all the V O.^{NP} IC/Adv examples in the Milan glosses with focal O and topical IC.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 30 ^b 10	<i>foaccomla dano iarum frecrae comadas ndusuidiu</i>	he then afterwards subjoins a fitting answer to it	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}

⁹³ The entire gloss is: *amal bid horaili nuasligi .i. in nuaethintudsa dorigenuassa hoebreib .i. jaicert som intintud septien hitosuch .i. intan foruirim obell 7 astric foir 7 roásaiset drissi innasenchomrorcan tarsodin iterum crícht les innaallslige ut praediximus*. The passage analysed here is in bold font.

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 35 ^c 4	<i>.i. conaruaisetar guasacht innadiad int soirthasin</i>	that is, so that they did not fear danger after that deliverance	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 39 ^d 26	<i>dundoichfia ni doib</i>	that something will come to them	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^c 30	<i>.i. dobertis cech nolc 7 foch [leg. fochaid] form</i>	that is, they used to inflict every evil and tribulation on me	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^c 4	<i>dobert maldachta foir dano dimulluch int slebe</i>	cursed [lit. brought curses on] him moreover from the top of the mountain	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 70 ^a 6	<i>.i. conna epreid ainm dia ndoib</i>	that is, that he might not give them the name of gods	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^c 5	<i>.i. diatarsiu [leg. diartarsiu] ecnae n dosom</i>	that is, if You give wisdom to him	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 99 ^a 2	<i>.i. rouc cechnúrdaitid ñ as</i>	that is, He brought all freshness out of it	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>condárbais frecnárcus du fortachtae dunaib trebaib so diasoirad</i>	that You (sg) may show the presence of Your (sg) help to these tribes for their deliverance	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 106 ^c 1	<i>.i. doberae maith tar æsi nulc</i>	that is, may You (sg) give good for evil	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^a 12	<i>.i. rogab terochraic tarahæsi</i>	that is, he has taken a price for it	V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 130 ^b 6	<i>conetaitis dilgud hosuidiu trisodain</i>	in order to obtain forgiveness from Him thereby	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}

Table 59. V O IC/Adv sentences with focal O.^{NP} and topical IC.

Sentences in Table 59 have a focal argument. A close variety of IS alignment with V O.^{NP} IC/Adv clauses shows again a topical sentence-final IC, but the whole constituent V+O on focus (79):

- (79) *ber brith étrunn*
 judge judgement between us
 «judge between us!» (Ml. 38^c28).

Word order and information structure: [V-O]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}

Remarkably, the complex V+O functions as a whole. This is a typical feature of predicate focus V O.^{NP} IC/Adv clauses, as is clear also on the basis of Table 6o, reporting all such cases attested in the corpus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 20 ^b 11	<i>.i. comberat áceill nerru</i>	that is, so that they take their understanding from them	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^b 5	<i>huare nadruccat diriug orcuin duid iarnaerbertad</i>	because they did not succeed in the slaying of David after preparing it	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 32 ^d 15	<i>.i. conneta rath ndilgudo do</i>	that is, that he may get for him(self) the grace of forgiveness	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 39 ^a 6	<i>.i. cdenad figail [leg. fingail] archuinged soinnmige do</i>	that is, that he should slay a relative through his seeking prosperity	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 39 ^c 26	<i>onacumset ní dam</i>	so that they may be able to do nothing to me	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 43 ^c 18	<i>.i. roeirpset ásonartai hisuib [leg. hisuidib]</i>	that is, they entrusted their strength in them	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^a 18	<i>aracuintea dilgud de- isind aimsir sin</i>	that he seeks the forgiveness of God at that time	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^c 12	<i>.i. nodolbtais gnimu dam dodenum</i>	that is, they used to feign deeds that I had done	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^c 20	<i>.i. doformaig cech peccad foralaile ndo beus</i>	that is, he further adds every sin by him upon another	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^c 15	<i>.i. ní dene chomgním frisín pecthach duchuingid comsoinnmige fris</i>	that is, may you (sg) not do a like deed with the sinner to seek like prosperity with him	[V-O] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^c 6	<i>otall achenn dindaithuch labar fil oc du dibirciud su , oc du chaned</i>	that may take the head off the arrogant vassal who is pelting you (sg) and reviling you (sg)	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^b 4	<i>.i. imforlaing failti ndoib</i>	that is, it caused joy to them	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^a 8	<i>.i. ní confoigebat ciniud sainemail dia nés</i>	that is, they will not get a distinguished race after them	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^c 3	<i>.i. nolochtaigtis , nupectaigtis , aslentis amenma fadesin tri aitched [leg. adéitched] , ingabail innambriathar n diut nuradinse</i>	that is, they used to commit offences and sin and defile their own mind through execration and reprehension of the simple words that I used to speak	[V] _{FOC} /[V] _{FOC} /[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^a 7	<i>.i. ní connactar denum huilc innanoidenacht</i>	that is, they were not able to do evil in their infancy	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}

ML. 77 ^d 5	<i>.i. dubeir ainm fina dusuidiu dano</i>	that is, he gives the name of wine to that then	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
ML. 78 ^a 8	<i>.i. conimforlainge failti n doib</i>	that is, that you may cause joy to them	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
ML. 87 ^d 12	<i>.i. tabair ic dam</i>	that is, give salvation to me	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
ML. 91 ^a 21	<i>huare nad tarat digail forsnahí durigensat inhisin [leg. innahisin] frissium</i>	because He had not punished those who had done those things to him	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
ML. 93 ^a 9	<i>.i. cenitaibrea digail taranæsi ade</i>	that is, although he might not inflict punishment on their behalf	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
ML. 110 ^d 13	<i>.i. airdubir fortacht dunni beus</i>	that is, for You (sg) still give us help	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
ML. 121 ^b 8	<i>.i. argerat itaid diib</i>	that is, they will prevent thirst from them	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
ML. 124 ^a 2	<i>.i. cofrisaccat ón dilgud doib</i>	that is, so that they hope for forgiveness to them	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}

Table 6o. V O IC/Adv sentences with focal V+O.^{NP} and topical IC.

On the topical status of *dam* in ML. 39^c26, see Latin: *id est adiutorio tuo defensum mé ab omnibus impiorum malefactis*⁽²⁶⁾ *adserua*. In ML. 54^c12, that the 1st singular pronoun in *dam* is topical is suggested by the remaining part of the gloss: γ *nummaithistis* [leg. *nummaithigistis*], “and they used to defame me”. This sentence can indeed be analysed as follows: [V]_{FOC}[^(+INFIX.O)]_{TOP}. Note that *dam* occurs in the middle of a NP (*gnimu*) + *do* + verbal noun (*dodenum*) construction. In ML. 55^c20, the NP, that is, *cech peccad*, and the first IC, that is, *foralaile*, are part of the same constituent (cfr. Wb. 9^c19; 23^b21).⁹⁴ In ML. 69^a8, in the database *ciniud* is glossed as a NP in the nominative, but it can be actually read as an accusative.

A further relevant IS alignment with V O.^{NP} IC/Adv clauses is characterised by sentence focus, with a topical S not expressed by an explicit element (8o):

- (8o) *intain cairleci innabohtu fochumachtu innasommae*
when permits the poor under power of the rich
«when he permits the poor (to be) under the power of the rich» (ML. 27^d10).

Word order and information structure: [V-O-IC]_{FOC}

⁹⁴ On that note, see however also ML. 90^d1 (*.i. duormacht cech nolc foralaill ón*, “that is, every evil had been added upon another”), which seems to be featured by a different analysis.

In (80), the whole sentence is about a 3rd singular masculine S, that is, God, expressed by the verbal ending only. The other similar cases attested within the Milan glosses are shown in Table 61.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 35 ^c 18	<i>.i. manitentis maith iarna soirad</i>	that is, if they had not done good after their deliverance	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^a 7	<i>.i. naimfolngitis foirbthetaid s6n dam</i>	that is, that they should not cause perfection to me	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^d 1	<i>duthluchedar techt immes inchoim</i> [leg. <i>inchoimded</i>] <i>diafogni</i>	asks to submit to the judgement of the lord whom he serves	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^a 15	<i>.i. nad n dergeni olc tar æsi nuilc</i>	that is, that he did not do evil for evil	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^a 17	<i>.i. huare nad n denim olc tar æsi nuilc</i>	that is, because I do not do evil for evil	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 9	<i>.i. imfolngi comrorcuin dosochaidi</i>	that is, it causes error to many	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^d 11	<i>.i. n6 derch6infet an6c hoodia</i>	that is, they will not despair of their salvation by God	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^b 5	<i>.i. immeforlaing slanted damsa</i>	that is, which caused health to me	[V ^(REL) -O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^a 15	<i>.i. gudid dia dileir</i>	that is, pray to God diligently	[V-O-Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 76 ^a 16	<i>.i. duairci bas dunchach n6gaibde</i>	that is, which causes death to all whom they seize	[V ^(REL) -O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 81 ^c 14	<i>.i. immefolngi suthchai n6 doib</i>	that is, which causes fertility to them	[V ^(REL) -O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 83 ^c 3	<i>con recam les fortach</i> [leg. <i>fortachtae</i>] <i>a deo</i>	so that we need help from God	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^d 5	<i>.i. duberat digail cechinta</i> [leg. <i>cenchinta</i>] <i>foir</i>	that is, who inflict vengeance on him without provocation	[V ^(REL) -O-IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^a 17	<i>.i. manidtabair digail tar ar cenni. 6n</i>	that is, if You (sg) do not inflict punishment for us	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^a 20	<i>.i. tinnagat n6 assanucht di mainib</i>	that is, who give some treasures out of their bosom	[V ^(REL) -O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^a 25	<i>.i. fuchertat alaim i6rnac6l</i>	that is, who put their hand behind them	[V ^(REL) -O-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^a 9	<i>6nacumgaitis n6 d6n ni</i>	so that they could not do anything to us	[V-O-IC] _{FOC}

Table 61. V O IC/Adv sentences with focal V+O.^{NP}+IC.

In *ML. 93^a20*, note the discontinuity occurring between the partitive (i.e. *di mainib*) and its head (*ní*).

In 6 cases (*ML. 62^b5*, *ML. 76^a16*, *ML. 81^c14*, *ML. 85^d5*, *ML. 93^a20* and *ML. 93^a25*), V O IC sentences show a relative verb. Such sentences should be kept separated from non-relative [V O IC]_{FOC} examples. What is topical in [V^(REL) O IC]_{FOC} examples is a NP outside the clause, which constitutes the head of the relative.

Two further typologies of clauses adding a specific focus to a non-explicit topical S feature focal O (81) or focal IC (82).

- (81) *ní sechetar immurgu ord oc suidiu*
 NEG (they) follow however order in this
 «they do not, however, follow the order in this» (*ML. 19^b11*).

Word order and information structure: V-[O]_{FOC}-IC

- (82) *.i. sechis amal nongnetis ón gním*
 that is that is like (they) should do EXPL deed
innaithchi dorchi
 in night dark
 «that is, namely, as though they did a deed on a dark night» (*ML. 30^a4*).

Word order and information structure: V-O-[IC]_{FOC}

The other cases of those two categories are reported in Table 62 and 63.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>ML. 22^a4</i>	<i>7 dognitis cech ndochrud and</i>	and (they used) to do every unseemly thing in it	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC
<i>ML. 32^d5</i>	<i>7 ni taibred in finem and</i>	and if he had not put there <i>in finem</i>	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC
<i>ML. 35^c26a</i>	<i>mani taibred domine ant</i>	if he had not put <i>Domine</i> there	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC
<i>ML. 36^a30</i>	<i>.i. huare as ren fuilem fuaní ara reilced do</i>	that is, because he pays interest on that which was lent to him	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC
<i>ML. 80^d4</i>	<i>.i. adraichsetar digail duthabairt forru amal aceliu forsatar dad indigal</i>	that is, they feared the infliction of punishment on them like their fellows on	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC

		whom the punishment had been inflicted	
Ml. 87 ^d 1	<i>asindet dano comdidnad iarum</i>	he also sets forth consolation afterward	V-[O] _{FOC} -Adv
Ml. 105 ^c 9	<i>.i. conairleci dílgud ar pecthae ñ dún</i>	that is, You (sg) permit forgiveness of our sins to us	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC

Table 62. V O IC/Adv sentences with focal O.^{NP}.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 35 ^d 22	<i>.i. nirádi ní trithalmadchi</i>	that is, he does not say anything in haste	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^d 4	<i>.i. ní frithalim ruccai formanmair· trifoisitin tanmaesiu adeæ</i>	that is, I do not expect shame upon my name through the confession of Your (sg) name, O God	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 8	<i>.i. confolmaissiu derchoiniu [leg. derchoiniud] arthrumai nafochodo</i>	that is, that I came near to despairing because of the weight of the affliction	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^b 2	<i>.i. duratis digail tarmucenn</i>	that is, You have inflicted vengeance for me	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^b 16	<i>.i. cia indas jaittechtatar aníc són hua dia</i>	that is, how they sought their salvation from God	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^c 15	<i>.i. tabair indithim friarforthacht [leg. fortacht]</i>	that is, give attention to helping us	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^c 3	<i>ní aicci ní liamescai</i>	he does not see anything for his drunkenness	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^d 1	<i>.i. arammoltis dia cutúthrechtach ón</i>	that is, that they should praise God devoutly	V-O-[IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^b 16	<i>.i. ní berat firbrithemnachta etir innáis dutiagat innareir</i>	that is, they do not pass true judgments between the people who submit to them	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^c 16	<i>.i. domberat ní doneuch ardamunethar feid</i>	that is, that they give anything to any one who worships them	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^d 13	<i>.i. tuctais incoimdid trianaicned ón</i>	that is, they used to understand the Lord through their nature	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^c 3	<i>atluchedar buídi do dia nammá</i>	he gives thanks to God only	V-O-[IC] _{FOC}

Table 63. V O IC/Adv sentences with focal IC.

In the end, in Table 64 are reported all the other V O.^{NP} IC/Adv examples attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 21 ^b 2	<i>nítabair indithim nintiu</i>	(he) does not give heed to them	[V-O] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 27 ^a 6	<i>ⁿ dombera fortachtain doib airchiunn</i>	and [God] will give them help afterwards	[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} ⁻ [IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^a 16	<i>.i. condichret andruim frianaimtea</i>	that is, that they will turn their back to their enemies	[V-O] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 46 ^b 10	<i>.i. inraba [leg. inrarba] cech n deithidin domundai huaim</i>	that is, I drove every wordly care from me	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} ⁻ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^b 27	<i>.i. foilsigidir són ⁿ doadbat nertad coitchen do chách</i>	that is, he reveals and shows a common exhortation to all	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} ⁻ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 26	<i>na intamaltaesiu innahí míerbarmar [leg. remíerbarmar] cosindæilscud sin lat imna imbed a techtae sídi</i>	do not imitate those whom we have mentioned above, with that longing of yours (sg) after the abundance that they possess	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} -IC-IC
Ml. 63 ^c 13	<i>.i. nítabair digail tar ar cenni forarnaimtea</i>	that is, You (sg) do not inflict vengeance for us on our enemies	[V-O] _{FOC} -IC-IC
Ml. 68 ^d 14	<i>.i. cia fudama infirián ní du imnedaib insin [leg. hisin] biuth frecndairc</i>	that is, though the righteous man endures troubles in the present world	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} ⁻ -[IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^b 14	<i>ⁿ dunema induine aralailiu</i>	may protect a man against another	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} ⁻ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 78 ^d 8	<i>.i. ní imfolngét íc doneuch</i>	that is, they do not effect salvation to any	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} ⁻ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 3	<i>arní cumgat comallad innafirinne sin inógai</i>	for they cannot fulfill that righteousness completely	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} ⁻ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^a 8	<i>nídigneá aerscailiud du danaigiud neich dúinni dí</i>	He will not break it up to give us somewhat of it	[V-O] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 103 ^a 6	<i>.i. intan duratus uisce ⁿ duit ón</i>	that is, when I had given you (sg) water	[V-O] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 109 ^c 14	<i>.i. contaibrea [leg. coní-] feuchraí fir messa foraib acht cosc tantum</i>	that is, so that he may not inflict on them the severity of true judgment, but reproof only	V-[O] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^b 12	<i>risiu rocloammar infogur huachluasab</i>	before we hear the sound with the ears	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} ⁻ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^b 6	<i>.i. nimolat dia inifurnn</i>	that is, they do not praise God in hell	[V-O] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 142 ^b 3	<i>airimfolnguba amairis doib som</i>	for it will cause unfaith to them	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} ⁻ [IC] _{FOC}

Table 64. Further examples of V O.^{NP} IC/Adv sentences.

Among the examples in Table 64, two are the main categories:

- V O.^{NP} IC/Adv sentences with focal V+O (Ml. 21^b2, Ml. 44^a16, Ml. 63^c13, Ml. 96^a8, Ml. 103^a6, Ml. 130^b6);
- V O.^{NP} IC/Adv sentences with focal V+IC and topical O (Ml. 46^b10, Ml. 53^b27, Ml. 74^b14, Ml. 78^d8, Ml. 94^b3, Ml. 112^b12, Ml. 142^b3).

The former sub-category features a topical non-explicit S, the latter features a strict syntactic coherence between V and argumental IC.

In Ml. 21^b2, the IS can be understood by looking at the previous part of the gloss: *.i disamlathar .i níscluine*⁷ *nitabair indithim nintiu* (“i.e. he disassembles, i.e. he does not hear them and does not give heed to them”). In Ml. 96^a8, the possessive refers back to the topical element (i.e. *trocairi*, see rest of the gloss).

Table 65 summarises the quantitative analysis of V O.^{NP} IC/Adv sentences, ordered from the most to the less frequently attested typology. Of course, no Ss’ type differentiation has been performed. In prototypical V O.^{NP} IC/Adv sentences, a topical O is followed by a focal IC. Nevertheless, the considerable number of instances of predicate focus must be highlighted.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V O. ^{NP} IC/Adv	% out of UWO ⁹⁵
V-[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	33	26.21%	1.98%
[V-O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	24	19.03%	1.44%
[V-O-IC] _{FOC}	13	10.32%	0.78%
V-[O] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	13	10.32%	0.78%
V-O-[IC] _{FOC}	12	9.52%	0.72%
V-[O] _{FOC} -IC	8	6.35%	0.48%
[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	7	5.56%	0.42%
[V ^(REL) -O-IC] _{FOC}	6	4.74%	0.36%
[V-O] _{FOC} -IC	6	4.74%	0.36%
[V-O]-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.79%	0.06%
[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP} -IC-IC	1	0.79%	0.06%
V-[O] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}	1	0.79%	0.06%

Table 65. Quantitative analysis of V O.^{NP} IC/Adv sentences.

⁹⁵ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

3.3.1.2 VO

VO examples in the Milan glosses are 150 (54.18% of VO IC/Adv clauses with O.^{NP}s and 45.05% of VO IC/Adv clauses). VO sentences well represent the three-fold IS alignment system seen in previous sections, that is, argument focus, predicate focus and sentences focus. The most widely attested IS order shows a focal O and a zero anaphora topical S (83), thus falling into the category of argument focus:

- (83) *.i. cocarad chaingnimu dodenum*
 that is that loved good deeds to do
 «that is, that he loved to do good deeds» (Ml. 14^a8).

Word order and information structure: V-[O]_{FOC}

In (83), O is the complex phrase *chaingnimu dodenum*, which follows the construction NP + *do* + verbal noun of a transitive verb (see GOI §720). Topical is a 3rd singular masculine S.

In Table 66 are reported all the similar cases occurring in the corpus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 14 ^d 5	<i>.i. adrimfem , doaidlibem cechnoin dliged fil in psalmís</i>	that is, we will recount and go over every single saying that is in the Psalms	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 17 ^d 4	<i>.i. sechis nocinned aimsirsón</i>	that is, namely, that it should determine time	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 19 ^d 21	<i>acht doadbat aranecatar inraicci</i>	but he shows that they are found worthy	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 20 ^a 14	<i>.i. condena degním</i>	that is, so that he should do a good deed	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^a 5	<i>ní cumcat aithirgi ndodenum</i>	they cannot work repentence	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^c 24	<i>.i. madugneu innahui [leg. huilí] remiærburt</i>	that is, if I would do everything that I have said previously	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^c 13	<i>.i. oid menmain</i>	that is, give heed!	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 24	<i>.i. rolegsat canóin fjarlaici [leg. fetarlaici] , nufiádnissi</i>	that is, they have read the Canon of the Old Testament and of the New Testament	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 30	<i>orici dead intsailm</i>	until reaches the end of the psalm	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^b 25	<i>.i. ni rufrescachtar aníc</i>	that is, they had not expected their salvation	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^b 10	<i>.i. huduúic animchomarc</i>	that is, after he has put the question	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^b 2	<i>Intan asmbeir rectos corde</i>	when he says <i>rectos corde</i>	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^d 13	<i>maní eroimet aforcital</i>	if they should not receive his teaching	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^b 19	<i>hure [leg. huare] nadfitetar infirinni forochet</i>	because they did not know the truth concerning which it had been sung	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^b 21	<i>huare nadfitetar infirinni</i>	because they did not know the truth	V-[O] _{FOC}

Ml. 35 ^c 20	<i>.i. ni rochreitset ánic donaiþ imnedaib</i>	that is, they did not believe in their salvation from the afflictions	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 1	<i>.i. ní condergeni etir gním trissa tabarthe athis foir hochomnesam</i>	that is, he has not done any deed at all through which reproach should be put upon him by his neighbour	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^a 4	<i>.i. niguíd digail duthabairt foraiþ</i>	that is, he does not ask for the infliction of punishment on them	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 17	<i>dorochoinset tuidet [leg. tuidecht] diarig andochum dapopul [leg. ɔapopul] atoiri</i>	they despaired of the coming of their King to them with his people out of captivity	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 29	<i>.i. bachuimnech dilguda duinni</i>	that is, be mindful of forgiveness to us	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^d 15	<i>.i. duarbaid anoibi fadessin</i>	that is, he showed his own sanctity	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 10	<i>amal durigni inna gnímu sechmadachtaí</i>	as he did the past deeds	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 10	<i>dugena dano innahí tairngir hisatodochide</i>	he will indeed do what he promises in the future	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 52 ^x 00	<i>ciadudfutharcair abas</i>	although he desired his death	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>ɔoscaig eredig ind ríg</i>	he removed the king's cup	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>ɔoscaig ingae</i>	he removed the spear	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 15	<i>nadndignet innadegnímu</i>	that they will not do the good deeds	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^c 5	<i>ní cumcat ingraim innafirían</i>	the are unable to persecute the righteous	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^c 3	<i>ní comtacht cumachtae ndiglae foranáimtea</i>	he did not ask for power of vengeance on his enemies	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^c 5	<i>huare nandguíd acht dilgud ápecthae do tantum</i>	because he prays only for the forgiveness of his sins to him	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^c 10	<i>rosuidigestar dano urtutibus [leg. uirtutibus]</i>	he put then <i>virtutibus</i>	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^c 12	<i>.i. gaibid mod nargumint</i>	that is, it takes the fashion of an argument	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>sechis ní derlegae aiim [leg. ainm] críst</i>	and moreover you may not obliterate the name of Christ	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^d 10	<i>nítucsat ciachruth conrerortatar</i>	they did not understand how they had gone astray	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^d 7	<i>.i. amal nad fulgam inmescaí indfíno</i>	that is, as we do not endure the intoxication of wine	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^d 7	<i>ní fulgam inplaig indancomairléce ní</i>	we do not endure the affliction into which You (sg) leave us	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^c 4	<i>anduruimdetar airiltneá arann</i>	when they had weighed the merits of their parts	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^c 22	<i>.i. nirochreitset bás dia dícthin [leg. dícthin]</i>	that is, they have not believed that death could come to them	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^d 20	<i>.i. conraincatar huaisleatáid cloine son</i>	that is, so that they reached the height of iniquity	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 98 ^a 2	<i>.i. andurochointis aníc</i>	that is, when they ysed to despair of their salvation	V-[O] _{FOC}

Ml. 111 ^b 28	<i>.i. sech asroilli abás immurgu</i>	that is, yet he had deserved his death, however	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^b 6	<i>ní taibred meum</i>	he did not put <i>meum</i>	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^b 6	<i>huare immurgu duntuic meum</i>	because, however, he has put <i>meum</i>	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^a 11	<i>.i. sechis subaigidir ón nepuid hi cumgaib</i>	that is, he exults at not being in narrows	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^d 3	<i>slogait nanní do uisciu doda-ic</i>	they swallow whatever water comes to them	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^c 22	<i>.i. conna dentis ní do hulf</i>	that is, so that they should not do any evil	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^a 4	<i>.i. con detaitis [leg. conidetaitis] aní nogestais</i>	that is, that they might obtain that which they prayed for	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^c 2	<i>arasechitis athimnae</i>	that they should follow His commandments	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^c 7	<i>.i. bid forraithmetach ón atairngeri</i>	that is, He will be mindful of His promise	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^a 12	<i>.i. níagathar drochscela duthabairt cucaí ón</i>	that is, he does not fear that bad tidings may be brought to him	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^b 12	<i>mad asberad aderscugud do doinib</i>	if he said that He (or, it) excelled men	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^c 10	<i>sechis adeitchethar idlu són</i>	that is, it detests idols	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 9	<i>intan nadrochretset trocairi· ní dæ dianditín</i>	when they had not believed that the mercy of God would protect them	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 9	<i>intain iarum rocretset nondasoirfed dia</i>	when they had believed afterwards that God would deliver them	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^d 14	<i>aroirsitis [leg. araroirsitis] atailciud as indoiri</i>	that they should pray for their release from the Captivity	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^d 19	<i>manucomallainn gnímu dæ</i>	if I had fulfilled the works of God	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^c 2	<i>.i. huare techtas anmain</i>	that is, because it has a soul	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 146 ^a 1	<i>.i. comallait son nanní forcongair dia doib</i>	that is, they fulfill whatever God orders them	V-[O] _{FOC}

Table 66. V O sentences with focal O.

The infix shown in Ml. 52^x00 can be left out since its presence is due to *cía*. Note that e.g. in Ml. 75^d10, what is tagged as O is a sentence itself: *ciachruth conrerortatar*, “how they had gone astray”. Sentence-Os are also NP + *do* + verbal noun constructions. In Ml. 128^c7, the NP glossed as O is in the genitive (*tairngeri*). The genitive case is selected by the adjective (*forraithmetach*) of the adjective predicate. Nevertheless, the syntactic function of *atairngeri* in the clause, that is, being the second argument of V, justifies the label O in spite of its morphology. In Ml. 131^c9, what is tagged as O is a sentence itself: *nondasoirfed dia*, “that God would deliver them”.

V O clauses showing predicate focus behave as (84):

- (84) *.i. madudrignius ní donaib remeperthib*
 that is if I did something of the aforesaid things
 «that is, if I have done any of the aforementioned things» (Ml. 23^c27).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}

Given a topical O, V is extra-information on focus. Note that in (84) O is somehow topical also at the referential level (“something of the aforesaid things”). This happens significantly frequently in the Milan glosses. The corpus shows numerous internal links and quotations.

V O predicate focus clauses attested in the Milan glosses are reported in Table 67.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 23 ^d 4	<i>.i. madugneu innaremeperthi</i>	that is, if I should do the aforementioned things	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 28 ^b 11	<i>.i. conepred inninsciso</i>	that is, that he should utter this speech	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^c 18	<i>.i. ibait son</i>	that is, they will drink it	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^d 24	<i>maarí inferso</i>	if he should find this man	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^b 11	<i>nad radat góí</i>	that they do not speak falsehood	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^c 11	<i>.i. ni rurescesset tabairt catha do assarib</i>	that is, they did not hope for the giving of battle by the Assyrians	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^c 3	<i>.i. ni denim insin</i>	that is, I will not do that	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^c 5	<i>nidenim on dano</i>	I do not do that indeed	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 49 ^c 9	<i>.i. con aicelt 7 dorolaig inpeccad</i>	that is, he has covered up and forgiven the sin	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 50 ^c 13	<i>.i. rofoirbthichser 7 rorelais aní robói inclidiu lat adáé</i>	that is, You (sg) have completed and revealed what was secretly with You (sg), O God	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^b 26	<i>rongaid dia</i>	he prayed to God	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^c 16	<i>.i. intan asrubart qui uult</i>	that is, when he said <i>qui vult</i>	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 19	<i>sechis ni cumgubart conoscaiget gnimu indaisso foirbthi</i>	that is, they will not be able to move the actions of the perfect folk	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>décaid aeredig 7 aarma</i>	behold his cup and his arms	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^c 20	<i>intan asmbeir iniquitatem</i>	when he says <i>iniquitatem</i>	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>anasmbeir iudicia domini abisus multa</i>	when he says <i>iudicia domini abisus multa</i>	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>intan asmbeir confirmasti super me manum rl.</i>	when he says <i>confirmasti super me manum</i> etc.	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^c 17	<i>.i. fosisefar mo pecthu</i>	that is, I will confess my sins	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^b 1	<i>.i. ma rufessinn aforcenn innafochaide</i>	that is, if I knew the end of the tribulations	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 69 ^a 21	<i>dugén annoibsa</i>	I will do this holy thing	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^a 21	<i>ní digen ærgarthaе se</i> [leg. <i>anærgarthaе se</i>]	I will not do this forbidden thing	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^a 21	<i>ní eper insin</i>	he does not say that	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^a 19	<i>.i. connacumgat aníc</i>	that is, so that they cannot heal them	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 80 ^b 13	<i>.i. ní aichfetar dia</i>	that is, they will not fear God	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^a 4	<i>.i. huare techtas nerta</i>	that is, because He has strengths	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^c 3	<i>intan nadrucat diriuḡ aní adchobrat</i>	when they cannot obtain what they desire	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^c 3a	<i>.i. intan adcotat aní adchobrat</i>	that is, when they obtain what they desire	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^d 4	<i>.i. mafessed</i> [leg. <i>manifessed</i>] <i>comdidnad duthiarmoracht induilc</i>	that is, if it did not know that consolation followed the evil	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^b 17	<i>.i. dorusluindset són remdéicsin dæ dubuith díib· dianicc</i>	that is, they had denied that there was any providence of God for them to save them	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 92 ^c 14	<i>.i. sech ní chumgat ón immurgu</i>	that is, although they cannot do it however	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 95 ^a 12	<i>.i. ní ðitetar arrig foragabsat dianés</i>	that is, they do not know their king whom they had left behind them	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 95 ^c 3	<i>cia chomallaide aní asrochoilsid duchomallad</i>	that you (pl) fulfill that which you (pl) have determined to fulfill	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^a 8	<i>.i. ní indail atrocairi</i>	that is, He will not part His mercy	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^b 1	<i>.i. ní cretet anicc</i>	that is, they do not believe in their salvation	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^c 6	<i>intan asínbeir pro torcularibus</i>	when he says <i>pro torcularibus</i>	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^d 3	<i>aracelebartis asollumnu</i>	that they should honour His festivals	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 106 ^a 2	<i>.i. commallaide aní duarígir ón</i>	that is, He fulfills that which He promises	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^b 12	<i>resiu rocloammar a guth sidi</i>	before we hear the sound of it	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 113 ^d 5	<i>arna follaigdis gudi ñ dæ diatabairt asin doirisin</i>	lest they neglect praying to God to bring them out of that captivity	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^c 2	<i>.i. comallaide atinnae</i> [leg. <i>atimnae</i>] <i>7 gnímu</i>	that is, fulfill His commandments and works	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 117 ^d 2	<i>.i. rorélsat acloini són</i>	that is, they had manifested their iniquity	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^a 18	<i>hondí asrenní aráleicthar do</i>	because he pays back anything that has lent him	[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}

Table 67. V O sentences with focal V and topical O.

Worth-mentioning is the definiteness of Os in Table 67. This definiteness may be referential or ‘inherent’ (e.g. Ml. 23^d4: *innaremeperthi*, “the aforementioned things”; but also Ml. 50^c13: *dia*, “God”; or Ml. 53^c16: [Lat.] *qui vult*), marked via demonstrative (e.g. Ml. 28^d11: *inninsciso*, “this speech”; but also Ml. 69^a21: *insin*, “that”), or marked via determinate article (e.g. Ml. 49^c9: *inpeccad*, “the sin”).

On the topical status of *gói* in Ml. 31^b11, see Ml. 31^b12: *.i. issainred doib insin .i. epert gue*, “i.e. that is a characteristic of them, i.e. the speaking of falsehood”. Both Ml. 31^b11 and Ml. 31^b12 gloss Latin {*quibus est*} *familiare mendacium*⁽¹¹⁾⁻⁽¹²⁾. On the topical status of O in Ml. 87^d4, see Latin: *nec umquam*⁽¹⁾ *ita mala uentura pronuntiat* {*tamen*} *ut non statim spem consulationis adiungat*⁽²⁾. In the end, on the argumental status of *són* (Ml. 30^c18, Ml. 37^c5, Ml. 92^c14), see previous sections.

Example (85) is an instance of sentence focus.

- (85) *.i. tabair digail*
 that is impose punishment
 «that is, inflict punishment!» (Ml. 27^c12).

Word order and information structure: [V-O]_{FOC}

In (85), the whole complex V+O is predicated about a topical S. Predicate-focus V O clauses are quantitatively significant in the Milan glosses, and are reported in Table 68.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 16 ^c 10	<i>dogni aithirthirgi</i> [leg. <i>aithirgi</i>]	he repents	V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 10	<i>.i. asringaib mod neuít</i>	that is, that he has moved beyond a measure of zeal	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^d 2	<i>.i. immeradi anolc</i>	that is, which thinks the evil	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^d 17	<i>.i. ni rufrescehtar asoirad</i>	that is, they did not expect their deliverance	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^d 14	<i>.i. mani dena maith</i>	that is, if he should not do good	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^a 8	<i>.i. gabit don magistir són</i>	that is, they take the place of a teacher	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 9	<i>risíu adcheth druailned legtha</i>	before he say the decay of death	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^a 21	<i>nadfrithsuidiged ní</i>	that he did not oppose anything	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^c 22	<i>doadbat cosmailius naile</i>	he sets forth another likeness	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^d 8	<i>cothírmaigid cach síg bis isnaib ballaib</i>	so that it dries up every juice that is in the members	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^d 6	<i>.i. sech is dolega inna pecthi són</i>	that is, namely, it destroys the sins	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 1-2	<i>.i. adetha 7 loscaid cech rét frissacomraic</i>	that is, it attacks and burns everything that it encounters	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^a 16	<i>arangé dilgud</i>	that he prays for forgiveness	[V-O] _{FOC}

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Ml. 51 ^a 16	<i>arandena aithigi</i> [leg. <i>aithirgí</i>]	that he makes repentance	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^c 3	<i>.i. giges dia</i>	that is, who will beseech God	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^c 13	<i>nongabtis inna forngaire</i>	that they would receive the commands	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^c 26	<i>denid maith</i>	do good	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^d 17	<i>.i. conaconnarmadatar degcomairli</i>	that is, so that they did not attain to good counsel	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>croitatar arríg</i> [leg. <i>arríg</i>]	that they guarded their king	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^b 9	<i>.i. asagú dia</i>	that is, who desires God	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^d 1	<i>.i. amal nibimmis fíu ní etir</i>	that is, as if we are not worth anything at all	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^d 6	<i>.i. nadchoimnactar cathugud</i>	that is, who were unable to fight	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^b 10	<i>.i. adcotatsat nanni adrochobairset</i>	that is, they obtained whatever they had desired	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^b 3	<i>ní lib matar</i> [leg. <i>lilmatar</i>] · <i>frescissín nachaili</i>	they will not dare to expect anything else	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^b 12	<i>.i. hirogab insalmso</i>	that is, at which he sang this psalm	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^b 3	<i>intan nadrugat diriug aní adchobrat</i>	when they do not attain to what they desire	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^d 5	<i>.i. rometatar</i> [leg. <i>romertatar</i>] <i>léiri rechto</i>	that is, who had betrayed the care of the Law	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^d 4	<i>.i. immefóhígi fuasnad</i> , <i>todernam</i>	that is, which causes perturbation and hurt	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 79 ^d 1	<i>.i. no caraim dia són</i>	that is, by which I love God	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^a 9	<i>.i. nídergenat mú bás</i>	that is, they will not be able to accomplish my death	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^d 5	<i>duthluchetar ní nadtardatis do</i>	who seek something that they had not given to him	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 86 ^a 10	<i>.i. sémigte·incorp</i>	that is, which attenuate the body	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 4	<i>.i. intain nacomallatar timnae ñ dáé</i>	that is, when they do not fulfil the commandment of God	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^b 5	<i>.i. óid menmain</i>	that is, give heed	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^b 12	<i>.i. airnidergéni ni du ulc</i>	that is, for he has not done any evil	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^c 15	<i>.i. molaíd dia</i>	that is, praise God!	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^d 11	<i>.i. intan domber digail ón</i>	that is, when He inflicts punishment	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^d 12	<i>.i. intan dungní cotadud</i> , <i>trocairi</i>	that is, when He works lenity and mercy	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^b 11	<i>nochis asnindid</i> [leg. <i>asnindidid</i>] <i>a adamrae</i>	that is, when you (pl) declare His wonder	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 117 ^b 5	<i>.i. arna derchoinet taidchor</i>	that is, that they may not despair of return	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^a 1	<i>.i. resiu rogabtis tír tairígeri</i>	that is, before they took the Land of Promise	[V-O] _{FOC}

Ml. 124 ^c 10	<i>.i. huare nadrogaid huisce dothinnaccul</i>	that is, because he had not prayed that water might be given	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^c 8	<i>.i. intan in beres claind</i>	that is, when she bears children	[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^d 4	<i>.i. nad rothatar [leg. rorthatar] arriuth n aicnetae noreithis [leg. noreitis] dogres</i>	that is, which have not run their natural course which they used to run continually	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^b 2	<i>.i. nadtairlaic don</i>	that is, which has not yielded	[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^b 7	<i>.i. ni con ruaccobrus ní bed uilliu indaas rondbói mingnae</i>	that is, I have not desired anything that was greater than my understanding	[V-O] _{FOC}

Table 68. V O sentences with focal V+O.

Once more, note how certain clauses reported in Table 68 (Ml. 53^c3, Ml. 58^b9, Ml. 66^d6, Ml. 74^b12, Ml. 75^d5, Ml. 77^d4, Ml. 79^d1, Ml. 85^d5, Ml. 86^a10, Ml. 129^d4 and Ml. 131^b2), that is [V^(REL)-O]_{FOC} sentences, should be kept separated from other non-relative [V-O]_{FOC} sentences, where topical is the head of the relative clause.

Table 69 summarises the quantitative analysis of V O sentences, ordered from the most to the less frequently attested typology. The three typologies of IS alignment (argument focus, predicate focus and sentence focus) are rather equally represented, with a slight prevalence of V O clauses where only O is focal. Crucially, then, it has to be remarked how in 69.34% of cases, what is topical is S (which is only expressed by verbal person inflection).

Analysis	Instances	% out of VO	% out of UWO ⁹⁶
V-[O] _{FOC}	58	39.34%	3.48%
[V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	43	30.66%	2.59%
[V-O] _{FOC}	37	24.66%	2.71%
[V ^(REL) -O] _{FOC}	11	7.34%	0.66%

Table 69. Quantitative analysis of V O sentences.

3.3.2 VO IC/Adv orders where O is an infix

V O IC/Adv sentences where O is an infix are 58 (17.42% of V O (IC/Adv) orders). Prototypically, the infixed O refers back to something already introduced in the universe of discourse and recently mentioned. Thus, we expect the infix to be topical in most cases. In a first group of IS alignments, what is focal is the IC (86).

⁹⁶ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

- (86) *.i. nosgabtis for clais*
 that is they used to sing them in choir
 «they used to sing them in choir» (Ml. 2^b7).

Word order and information structure: $V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$

In (86), the 3rd plural infixed pronoun (i.e. *-s-*) is topical, as it refers back to “psalms”, introduced by the Latin text: *duo in Salamone.. lxxta ·II· ergo dicebant⁽⁷⁾ {·i· una} psalmos*. All the other similar cases attested in the corpus are reported in Table 6o.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 26 ^b 19	<i>.i. arascelatais árecín dofomair</i> [leg. <i>dofognam</i>] <i>doib</i> <i>innabochtu 7 innadommu</i>	that is, they used to seize them by force to serve the poor and the needy	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 28 ^d 8	<i>dagnitis hognímaib</i>	they used to do it in deeds	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 29 ^a 4	<i>acht isarindí rondageinset</i> <i>hognímaib</i>	but it is because they did them in deeds	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 51 ^a 1	<i>.i. arnacha imrada etir cid inna</i> <i>menmuin</i>	that is, so that he may not think them at all, even in his mind	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 53 ^b 6	<i>ralleic huaid cenfrithorcuin do</i>	he let him go from him without injury to him	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 70 ^c 13	<i>.i. cid chomallada hua gnímaib</i>	that is, that you should fulfill it in deeds	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 75 ^d 2	<i>.i. mani dendis tri theidnigud 7</i> <i>togais</i>	that is, unless they did it by means of blandishment and deceit	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 90 ^c 17	<i>.i. bec nachamralae</i> <i>inderchoíniud ón</i>	that is, it has almost cast me into despair	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 92 ^d 1	<i>.i. iarsindí dunnucsat indoiri leu</i>	that is, after they had brought us into captivity with them	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}-[IC]$
Ml. 125 ^a 9	<i>.i. iarsindí otanrairlic hindori</i> [leg. <i>hindoirí</i>]	that is, after He let us go into the captivity	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 125 ^a 9	<i>dunforsailc hisoiri iarum</i>	He delivered us unto freedom afterwards	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 126 ^d 7	<i>.i. darucellsat huasetaiib ón</i>	that is, they had bought it with treasures	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 128 ^a 12	<i>.i. amal dundrignis dopól apstal</i>	that is, as You (sg) have made one (lit. it) of Paul the Apostle	$V[{}^{(+INFIX,O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$

Table 70. V^{INFIX.O} IC sentences with topical O and focal IC.

In Ml. 29^a4 and Ml. 92^d1 occurs *isarindí* (“after”). *isarindí* comes from copula *is* + *arindí*, that originally was an indirect complement (*ar indí*, “because of it”). The origin of *isarindí* is surely a cleft structure (lit. “it is because of/after it”). This structure then fossilised, and in attested phases of the language already had a synchronic function of temporal conjunction (“after”). Here, it is as a conjunction that *isarindí* is analysed.

The most widespread IS type in the Milan glosses in case of V^{INFIX.O} IC sentences feature sentence focus. Besides a topical O, both V and IC are on focus (87).

- (87) *.i. nachamdermainte etir*
 that is do not forget me at all
 «that is, do not forget me at all» (Ml. 32^d5).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}[^(+INFIX.O)]_{TOP}-[Adv]_{FOC}

The whole number of so-aligned cases in the corpus is reported in Table 69.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 24 ^a 17	<i>conid soirad dinaib fochaidib hirobae</i>	so that it might deliver him from the tribulations in which he was	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 24 ^b 17	<i>.i. nísndíg focetoir</i>	that is, He does not punish them at once	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^c 16	<i>.i. atchomaing friagitofel</i>	that is, he struck it against Achitophel	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>⁷nach [leg. nacham] chommairlic hífochaid</i>	and do not let me go into tribulation	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>arnach n dermanadar dia hiforcenn</i>	that God should not forget him forever [lit. into the end]	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>nachomairlecea [leg. nach comairlecea] hipein nadful</i>	that He should not let him go into punishment which he may not endure	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^d 22	<i>amal dundchuirethar inna beulu</i>	as he brings it to his lips	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 1	<i>.i. dauc cucai innasairse</i>	that is, he took it for himself, into his sermon	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^d 15-16	<i>imim forlaingisse promthe trisnafochaidi</i>	you have made me proved through the afflictions	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

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Ml. 43 ^b 14	<i>.i. conda arleg fiad dia hitempul</i>	that is, that he read them out before God in the temple	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^a 15	<i>.i. nirsucsat coforcenn</i>	that is, thou did not bring them to an end	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^c 9	<i>ni n arraim· ar chairi do</i>	He has not reckoned it as a reproach unto him	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 52 ^x 00	<i>leicsi huad</i>	he let him go from it	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^d 6	<i>nachasoirbed dia lamaib som</i>	that He would not deliver them from his hands	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^d 9	<i>intan nandargart din</i>	when he did not forbid it to us	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>saidsi lialalecuinn saul hitalmain</i>	fixed by one of Saul's cheeks in the ground	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 4	<i>.i. sechis darigni s6n huagnim</i>	that is, namely, he did it in deed	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^d 4	<i>6idnderoimed dilamaib saul</i>	that He should rescue him from Saul's hands	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^d 8	<i>.i. cotarodelc 7 rosco-smailigestar frisna duli huaisli</i>	that is, he compared them and likened them to the high elements	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} /[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^d 3	<i>amal nachfuair fessin inneuch</i>	as I did not find him himself in anything	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^a 8	<i>.i. at gleinn assa aicniud fessin</i>	that is, he examines it from his own nature	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^a 14	<i>.i. lasse ata 6rban in fugam</i>	that is, when he puts them <i>in fugam</i>	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^b 24	<i>fosro ammamigestar diamolad 7 dia adrad</i>	He has subjugated them to His praise and to His worship	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^a 15	<i>nacarid hifarcruidib</i>	love Him in your hearts	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^b 9	<i>arnach corathar immoth 7 machthad diaseirc 7 dianaccubur</i>	lest it put him in stupor and admiration to love them and to desire them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 7	<i>isind6 ardamroichlisse huab6s</i>	in that You have guarded me from death	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^a 12	<i>daimchomarr [leg. dudaimchomarr] diachomallad trifochaidi 7 ingrainmen</i>	(he) restrains them to fulfil it through tribulations and persecutions	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 82 ^a 8	<i>.i. n6 n airmi arbethaid etir</i>	that is, he does not reckon it as life at all	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[IC-Adv] _{FOC}

Ml. 87 ^d 13	<i>dundabera dialailiu</i>	that gives it to another	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 91 ^d 8	<i>.i. diandamchondelc fritsu adé</i>	that is, if I compare myself to you, o God	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 112 ^b 20	<i>oidcloitis as ind noibi imbí</i>	so that they might drive him from the sanctity in which he is	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 123 ^c 8	<i>noscart [leg. noscarat] amal chlanda 7 ní amal gnímuimbí</i>	(men) love them like children and not like works	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 131 ^d 16	<i>odatarat hicoibsin</i>	(they) may confess them	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 135 ^b 5	<i>ciadusnadbat archiunn</i>	though he shows it below	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC/Adv]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 146 ^c 2	<i>.i. on(a)c(ha)nt(eilc)tis as i(n)d(óiri)</i>	that is, so that they were not letting us out of the captivity	$[V]_{\text{FOC}}[^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{TOP}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$

Table 71. V^{INFIX.O} IC sentences with topical O and focal V+IC.

As for Ml. 52^x00 and Ml. 55^c1, what is tagged as infixed pronoun is actually a suffixed pronoun. This category of IS alignment is the most widespread in the corpus. In Table 72 all the remaining cases of V^{INFIX.O} IC clauses are reported.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 22 ^c 3	<i>.i. fortanroichanni hofortacht dunderchoiliud asrochoilsem</i>	that is, you have instructed us by help to the determination which we have made	$V^{(+\text{INFIX.O}+\text{EMPH.O})}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 54 ^c 15	<i>.i. nomchuarsachtis trssan [leg. trissan] imchomarc n isin</i>	that is, they used to reproach me through that question	$[V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{FOC}}-[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$
Ml. 66 ^b 4	<i>.i. adidnopaír fessin dudia odegmaib</i>	that is, who offers himself to God with good works	$[V^{(\text{REL})+(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{FOC}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 89 ^a 6	<i>is indí rondannícaisní dinderchoiniud hisin</i>	in that You (sg) have saved us from that despair	$[V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{FOC}}-[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$
Ml. 94 ^a 8	<i>faceird dia aicniud</i>	drives him from his nature	$[V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 100 ^b 17	<i>.i. dudafeded for celtbaidi</i>	that is, who used to lead them to pastures	$[V^{(\text{REL})+(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{FOC}}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 136 ^c 11	<i>nonsoirmi a dæ arsin</i>	deliver us, O God, on account of that	$[V^{(+\text{INFIX.O})}]_{\text{FOC}}-[IC]_{\text{TOP}}$

Table 72. Further V^{INFIX.O} IC sentences.

In *ML. 22^c3*, *dunderchoiliud* is focal as it is the most salient element of this part of the gloss: *dondérchoiliud .i. fortanroichanni hofortacht dunderchoiliud asrochoilsem*. After this sentence, *érchoiliud* becomes topical.

Out of all these ‘spare’ cases, two main categories are identifiable: $[V^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}$ (e.g. *ML. 136^c11*), where topical is the sentence-final IC, and $[V^{(+INFIX.O)}-IC]_{FOC}$, occurring typically with relative verb forms, where the topic is the head of the relative outside the clause (e.g. *ML. 100^b17*).

Table 73 summarises the quantitative analysis of $V^{INFIX.O}$ IC sentences, ordered from the most to the less frequently attested typology. The infixed object tends to be topical, as expected, since it is coreferential to a given item outside the clause. The most typical IS type sees both V and IC on focus, but also cases of argument focus (IC) are consistently attested.

Analysis	Instances	% out of $V^{INFIX.O}$ IC	% out of UWO ⁹⁷
$[V]_{FOC}[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$	35	62.51%	2.11%
$V[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$	14	25.00%	0.84%
$[V^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}$	3	5.36%	0.18%
$[V^{(+INFIX.O)}-IC]_{FOC}$	3	5.36%	0.18%
$V^{(+INFIX.O+EMPH.O)}-IC-[IC]_{FOC}$	1	1.79%	0.06%

Table 73. Quantitative analysis of $V^{INFIX.O}$ IC sentences.

3.4 V IC/Adv orders

The V IC/Adv order amounts to 305 examples within the Milan glosses corpus. This constitutes 7.12% of the total number of sentences analysed in this work, and 18.35% of sentences showing an unmarked word order.

3.4.1 V IC/Adv orders without infixation

V IC/Adv cases are the great majority of V IC/Adv orders in the Milan glosses. They amount to 297 examples (97.37% of V IC/Adv orders).

The most widespread IS type features focal IC (88):

- (88) *coneperr* *libro* *psalmorum*
 so that is said to the book of psalms
 «is given as a name to the Book of Psalms» (*ML. 2^b17*).

Word order and information structure: $V-[IC]_{FOC}$

⁹⁷ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

A wider look at the whole gloss shows how the topic is outside the clause in (88): *cenelae ciuil inso, trimirucad disuidiu coneperlibro psalorum*, “this (was) a kind of musical instrument, and from this it has been transferred and is given as a name to the Book of Psalms”.⁹⁸ This explains why it is the IC only to be on focus.

This IS type occurs in several cases in the corpus, and they are all reported in Table 74.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^b 17	<i>trimirucad disuidiu</i>	from this it has been transferred	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 14 ^a 5	<i>.i. tiagait hofirinni innastoir dochom innatoimten togaitach</i>	that is, they pass from the literal truth to deceitful opinions	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 14 ^b 11	<i>.i. adfiadar issint salm</i>	that is, which is declared in the psalm	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 15 ^a 2	<i>fochosmailius tiagar dointiscitul [leg. dointinscitul] gnímo</i>	just as one goes to begin an action	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 15 ^a 4	<i>intan mbímmi ocaforbu són</i>	when we are bringing it to completion	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 16 ^c 5	<i>tiagar huáin dochum hí[rú]salem</i>	let one go from us to Jerusalem	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 17 ^c 4	<i>.i. crete doneuch asberat som</i>	that is, who believe anything that they say	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 20 ^a 20	<i>.i. cenitormastar homéit</i>	that is, even if it were not increased in quantity	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 20 ^a 20	<i>istrom cenae ho aicniud</i>	it is heavy without it by nature	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 20 ^a 23	<i>.i. rorecht homethi, innmairi</i>	that is, it has been distended by fat and obesity	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 20 ^d 4	<i>.i. ciarubé cenní diib</i>	that is, though he might be able to exist without some of them	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 20 ^d 4	<i>nirubai cenaib huli</i>	he cannot exist without them all	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 21 ^c 3	<i>æperr dindfailti bis indi</i>	is given as a name to the gladness that is in it	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 21 ^d 4	<i>ní tremfeidliget immurgu issasuthin</i>	however they do not endure for ever	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 22 ^c 5	<i>intan mbimmi in tribulationibus et in peccatis</i>	when we are <i>in tribulationibus et in peccatis</i>	V-[IC] _{FOC}

⁹⁸ The Latin text glossed is: *in medio autem eorum stabat David tenens et ipse psalterium*⁷.

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 22 ^d 9	<i>dotet iarum dochum indfolaid tanaidi inna anmæ</i>	then it comes to the subtle substance of the soul	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^b 12	<i>.i. armbad dotabairt chomairle doabisolon</i>	that is, that it should be to give counsel to Absalom	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^b 12	<i>arnabad lesom forlongais</i>	it should not be with him into exile	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^d 23	<i>ní ardu· de</i>	He is not higher for it	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^a 18	<i>intan mbimmi· isnaib fochaidib</i>	when we are in tribulations	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^c 4	<i>ciasu gnathiu dofoisitin</i>	although is more common for confession	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 27 ^d 12	<i>.i. combeth cendigail dogrés</i>	that is, that it should be unpunished for ever	V-[IC-IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 22	<i>.i. trimíberar hógnamaib donaib briathraib</i>	that is, it is transferred from deeds to the words	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^c 15	<i>.i. amal asrobrad fri duaid</i>	that is, as it was said to David	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^c 15	<i>ní eperr immurgu frinni</i>	it is not, however, said to us	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^a 5	<i>.i. ní mesa indas talam fortiresi</i>	that is, it is not worse than the ground of your land	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^a 9	<i>.i. acht ducoistis oinecht cosinríg</i>	that is, if they went once to the king	V-[IC] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 34 ^a 9	<i>combētis indoiri semper</i>	that they would be in captivity <i>semper</i>	V-IC-[Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^a 16	<i>níboi immurgu hicridiu</i>	it was not, however, in the heart	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^d 21	<i>.i. anairleicthea asindoiri ho chír</i>	that is, they were released out of the captivity by Cyrus	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^a 21	<i>.i. inrorthatar fochosmailius [leg. fochosmailius] assar</i>	that is, they invaded after the fashion of the Assyrians	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^b 10	<i>.i. ruuchthar fricachrét</i>	that is, it can be applied to every thing	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^c 01-02	<i>.i. anaconbeth leu etír</i>	that is, that it should not be with them at all	V-[IC] _{FOC-Adv}
Ml. 35 ^d 1	<i>immeningabamsón huand inuilliugud talmaidech</i>	that we may avoid by the sudden protection	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 32	<i>.i. æpred frisindommae</i>	that is, that he should say to the poor man	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^a 21	<i>.i. ata hilebraib rig</i>	that is, it is in the Book of Kings	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 15	<i>is dorchaē donaib naimtib bite frie anechtair</i>	that it is dark to the enemies who are outside it	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^a 6	<i>.i. amadechsaitis cosuide iarnécaib saul</i>	that is, lest they go to him after Saul's death	V-[IC] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 42 ^a 7	<i>.i. amadechsitis dano conechtar inna desese</i>	that is, lest they go then to either of these two	V-[IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 44 ^b 4	<i>is immaircide do duaid</i>	is appropriate to David	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 8	<i>sech ni robad frissom immurgu do dia</i>	although it (i.e. the wrath) could not have been against him, however, on the part of God	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^d 3	<i>ma frisaccar hitainm siu adé</i>	if I hope in your name, o God	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 16	<i>.i. ata hilibur apstail</i>	that is, it is in the book of the apostle	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c 22	<i>.i. conruthói [add. hua] huilidetaid apreceptae dothaibsin sainmlae dæ</i>	that is, he has turned from the generality of his teaching to show forth the excellence of God	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c 24	<i>.i. duucthar trithistin [leg. trithuistin] intalman</i>	that is, it is understood through the creation of the earth	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^d 3	<i>cona tiagat taracrícha corai</i>	so that they do not pass over their proper boundaries	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^d 11	<i>.i. conrusleachta ab angelo</i>	that is, so that they were slaughtered <i>ab angelo</i>	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^c 18	<i>hure noged echtarchaig [leg. huare noteged echtarchathraig]</i>	because he used to go outside the city	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^d 3	<i>acht duintarrae inna ucht fesin iterum</i>	but had turned back again to his own bosom	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>huid co port imbói inrí indsainriud</i>	went to the place in which the king was in particular	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^d 7	<i>.i. resiu robotis imgnais</i>	that is, before they were familiar with me	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^b 10	<i>.i. it dias ndisi ara lín</i>	that is, they are inexpressible for their number	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^b 16	<i>is follus trisuidigud dosom inna cluas arinchorp huiliu</i>	it is clear through his putting the ears for the whole body	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^b 19	<i>.i. doberar tarchenn pectho , ar accuis pectho</i>	that is, it is given for sin and because of sin	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^c 4	<i>.i. bia oc preciupt doib són</i>	that is, I will be preaching to them	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^d 10	<i>.i. robói lesom india</i>	that is, that he had for God	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^a 1	<i>ctoí talmáidiu duaisndís de fessin</i>	he turns suddenly to set forth concerning Himself	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^b 10	<i>.i. intan in bite ó menmain naimtinech oc inchathugud</i>	that is, when they are fighting with hostile mind	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^c 3	<i>.i. bíid imchorpu aiso coim leu som</i>	that is, it is wont to be about the bodies of the people dear to them	V-[IC] _{FOC}

Unmarked Orders

<p> Ml. 65^c16 <i>suidigter imdelba innarig isintorund imbiat</i> </p>	<p>they are placed about the figures of the kings in the representation in which they are</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 67^a4 <i>ciasu menciu· fudobrethir</i> </p>	<p>although it is more frequent as an adverb</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 67^b19 <i>lassaní dungnither hobelaib</i> </p>	<p>when it is mad with the mouth</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 71^c12 <i>.i. intan rumbá [leg. rumbái] imbrú</i> </p>	<p>that is, when he was in the womb</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 71^c15 <i>.i. intan robói imbru amathar</i> </p>	<p>that is, when he was in his mother's womb</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 71^c17 <i>.i. intan romboi hírigu</i> </p>	<p>that is, when he was in the kingship</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 73^d7 <i>.i. na eiplet huan bás coitchen huanepil cach</i> </p>	<p>that is, let them not die by the common death whereby every one dies</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 73^d7 <i>acht foircniter huasain bás sech cách</i> </p>	<p>but let them be ended by a special death different to all</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 74^a13 <i>.i. is indí rombatar forlongais huachathir</i> </p>	<p>that is, in that they were in exile from the city</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 84^c13 <i>.i. is moltaidiu de tritabairt fortachtan cid duneuch nachid áirilli</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is the more praiseworthy through giving help even to one who does not deserve it</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 88^d13 <i>.i. ní condelethai hoetartetarcur cián cenmanum hua etartetcur [leg. etartetarcur] ocus</i> </p>	<p>that is, he is not to be compared at a long interval, much less at a near interval</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 90^a9 <i>duimmarthar huandrig</i> </p>	<p>it will be restrained by the king</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 90^b11 <i>.i. amal as m maith dund flaith fessin dano</i> </p>	<p>that is, as it is good for the prince himself, moreover</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 90^c9 <i>roleicthea cen fortacht duthabairt doib a deo</i> </p>	<p>that they had been left without help being given to them <i>a Deo</i></p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 93^b5 <i>.i. otuichesmais [leg. otuidchesmais] trimuir robur</i> </p>	<p>that is, so that we might come through the Red Sea</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 94^c3 <i>intan m bis immescai</i> </p>	<p>when he is intoxicated</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 94^c4 <i>.i. amal mbis immescai</i> </p>	<p>that is, as it is wont to be in drunkenness</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 95^a3 <i>.i. dindí rombói hi slebib</i> </p>	<p>that is, because He was in mountains</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 96^a6 <i>ní adchótadaigfide fridia trederchoiniud</i> </p>	<p>through despair it would not be reconciled to God</p>	<p>V-IC-[IC]_{FOC}</p>

Ml. 98 ^c 6	<i>air roboi dumeit a pecthae som</i>	for the size of their sins was such	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 99 ^d 1	<i>iarsindí rombi hirigi</i>	after it has been straight	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^b 16	<i>.i. robói fomám augairi aili₇ fuarээр</i>	that is, he had been subject to another shepherd and at his will	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^c 11	<i>.i. corroib ingnín</i>	that is, that it may be in action	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^d 17	<i>no amal roirtha [leg. rosoirtha] inegipt</i>	or as they were delivered in Egypt	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^c 7	<i>.i. rombatar indoiri on</i>	that is, that they had been in captivity	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^b 6	<i>.i. indaas bemmi in doiri coricci sentaid</i>	that is, than that we should be in captivity till old age	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^a 10	<i>.i. bit dilmaini du denum chlainde iarnasoira</i>	that is, they will be free to beget children after their deliverance	V-[IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 107 ^c 1	<i>.i. ní imradat dunbethaid frecndairc</i>	that is, they do not think of the present life	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^b 1	<i>.i. dutéigtis cucum intan nombúinn hisóinnmigi</i>	that is, they used to come to me when I was in prosperity	V-IC-[Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^b 1	<i>intan nombúinn hisóinnmigi</i>	when I was in prosperity	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 110 ^d 8	<i>.i. immeairic dupersin moysi ón</i>	that is, it is appropriate to the person of Moses	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 110 ^d 15	<i>.i. aratái centosach cenforcenn</i>	that is, for You (sg) are without beginning, without end	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 117 ^c 3	<i>.i. intan comallaibther ingnín són</i>	that is, when it will be fulfilled in deed	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 121 ^d 16	<i>.i. arnaepiltis oc opair semper</i>	that is, lest they die [by being] at work always	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^d 8	<i>dufich tar áesi pectha innanaithre</i>	(He) punishes for the sin of the fathers	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^a 2	<i>amal durolged dia naithrib</i>	as it had been forgiven to their fathers	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^b 3	<i>amal durolged aithrib [leg. diaaithrib] iarn immarmus</i>	even as it had been forgiven to his fathers after sinning	V-[IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 124 ^b 7	<i>.i. amal rusoirtha in aegipt</i>	that is, as they had been delivered in Egypt	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^a 12	<i>amal dorolgis diar naithrib</i>	as You (sg) have forgiven our fathers	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^c 2	<i>arnaructais indori [leg. indoiri]</i>	lest they be carried into captivity	V-[IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 126 ^b 1	<i>.i. iarsindi ronan huacéin diaisndis dun popul</i>	that is, after he had ceased for a time from speaking of the people	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^b 2	<i>cid intain ronan duaisndís dun pul [leg. popul] fesin</i>	even when he had ceased from speaking of the people itself	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 9	<i>.i. at huaisliu oldate nime</i>	that is, You (sg) are higher than the heavens	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^a 13	<i>.i. roheilled coterochaic ón</i>	that is, it had been polluted with a price	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 8	<i>air is comairechthae fridia nathir cene</i>	for He is of equal authority with God the Father already	V-[IC] _{FOC} -IC/Adv
Ml. 128 ^d 11	<i>.i. acht chomnithir [leg. chomolnithir] inngnim dano</i>	that is, but it is fulfilled, moreover, in deed	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^f 9	<i>.i. intan rombatar isindoiri</i>	that is, when they had been in the Captivity	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^d 19	<i>.i. ni beinn is indoi [leg. isindoirí]</i>	that is, I would not have been in captivity	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 134 ^d 3	<i>mani erthroitar hua dia</i>	if it is not restrained by God	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^c 4	<i>.i. issoiriú indate idail</i>	that is, it is nobler than idols are	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 142 ^c 3	<i>.i. ma beith hiseurc</i>	that is, if he should be in sickness	V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 145 ^d 7	<i>.i. ataát iarum dano inneuch forruchongart dia doib</i>	that is, they are afterwards then wherever God had ordered them	V-IC/Adv-[IC] _{FOC}

Table 74. V IC/Adv sentences with focal IC.

Ml. 14^a5 makes rather clear the IS behaviour of these sentences. According to the Latin text (*sed non audiendi sunt hi qui ad excludendam psalmorum ueram expositionem {i. narrationem} falsas similitudines ab historia⁽⁵⁾ petitas conantur inducere.*), the topical referent here is *hi qui ad excludendam psalmorum ueram expositionem falsas similitudines ab historia petitas conantur inducere*. Thus, this topical element in the Irish text is recalled by zero anaphora.

In Ml. 15^a2, the verb form (*tiagar*) is relative as required by *fochosmailius*. The information structure of Ml. 31^b22 seems to copy the one of the Latin: *ita hoc loco ab his {i. operibus} quæ fiebant insolentia⁽²¹⁾ sermonis inducitur⁽²²⁾*. In Ml. 61^d10, the topical element is *disiderium*. In Ml. 88^d13, what is tagged as V is actually made of a copula + verbal of necessity. In Ml. 98^c6, the construction *attá + de* constitutes an idiom without a NP in the nominative introducing a consecutive (on that note, see eDil: “*de*”, XXVIII).

Lastly, worth-noting is that in certain cases (e.g. Ml. 22^c5, Ml. 53^d11), the Latin preposition has a syntactic value also in Irish, as if it was assimilated to an Irish preposition (*in* + NP; *ab* + NP). This is the reason why similar cases were labelled as ICs. This fact is remarkable since we saw in previous sections cases of Latin PPs treated as NPs in Irish given that in the Irish text they function as direct arguments.

Besides this typology of IS (that is, argument focus), a conspicuous number V IC/Adv clauses features sentence focus. As a matter of fact, two different sentence types, which differ from a morphosyntactic point of view, fall under this definition (89-90):

- (89) *huare rongnith ingnimaib*
 because had been done in deeds
 «because it had been done in deeds» (Ml. 31^b20).

Word order and information structure: [V-IC]_{FOC}

- (90) *file inepistlib ind apstail fri eperta indsailm*
 that are in letters of the apostle to expression of the psalm
 «[the similarity of the words] which are in the epistles of the apostle to the expressions of the psalm» (Ml. 26^a2).

Word order and information structure: [V^(REL)-IC-IC]_{FOC}

Example (89) shows a declarative V (*rongnith*),⁹⁹ while example (90) shows a relative V (*file*). In (89), the whole sentence is on focus, adding brand-new information to “this”, topic of both the previous and the actual portions of the gloss: .i. *aimí ærbarad són <hobriath> hobriathraib acht is huare rongnith ingnimaib*, “that is, for he would not have said this in words, except that it is because it had been done in deeds”.¹⁰⁰ Compare example (89) and its IS with e.g. Table 74 Ml. 67^b19. In this second case, the IC only is on focus, due to a specific contrast between *hobelaib* (“with mouths”) and *holamaib* (“with hands”) occurring in the previous portion of the gloss (and in the Latin as well: *MANIBUS*, or *manu*).

In (90), the gloss is a relative clause, the head of which is Latin *similitudo dictorum*. In other words, the [V^(REL)-IC-IC]_{FOC} analysis would be better represented as {*similitudo dictorum*}_{TOP}-[V^(REL)-IC-IC]_{FOC}. Although different in morphosyntactic terms, examples such as

⁹⁹ On a morphological level, the verb form is actually relative (nasalisation). This is however due to the fact that V is preceded by *huare*, and not to a relative meaning of V.

¹⁰⁰ On what “this” refers to, see Latin: *sicut {adit inducitur} in psalmo viiii “dixit enim in corde²⁰ suo: non requiret,” ita hoc loco ab his {i. operibus} quæ fiebant insolentia²¹ sermonis inducitur²².*

(89) and (90) behave coherently in terms of IS. Therefore, they are treated together in the following analysis.

All the V IC/Adv cases in the Milan glosses with focal V+IC are reported in Table 75.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 17 ^c 5	<i>nadfrithtaigat friusom</i>	who do not oppose them	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 27 ^c 4	<i>acht dufiastar tracennsom</i> [leg. <i>taracennsom</i>]	rather, [vengeance] will be inflicted for them	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 28 ^c 18	<i>.i. sech is nondoirtais</i> ₇ <i>arafoimtis intiu són</i>	that is, namely, which they should enslave and take into themselves	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^b 2	<i>7 antandirgi</i> [leg. <i>atandirgi</i>] <i>hochridiu alleth frissan ingraim</i> <i>ataroigrainn saul</i>	and to be upright in [their] heart as to the persecution, wherewith Saul persecuted them	[V-IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^b 26	<i>intan mbite isnaib imnedib</i>	when they are in tribulations	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^a 6	<i>.i. ní deruarid lannech</i>	that is, it has not remained with anyone	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>aimacomarleicthe hifotheid</i> <i>etir</i>	that he should not be let go into tribulation at all	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^a 6	<i>.i. doimmarnad hosenachrib</i>	that is, which was commanded by Sennacherib	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^c 6	<i>.i. file la <a> sseru</i> ₇ <i>ebreu</i>	that is, which the Syrians and Hebrews have	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^d 10	<i>.i. acht biid cid etir iltrebu</i>	that is, but it is wont to be between many tribes too	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^d 1	<i>is solam fair</i>	he is ready for it	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^d 15-16	<i>.i. setir</i> ₇ <i>astoither oc imfolung</i> <i>indoir promthi</i>	that is, it is blown upon and kindled in making proved gold	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^c 12	<i>.i. file etir forbru</i> ₇ <i>gruade</i>	that is, that are between eyebrows and cheeks	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^a 13	<i>nad tarta foranaithrea</i>	which were not inflicted on their fathers	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^a 4	<i>acht corruanat inna arrad</i>	but that they may remain in his company	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 14	<i>.i. is coitchenn do cech belru</i>	that is, it is common to every language	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^a 23	<i>.i. intan noscairiub frisna huili</i> <i>deithidnea domaindi</i>	that is, when I will part from all worldly anxieties	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^a 10	<i>.i. immefolangar dundsíl ferdu</i> <i>iarná esfoit isin m broin</i> <i>mathardi</i>	that is, which is made out of the <i>semen virile</i> after its emission into the maternal womb	[V ^(REL) -IC-IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 44 ^a 11	<i>7 gainethar honmathir</i>	and (it) is born of the mother	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^c 1	<i>7 ata n acomaltai duntalam</i>	and (they) are united to the earth	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^d 17	<i>.i. is gnath dí</i>	that is, it is customary to it	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^a 4	<i>.i. as duliu lium cech indiub 7 cech ret</i>	that is, that it is more dear to me than every gain and every thing	[V ^{(COP)(REL)} -IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^b 3-4	<i>.i. anasber innadiad sí</i>	that is, which he says afterwards below	[V ^(REL) -IC-Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^b 9	<i>.i. asbeir indiad</i>	that is, which he said afterwards	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^b 20	<i>ciasu huathatae ho sun</i>	although it is singular in sound	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 7	<i>.i. biid ersoilcthi archiunn forrig dothét 7 apopul adoiri</i>	that is, be opened before your (pl) King, who comes out of captivity with his people!	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 24	<i>.i. dorignis friu inægipt</i>	that is, that you worked for them in Egypt	[V ^(REL) -IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 1	<i>.i. contoat chucai son</i>	that is, who turn to Him	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 19	<i>.i. ní confel leu</i>	that is, (he) is not among them	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^a 18	<i>.i. robtar erdarca de dindulc dorad friu leusom</i>	that is, they were the more famous from the speaking of evil to them by them	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^c 3	<i>.i. bite ingail [leg. inergail] chuilin friu duídaleith [leg. duídaleith]</i>	that is, who are in a fight of equal numbers with them on the other side	[V ^(REL) -IC-IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^b 9	<i>.i. anasbeir indiad</i>	that is, that which he mentions afterwards	[V ^(REL) -IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 8	<i>.i. huare romboi arbelaib tempui [leg. tempuil]</i>	that is, because it was in front of the temple	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 12	<i>.i. romdis directai arabarach</i>	that is, that they would be stripped the next day	[V-IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 28	<i>huare roslehta trichumacht [leg. trichumachte] ndé</i>	since they were cut down through the power of God	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^a 2	<i>.i. file hilebraib paralip</i>	that is, which is in the books of Paralipomena	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^c 5	<i>asbeir indiad</i>	which he mentions afterwards	[V ^(REL) -IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 4	<i>fil is indsalm</i>	that are in the psalm	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c 29	<i>file isindnim</i>	which are in heaven	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^a 23	<i>.i. as adblam dothabairt fortachtae</i>	that is, who is ready to give help	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^b 23	<i>.i. fris naccai archiunn hodia</i>	that is, which he expects afterwards from God	[V ^(REL) -IC/Adv-IC] _{FOC}

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 53 ^d 2	<i>dorad</i> [leg. <i>doratað</i>] <i>forassaru</i>	which was inflicted on the Assyrians	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 11	<i>.i. an as nessa lium do inni</i>	that is, what I deem nearer to the sense	[V ^(REL) -IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 29	<i>.i. robói inammenmain</i>	that is, that was in their mind	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^b 12	<i>.i. tiagat forteiched</i>	that is, let them go in flight	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^c 17	<i>intan rombói octogail innacathrachsín</i>	when he was destroying that city	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^c 18	<i>7 ba ndilmáin do</i>	and it was unrestrained for him	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^d 7	<i>7 nidechuid huaim</i>	and has not departed from me	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 19	<i>.i. cid intan nombíth innaligiú</i>	that is, even when he used to be in his bed	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^a 1	<i>file duit dech</i> [leg. <i>decech</i>] <i>duil</i>	that you have fore every creature [lit. that is of you for every creature]	[V ^(REL) -IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^a 15	<i>doratis dodoinib</i>	which you have given to men	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^a 2	<i>achotatatsatrierchellad</i> [leg. <i>adchotatsat trierchellad</i>]	which they obtained through robbery	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^c 5	<i>air is chride</i> [leg. <i>airchride</i>] <i>samlaibsom fesin</i>	for it [power] is perishable like themselves	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^d 3	<i>.i. dífuairisitís dia áis</i>	that is, that might have remained after him	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^d 7	<i>intan asmithich lasnacumachtgu foambiat acai 7 máim</i>	when it is timely to the mighty ones under whose bond and yoke they are	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^a 5	<i>.i. conna erchissed donbocht</i>	that is, that he should not have compassion on the poor man	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^a 6	<i>.i. adfét isinchanoín</i>	that is, which he mentions in the text	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^a 13	<i>.i. hí roba hítempul</i>	that is, in which I was in the temple	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^b 2	<i>.i. inni rombatar riam hítempul</i>	that is, such as they were before in the Temple	[V-Adv-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^b 9	<i>.i. robói dosom immathír</i>	that is, that he had for his land	[V ^(REL) -IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^c 11	<i>file ressind argument seo</i>	which is before this argument	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^a 10	<i>.i. dulogaid dochách</i>	that is, you forgive everyone	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^b 5	<i>.i. anasbeir innadiad</i>	that is, what he says afterwards	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^d 5	<i>.i. combad cutrummae frisínseirc rocar crist innæclais</i>	that is, that it should be equal to the love wherewith Christ loved the Church	[V-IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 66 ^c 17	<i>.i. robói im hirusalem</i>	that is, which was around Jerusalem	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^d 25	<i>roboi impe</i>	that had been about it	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^c 9	<i>.i. conropu ladia</i>	that is, so that it was God's	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^d 2	<i>durigni diasoirad</i>	which He had done for their deliverance	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^b 5	<i>ciasu chosmail frisincanoin</i>	althought it is similar to the text	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^b 7	<i>.i. as immaircide fri intliucht macc core</i>	that is, which is suitable to the sense of the sons of Core	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^b 11	<i>.i. imdaigedar doib a deo</i>	that is, that it abounds to them from God	[V-IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^d 14	<i>soirfithir dano incéin nali-dano</i>	he shall, however, be delivered the other time	[V-Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 70 ^a 1	<i>.i. fil isindsalm</i>	that is, which is in the psalm	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 70 ^c 12	<i>.i. asbera archiunnsis</i>	that is, that he will mention afterwards below	[V ^(REL) -IC-Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 73 ^a 10	<i>adopar daít</i>	that is offered to You	V ^(REL) V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 73 ^a 19	<i>.i. dugnitha ar ioniam</i>	that is, that were done for Onias	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 76 ^d 1	<i>.i. rubatar fiamám</i>	that is, who were subject to him	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 79 ^a 2-3	<i>.i. nadfrithorgat ocdenum uilc friu</i>	that is, who do not strike back when evil is done to them	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 79 ^a 10	<i>.i. huare donairissiur hituil dáe</i>	that is, because I abide in the will of God	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^d 10	<i>.i. intan duregam ádoiri</i>	that is, when we will come out of captivity	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 84 ^c 5	<i>cén rombatar indoiri</i>	as long as they were in captivity	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^c 9	<i>durigeni armaccaib israhel</i>	which He had done for the children of Israel	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^d 4	<i>.i. nosnerbtis inna lín</i>	that is, they used to trust in their number	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^b 17	<i>.i. fodaimet immalle lium ón</i>	that is, who endure along with me	[V ^(REL) -Adv-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^b 17	<i>odogailsegetar lium immalle dano</i>	who are also sorrowful along with me	[V ^(REL) -IC-Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^b 5a	<i>bite fumaam inimicorum</i>	who are subject to enemies	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^c 8	<i>.i. bite fo mam</i>	that is, who are subject to them	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^c 10	<i>.i. bias hiflaith solman</i>	that is, which shall be in the rule of Solomon	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}

Unmarked Orders

Ml. 89 ^d 14	<i>slechtfait fuachossa</i>	they will prostrate themselves beneath his feet	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^d 15	<i>corruslechtais fochossa</i>	so that they might prostrate themselves beneath his feet	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^c 13	<i>forodamntar</i> [leg. <i>forodamnatar</i>] <i>is in doiri</i>	which they have endured in the captivity	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^d 19	<i>.i. asbeir innadiad</i>	that is, which he mentions afterwards	[V ^(REL) -IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^b 7	<i>combin cosmail fri encu</i>	that I might be like the innocent ones	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^d 8	<i>nita ferr indaas cethir</i>	I am no better than a beast	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^a 16	<i>.i. rothetar dufailti , duaccur cechmaith</i>	that is, that it is impelled to joy and to crave for every good thing	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^c 5	<i>adchotadsam triar saithar saindiles</i>	(that) which we have obtained through our own labour	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^c 8	<i>duratis filiis israhel</i>	which You (sg) had given to the Children of Israel	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^a 7	<i>.i. file cenfati</i> [leg. <i>fathi</i>] <i>són</i>	that is, who are without prophets	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^c 3	<i>.i. robui do forlongais</i>	that is, whom he had had in exile	[V ^(REL) -IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^c 7	<i>.i. fele forsnaib rathib</i>	that is, which are upon the quarters of the year	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^a 11	<i>.i. asbeir inna diad</i>	that is, which he mentions afterwards	[V ^(REL) -IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^a 3	<i>.i. lasse immerordus inaidchi</i>	that is, when I had meditated in the night	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^c 2	<i>asbeir innadiad</i>	which he mentions afterwards	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^d 12	<i>.i. durither</i> [leg. <i>durimther</i>] <i>hílebraib machabiorrum</i>	that is, which is recounted in the Books of Machabees	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^c 5	<i>cidresiu dondichsitis as indoiri</i>	even before they came out of the Captivity	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^a 3	<i>.i. imradat leu són</i>	that is, they meditate with themselves	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^b 18	<i>.i. durelsat ho chloini</i>	that is, who have turned aside from iniquity	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^d 6	<i>.i. duberar tar áesi locht</i>	that is, which is inflicted for faults	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 106 ^c 13	<i>sechis ní gati eronn. ón</i>	that is, you do not take from us	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 106 ^c 15	<i>.i. file indiut adé</i>	that is, which is in You (sg), O God	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 108 ^a 5	<i>.i. robói dam dodia domberad fortachtain dam</i>	that is, which I had had from God that He would give help to me	[V ^(REL) -IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^b 16	<i>file isindsalm</i>	which is in the psalm	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^a 9	<i>.i. nafrihorcaid donpul [leg. popul] on</i>	that is, do not afflict the people!	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^b 2	<i>as mou cechfortacht</i>	which is greater than any help	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 117 ^d 3	<i>cianutiastais huaim ón</i>	even if they should go from me	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 121 ^a 17	<i>.i. nítirga taratrachtu</i>	that is, he will not come across their shores	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 121 ^b 1	<i>.i. cotaised tairsiu</i>	that is, that he would come across them	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 121 ^c 17	<i>.i. bite indithrub</i>	that is, which are in the wilderness	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^b 2	<i>.i. conarracht assa mugsini</i>	that is, who had been bound, out of his servitude	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^b 5	<i>.i. batar fomám ioseph</i>	that is, who were subject to Joseph	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^d 6	<i>.i. adfiadatar trissin salm</i>	that is, which are narrated through the psalm	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^c 26	<i>.i. dochotar hi tír tairngeri</i>	that is, who had gone into the Land of Promise	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^d 4	<i>.i. dorigensat frisna geintlidi</i>	that is, which they had committed with the Gentile women	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^a 3	<i>.i. robatar populo in ægipt</i>	that is, which had been to the people in Egypt	[V ^(REL) -IC-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^a 6	<i>.i. roboí im babiloin</i>	that is, that had been in Babylon	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^b 19	<i>.i. glete de són</i>	that is, which stick to him	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^d 5	<i>an durigni friarsruithi</i>	that which He has done to our ancestors	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^a 10	<i>.i. biat amal idlu</i>	that is, let them be like idols	[V-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^a 4	<i>ni saig síis amal sodain</i>	in that case it does not apply below	[V-Adv] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 133 ^b 16	<i>file is indsalm</i>	which are in the psalm	[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^a 6	<i>.i. fil isintsalm riam</i>	that is, which is in the previous psalm	[V ^(REL) -IC-Adv] _{FOC}

ML. 138 ^{a6}	<i>.i. doratad formanaimdea</i>	that is, which had been inflicted on the enemies	$[V^{(REL)}-IC]_{FOC}$
ML. 144 ^{c5}	<i>.i. bite imchretu [leg. imchrechtu]</i>	that is, which are wont to be about wounds	$[V^{(REL)}-IC]_{FOC}$
ML. 144 ^{c7}	<i>.i. bís tarbruinniu ógae són</i>	that is, which is wont to be over a maiden's breasts	$[V^{(REL)}-IC]_{FOC}$

Table 75. V IC/Adv sentences with focal V+IC.

In ML. 114^{b2}, what is tagged as IC is a NP in the dative.

The total number of occurrence of V IC/Adv sentences with V+IC on focus is 133. This corresponds to 44.78% of V IC/Adv clauses (8.00% of unmarked word orders). Nonetheless, such clauses must be differentiated according to the presence of a relative vs. non-relative verb form, as seen in (89) vs. (90) above. Out of the 133 sentences, 74 feature $V^{(REL)}$ (55.64%). On the other hand, out of the non-relative $[V IC]_{FOC}$ clauses, most of them are subordinate clauses (e.g. ML. 96^{a3}).

A last relevant IS alignment in case of V IC/Adv sentences presents focal V and topical IC (91):

- (91) *manip ecoir frisinstoir adfiadamni*
 if it is not wrong towards the history we tell
 «if it is not at variance with the history that we relate» (ML. 14^{d10}).

Word order and information structure: $[V]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}$

The topical status of IC in (91) is rather evident, also on the semantic ground. To see a case where the topicality of IC is context-based, consider example (92):

- (92) *.i. ciathes híloc bes ardu*
 that is although might go in place that is higher
 «that is, although He may go into a place which is higher» (ML. 23^{d23}).

Word order and information structure: $[V]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}$

In (92), the topical element is *híloc bes ardu*, which occurs in the Latin glossed passage: *non quod aliquo { .i. loco }²³ loci superioris erectio faciat altiozem.*

Table 76 below contains all the V IC/Adv sentences attested in the corpus with focal V and topical IC.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 27 ^b 14	<i>isgnath di</i>	it is customary to it	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 27 ^b 16	<i>.i. cena nid [leg. ce anid] fris</i>	that is, although He might resist it	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^a 29	<i>arairleced do</i>	until the loan had been made to him	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 14	<i>.i. intan asrubartmar disaindilsetaid cech réta</i>	that is, when we spoke of the special characteristic of every thing	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^c 16	<i>mani cathaiged occae</i>	if he did not fight for it	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^c 20	<i>dia nimthiasam iartimnaib ind rechto sin</i>	if we walk according to the commandments of that Law	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^c 7	<i>miastar foir</i>	judgement will be passed on him	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^d 7	<i>.i. dlomthair dosuidib</i>	that is, they are turned out	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^d 1	<i>.i. conna dechsam inadradu idal</i>	that is, that we may not pass to the adoration of idols	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^d 11	<i>airiscoitchen doib , inchanoin remeperthe</i>	for it is common to them and to the aforementioned text	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 72 ^b 9	<i>adelgatar æm dun altin</i>	they are compared indeed to the razor	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 72 ^d 11	<i>deich tarmacénn</i>	take vengeance for me	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 77 ^a 12	<i>frischomarr doibsom</i>	(he) molests them	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^c 11	<i>.i. mani roima fora cenn</i>	that is, if the head should not be defeated	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^c 11	<i>ní mema forsna bullu</i>	the members will not be defeated	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^c 1	<i>intan nombiinn isnaib fochaidib</i>	when I was in tribulations	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^c 13	<i>.i. roleldar díb són</i>	that is, they clung to them	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^b 4	<i>.i. ní bad scith ón etir ocfarnditin</i>	that is, it would not have been weary at all in protecting you	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^b 5	<i>.i. doroschither dano diib</i>	that is, he is also distinguished from them	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 110 ^c 5	<i>adfet dano <di> is disiu di</i>	he also sets forth concerning it in this	[V] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^b 10	<i>amal n̄ b̄is dund eún sin</i>	as there is wont to be to that bird	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 121 ^b 12	<i>.i. dolecet huadib síis</i>	that is, they let go from them below	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -Adv
Ml. 122 ^a 15	<i>airibí hisudib</i>	for he is not wont to be in them	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^c 8	<i>is failed iarsin</i>	she is joyous after that	[V] _{FOC} -[IC/Adv] _{TOP}

Ml. 140^b6 | *.i. fristáes fris* | that is, that I oppose it | [V]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}

Table 76. VIC/Adv sentences with focal V and topical IC.

In Ml. 46^c20, what is topical is not the whole IC, but actually *ind rehto sin* only. Ml. 68^d11 shows an interesting feature of the language: in the case of a sequence of an inflected preposition followed by a coordinated NP, in Irish the NP is not in the case governed by the preposition but in the nominative. Note, however, that *inchanoín* may also be a dative. In Ml. 89^c11 we find the verb *maidid*, which is characterised by a peculiar syntax: *maidid re X for Y*, meaning “X defeats Y”. In Ml. 89^c11, however, after the verb there is only the argument introduced by *for*, in a monovalent construction (*maidid for X* = “X is defeated”).

All the other IS alignments with V IC/Adv clauses attested in the Milan glosses are collected in Table 77.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 16 ^b 6	<i>.i. narntar condegdligedaib diafrithuidecht [leg. frithuidecht]</i>	that is, that they are armed with good reasons to oppose them	V ^(REL) -[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 19 ^c 5	<i>bamadae doib</i>	it was vain to them	[V] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 44 ^c 2	<i>.i. air [leg. amal ní] bin fiu leu etir</i>	that is, as thought I was utterly worthless in their opinion	[V] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 46 ^c 18	<i>.i. is nessa lium do inni</i>	that is, I deem it nearer to the sense	[V] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^a 18	<i>roptar inducbaidiu de dano apud deum</i>	they were moreover the more glorious <i>apud Deum</i>	[V] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c 9	<i>horumaith for a naimtea remib</i>	after they defeat their enemies	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 18	<i>.i. sfoircnitis huna [leg. huana] fochaidib hisin</i>	that is, that they should be exterminated by those tribulations	[V] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 54 ^c 16	<i>intan romboi hi cotarsnatu fris</i>	when he was in opposition to him	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^c 8	<i>amal rumboi and riam</i>	as he had been there before	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^c 14	<i>.i. condechummar forteiched remib</i>	that is, so that we fled before them	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 86 ^d 12	<i>is serb les</i>	he deems it bitter	[V] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 87 ^b 18	<i>annurig hicumsanad , hisoinmigi- essib</i>	when I will go out of them into rest and into prosperity	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^c 27	<i>acht robu bithsóinmech doib dugrés</i>	but it was ever-prosperous to them continually	[V] _{FOC} -IC-Adv

Ml. 93 ^a 3	<i>nonepanaigtis</i> [leg. <i>nonesperanaigtis</i>] <i>cen anadrad</i>	that they are useless because they are not worshipped [lit. that they are useless without their worshipping]	[V] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 95 ^d 9	<i>.i. roairius innaithchi n uili</i>	that is, I have watched the whole night	[V] _{FOC-Adv}
Ml. 115 ^b 9	<i>.i. bith hiforaithmiut lib</i>	that is, let it be in your (pl) remembrance!	[V-IC] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 118 ^c 3	<i>aidchuirtis duaithis form</i>	that I may cast back upon them	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 123 ^a 10	<i>follintar assa chanoín fria lathar</i>	it is supplied from its text for its interpretation	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 6	<i>.i. intan rommemaíd re nabracham forsna coíc riga bertar loth asodaim</i>	that is, when Abraham had routed the five kings who carried Lot from Sodom	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^a 2	<i>imber fodí amal sodaiin</i> [leg. <i>sodain</i>]	it is applied twice in that case	[V-IC/Adv] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 131 ^c 9	<i>rosoirtha dano hisuidiu as indoir(i) sin</i>	they were accordingly then delivered from that captivity	[V] _{FOC-IC-IC}
Ml. 138 ^a 2	<i>intan roichther do dia ocslechtan 7 chrosigill</i>	when it is extended to God in prostration and cross-vigil	[V] _{FOC-IC} -[IC] _{FOC}

Table 77. Further V IC/Adv sentences.

On the IS of Ml. 16^b6, see the Latin: *si qui studiosi⁽⁴⁾ sunt fratrum contra⁽⁵⁾ utrumque poterint armari⁽⁶⁾ sufficienter*. *Diafrithuidecht* is thus topical. The IS of Ml. 19^c5 can be understood with a wider look to the whole passage: *uel sine causa .i. made .i. cianudadbartaigtisom damsa· bamadae doib airnichoimmnactar* (“*uel sine causa*, i.e. vain, i.e. though they used to be opposed to me, it was vain for them, for they could not do it”). The analysis of Ml. 47^a18 is motivated on the basis of the preceding part of the gloss (“that is, they were the more famous from the speaking of evil to them by them”). Ml. 51^c9 and Ml. 127^d6, then, show once more cases of *maidid* (on its syntax see above).

Table 78 summarises the quantitative analysis of V IC/Adv sentences, sorted from the more to the less frequently attested typology. The prototypical IS alignment with this sentence type shows argument focus and topic outside the clause. Quite widespread are also cases of sentence focus, but they are mostly typical of dependent clauses.

Analysis	Instances	% out of VIC NI ¹⁰¹	% out of UWO ¹⁰²
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¹⁰¹ NI stands for *No Infix*.

¹⁰² UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

V-[IC] _{FOC}	112	37.78%	6.74%
[V ^(REL) -IC] _{FOC}	76	25.59%	4.57%
[V-IC] _{FOC}	58	19.54%	3.49%
[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	27	9.09%	1.62%
[V] _{FOC} -IC	8	2.70%	0.48%
[V-IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	3	1.01%	0.18%
V-[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	3	1.01%	0.18%
[V] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}	3	1.01%	0.18%
V-[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	2	0.67%	0.12%
[V-IC/Adv] _{FOC} -IC	2	0.67%	0.12%
V ^(REL) -[IC] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	1	0.34%	0.06%
[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[IC/Adv] _{FOC}	1	0.34%	0.06%

Table 78. Quantitative analysis of V^{INFIX,0} IC sentences.

3.4.2 V IC/Adv orders with infixation

A small amount of V IC/Adv cases is characterised by the presence of an infix. 8 examples can be analysed this way (2.62% of V IC/Adv orders), and they are all collected in Table 79. As seen in Table 52 (Section 3.2.2), a significant variety of different infixes is attested: in certain cases (e.g. with V *imm-airicc*) such infix can be neglected in IS terms; in certain others (e.g. when employed with reflexive Vs, as in Ml. 46^a12, or with passive Vs to express the S, as in Ml. 134^c6), they may have relevance on the IS of sentences.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^b 5	<i>.i. immidaircet 7 duaisilbter dopersain duaid</i>	that is, which suit and are ascribed to the person of David	V ^{(REL)(+INFIX)} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 5	<i>.i. immearnaic donaib gnimaib 7 dundfaithsini duaircet and</i>	that is, it suited the facts and the prophecy that was prophesied there	V ^(+INFIX) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^b 15	<i>.i. cenithaisid ar ois</i>	that is, unless you (pl.) come thus willingly	V ^(+INFIX) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^b 15	<i>daregaid arecin</i>	you (pl) will come thus by force	V ^(+INFIX) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 19	<i>.i. ciarudbá in imniud</i>	that is, although I was in trouble	V ^(+INFIX) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 12	<i>oda érsset do failti archenn arríg dothet ɔ[a]popul adoiri</i>	so that they may arise in welcome before their King who comes with his people out of captivity	V ^(+INFIX) -IC-[IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 103 ^b 7	<i>.i. immeairc duneuch dirogbad</i> [leg. <i>diarogbad</i>] <i>insalm</i>	that is, it is appropriate to anything about which the psalm has been sung	V ^(+INFIX) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 134 ^c 6	<i>nondaberthar aithirriuch</i> <i>indoiri</i>	that you will be carried again into captivity	V ^(+INFIX)] _{TOP-IC/Adv} -[IC] _{FOC}

Table 79. V^(+INFIX) IC/Adv sentences.

The analysis of examples in Table 79 is two-fold. On the one hand, there is their morphosyntax: Table 80 summarises all the reasons why infixes occur in Table 79 sentences.

Gloss number	Type of infix
Ml. 44 ^b 19	After <i>cía/ma</i> (GOI §426)
Ml. 33 ^b 15	With motion Vs
Ml. 2 ^b 5; Ml. 24 ^d 5; Ml. 103 ^b 7	With certain Vs (GOI §423)
Ml. 46 ^a 12	With reflexive Vs
Ml. 134 ^c 6	With passive Vs to express Ss

Table 80. Table 79's infixes classification.

On the other hand, there is the IS of Table 79's sentences: as for Ml. 33^b15, the information structure of both sentences in Table 79 can be understood by comparing the gloss with Latin: *misit Rabsacen ut populum, qui erat in ciuitate, uel promisionibus⁽¹³⁾ inliceret⁽¹⁴⁾, uel comminatione⁽¹⁵⁾ {ut} terreret⁽¹⁶⁾.*

Table 81 summarises all the IS alignments attested as far as V^{INFIX} IC/Adv sentences are concerned.

Analysis	Instances	% out of VIC I ¹⁰³	% out of UWO ¹⁰⁴
V ^(+INFIX) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC}	5	62.50%	0.30%
V ^{(REL)(+INFIX)} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	12.50%	0.06%
V ^(+INFIX-REFL) -IC-[IC] _{FOC}	1	12.50%	0.06%
V ^{(+INFIX-SUBJ)]}] _{TOP-IC/Adv} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	12.50%	0.06%

Table 81. Quantitative analysis of V^{INFIX} IC sentences.

¹⁰³ I stands for *With Infix*.

¹⁰⁴ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

3.5 Impersonal constructions

Under the label of impersonal construction fall sentences featured by a idiosyncratic syntax. In the majority of cases, V is *fil* (but also *fé(i)l*, on which see GOI §168, or *fail*). The subject of *fil* follows in the accusative case, and no argument in the nominative case occurs. *Fil* was originally an imperative form of a verb meaning “to see” (viz. Middle Welsh *gwelet*), but already in older phases of Irish it was used as a suppletive stem for the substantive verb followed by an argument in the accusative case. For an example of this construction see (93).¹⁰⁵

- (93) *.i. nífel nech lasambed dliged*
 that is there is not anyone with whom there is law
remdeicsen dodechrugud etir maithi
 of providence for discriminating between good (people)
 7 *ulcu*
 and bad (people)
 «that is, there is no one who has [lit. with whom there is] a law of providence to distinguish between good and evil people» (Ml. 19^d2).

The syntax of (93) is V S IC/Adv. *Nech* is in the accusative, as expected. The IC is a whole relative clause. If the IS of (93) is taken into account, it becomes clear how *fil* plays the same role as *at-tá* also under this perspective: V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}-IC. Sentence (93) is a case of presentative clause.

Impersonal constructions with *fil* can also be examples of possessive constructions (94), or spatial constructions (95):

- (94) *ni fil adi [leg. nis fil adi] liumsa*
 there are not them them with me
 «they are not with me» (Ml. 44^b10-11).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

- (95) *.i. ni fil ainm nassar isint salm immurgu*
 that is there is not name of Assyrians in the psalm however
 «that is, however the name of the Assyrians is not in the psalm» (Ml. 35^a8).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

¹⁰⁵ The structures with *fil* analysed in this section are those where *fil* has not relative value.

In (94), the argument in the accusative case is realised as infixed pronoun (*ni-s-fil adi*). In both (94) and (95), the IS is identical to the IS of possessive/spatial examples with the substantive verb (see previous sections).

Impersonal *fil* examples within the Milan glosses corpus are 27 (1.62% of unmarked word orders and 0.63% of total). They are all reported in Table 82 (including examples (93-95) above).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^b 4	<i>.i. ni feil titlu remib</i>	that is, there are no headings before them	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 17 ^a 15	<i>nifil aimsir nadmbed</i>	there is not a time in which He did not exist	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 18 ^c 11	<i>.i. niconfil nach nintliucht naile and acht anadfiadar isintitul</i>	that is, here is not any other meaning there except that which is set forth in the heading	V-[S] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 19 ^d 2	<i>.i. nifel nech lasambed dlged remdeicsen dodechrugud etir maithi , ulcu</i>	that is, there is no one who has [lit. with whom there is] a law of providence to distinguish between good and evil people	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 20 ^b 10	<i>.i. nadfel dlged remdeicsen dá diadulib</i>	that is, that there is no law of providence of God for His creatures	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 20 ^c 5	<i>nad fil dlged remdeicsen dé dia dulib</i>	that there is no law of providence of God for His creatures	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} -IC
Ml. 27 ^d 10	<i>nadfel dlged remcaissen ladia</i>	that God has no law of providence	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 29 ^d 5	<i>.i. huare nadfil nanert nail indamerbainn</i>	that is, because there is no other strength in which I could have entrusted myself	V-[S] _{TOP/FOC}
Ml. 30 ^a 2	<i>.i. cinidfil chairi linn</i>	that is, although there is no fault with us	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^b 2	<i>.i. nifil cinta doib frisaul</i>	that is, there are no sins against Saul upon them	V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^d 10	<i>.i. amal ní ofil ní arachaoat anargat nglan acht á techt inaicdi</i>	that is, as there is nothing that harms pure silver, but it enters into [its] material form (lit. except its entering into material form)	V-[S] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}

Unmarked Orders

<p> Ml. 35^a8 <i>.i. ní fil ainm nassar isint salm immurgu</i> </p>	<p>that is, however the name of the Assyrians is not in the psalm</p>	<p>[V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 48^c29 <i>.i. nífel saithar nant</i> </p>	<p>that is, there is not labor there</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 50^d2 <i>nad fil dleged remdeicsen dé diadulib</i> </p>	<p>that there is no rule of providence of God for His creatures</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 55^c10 <i>.i. nate nífil homun dé les</i> </p>	<p>that is, nay there is not fear of God with him</p>	<p>V-[S]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 60^b2 <i>.i. ní feil ní bed ærdasachtchu</i> </p>	<p>that is, there is nothing that could be madder</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 69^c7 <i>.i. ní fail bæstataid mór and innintamail innapecthach fri cethrai</i> </p>	<p>that is, there is no great morality there in the comparison of sinners with cattle</p>	<p>[V-S]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 78^b18 <i>.i. ní confil nach naile dumdísedsa in idumeam 7 duindainsed da [leg. dam] innahulise acht tusu tóinur adáe</i> </p>	<p>that is, there is no other who could lead me into Edom and who could give me all these things other than You (sg) alone, O God</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 82^d7 <i>ni fil {f bi} anim comrorcne indib</i> </p>	<p>there is not (or, there is not wont to be) a spot of error in them</p>	<p>[V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 92^a8 <i>.i. ní òfil son nisi ut tecum semper sim</i> </p>	<p>that is, there is not <i>nisi ut tecum semper sim</i></p>	<p>[V]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 92^a9 <i>.i. ní fail ní bed huilliu oldaas attrab ladia</i> </p>	<p>that is, there is not anything which would be greater than dwelling with God</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 107^b8 <i>.i. ní òfil frithorcain nachanthised sa 7 nadfordamainn</i> </p>	<p>that is, there is not an affliction that has not come to me and that I have not endured</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 111^b11 <i>ónafil ní ducehtar erut</i> </p>	<p>so that there is nothing which is hidden from you</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 124^a8 <i>.i. air ní fil degnímu linnai trisnansoirthae</i> </p>	<p>that is, for there are not good works with us through which we might be delivered</p>	<p>V-[S]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 129^c2 <i>.i. airnífil mindchecht bed huilliu quam buith forochtrach</i> </p>	<p>that is, for there is no poverty which is greater than to be on a dunghill</p>	<p>V-[S]_{TOP/FOC}</p>

Table 82. Impersonal constructions.

Before analysing their morphosyntax and IS, some specific remarks on the clauses in Table 82 are required. First of all, consider e.g. ML. 20^b10 or ML. 20^c5. These cases contain a constituent occurring frequently in the Milan glosses, that is, the “law of providence of God for His creatures”. Both those sentences are analysed as V S ICs. As a consequence, *diadulib* (“for his creatures”) is understood to be a different constituent from *dliged remdeicsen dáe* (“law of Providence of God”). This analysis seems supported by examples such as ML. 27^d10, where *dliged remcaissen* (“law of Providence”) occurs without *diadulib* but followed by a different IC (in the case of ML. 27^d10, *ladia*, “with God”).

On the use of 3rd singular neuter infixed pronoun in ML. 30^a2, see GOI §426. In ML. 30^b2, the last IC (*frisaul*, “against Saul”) modifies *cinta* (“sins”), even if *doib* occurs between them. In ML. 124^a8, where the topical IC corresponds to *linnai*, the relative clause *trisansoirthae* (“through which we might be delivered”) modifies *degnímu* (“good works”).

As for the IS, first consider ML. 2^b4. This is a peculiar case in terms of syntax-IS match, because the post-verbal S is focal and the sentence-final IC is topical. The gloss refers (with a 3rd plural pronoun belonging to the prepositional phrase *remib*, that is, *ré* + 3rd pl. pron.) to a Latin passage in which the subject is a number of psalms: *Incipit prologus psalmorum David filius Iessæ, cum esset in regno suo, ·IIII· elegit uiros qui psalmos { .i. laudes } facerent, id est, Assab. Eman. Ethan Idithun.. VIII fecit ipse David.. XXXII non sunt suprascripti⁽⁴⁾*. Hence, the topical element in the Irish gloss is 32 (psalms), and not “titles” (subject of Irish gloss). A similar case is offered by ML. 69^c7, where Irish topical *and* refers to Latin *finem*.

Table 83 summarises quantitative data of non-relative *fil* impersonal constructions.

Analysis	Type of construction	Instances	% out of IMP ¹⁰⁶
V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} (-IC)	Presentative	12	44.45%
V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	Possessive	6	22.22%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} (-[IC] _{FOC})	Spatial	3	11.11%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	Spatial	1	3.70%

Table 83. *at-tá*-like behaviours of impersonal constructions.

As it is evident from Table 83, the types of constructions attested with *fil* retrace in both syntactic and IS the types of constructions highlighted in previous sections with *at-tá*, that is, presentative constructions, possessive constructions and spatial constructions.

To complete the framework, in three cases (that is, ML. 18^c11, ML. 31^d10, ML. 78^b18) the analysis is V-[S]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC} (on that note, see Chapter 2).

¹⁰⁶ IMP stands for *Impersonal constructions with fil*.

Table 84 shows the quantitative analysis of all impersonal constructions with *fil* (+ S in the accusative) attested in the Milan glosses.

Analysis	Instances	% out of IMP ¹⁰⁷	% out of UWO ¹⁰⁸
V-[S] _{TOP/FOC} (-IC)	12	44.45%	0.72%
V-[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	6	22.22%	0.36%
[V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} (-[IC] _{FOC})	3	11.11%	0.18%
V-[S] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	3	11.11%	0.18%
[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	3.70%	0.06%

Table 84. Quantitative analysis of impersonal constructions.

Three further cases deserve special attention. They are examples (96), (97) and (98).

- (96) *feib* *dundalla* *indib*
 as there is room for them in them
 «as there is room for them in them» (Ml. 30^c17).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}[^(+INFIX.O)]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

- (97) *.i.* *nitalla* *and* *són* *didiu*
 that is there is not room there it then
 «that is, it finds no room there then» (Ml. 65^d6).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-IC-[S]_{TOP}

- (98) *.i.* *nitalla* *rosacht* *forsin* *tinnacul*
 that is there is no room for hesitation in the tradition
etir *achethardae* *remiærbartmar*
 among the four things that (we) have previously mentioned
 «that is, there is no room in the tradition for hesitation among the four things that we have previously mentioned» (Ml. 97^a7).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{FOC}-IC-[IC]_{TOP}

¹⁰⁷ IMP stands for *Impersonal constructions with fil*.

¹⁰⁸ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

In these three cases, the V is *do·ella*. In the Milan glosses database, *do·ella* is associated with an impersonal construction with an argument in the accusative case (such as *fil* above). In (96), the argument in the accusative is an infixed object (*-nda-*); in (98), the same argument is expressed by a NP in the accusative (*rosacht*). In example (97), it is the anaphoric *són* which functions as S of *nitalla*.

3.6 Sentences introduced by interrogative *cía*

According to Thurneysen (GOI §456 and ff.), *cía* (or weakly stressed forms of *cía* such as *ce* or *cí*) occurs in Old Irish to introduce direct and indirect interrogative clauses. The 3rd singular present indicative of the copula is not expressed after *cía*.

According to GOI, *cía* “may refer to a following substantive or personal pronoun in the nominative” (e.g. *ced torbe*, “what is the profit?”, GOI §457). *Cía* may also be followed by a V representing either its S or O (e.g. *cía·beir*, “who carries?”, LL 12^b46). In this position, *cía* behaves as a conjunct particle (thus taking conjunct or prototonic forms), or functions as the indefinite pronouns “whoever/whatever” (e.g. *cía·tormala*, “whatsoever he may have consumed”, Laws v. 520, 3). The same function of this *cía* may be expressed also by the conjunct particles *cecha-/cacha-* (before Vs), or *sechi* (before the nominative of personal pronouns or substantives).

In this section, interrogative clauses introduced by *cía* only will be taken into consideration. Indefinite uses of *cía*(/sechí) will be matter for discussion of the next section.

Interrogative sentences introduced by *cía* are 46. This constitutes 2.77% of unmarked word orders and 1.07% of the whole number of sentences analysed in this work.

Consider example (99):

- (99) *cía* *dobera* *íc* *dosión*
 who will give salvation from Zion
 «who will give salvation from Zion?» (Ml. 34^d5).

In (99), *cía* functions as the subject of *dobera*. What is topical is the O (*íc*), as it is clear from the Latin: “*quis dabit ex Sion salutem Israhel?*”¹⁰⁹ but also *QUIS DABIT EX SION SALUTEM ISRAHEL*.¹¹⁰ A wider look at the whole gloss helps us to understand the IS role of *cía*: *.i. intan asmersom cía dobera íc dosión foéitsider hisuidiu deus*, “when he says, “who will give salvation from Zion?” *Deus* is understood here”. *Deus* is the focal item of the whole gloss. *Cía* introduces such referent in the interrogative clause. It is therefore clear how *cía* constitutes the focus of (99), which can consequently be analysed as: [*cía*]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}-IC.

¹⁰⁹ This portion of Latin text is the glossed Latin commentary.

¹¹⁰ This portion of Latin text is the text of the psalm taken into account by the Latin commentary.

Focal *cía* is rather standard in similar interrogative clauses. Nevertheless, it must be stressed how the O or the IC tend to be topical, since *cía* mostly plays the syntactic function of S of the V. Table 85 shows all the focal *cía* + topical O examples occurring in the corpus of the Milan glosses. Table 86 reports all the focal *cía* + topical IC examples occurring in the corpus of the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 32 ^a 5	<i>cidaratodla[<i>g</i>]ther inso</i>	why do you seek this?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>cidarafodmaisiu</i> [add. <i>a</i>] <i>duaid</i> <i>didiu a ndu immedaib</i> ₇ <i>frithoircnib fodaimi</i>	why then, David, do you (sg) suffer what of afflictions and injuries you (sg) suffer?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} ^(EMPHSUBJ) -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^c 9	<i>cid ara tuic duaid nostrís</i>	why has David put <i>nostrís</i> ?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V-S} -[O] _{TOP}

Table 85. Interrogative *cía* sentences with focal pronominal *cía* and topical O.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 16 ^c 5	<i>dús cid forchomnacuir indi</i> <i>indinaimso</i>	in order to know what it is that has happened there at this time	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V-IC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 33 ^a 9	<i>.i. ciaeret mbete oc m</i> <i>ingrainmaimse</i>	that is, how long will they be persecuting me?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 33 ^a 9	<i>7 ciaforcenn· doberthar foraib</i>	and what end will be put upon them?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^b 24	<i>cía atrebea isin chathraig iarsint</i> <i>soirad</i>	who will dwell in the city after that deliverance	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V-IC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^b 7	<i>cía bed flaith innadiad</i>	who would be king after him	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} ^(COP) -SNP-[IC] _{TOP}

Table 86. Interrogative *cía* sentences with focal pronominal *cía* and topical IC.

In Ml. 89^b7, an actual copular construction occurs (*bed* + SNP *flaith*) (see Chapter 7). Example (100), then, is worth considering:

- (100) *.i. cíoifit dundamroimnifese achomdiu*
that is how long will you forget me o Lord
«that is, how long will You (sg) forget me, O Lord?» (Ml. 32^d5).

Word order and information structure: [*cía*]_{FOC-V}-[^(+INFIX.O)]_{TOP}

In (100), *cía* is focal, and O is topical. The only difference between (100) and sentences in Table 85 above is that the O, in this last example, is a pronominal infix.

On a more methodological ground, in the case of sentences introduced by *cía*, I would not consider the differences, as far as the morphology and the syntactic function of topics are concerned. Whether Os, ICs or Ss are topical is purely context-based. What needs to be stressed in the case of interrogative *cía*-sentences is which sentence types are attested and which IS alignments are paired with them.

To conclude the analysis of interrogative *cía* sentences with focal *cía* and topical X, where the verb is not the copula, Table 87 shows cases of topical (emphatic) Ss.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 30 ^b 9	<i>.i. cid dugénsa osme</i>	that is, what shall I do, and I?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} -V-[^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^c 17	<i>.i. carcid ad aichfērsa</i>	that is, what, what will I fear?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} -V-[^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP}

Table 87. Interrogative *cía* sentences with focal pronominal *cía* and topical (emphatic) S.

In a further group of cases, such as example (101), the subject expressed by the verbal ending (zero anaphora) is topical. Similar cases are not that different from those listed in Table 87 above, where S is reinforced by a *nota augens*.

- (101) *.i. air cia dunaib hi dofoirmsed*
 that is for who of those that (he) should have added
 «that is, for about whom should he have added?» (Ml. 35^a17).

Word order and information structure: [*cía*]_{FOC}-V

Note that in (101) the interrogative is built on an oblique (*dunaib hi*). This happened also in Table 85 Ml. 55^d11 (*cidara*) and Ml. 63^c9 (*cid ara*). Nevertheless, given that the difference between an interrogative built on an oblique and an interrogative built on a PN/NP does not cause significant discrepancies in the analysis of sentences with interrogative *cía*, no difference in annotation will be performed.

Moreover, in sentences such as Ml. 61^b28, the topical S is a NP (102):

- (102) *ciabé ammet adæ*
 whatever is its measure o God
 «whatever be its measure, o God?» (Ml. 35^a17).

Word order and information structure: [*cía*]_{FOC-V}-[S]_{TOP}

Similar examples attested in the corpus are reported in Table 88.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>cidarafodaim int ais firian innafochaidi</i>	why do the righteous folk endure tribulations?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP-O}
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>cidarambiat inpecthaig isnaib soinmechaib</i>	why are sinners in prosperity?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 56 ^b 9	<i>cid arambiat indfirien isnaib imnedaib₇ isnaib frithoircnib₇ indingoir isnaib imbadaib₇ isnaib soinmechaib immurgu</i>	why the righteous are in troubles and afflictions, and the impious, however, in abundance and prosperity	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP-IC} /[S] _{TOP-IC}

Table 88. Interrogative *cía* sentences with focal pronominal *cía* and topical S.^{NP}.

In all the examples considered in this section up to this point, *cía* behaves as a pronoun. Nevertheless, it may also function as an interrogative adjective, followed by a NP. Consider example (103):

- (103) *.i. aircía salmscribdid cícfed són*
 that is for who (is) psalmist could have done that
 «that is, for who is the psalmist who could have done that?» (Ml. 14^a6).^m

Word order and information structure: [*cía*]_{FOC-V}-[O]_{TOP}

In (103), focal *cía* is followed by a substantive (*salmscribdid*). They belong to the same constituent. Table 89 reports all the similar cases attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 17 ^b 23	<i>.i. ciachruth asrobar dundóinaicniud</i>	that is, what is the manner in which it can be said of the one nature	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V-IC}
Ml. 17 ^b 26	<i>ciachruth nombiad inaicniud denma andedeseo</i>	what is the way in which these two things could be done [lit. could be in the nature of performing]?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V-IC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 10	<i>cessi aimser hirogbath</i>	at what time it was sung	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V}

^m On the argumental status of *són* see previous sections.

Ml. 32 ^d 27	<i>cia erat fritammiorsa</i>	how long will it afflict me?	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O)
Ml. 38 ^a 9	<i>ciachruth forrassissiu</i>	how have you grown?	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V-[^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^b 8	<i>cid as denti</i>	what is to be done?	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 51 ^b 8	<i>cid as imgabthi</i>	what is to be avoided	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 51 ^b 10	<i>cidas imgabthi do dunum diulc</i>	what it is of evil which is to be avoided doing	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 51 ^b 10	<i>cid as deinti do dimaith</i>	what it is of good which is to be done by him	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 75 ^d 10	<i>cecruth rombatar innannoidenacht</i>	how they had been in their infancy	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ml. 75 ^d 10	<i>ciachruth conrerortatar</i>	how they had gone astray	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 99 ^b 10	<i>cia loc sainriud diaregtais</i>	what place particularly they would go to	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -Adv-V
Ml. 120 ^c 7	<i>.i. cid torbae aratorsata</i>	that is, what is the use for which the elements have been created?	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 120 ^c 7	<i>7 cia gním dughniat inna duli</i>	and what is the work that they do?	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 121 ^d 1	<i>.i. ciadurét is torbach</i>	that is, for what thing is it useful?	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 123 ^d 8	<i>cia inni soas</i>	how He turns?	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 138 ^c 12	<i>ciammét doroscai</i>	how much He is preeminent?	[<i>cia</i>] _{FOC} -V

Table 89. Interrogative *cia* sentences with focal adjectival *cia* and topical Ss.

In Ml. 51^b8 and Ml. 51^b10, V is made of a copula + verbal of necessity (e.g. Ml 51^b8: *cidas denti*, “what is to be done?”).

The great majority of Table 89 examples can be assimilated to example (101) above, where the S conveyed by the verbal ending (zero anaphora) is topical. Table 89 Ml. 38^a9 can be assimilated to examples reported in Table 87, with topical *nota augens*. Table 89 Ml. 17^b26 and Ml. 120^c7 can be assimilated to sentences such as Ml. 61^b28, with topical S.^{NP}.

Cases such as (104) behave similarly to examples reported in Table 89:

- (104) *.i. cisí digal didenach*
 that is what is she punishment final
dumberaesiu
 that you(EMPH) will inflict
 «that is, what is the final punishment that You (sg) will inflict, O God?» (Ml. 100^d5).

Word order and information structure: [*cía*]_{FOC-V}-[^(+EMPH.SUBJ)]_{TOP}

In (104), the sentence structure is identical to that of clauses in Table 89, with the notable exception of a personal pronoun (*sí*) occurring between *cía* and the NP. This is probably due to a copula origin of this structure. The fact that a tonic pronoun is inserted in the construction contributes to make the interrogative NP definite.

Three other similar cases are shown in Table 90. Note that in *ML. 75^c9* no NP occurs after the pronoun.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>ML. 75^c9</i>	<i>.i. cia hé nundixnaighther siu</i>	that is, who it is that you are	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} -[<i>S</i> . ^{EMPH}] _{TOP}
<i>ML. 97^a5</i>	<i>.i. cisi aimser hiforconnactar ingnimaión</i>	that is, what is the time in which the deeds took place?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V} -[<i>S</i>] _{TOP}
<i>ML. 101^a3</i>	<i>ciné [leg. citné] fochainn aridid ñ uisse dodia digal du thabairt foranaimtea trachénn [leg. tarachénn].</i>	what are the causes for which it is right for God to inflict vengeance on his enemies on his behalf	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC-V-IC} -[<i>S</i>] _{TOP}

Table 90. Interrogative *cía* sentences with focal adjectival *cía* and topical *Ss*.

In two cases the topical *S* is a NP, in one case it is a *nota augens*.

A further sentence type features focal *cía* + topical NP/PN, with no V. In these cases, the predicate is a form of the copula, which occur in *cía* (105):

(105)	<i>.i.</i>	<i>cia</i>	<i>innerbirt</i>	<i>ñbiuth</i>
	that is	what is	in use	at life
	«that is, to what use?» (<i>ML. 46^b28</i>).			

Word order and information structure: [*cía*]_{FOC}-[*IC*]_{TOP}

All the examples comparable to (105) are shown in Table 91.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>ML. 46^c17</i>	<i>ciahé</i>	who is he?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} -[<i>PN</i>] _{TOP}
<i>ML. 46^c19</i>	<i>ciahe</i>	who is he?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} -[<i>PN</i>] _{TOP}
<i>ML. 46^c19</i>	<i>cia he</i>	who is he?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} -[<i>PN</i>] _{TOP}
<i>ML. 49^c13</i>	<i>.i. cia isnaib hí mmodi [leg. immoidi]</i>	that is, in which he boasts [lit. what is it in the things in which he boasts]	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} -[<i>IC</i>] _{TOP}

Table 91. Interrogative *cía* sentences with focal *cía* + topical PN and copula as predicate.

Table 91 Ml. 49^c13 has the same structure of sentences built on obliques mentioned above. However, unlike those, the predicate is here a form of the copula.

In all the examples seen above, the presence of the copula in *cía* is clear syntactically, even if not morphologically. Nevertheless, there are also cases in which forms of copulas are morphologically merged with *cía* and followed by structures resembling clefts (106):

(106)	<i>.i.</i>	<i>cit</i>	<i>né</i>	<i>robotar</i>
	that is	what are	they	were
	«that is, what were they?» (Ml. 61 ^b 8).			

Word order and information structure: *cía*-V^(COP)-[PN]_{FOC}-V

In (106), the sentence structure is “who/what are they that they were?”. This is underlined by the different IS of the, where the focal element is not *cía* as in the examples reported in Table 91 above, but the ‘clefted’ item (in (106), *né*). This, how will be shown in Chapter 6, is the typical focalising strategy pursued by cleft sentences in Old Irish.

Table 92 reports all the similar cases attested in the corpus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 56 ^a 13	<i>cidar inpotabis tuicais hi sunt</i>	why have you put <i>potabis</i> here?	<i>cía</i> -V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^a 13	<i>cid arnabu son inchoissised longud l. ithi rl. dobirt and</i>	why is it not this [i.e. something] which indicated devouring or eating etc. which you (sg) put here?	<i>cía</i> -V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^b 7	<i>.i. cit né briathra robotar</i>	that is, what were the words?	<i>cía</i> -V ^(COP) -[PN-NP] _{FOC} -V

Table 92. Interrogative cleft-like *cía* sentences.

Table 93 summarises the quantitative analysis of interrogative *cía* sentences. Pronominal or adjectival uses of *cía* are put together in Table 93, since no relevant difference occurs between the two categories. Similarly, as mentioned above, no difference is highlighted between the different syntactic functions of topical items.

Analysis	Instances	% out of INT <i>cía</i> ¹¹²	% out of UWO ¹¹³
[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})	30	76.92%	1.80%
[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} (-V ^(COP))-[X] _{TOP}	5	12.82%	0.30%
<i>cía</i> -V ^(COP) -[X] _{FOC} -V	4	10.26%	0.24%

Table 93. Quantitative analysis of interrogative *cía* sentences.

As is clear on the basis of this table, in interrogative sentences *cía* tends to be on focus. The only exception to this pattern is made of interrogatives with *cía* followed by a cleft structure. In more general terms, interrogative *cía* in most cases is followed by a V which is not a form of the copula (76.92% of cases).

3.7 Sentences introduced by indefinite *sechi/cía*

Besides its interrogative meaning (Section 3.6), *cía* (or *sechi*) can function also as an indefinite pronoun. The total number of examples belonging to this category attested in the Milan glosses is 10 (0.54% of unmarked word orders and 0.21% of total number of examples into account in this work).

The typical case in which *cía* behaves this way is shown in example (107):

- (107) *.i. sechip hae beschordae hifius*
 that is whoever may be he that is proper in knowledge
 «whoever he may be who is proper in knowledge» (Ml. 2^{b1}).

Word order and information structure: [*sechi*-V^(COP)]_{FOC}-[PN]_{TOP}

In (107), indefinite *sechi* is followed by an overt form of the copula (-*p*). Then, the pronoun *hae* occurs, followed by a relative clause. *Beschordae hifius* is not accounted for in the analysis above since it is assimilated to the PN, which functions as the head of the relative clause. As for the IS, *sechi* + V^(COP) are focal. What is topical is *hae beschordae hifius*. Although often occurring in a fixed construction, in terms of IS *sechip* and *hae* could be divided. This can be argued because some variability in the grammatical features of pronouns occurring in similar constructions is attested in the corpus (see e.g. Ml. 86^{d12}, *sechip ed*, or Ml. 53^{b1}, *sechip st*). This analysis, moreover, is coherent with what seen above in Table 91 with interrogative *cía* + V^(COP) + PN ([*cía*]_{FOC}-[PN]_{TOP}).

¹¹² INT stands for *Interrogative*.

¹¹³ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

The other cases of focal indefinite *sechi/cía* + overt copula + topical PN attested in the Milan glosses corpus are reported in Table 94.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 25 ^d 11	<i>.i. cip hé ade asberam</i>	that is, whichever (is it that) we say	$[cía-V^{(COP)}]_{FOC-}[PN]_{TOP}$
Ml. 25 ^d 12	<i>cip e asberam</i>	whatever it is that we say	$[cía-V^{(COP)}]_{FOC-}[PN]_{TOP}$
Ml. 39 ^c 15	<i>sechipad ed dodaíssed som</i>	whatever it was which came to them	$[sechi-V^{(COP)}]_{FOC-}[PN]_{TOP}$
Ml. 86 ^d 12	<i>.i. sechip ed arabera biuth induine</i>	that is, whatever it is that a man consumes	$[sechi-V^{(COP)}]_{FOC-}[PN]_{TOP}$
Ml. 120 ^c 1	<i>.i. sechiped dugnet</i>	that is, whatever it is that they do	$[sechi-V^{(COP)}]_{FOC-}[PN]_{TOP}$

Table 94. Indefinite *sechi/cía* sentences with $V^{(COP)}$.

As seen exactly with interrogative *cía* constructions, indefinite *sechi/cía* + copula may also be followed by a PN + NP and eventually by another verb. Consider examples listed in Table 95.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 37 ^b 19	<i>sechip he rét</i>	whatever it may be	$[sechi-V^{(COP)}]_{FOC-}[PN-NP]_{TOP}$
Ml. 53 ^b 1	<i>.i. sechip sí fochaid imbé nech són</i>	that is, namely, whatever be the affliction in which someone may be	$[sechi-V^{(COP)}]_{FOC-}[PN-NP]_{TOP}$
Ml. 73 ^c 11	<i>sechi dú·denecaithersu</i>	wherever you might look	$sechi-(V^{(COP)})-[NP]_{FOC-}$ $V[+(EMPHSUBJ)]_{TOP}$

Table 95. Indefinite *sechi/cía* sentences with $V^{(COP)}$.

Ml. 37^b19 and Ml. 53^b1 show topical NP + PN after *sechi* + copula. In Ml. 73^c11, instead, the copula appears morphologically absent, but it may also be the case that in the sequence *sechip* + *dú*, the consonant *-p* dropped before another consonant. Worth-considering is also the IS of this gloss. Indeed, the syntax of Ml. 73^c11 resembles closely that of a cleft structure (copula + NP + relative verb). Coherently with the analysis shown in Table 92 above with interrogative *cía* occurring in the same construction, the focal element seems here the clefted item *dú*, rather than *sechi*.

Of particular interest is example (108):

- (108) *.i. caratrad sechib frenno* [leg. *frinn ón*]
 that is friendship whatever is towards us EXPL
 «that is, friendship, that is, whatever sort it be towards us» (Ml. 115^d5).

Word order and information structure: [NP-*sechi*-V^(COP)]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}

In (108), the sentence-initial NP *caratrad* is coreferent with the pronominal element contained in *sechib*. This would define this sentence as an instance of left dislocation. Nevertheless, due to the blurred substance of the pronoun in *sechi*, I preferred to emphasise the indefinite *sechi*-structure, rather than the dislocation. Moreover, in left dislocations of Ss, the verb occurs after the sentence-initial NP, then followed by the rest of the clause, including the phoric element (see Section 5.2.1.2). In the case of (108), the syntax of the left-dislocation would be rather peculiar, given that the phoric element *sechi* would occur immediately after the left-dislocated NP, and before the verb (copula). Also in terms of IS, example (108) moves away from other instances of left-dislocations. The sentence-initial NP, then recalled by *sechi*, is focal. For these reasons, and given the unitary behaviour in both syntactic and IS terms, I would tend to consider *caratrad sechib* as a single constituent, made of a head (*caratrad*), modified by *sechib*. That is why this example occurs in this section and not in Chapter 5, with the other instances of extra-clausal constituents attested in the corpus.

Table 96 summarises quantitative data as far as sentences showing indefinite *sechi/cía* constructions are concerned.

Analysis	Instances	% out of IND <i>sechi/cía</i> ¹⁴	% out of UWO ¹⁵
[<i>sechi/cía</i> -V ^(COP)] _{FOC} -[X] _{TOP}	8	80.00%	0.48%
<i>sechi/cía</i> -V ^(COP) -[NP] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})	1	10.00%	0.06%
[NP- <i>sechi/cía</i> -V ^(COP)] _{FOC} -[X] _{TOP}	1	10.00%	0.06%

Table 96. Quantitative analysis of indefinite *sechi/cía* sentences.

Table 96 shows how indefinite uses of *sechi/cía* are less frequent than interrogative uses of *cía* in the corpus. In greater detail, then, it can be observed how the ‘hidden’ cleft-like structure (or copular in general) shown to lie behind interrogative *cía* clauses in the previous section, is certainly more manifest with indefinite *sechi/cía*. The copula is still overt even

¹⁴ IND stands for *Indefinite*.

¹⁵ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

morphologically, and not only syntactically. In broader terms, the ISs of interrogative and indefinite *cía* sentences are however strongly consistent.

3.8 Sentences introduced by the interrogative particle *in*

Polar questions, introduced by the conjunct particle *in-*, are described in GOI §463 and ff. *In-* nasalises the following consonant (e.g. *as-rubart i-mboí*, “he said whether there was”, Ml. 43^d). Its negative counterpart employs the relative negation *nad* (e.g. *in-nád·n-accai*, “did not you see?”, Ml. 17^b17).¹¹⁶

Indirect polar interrogative clauses may be preceded by *dús* < *do fíus*, “to know” (e.g. *fo bíith precepte dóib dúus in-duccatar fo hiris*, “because of preaching to them (to know) if they may be brought under the faith”, Wb. 9^b19).

In alternative questions, *in* may be used before each member, even though the second member is more frequently introduced by *fá* (e.g. *con·feiser [...] in duit féin fá do nach ailiu*, “until you know [...] whether it is for yourself or for another”, Sg. 209^b30).

In the Milan glosses, 15 examples of polar questions introduced by *in* are relevant for the analysis. They correspond to 0.90% of unmarked word orders and 0.35% of all the sentences into account.

The first point emerging is that examples where *in-* behaves as a pure conjunct particle are a minority. The only attested example is (109), where in any event *in-* is not directly followed by a prototonic V, but from an infix:

- (109) *.i. in damsoirthae dulamaib*
 that is whether I might be delivered from hands
munat [leg. *munamat*] *fanaic*
 of my enemies or not
 «that is, whether I might be delivered from the hands of my enemies or not» (Ml. 91^d4).

Word order and information structure: [*in*-V]_{FOC}[^(+INFIX.SUBJ)]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

In (109), the topical element is the infixed 1st singular subject which occurs with passive verbs, while the whole sentence is focal. This happens rather indisputably with alternative questions (*fanaic*).

¹¹⁶ Negative questions expecting an affirmative answer can also be introduced by *ca-ni* (see Lat. *nonne*).

In most of cases attested in the Milan glosses, a form of the copula seems to be somehow attested after *in*. The base-line for such an analysis is constituted by examples such as (110), where the copula is overt.

- (110) *.i. indat mbriathra*
 that is PTC-are words
 «that is, is it the words?» (Ml. 44^b9).

Word order and information structure: *in*-V^(COP)-[NP]_{FOC}

The IS of this sentence can be analysed as follows. What is glossed is Lat. *UERBA*. *Uerba* is topical in the Irish text as well (zero anaphora). *Mbriathra*, then, is focal, given that it is the translation of *uerba* which is offered by the glossator. Precisely as its syntax (on which see Chapter 7), also the IS of similar polar interrogatives introduced by *in* is coherent with that of copular clauses.

The other similar examples of polar interrogatives with *in* are reported in Table 97.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 25 ^d 11	<i>.i. in hodeacht athar fá hodeacht maicc</i>	that is, whether it is from the divinity of the Father or from the divinity of the Son	<i>in</i> -V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 10-11	<i>.i. indat mbriathra [leg. mbriathra] delictorum meorum</i>	that is, is it the words <i>delictorum meorum?</i>	<i>in</i> -V ^(COP) -[NP] _{FOC}

Table 97. *In*-questions + V^(COP).

What is focal, in all those examples, is always the post-copular item.

The syntactic presence of a copula in polar questions with *in* is witnessed also by example (111).

- (111) *in creti dúinni*
 PTC(is) to be believed by us
 «are we to believe?» (Ml. 96^b5).

Word order and information structure: [*in*-V-IC]_{FOC}

In (111), the presence of a verbal of necessity (*creti*) requires a supporting form of the copula (See Section 9.2). As for its IS, the clause is identical to example (109) above, to which it should be assimilated.¹¹⁷

Overt forms of the copula occur also in a further sentence type, which is an actual cleft structure (112-113):

- (112) *.i. dúis imbed [do] duaid ceitsitis*
 that is if should be to David that (they) should indulge
fá di a naimtib
 or to his enemies
 «that is, whether they should favor David or his enemies» (Ml. 87^c 4).

Word order and information structure: *in*-V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V/[IC]_{FOC}

- (113) *.i. imba dogres bieid frithorcun dúinni*
 that is will it be forever that will be affliction to us
 «that is, will it be forever that we will have affliction?» (Ml. 100^d 4).

Word order and information structure: *in*-V^(COP)-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP-IC}

Examples (112-113) show a form of the copula (*-bed/-ba*), followed by a focal clefted item (*do duaid/dogres*) and by a pseudo-relative clause. The IS of this sentence is coherent with that of cleft sentences (see Chapter 6).

A cleft-like structure is shown also by example (114):

- (114) *inned insin furaar [leg. fudruar] dait*
 is it that that caused it to you
 «is it that that caused it to you?» (Ml. 44^b 10-11).

Word order and information structure: *in*-V^(COP)-[PN-S]_{FOC}-V^(+INFIX.O)_{TOP-IC}

In (114), after *in*, the 3rd singular neuter pronoun *ed* and a demonstrative (*insin*) occur, followed by a pseudo-relative clause. This example, although it is the only one attested in the corpus behaving this way, is crucial if cases such as (115) are taken into consideration:

¹¹⁷ Note also that V^(COP) + verbal of necessity is analysed as V in previous sections (see e.g. Ml. 74^b 13 in Table 28, Section 3.1.3).

- (115) *inní nadcumcusa*
 is it that I cannot do
 «is it that I cannot do?» (Ml. 18^b5).

Word order and information structure: *in-ní*[V]_{FOC}[^(+EMPH.SUBJ)]_{TOP}

Structures such as example (115) are well attested in the Milan glosses. *In-* is followed by a pronominal item (*ní*) + pseudo-relative clause. A form of the copula, although not overt, is necessary to understand the structure of the sentence. The greatest difference occurring between examples (114) and (115) stands in their IS. In the first case, the clause assumes the syntax as well as the IS of a cleft sentence. In the latter, *in + ní* is a syntactic device which synchronically lost its connection with cleft structures, and is employed to focalise the predicate in the interrogative clause (cfr. Italian *è che sono stanco*, “I am just tired”, where the focal element is *V sono stanco*, *che* corresponds to Old Irish *ní* and *è* is a form of the copula).

The other similar examples attested in the corpus are reported in Table 98.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 17 ^b 18	<i>inní nadroilgisid si</i>	is it that you (pl.) have not read	<i>in-ní</i> [V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^c 9	<i>inní nadidignigedar</i> [leg. - <i>dixnigedar</i>]	is it that it does not exist?	<i>in-ní</i> [V] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 10	<i>.i. inní nad ndíxnigider</i>	that is, is it that it does not exist?	<i>in-ní</i> [V] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^a 4	<i>inní nafochrothaisiu</i>	is it that you do not shake?	<i>in-ní</i> [V] _{FOC} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP}
Ml. 64 ^a 4	<i>.i. inní nadneclainnisiu</i>	that is, is it that you do not examine?	<i>in-ní</i> [V] _{FOC} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^a 15	<i>inní nadnimcai</i>	is it that that he does not consider?	<i>in-ní</i> [V] _{FOC}

Table 98. *In*-questions with *ní* + V^(COP).

In Table 99 quantitative data of polar (*in*-)questions are summarised.

Analysis	Instances	% out of INT <i>in</i> ¹¹⁸	% out of UWO ¹¹⁹
<i>in-ní</i> [V] _{FOC} -[X] _{TOP}	7	46.67%	0.42%
<i>in</i> -V ^(COP) -[X] _{FOC}	3	20.00%	0.18%
<i>in</i> -V ^(COP) -[X] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})	3	20.00%	0.18%

¹¹⁸ INT stands for *Interrogative*.

¹¹⁹ UWO stands for *Unmarked Word Orders*.

$[in-V]_{\text{FOC}}-[X]_{\text{TOP}}$	2	13.33%	0.12%
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Table 99. Quantitative analysis of *in*-interrogative sentences.

Understanding the origin of *in*-interrogatives goes far beyond the aim of this thesis. Nevertheless, the large attestation of cleft-like structures in the case of this sentence type unravels the copular origin of conjunct particle *in*. This will be however matter for discussion in future works.

What can be concluded concerning polar interrogatives introduced by *in* synchronically, is that to different syntactic patterns correspond different IS purposes:

- i. when *in* behaves as a pure conjunct particle, followed by a prototonic verb form, the whole sentence is focal (SENTENCE FOCUS in Lambrecht's (1994) terms);
- ii. when *in* occurs in cleft-like/copular structures, it is the post copular item to be focal (ARGUMENT FOCUS in Lambrecht's (1994) terms);
- iii. when *in* occurs followed by *ní*, it is the V to be focal (PREDICATE FOCUS in Lambrecht's (1994) terms).

* *

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Section 3.8 ends Chapter 3 on Unmarked Word Orders. The amount of examples presented in this chapter is significant. I will avoid a general analysis of data here, but this will be done in Chapter 10. This note also applies to Chapters 4-9.

4. Marked Orders

'Marked Orders' are a sentence type showing some sort of syntactic variation in word order. All those examples which, albeit not unmarked, do not belong to a clear syntactic type fall under this denomination. To give an example, cleft sentences should not be included in this group of clauses, due to their recognisability (copula + clefted item + pseudo-relative clause). On the other hand, V IC S orders, for example, have to be included in this category, since they feature a syntactic swap of S and IC with respect to 'basic' V S IC orders.

In addition to basic orders, Old Irish displays a considerable number of other possible constituent orders. Relocations of constituents are not only allowed but also extremely frequent in the language (Mac Coisdealbha 1998). Roughly, marked word orders fall under two main types:

- i. V-initial sentences;
- ii. Non V-initial sentences.

The following clause types are classified under V-initial sentences:

- a. order V IC S;
- b. order V S IC O;
- c. order V IC O;
- d. order V O S (IC);
- e. order V IC S IC
- f. order V O IC S.

The following clause types are classified under non V-initial sentences:

- a. S-V orders;
- b. O-V orders;
- c. IC/Adv V orders.

The total amount of ‘marked’ orders in the Milan glosses corpus is 342 (7.99% of total). This is certainly significant *per se* if compared to ‘unmarked’ orders, taken into account in Chapter 3 (1,664 examples).

4.1 V-initial marked sentences

V-initial marked sentences attested in the corpus are 193 (56.43% of marked word orders). The ‘relocation’ of constituents characterising clauses belonging to this group takes place inside the clause.

4.1.1 VIC S orders

V IC (IC) S sentences attested in the Milan glosses are 116 (34.73% of marked word orders and 2.71% of total). They are by far the widest sub-group of marked clauses as far as V-initial sentence types are concerned. A first quantitative comparison – even though coarse-grained – can be made with basic V S IC orders, which amount to 343 examples in the corpus.

A clear and rather prototypical example of V IC S orders is shown by example (116):

- (116) *.i. huare rombu imaircide dopersin*
 that is because was appropriate to the person
moysi. insalmso
 of M. this psalm
 «that is, because this psalm was appropriate to the person of Moses» (Ml. 2^b6).

Word order and information structure: V-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

In example (116), the topical status of *insalmso* can be understood by both paying attention to the Latin text (*LXXII. in David.*⁽⁵⁾ *XI. in Asab.* *XII. in Idithun.* *VIII. in filios Chore.* *II. in Agium et Zachariam, unus in Moysi*⁽⁶⁾) and to the demonstrative (*in-so*). The psalm is active as well as stored in the universe of discourse. The focal status of *dopersin moysi*, then, is coherent with similar analyses made in Chapter 3 (e.g. Ml. 44^b4, *is immaircide do duaid*, “is appropriate to David”, V-[IC]_{FOC}; Ml. 14^b6, *.i. is(nepi)mmaircide anadfiadar isint salmso fribésu indí iodae*, “that is, what is declared in this psalm is inappropriate to the customs of Joas”, V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}). Even more so, this is clear with a quick look at example (117):

- (117) *.i. immeairic insalm so du iudeib 7 gentib*
 that is is appropriate this psalm to Jews and Gentiles
 «that is, this psalm is appropriate to Jews and Gentiles» (Ml. 2^b6).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

Example (116) shows the adjective predicate copula + *immaircide* (classified as V according to the methodology employed); example (117) shows as V *imme-airicc*. Both examples show a topical S, the referent of which is a “psalm”, reinforced by the demonstrative, and both show focal ICs, representing the entity to which the psalm is appropriate. As immediately understandable, the IS of the clauses is identical, besides a modification of syntax.

Examples similar to (116) above are reported in Table 100.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 14 ^c 12	<i>.i. atá inaicniud chaich denum maith , ingabail uilc dodenum</i>	that is, it is in the nature of every person to do good and to avoid doing evil	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 14 ^d 12	<i>.i. iscoitchen docechtar de ainm-alaili</i>	that is, common to each of them is the name of the other	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 16 ^c 5	<i>airis ingnad linn anadciam</i>	for that which we see is strange for us	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 16 ^c 10	<i>dorimther hí libur essaiaë áscelso</i>	this story is recounted in the book of Isaiah	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 17 ^b 5	<i>.i. ní nuae ndo anatrabsin</i>	that is, the possession is not new to Him	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 18 ^d 20	<i>.i. nicoir doneuch rosacht {ronícad duaid}</i>	that is, doubt that David was saved is not proper for anyone	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 22 ^c 5	<i>.i. itimmaircidi dumni innabriathrasa</i>	that is, these words are suitable to us	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^a 19	<i>.i. ata dithrummai nafochaide insin</i>	that is, this is because of the heaviness of the tribulations	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 25 ^a 1	<i>.i. ishuaisliu cechduil an daratad dondoinach[t]</i>	that is, that which was given to the humanity is higher than every creature	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 27 ^b 9	<i>.i. baimmaircidiu frisinnintliucht ani asbeir aquil</i>	that is, that which Aquila says would be more suitable to the sense	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^b 16	<i>.i. atá hí lebraib ríg anisin</i>	that is, that is in the Books of Kings	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 32 ^c 17	<i>.i. aranderlaigthe dosom pecad techtae dochum bersabae</i>	that is, that the sin of going to Bathsheba might have forgiven him	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 32 ^d 4	<i>.i. corub mesraigthe dau fulach afercae</i>	that is, that the endurance of His wrath might be moderated for him	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

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Ml. 33 ^c 17	<i>.i. ní rabæ diesamni duaid</i>	that is, David did not have the boldness	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^b 24	<i>.i. amal asrobrad leusom donaib feraib trenaiþ di inni anneirt sanctis</i>	that is, as <i>sanctis</i> with them was applied to strong men because of the quality of their strength	V-IC-IC-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^b 24	<i>asrobrad donaib idlaib di in[ni] anenartae infirmitates</i>	that <i>infirmitates</i> was applied to idols because of the quality of the weakness	V-IC-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 38 ^c 9	<i>.i. intan rocomallad[a] ingnimaib innatestimni taircheta de som</i>	that is, when the texts that were prophesied of Him were fulfilled in deeds	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 38 ^d 8	<i>.i. inta [leg. intan] doroacht forsnapecthachu· a clói [leg. clóine]</i>	that is, when the sinners were punished for their iniquity [lit. when their iniquity was avenged upon the sinners]	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 40 ^c 15	<i>astoidi do int soilse bis innamedónsi</i>	and that the light which is in its midst shines to him	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 47 ^c 4	<i>.i. is mou cech erchoat domsa huadibso [leg. huaidibsom] erbert biuth meulae</i>	that is, the eating of my flesh is greater than every injury by them to me	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 48 ^a 11	<i>.i. in coissegar triacoitsechtsom átrede remperthe [leg. remeperthe]</i>	that is, the three above-mentioned things are signified through their listening	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^a 10	<i>.i. du ucthar triarosc aní nolabraifitis</i>	that is, through their eye is understood what they would have said	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 2	<i>.i. rosiacht corrici nem atrocaire</i>	that is, his mercy reached to heaven	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 4	<i>.i. robói duchensi duaid</i>	that is, such was the clemency of David	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 75 ^b 7	<i>.i. amal as soirb donaib broinidib incocnam</i>	that is, as chewing is easy to the molars	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^b 11	<i>.i. airistorbach du popul flaith firian leu</i>	that is, for it is profitable for the people to have a righteous prince	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^a 16	<i>bid suaichnid afailti in popuil as ní dia prithchibes doib</i>	it will be manifest from the joy of the people that it is God who will preach to them	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^b 1	<i>immeairic du emán insalmso</i>	this psalm is appropriate to Eman	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 122 ^d 7	<i>airrobói da [leg. danó] cid hisuidi remcaissiu dæ diib som</i>	for there had been, indeed, even in its providence of God for them	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^c 10	<i>nombiad iarfr aní rolabrastar dia 7 durairigert</i>	that that which God had spoken and promised would be truly	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^d 14	<i>nieperthæ frissuidi anísín</i>	that would not have been said to it	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

<p> Ml. 128^a15 <i>.i. adfiadar hothosuch intsailm airechas duthabairt do macc</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is declared from the beginning of the psalm that precedence is given to the Son </p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 129^d5 <i>.i. is cotarsnae fri aicned innangnimae dorigeni som hitosuch andurigeni indib iterum</i> </p>	<p> that is, contrary to the nature of the deeds which He had done at first is that which He has done in them again </p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 133^a4 <i>.i. is ansu cehtodéarnam anguin cos indloscud</i> </p>	<p> that is, wounding with burning is more grievous than any torture </p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}</p>

Table 100. VIC/Adv S sentences with focal IC and topical S.

The subject of Ml. 14^c12 is the complex phrase *denum maith 7 imgabail uilc dodenum*. *Imgabail uilc dodenum* follows the construction NP + *do* + verbal noun of a transitive verb (see GOI §720). The subject of Ml. 16^c5 is a relative clause instead (i.e. *anadciam*). As for the topical status of *anatrabsin* in Ml. 17^c5, see Latin: *non ergo nuper additam et⁽⁴⁾ uelut nouellam⁽⁵⁾ habet possessionem*. In Ml. 107^a16, what is tagged as S is a sentence itself (*as n̄ dia prithchibes doib*).

Comparing (116) and (117) above is a crucial point to understand V IC S orders. Apparently, there is no clear reason why Ml. 2^b6 was written with a marked word order, and not with the word order typical of e.g. example (117) above. Nevertheless, considering all the other similar cases attested in the corpus (Table 100) may shed light on the problem.

A first point concerns the frequency of predicate adjectives among V IC S cases (e.g. Ml. 2^b6, Ml. 14^d12, Ml. 16^c5, etc.). One may be led to think that with predicate adjectives Old Irish might prefer V IC S orders, while with verbal predicates Old Irish might prefer V S IC orders. This point appears sustained by the fact that many of the V IC S instances seen in tables above contain adjectival predicates selecting for ICs (e.g. *lór*, *cóir*, *ingnad*, *mór*, *fíu*, etc.). This view would suggest that, in similar cases, it is not so obvious that the ‘unmarked’ word order is Adj S PP (that is, V S IC), rather than Adj PP S (that is, V IS C). However, this perspective is inconsistently supported by data. Predicate adjectives are well-attested also in case of V S IC examples (on that note, see Section 3.2). Moreover, consider example (118), drawn from Table 100 above:

- (118) *immeairic du emán insalmso*
 is appropriate to Eman this psalm
 «this psalm is appropriate to Eman» (Ml. 107^b1).

Word order and information structure: V-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

Example (118) has the same structure as well as predicate of example (117) above. S, then, is reinforced by a demonstrative in both cases. This points to how it is not the opposition predicate adjective vs. V to determine the opposition V S IC ~ V IC S clauses.

More considerable are cases such as Ml. 16^c10. The clause features a passive voice V (*dorimther*). This and similar cases seem to highlight a correlation between passive Vs and sentence-final topical S (see also e.g. Ml. 55^a10, Ml. 128^a15, etc.). Even in this case, however, stressing a strong correlation would be hasty, given the lightness of co-occurrence passive Vs-V IC S orders.

In certain cases, surely, morphotactic heaviness contributes to V IC S orders. See e.g. Ml. 32^c17, where the IC is an inflected preposition (*dosom*), while S is a complex sentence-final phrase (*pecad techtae dochum bersabae*). This happens in many other cases (see, for example, Ml. 14^c12, Ml. 18^d20, Ml. 25^a1, Ml. 27^b9), but the existence of counterexamples (e.g. Ml. 23^a19) is a clear indicator that even this hypothesis is not entirely conclusive.

To draw a first order of conclusions, consider how normally sentences with V S and IC with an unmarked word order feature a sentence-final focal IC + post-verbal topical S. As will be seen later in this section, the most widespread IS of V IC S orders, instead, show focal V+IC and topical S. In all the cases in which a V IC S order shows only the IC on focus (and topical S), the reasons why this happens are due to morphosyntactic reasons, as highlighted above (demonstrative, 'heavy' Ss, passive Vs, etc.).

Let us now take example (119) into consideration:

- (119) *intain* *duluigte(r)* *dun* *arpecthi*
 when are forgiven to us our sins
 «when our sins are forgiven us» (Ml. 32^c15).

Word order and information structure: [V-IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

The whole Ml. 32^c15 reads as follows: *.i. amal asrobrad fri duaid dorolgida apecthi do ní eperr immurgu frinni· intain duluigte(r) dun arpecthi*, “that is, as it was said to David that his sins were forgiven him, it is not, however, said to us, when our sins are forgiven us”. The focal status of example (119) *dun* is coherent with what discussed above. *Arpecthi*, then, is topical. What is different from examples in Table 100, is the focality of V (*duluigter*), which can be understood on the basis of context only.

Focal V+IC V IC S clauses are widely attested in the Milan glosses. They are reported in Table 101 below.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 31 ^a 5	<i>.i. foroxlad hudib ánires</i>	that is, their faith has been taken from them	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^d 12	<i>.i. sechis batrom foraiib són centíchtain átíre fadesin</i>	that is, namely, it was heavy upon them, not going to their own land	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^b 25	<i>baerchoitech ndoib toimtiu nad rancatar les denma maith iarna soirad</i>	it was hurtful to them, the thought that they had no need to do good after their deliverance	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^c 23	<i>arnabad dimichthiu leusom de anaithesc</i>	so that the answer might not be more contemptible for them as a result	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^d 24	<i>.i. ní lour less nechtar .de.</i>	that is, one of them is not enough	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^a 20	<i>.i. ismaith les áfirlugae nothongad cach frialaile hirecht</i>	that is, good with him is the true-oath that each one used to swear to another in law	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 42 ^c 2	<i>.i. tuucthar hiech belru indas fograigte inna duli , dunaidbdet etarcnae ndæ· trisinnoipred ñdogniat , innimthanud fil foraiib</i>	that is, understood in every language is the way in which the elements sound and show forth the knowledge of God through the work that they do and the alternation that is on them	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 42 ^c 13	<i>.i. nidoirb lannech atabairt</i>	that is, it is not difficult for anyone to understand it	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 43 ^c 20	<i>in étaste fanaic trisnaguidi aní rogaidsom</i>	whether or not that which he prayed for would be obtained through the prayers	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^b 17	<i>.i. is ferr lesom alatharsa</i>	that is, he prefers this exposition	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^b 12	<i>.i. níba madae dam moisitíu</i>	that is, my confession will not be fruitless for me	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 47 ^b 6	<i>.i. ma arfuirestae dib intaidchur són</i>	that is, if the return were kept back from them	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 48 ^a 7	<i>.i. is écmacht doib denum neich òdegar cuccu</i>	that is, the doing of anything which is asked of them is impossible for them	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 48 ^a 8	<i>.i. ní coair leu a denum</i>	that is, doing it is not fitting in their opinion	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 49 ^a 10	<i>huare nachreilced doassaraib achosacrad [leg. achoscrad]</i>	because its destruction was not permitted to the Assyrians	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 52 ^x 00	<i>ní derb linn tra in senchas canone dunaithmenadar isintitul so</i>	we are not certain as to the story of Scripture that he calls to mind in this heading	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^d 5	<i>narietarscara friu acaire</i>	that their reproach may not part from them	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

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Ml. 54 ^d 7	<i>.i. rolin [leg. rolii] dí mernigde</i>	that is, my prayer has adhered to me	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^a 4	<i>is duí [leg. duiliú] lim cechrét manim</i>	my soul is dearer to me than everything	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^a 7	<i>.i. dlegair doneuch atthugud buide dodia arasoirad</i>	that is, to render thanks to God for his deliverance is obligatory for everyone	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^d 15	<i>.i. isscith leu deicsin innafrían</i>	that is, they loathe to see the righteous	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^d 16	<i>.i. badiliu les guide ara eitsidib</i>	that is, he preferred to pray for his hearers	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^a 12	<i>.i. airisgnath doneuch bes amlabar buidre</i>	that is, for deafness is customary to one who is dumb	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^a 18	<i>intan dorata form inna focheidí</i>	when the tribulations were inflicted upon me	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^b 28	<i>.i. amal as ridínim lanech todíusgud nachaili ásuán</i>	that is, as arousing another out of sleep is no trouble to anyone	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^c 6b	<i>dlegair- damsa abuidigud dosom int soirthar [leg. soirtha] sin is indaidchi dudchoisgedar</i>	it is incumbent on me to thank Him for that deliverance on the night that follows it	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^c 11	<i>issaichnid [leg. issuaichnid] dún insin</i>	that is well-known to us	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^d 16	<i>.i. bieid dund firian animthanad sin</i>	that is, there will be that alternation to the righteous man	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 72 ^b 18	<i>rubu ferr lat comaidech [leg. comaitecht] du assaraib indaas dunní</i>	it was better in your mind to favour the Assyrians rather than us	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^a 2	<i>noch immurgu ní robae huaimse anolc nisín</i>	but however there had not been that evil from me	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^b 1	<i>.i. immeairic dusuidiu , ducéssad crist insalmso</i>	that is, this psalm is suitable to it and to the Passion of Christ	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^b 14	<i>acht issoirbiu dano duchumachtu dáé adenum</i>	but it is accordingly easier for the power of God to do it	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^a 5	<i>.i. asberar arthormuch pectha atan druáilnidi som , ata pecthaig</i>	that is, it is said for the increase of sin that they are corrupt and that they are sinful	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^b 7	<i>.i. immaircide ñ dosom iarn aisídis dun cér tabairt in tened iarum</i>	that is, it is fitting for him after speaking of the wax to put the fire afterwards	[V-IC] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 77 ^d 3	<i>amal as ñ diúfulaig [leg. difulaig] duneuch ní bes áfín</i>	as what is from wine is unsupportable to a man	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 81 ^c 14	<i>.i. dubríinn dinaib slebib forsnatalmana cobsaidi inchré fechnach sin</i>	that is, that rich earth flows from the mountains onto the firm lands	[V-IC-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 82 ^a 7	<i>.i. ni denti duibsi anisin</i>	that is, that must not be done by you	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 88 ^a 4	<i>.i. is firien dait siu adae indigal dumber fornri deg arpectha</i>	that is, the punishment which You (sg) inflict on us because of our sin is just for you, O God	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 92 ^a 12	<i>.i. iscummae dosom an deus asrubart 7 bid deus meus</i>	that is, the <i>Deus</i> that he has spoken of and (if) it were <i>Deus meus</i> is the same to him	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^a 3	<i>.i. isgnath do anaithirrech sin</i>	that is, that repetition is usual for him	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 95 ^d 13	<i>.i. ba bec n damsa mad buith cen chotlud tantum</i>	that is, it would be little to me if it were only to be without sleep	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 95 ^d 13	<i>is ansu dam gabail mogotha dim lammait inna n inned forodamar</i>	it is harder for me that my voice should be taken from me through the extent of afflictions that I have suffered	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^c 2	<i>is bæs dosom insin</i>	that is customary for him	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 97 ^d 15	<i>.i. sech ba indeithbeir doibsom foचाid dæ inchrud sin</i>	that is, although trying God in that way was improper for them	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 100 ^b 4	<i>.i. meraid huachlaind fri claind anaithis</i>	that is, their reproach will remain from generation to generation	[V-IC-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^c 4	<i>.i. is inunn oin lesom an- israheal asrubart 7 an oues ioseph</i>	the <i>Israel</i> that he has used and the <i>oves Ioseph</i> are one and the same with him	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 106 ^d 3	<i>ba madae dam du frecur cheill siu- adæ</i>	that worship of You (sg) was vain of me, O God	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 110 ^d 12	<i>ni nuae dunni adae indesammae so dit ditinsiu</i>	this confidence concerning Your (sg) protection is not new to us, O God	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^a 5	<i>.i. amal as soirb lat tairciud cechlathi indigaid alaali 7 cach afrithare</i>	that is, just as the bringing of every day after another and (the bringing) of every watch is easy for You	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^a 5	<i>is soirb lat ar comthod ni as indoiri post mille annos</i>	is turning us from the captivity <i>post mille annos</i> easy for You	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 113 ^b 4	<i>.i. amal rombu reil damsa earcnae [leg. etarcnae] air mo namat</i>	that is, as the knowledge of the slaughter of my enemies was clear to me	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 113 ^d 5	<i>.i. huare dorairngerad doib tuidecht adoiri</i>	because it had been promised them that they should come from captivity	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^b 10	<i>.i. ni lour lib a ais [leg. aisndis] hifar crichaib fadisin</i>	that is, to declare it in your (pl) own territories is not sufficient for you (pl)	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

ML. 120 ^b 2	<i>.i. airníderb linnai etarcnae innalloc sech a retham</i>	that is, for the knowledge of places past which we run is not certain to us	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 120 ^d 5	<i>is soirbithir sin do dia tuistin adulæ</i>	creating His elements is that easy for the Lord	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 133 ^d 2	<i>.i. isgnath hisalmaib aithirrech forsnasunu cétnai</i>	that is, repetition of the same words is customary in the psalms	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 136 ^b 4	<i>nadmbu choir do digal forru</i>	that punishing them was not proper for Him	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 136 ^c 11	<i>.i. doathminedar do dia inpopul</i>	that is, the people remind God	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
ML. 138 ^c 9	<i>.i. huare nach maith leu cutrummus frian deu</i>	that is, because being put on an equality with their gods is not pleasing for them	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 101. V IC/Adv S sentences with focal V+IC and topical S.

In ML. 55^a4, *cechrét*, tagged as IC, is a NP in the dative singular. In ML. 76^a5, what is tagged as S is a constituent made of two sentences: *atan druáilnidi som*, “that they are corrupt” and *ata pecthaig*, “that they are sinful”. In ML. 82^a7, what is tagged as V is actually made of a form of the negative copula (i.e. *ní*) + a verbal of necessity (i.e. *dentí*). In ML. 95^d13, what is tagged as S is a sentence itself (that is, *mad buith cen chothlud tantum*).

A further V IC S sentence type immediately comparable to those just examined is shown by example (120):

- (120) *trimiberar dindaimsir matíndisin ani as mane*
 is transferred from that time of the morning that that is mane
 «that which is *mane* is transferred from that morning time» (ML. 21^c3).

Word order and information structure: V-[IC]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}

In (120), the post-verbal IC (*dindaimsir matíndisin*) is topical. On this analysis, consider a wider portion of the sentence’s context: *isdindfailti bis isinmatin indad* [leg. *indiad*] *inna aidchesin is nomen mane. .i. huare as failith inmenmae isinmatin ocærgiu iarfoscaigiu* [leg. *iarfoscaigiud*] *inna aithche. trimiberar dindaimsir matíndisin ani as mane æperr dindfailti bis indi .i. mane failid iarsindí. ba mane moch riam*, “it is to the gladness that is in the morning after that night that *mane* is name, i.e. because the mind is glad in the morning upon getting up after the departure of the night, that which is *mane* is transferred from that morning time, and is given as a name to the gladness that is in it, i.e. *mane* [is] “gladsome” after *mane* was “early” beforehand”. The Latin glossed passage (*aut ad tempus certe*

matutinum.), as well as the demonstrative reinforcing the IC, go in the same direction. The sentence-final position of focal S, then, may be also due to its syntactic heaviness (pronoun + relative clause), even if *ani* + relative copula + Latin is a typical Old Irish construction, very frequent in the Milan glosses, employed to quote Latin words.

Further examples of V IC S sentences with topical IC and focal S are reported in Table 102.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 23 ^a 2	<i>.i. combed doib foraihtmet bedtorbach</i>	that is, that they should have a recollection which is profitable	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 25 ^d 18	<i>is follus trisodin is asintsalm hoduaid d[u]uic omnia subiecisti</i>	it is clear from that that it is out of the psalm from David that he has brought <i>omnia subiecisti</i>	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^c 13	<i>nirbu lour leusom buaduguth dib</i>	a victory over them was not enough for them	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^a 23-24	<i>.i. is immaircide doib incairigud, in pian doratad for asru</i>	that is, the reproach and the punishment that was inflicted on the Assyrians are suitable to them	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^d 5	<i>foéitsider hisuidiu deus</i>	<i>deus</i> is understood here	V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 10	<i>.i. is gnath dofirianaib aningabal ab hominibus</i>	that is, their being reproached by men is usual for the righteous	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^b 28	<i>is dinnimidir insin ladia slántu duthindnaccul duneuch bis hílobrai</i>	as little trouble as that is it to God to give health to one who is in sickness	V-[IC] _{TOP} -IC-[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^d 2	<i>.i. ni comadas duaisndís innam maraisndisenso acht inspiurt noib</i>	that is, only the Holy Spirit is fit to relate this great narration	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^c 4	<i>.i. robuferr leu buith hileith duaid</i>	that is, being on David's side was preferable for them	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^b 8	<i>.i. robumaith leu buith hicaldea dugrés</i>	that is, they were content to be in Chaldea for ever [lit. being in Chaldea for ever was good for them]	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 119 ^c 1	<i>.i. ní aisndedar and acht inso tantum</i>	that is, nothing is set forth there but this only	V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^d 3	<i>.i. airnibugnath dusuidib huisce dutecht tairsiu</i>	that is, for water passing over them was not customary for them	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}

Table 102. V IC/Adv S sentences with topical IC and focal S.

In Ml. 61^b28, the accusative demonstrative *insin* is tagged as IC being part of the equative construction. In Ml. 64^d2, *acht inspiurt noib*, although morphologically it has been

classified in the literature as a prepositional phrase, is the subject argument (*inspiurt* is in the nominative). *Acht* (“except”) has a focalising value (see Chapter 2). As far as the so-tagged IC is concerned (*duaisndís* ...), the actual topical portion of the constituent is the NP in the genitive case (*innam maraisndisenso*). In Ml. 105^b8, what is focal within the constituent *duith hicaldea dugrés* is *dugrés* only.

What is crucial to remark, on the basis of data in Table 102, is that there is a correspondence between sentence-final focal Ss in V IC S examples and morphosyntactic complexity (or heaviness) of Ss’ constituents. If we take Table 102 into account, ‘light’ post-verbal topical ICs are followed by ‘heavy’ sentence-final focal Ss in most of cases (more precisely, 72.73% of cases). This happens in Ml. 23^a2, Ml. 25^d18, Ml. 34^a23-24, Ml. 54^a10, Ml. 61^b28, Ml. 87^c4, Ml. 105^b8 and Ml. 123^d3. The only three examples of topical IC and focal S with no complex sentence-final S are Ml. 64^d2, where an overt focaliser precedes the S (*acht inspiurt-noib*), and Ml. 34^d5 and Ml. 119^c1, where the IC is a deictic Adv (*hisuidiu* and *and*).

To conclude, Table 103 reports the remaining cases of V IC S order attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 39 ^d 28	<i>is inunn lesom tra insin</i>	in his opinion, that then is the same	[V] _{FOC} -[IC]-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 66 ^b 3	<i>.i. duberthar doib duinducbálsu</i>	that is, your glory will be given unto them	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} - [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^a 23	<i>.i. airislecet dusudib erbert biuth huacehsasad frisa comrucat cennach ·n· deligud</i>	that is, for the enjoying of every food that they meet with, without any discrimination, is lawful for them	[V] _{FOC} -[IC]-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^c 20	<i>is firrien [leg. firien] tra fuanindassin tabart diglae foraibsom</i>	it is then just to inflict vengeance on them in accordance with that condition	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} - [S] _{FOC}
Ml. 83 ^b 11	<i>bid étrummu doib de tairmthecht indíthruib</i>	traversing the wilderness will be lighter to them for it	[V] _{FOC} -[IC]-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 92 ^d 6	<i>.i. nírbu mou leu bríg atobai</i>	that is, the value of cutting them down was not greater for them	[V] _{FOC} -[IC]-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^c 13	<i>.i. cid trissa robae doib hitos [leg. hitosuch] etarcnae n̄ dæ 7 adrad [leg. aadrad]</i>	that is, even through which they had had knowledge and worship of God at first	[V ^(REL)]-[IC]-[Adv]-[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 139 ^c 3	<i>.i. ni fíu leu bás nail dutecht forru acht beim acinn fri cloich</i>	that is, it is not fitting for them that another death come upon them other than the dashing of their heads against a stone	V-[IC]-[S] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}

Table 103. Further examples of V IC/Adv S sentences.

Table 104 summarises quantitative data as for V IC S sentences in the Milan glosses corpus.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V IC S	% out of MWO ¹²⁰
[V-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	59	50.86%	17.67%
V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	36	31.04%	10.78%
V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	12	10.34%	3.59%
[V] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}	4	3.45%	1.20%
[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	2	1.72%	0.60%
[V ^(REL) -IC-Adv-S] _{FOC}	1	0.86%	0.30%
V-IC-[S] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	1	0.86%	0.30%

Table 104. Quantitative analysis of V IC S sentences.

As pointed out above, Table 104 shows once more that post-verbal IC are focal in 81.90% of cases.

4.1.1.1 V IC S IC orders

V IC S IC cases attested in the Milan glosses are 12 (3.59% of marked word orders and 0.28% of total). On a pure syntactic basis, V IC S IC orders could be considered a subgroup of V IC S orders, with a further sentence-final ‘regular’ IC. Nevertheless, the IS of V IC S IC shows a different picture.

V IC S IC examples attested in the corpus are collected in Table 105.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 27 ^d 19	<i>isbuidichu leu fortacht doib isnaib imnedaib quam isnaib soinnechaib [leg. soinnechaib].</i>	help to them in troubles is more satisfying to them than [help] in prosperity	V-IC-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^c 5	<i>.i. is lour do aguth nammá doergairi neich diamuntair</i>	that is, His voice alone is sufficient for Him to forbid anything to His people	V-IC-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 52 ^x 00	<i>brethae hosuidiu mór dusetuib do abi meleäch hiterfochraic marbtha dauid</i>	much treasure was brought from the latter to Abimelech as the price of slaying David	V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC} -IC-IC

¹²⁰ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

<p> Ml. 53^a17 <i>nícon dé t donach ailiu insin lesom acht donpopul assardu roboi oc indriud macc n israhel</i> </p>	<p>that does not apply to any other in his opinion but to the Assyrian people that was harrying the Children of Israel</p>	<p>V-IC-[S]_{TOP}-IC-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 56^a13 <i>donesemar cen erchot 7 jimbiud fortacht dá donaib donib [leg. doinib] sainemlaib</i> </p>	<p>is the help of God to the excellent men poured forth without hindrance and in abundance</p>	<p>V-IC-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 77^b11 <i>.i. duber [leg. duberr] fudí andliger sa is indsalm</i> </p>	<p>that is, this expression is put twice in the psalm</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 93^a5 <i>com beth leu som nech di faithib diareladoib</i> </p>	<p>that they should have some prophet to manifest it to them</p>	<p>V-[IC]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 94^b3 <i>islour doib insin diafalgud</i> </p>	<p>that is enough to dismay them</p>	<p>V-IC-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 105^b7 <i>.i. isferr liumsa buith inneuch asdoiscairem hi tír israhel oldaas buith inneuch ditechdaisib sainemlaib 7 sommaib innabellondae [leg. mbabellondae]</i> </p>	<p>that is, I would rather be in the meanest place in the land of Israel than in any of the splendid and wealthy houses of the Babylonians</p>	<p>V-IC-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 112^b13 <i>is demniu liunn anadchiam huasulib oldaas anrochluinemmar huachhuasuib</i> </p>	<p>that which we see with the eyes, we deem it more certain than that which we hear with the ears</p>	<p>V-IC-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 126^a4-5 <i>.i. airis trummu foraisom imram isind féith quam techt lareith choir gaithe [leg. la frithchoir gaithe]</i> </p>	<p>that is, for rowing in a calm is heavier upon them than going with an unfavorable wind</p>	<p>V-IC-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 126^a7 <i>.i. níassu duchách imra isindroeeth [leg. imram isindrofeth] diacombuch oc indimram quam tempestas saeva</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is not easier for anyone to row in a great calm, wearing them out at rowing, than <i>tempestas saeva</i></p>	<p>V-IC-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}</p>

Table 105. V IC/Adv S IC sentences.

The sentences in Table 105 are analysed quantitatively in Table 106.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V IC S IC	% out of MWO ¹²¹
V-IC-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	9	75%	2.69%
V-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC} -IC	2	16.67%	0.60%
V-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC	1	8.33%	0.30%

Table 106. Quantitative analysis of V IC S IC sentences.

¹²¹ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

The IS alignment we would expect to be prototypical on the basis of the analysis of V IC S sentences, that is, V IC S IC with focal post-verbal IC and topical S, occurs only once in the whole corpus. This happens in *ML. 77^b11*, where the topical status of S is reinforced by the demonstrative (*andliged sa*).

In the great majority of cases (75%), the IS alignment of V IC S IC sentences shows topical S and focal sentence-final IC. Note that this would be the ‘plain’ order if the post-verbal IC did not occur in the clause. This means that V IC S IC are mostly to be considered a variant of V S IC orders, rather than a variant of V IC S orders. In this direction goes also the morphotactic substance of post-verbal IC, which is quite often ‘light’ (e.g. *leu*, *ML. 27^d19*; *do*, *ML. 48^c5*; etc.).

4.1.2 VSIC O orders

V S IC O orders amount to 27 examples in the Milan glosses (8.08% of marked word orders and 0.63% of total). Four groups of IS alignment are attested in the corpus, and they show significant differences.

A first sub-group of V S IC O sentences shows topical S and focal O. An example is shown in (121):

- (121) *.i. cu cuimsed dia les forsoirad*
 that is that could God in his opinion your delivering
arsenachrib
 from Sennacherib
 «that is, that, in his opinion, God could deliver you (pl) from Sennacherib» (*ML. 33^b21*).

Word order and information structure: V-[S]_{TOP}-IC-[O]_{FOC}

VSIC O sentences with topical S and focal O can show S.^{NP}s (Table 107), S.^{ANAPH}s (Table 107), or S.^{EMPH}s (Table 108).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>ML. 16^c10</i>	<i>.i. asbert side contra ezechiam atbelad</i>	that is, he said to Hezekiah that he would die	V-[S. ^{ANAPH}] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 43^b15</i>	<i>.i. torala dia archeill do degnimu su</i>	that is, may God bring to mind your (sg) good deeds	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 54^c18</i>	<i>.i. hure [leg. huare] asbered heremias friusom fesin arangnetis de(g)nimu</i>	that is, because Jeremiah used to say to them themselves that they should do good works	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}

Ml. 69 ^a 19	<i>.i. amal aramberat biuth ina cethrai cendechor innasástu frisacomrac</i> [leg. <i>frisacomracat</i>]	that is, as the cattle enjoy without distinction the foods that they meet with	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^c 8	<i>.i. ní cuinget inna anmain fordia tuidecht innacorpu fichetoir</i>	that is, the souls do not ask of God to come into their bodies at once	V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}

Table 107. V S.^{NP/ANAPH} IC O sentences with topical S and focal O.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 31 ^a 18	<i>.i. ní radat som frisudib acht breic ₇ togaís</i>	that is, they speak only lying and deceit to them	V-[S] ^(EMPH)] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 12	<i>.i. asbeirsom frisnatorus arndacum cabat ₇ arnda ersoilcet</i>	that is, he says to the doors that they should rise and open themselves	V[^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _F
Ml. 107 ^c 8	<i>.i. amal chondegamni fordia arníc donaib galaraiþ im biam</i>	that is, as we ask of God to be healed of the diseases in which we are	V[^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^d 9	<i>.i. huare nad rotodlaigestar som co dia inna huisciu</i>	that is, because he had not craved of God the waters	V-[S] ^(EMPH)] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}

Table 108. V S.^{EMPH} IC O sentences with topical S and focal O.

In Table 107 Ml. 54^c18, the whole sentence *arangnetis de(g)nimu* (“that they should do good works”) is tagged as O. The same thing happens in Table 108 Ml. 46^a12, where what is tagged as O is a sentence itself (*arndacum cabat ₇ arnda ersoilcet*, “that they should rise and open themselves”).

Although quantitatively relevant, the IS alignment seen in Table 107 and 108 seems not the standard one in the case of V S IC O sentences. This can be assumed on the basis of a few points:

- i. S.^{NP}s (Table 107) tend to be anaphoric or ‘backgrounded’ (e.g. Ml. 16^c10, Ml. 33^b21, Ml. 43^b15, Ml. 54^c18);¹²²
- ii. There is no significant difference between S.^{NP}s and S.^{EMPH}s, as understandable on the basis of Ml. 107^c8. In Ml. 107^c8, two sentences occur within the same gloss, they show the same V S IC O order but with a S.^{NP} in the former case, with a S.^{EMPH} in the latter. This makes perhaps V S IC O sentences with topical

¹²² On ‘backgrounded’ Ss see Chapter 3 (e.g. Table 9 and Table 21).

S and focal O assimilable to V IC O sentences with focal O and topical zero anaphora S.

A comparison with Chapter 3 basic V S O IC sentences with topical S and focal O highlights a few remarkable facts: (a.) V S O IC sentences with topical S and focal O are a secondary sub-group among V S O IC clauses (9 examples only); (b.) the three attested V [S]_{TOP} [O]_{FOC} IC clauses with S.^{NP}s are rather peculiar (see Table 11 in Chapter 3) and certainly not prototypical.

These points lead to the analysis of another IS type for V S IC O sentences. Example (122) shows a focal IC and topical sentence-final O. Note that S is emphatic.

- (122) *.i. ní berae siu hua duaid insalmso*
 that is may not take you(EMPH) from David this psalm
 «that is, you may not take from David this psalm» (Ml. 74^d13).

Word order and information structure: V-S.^{EMPH}-[IC]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}

In total, 7 examples of V S IC O clauses with focal IC and topical O are attested in the corpus. In Table 109 are reported those with S.^{NP}s, in Table 110 those with S.^{EMPH}s.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 115 ^a 2	<i>labraid inspiurt noib trigiun duaid inso</i>	the Holy Spirit speaks this through the mouth of David	V-S-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 123 ^b 15	<i>.i. atindided moisi hua briathraib innaretu dachoisgitis [leg. duchoisgitis] gnimai iarum dano</i>	that is, Moses used to declare by words the things which deeds then used to follow afterwards	V-S-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}

Table 109. V S.^{NP} IC O sentences with focal IC and topical O.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 66 ^c 1	<i>ciasidrubart sa frit su obliuiscere populum tuum</i>	though I said to you (sg) obliuiscere populum tuum	V-S. ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^d 6	<i>.i. dubeir som dudumugud aaisndísen as nuilliu oldaas ani adfet som</i>	that is, to exaggerate his declaration he puts what is more than the thing that he speaks of	V-S. ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^a 6	<i>.i. adrimtissom ar aithissib dunní buith fut recht su , fri ermitin feid tanmae</i>	that is, they used to count as reproaches to us: (our) being subject to Your (sg) Law and (our) honoring Your (sg) name	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[IC] _{FOC} -IC-[O] _{TOP}

Ml. 129 ^d 22	<i>.i. fobithin adrimet som deit su armelacht cen arñ ditin ni</i>	that is, because they count it as a reproach to You (sg) not to protect us	V-S. ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{FOC} -IC- [O] _{TOP}
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Table 110. V S.^{EMPH} IC O sentences with focal IC and topical O.

What becomes evident is that V S IC O sentences with focal IC and topical O are more numerous when S is an emphatic clitic than when S is a full NP. This makes this sentence type assimilable to V IC O clauses with focal IC and topical sentence-final O.

Moreover, it must be stressed that in all the cases reported in Table 109 and 110 above, the sentence morphosyntax is not plain but characterised by at least one element causing the sentence-final topical O. This may happen because (a.) the sentence-final O is heavy in morphosyntactic terms (e.g. Ml. 89^d6,¹²³ Ml. 91^a6,¹²⁴ Ml. 123^b15); (b.) the sentence-final O is in Latin (e.g. Ml. 66^c1); (c.) the sentence-final O is reinforced by a demonstrative (e.g. Ml. 74^d13, Ml. 115^a20).

The difference occurring between Ml. 91^a6 and Ml. 129^d22 is also worth considering. The two sentences belong to the same syntactic macro-type. Nevertheless, although they have a rather similar meaning, they show a relevant difference in terms of both syntax and IS as far as the two ICs are concerned. In both sentences, the first IC is focal, while the second IC is unmarked as for the sentence's IS. In the first case, the focal IC is the PP *ar aithissib* ("as reproaches") and the non-focal IC is the inflected preposition *dunni* ("to us"). In the second case, the focal IC is the inflected preposition *deit su* ("to you") and the non-focal IC is the PP *armelacht* ("as a reproach"). The fact that in Ml. 129^d22 *deit su* is focal can be understood on the basis of Ml. 129^d19, which precedes Ml. 129^d22: *.i. armelacht dait siu adrimet som anisin*, "i.e. [it is] as a reproach unto You (sg) that they count that". The gloss refers to the following Latin passage: *et in contumiliam tuam¹⁹ relictos putant quos²⁰ te²¹ propugnatorem mirati sunt*. Focal, here, is clearly *dait siu*. The IS of the following Ml. 129^d22 is identical to that of Ml. 129^d19, although the syntax of the two sentences is different.

A third sub-group of V S IC O sentences shows topical IC and focal O (123).

(123)	<i>.i.</i>	<i>nírelíc</i>	<i>día</i>	<i>doib</i>	<i>orcuín</i>	<i>duaid</i>
	that is	did not allow	God	to them	slaying	David
	«that is, God did not let them slay David» (Ml. 23 ^b 4).					

¹²³ What is tagged as O is a zero-antecedent relative clause (i.e. *aaisndísen as nuilliu oldaas ani adfet som*, "what is more than the thing that he speaks of").

¹²⁴ Compare the information structure of this sentence to the second part of the gloss, that is, *cen ar ñ ditin ni daitsiu immurgu. ba aithis daitsiu anisin* ("however, our being without protection from You (sg); that was a reproach to You (sg)").

Word order and information structure: V-S-[IC]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}

Out of the 7 total cases attested, 5 show S.^{NP}s (Table 111), while only two show S.^{EMPH}s (Table 112).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 24 ^c 8	<i>.i. nirufoiraithmenair duaid isintalmso andurigni abisolón fris</i>	that is, David has not commemorated in this psalm that which Absalom had done to him	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 15	<i>.i. intan dorolaig dia do innuaill dorigni</i>	that is, when God forgave him the pride of which he had been guilty	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^c 9	<i>amal imme chomairsed nech dosom cid ara tuic duaid nostrís</i>	as though someone had asked to him why has David put <i>nostrís</i> ?	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^c 2	<i>.i. asrubart dia hi recht ón arasechitis athimnae</i>	that is, God had said in the Law that they should follow His commandments	V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}

Table 111. V.S.^{NP} IC O sentences with topical IC and focal O.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 24 ^c 13	<i>foilsigidir som immurgu isindísu inpeccad dorigeni agitofél</i>	he shows, however, in this the sin that Achitophel had committed	V-S ^(EMPH) -[IC] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC}
Ml. 29 ^b 8	<i>.i. tororansom trisindoit ingnám gnís indoe</i>	that is, he has signified by the arm the action which the arm does	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[IC] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC}
Ml. 41 ^d 11- 12	<i>.i. conrúrélsa doib an as accobur líum</i>	that is, so that I may reveal to them that which is a desire for me	V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[IC] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC}

Table 112. V.S.^{EMPH} IC O sentences with topical IC and focal O.

In Ml. 63^c9 and Ml. 125^c2 (Table 111), what is tagged as O is a sentence itself (*cid ara tuic duaid nostrís*, “why has David put *nostrís*?”; and *arasechitis athimnae*, “that they should follow His commandments”).

In the end, two examples feature focal V+S+IC and topical O. They are shown in Table 113.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 58 ^c 18	<i>.i. dulugfa dia dam mu pecthu</i>	that is, God will forgive me my sins	[V-S-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}

Ml. 94 ^{b3}	<i>.i. intan asnindet dia 7 forcongair dudóinib comallad afirinne</i>	that is, when God declares and orders men to fulfill His righteousness	[V-S-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
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Table 113. V S.^{EMPH} IC O sentences with focal V+S+IC and topical O.

They both show S.^{NP}s.

A quantitative analysis of V S IC O examples is made below. Table 114 differentiates among V S IC O cases disciplined differently in terms of both IS and typology of Ss.

Analysis	Type of S	Instances	% out of V S IC O	% out of MWO ¹²⁵
V-S-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	S. ^{EMPH}	5	18.52%	1.50%
V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	5	18.52%	1.50%
V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}	S. ^{NP}	5	18.52%	1.50%
V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}	S. ^{EMPH}	4	14.82%	1.20%
V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}	S. ^{EMPH}	3	11.10%	0.90%
V-S-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	2	7.40%	0.60%
[V-S-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	2	7.40%	0.60%
V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}	S. ^{ANAPH}	1	3.70%	0.30%

Table 114. Quantitative analysis of V S IC O sentences (with Ss' types differentiation).

In Table 115, no difference is made among different typologies of Ss.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V S IC O	% out of MWO ¹²⁶
V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[O] _{FOC}	10	37.04%	2.99%
V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}	8	29.63%	2.40%
V-S-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	7	25.93%	2.10%
[V-S-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	2	7.40%	0.60%

Table 115. Quantitative analysis of V S IC O sentences (with no S's types differentiation).

What comes out from the analysis of V S IC O sentences is that they have to be considered as a variant of V S O IC sentences with sentence-final Os due to morphosyntactic reasons. Perhaps, the only sentence type which can be accounted for on

¹²⁵ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

¹²⁶ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

contextual/informative ground is that featured by focal V+S+IC and topical O, although poorly attested.

4.1.3 VIC O orders

V IC O sentences amount to 19 examples in the Milan glosses (5.69% of marked word orders and 0.44% of total). A first IS alignment attested with V IC O clauses is characterised by focal IC and topical O. This group of clauses is the most relevant under the quantitative point of view (124):

- (124) *tale damsa alog arepirt dofirinne lat*
 give to me the price for saying your righteousness by you
 «give me the price for declaring your (sg) righteousness» (Ml. 36^a32).

Word order and information structure: V-[IC]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}

All the other similar cases are reported in Table 116.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 21 ^b 07-08	<i>conderlaig [leg. conderlaige] damson</i>	so that you may forgive me it/them	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^b 24	<i>.i. duratais dopecthachaib imbed innananae imbetho frec [leg. imbetho frecndirc] affluentia</i>	that is, You (sg) have given to sinners the abundance of the riches of the present world <i>affluentia</i>	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^b 16	<i>cia duerchomraictis doib incloini</i>	if they should gather the iniquity to themselves	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 83 ^b 13	<i>.i. asrubart riam isintsalm exultent</i>	that is, he has said <i>exultent</i> before in the psalm	V-[Adv-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 83 ^b 13	<i>asbeir iarum is indi siu exultate rl</i>	he says <i>exultate</i> etc. afterwards here	V-[Adv-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 105 ^d 4	<i>.i. tormaig la cachmaith dubir dúinni arnglanad huadualchib 7 chomroircnib</i>	that is, with every good thing that You (sg) give us, increase our purification from vices and errors!	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^c 9	<i>.i. ní aírillset trian drochgnimu ní du ulc friu</i>	that is, they have not deserved any evil to themselves through their evil deeds	V-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}

Table 116. V IC O sentences with focal IC and topical O.

In *ML. 21^b07-08*, what “has to be forgiven” is specified in the following part of the gloss: *innahí noguidim daitsiu*, “those things which I ask you for”. On the argumental status of *son*, then, see Chapter 3.

Table 116 examples can be compared to *V S^{EMPH} IC O* examples above. Note that, as expected, sentence-final *O*s are in most of Table 116 cases either ‘heavy’ from a morphosyntactic point of view (e.g. *ML. 36^a32*, *ML. 56^b24*, etc., but also *ML. 21^b07-08*), or in Latin (e.g. *ML. 83^b13*). This supports the hypothesis of an assimilation of such examples to *V S^{EMPH} IC O* sentences analysed above. The examples reported in Table 117 go in the same direction.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>ML. 37^a9</i>	<i>.i. cia beraid doib aremepthe</i> [leg. <i>remeperthe</i>]	that is, although he may refer the aforementioned to them	<i>V-IC-[O]_{FOC}</i>
<i>ML. 55^d4</i>	<i>onarogaid do dia digail forsaul innanolc dorigeniside fris</i>	that he did not pray to God for vengeance on Saul for the evils which he had done to him	<i>V-IC-[O]_{FOC}</i>
<i>ML. 55^d4</i>	<i>acht rogaid hoodia cidnderoimed dilamaib sauil</i>	but he prayed of God that He should rescue him from Saul’s hands	<i>V-IC-[O]_{FOC}</i>

Table 117. *V IC O* sentences with focal *O*.

All Table 117 examples can be integrated into *V S^{EMPH} IC O* sentences with topical *S* and focal *O*. Indeed, sentence-final *O*s are always complex constituents (e.g. first *ML. 55^d4*) or even clauses themselves (e.g. second *ML. 55^d4*).

A third considerable sub-group of *V IC O* clauses is characterised by focal *V+IC* and topical *O* (125):

- (125) *æren dam thuforacht* [leg. *thufortacht*]
 give to me your help
 «give your help to me» (*ML. 44^c20*).

Word order and information structure: *[V-IC]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}*

This sentence type can be compared to *V S IC O* orders with focal *V+S+IC* and topical *O* on the one hand, with *V O IC* orders on the other. In Chapter 3 we noticed how *V O IC* orders tend to have topical *O* and focal *IC*. *V IC O* sentences with focal *V+IC* and topical *O* are coherent with that picture, since the topicality of *O* is preserved, and the focal status of *IC* is reinforced by its relocation in post-verbal position. This way, also *V IC O* sentences with focal

IC and topical O can be seen under a further point of view. The only difference between these latter cases and examples such as (125) above is due to the focus type. What is relevant, however, is the focalising strategy at play, which is confirmed by parallel clauses with plain syntax. Even more so, what seemed hard to claim in the previous section as for focal V+S+IC and topical O sentences, that is, their value in terms of contextual influence on syntax, due to their low number, finds here new evidence.

Clauses behaving such as (125) are reported in Table 118 below.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 93 ^d 14	<i>huare nadnacat hifrecndairc·gnímu cosmaili dudenum duchrist</i>	because they do not see Christ do like deeds at the present	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^d 1	<i>noch ní accam is intsaltair in fers n isin</i>	however we do not see that verse in the Psalter	[V-IC-Adv] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^c 15	<i>duárbaid tra dumni riam incheil se</i> [leg. <i>inceil se</i>]	He has shown us then this sense before	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 132 ^a 10	<i>.i. ciaridrogat</i> [leg. <i>ciaridrogat</i>] <i>dím sa doguidi siu adæ</i>	that is, though he had prevented to me the prayer to You (sg), O God	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^b 7	<i>.i. cia dulogae doib anuili torgabala ón</i>	that is, although You (sg) forgive them all their transgressions	[V-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}

Table 118. VIC O sentences with focal V+IC and topical O.

Two further IS types are attested as for VIC O clauses in the Milan glosses corpus. They are shown in Table 119.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 54 ^a 3	<i>.i. ar æget rinnamam</i>	that is, who complain to us of their yoke	[V-IC-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>argart doib disuí</i> [leg. <i>disuídi</i>]	he called to them from there	V-IC-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^a 13	<i>.i. duberat forru ananman</i>	that is, that they put their names upon them	[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}

Table 119. Further examples of VIC O sentences.

To conclude this section, Table 120 reports a quantitative analysis of VIC O sentence types attested in the corpus.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V I C O	% out of MWO ¹²⁷
V-[IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	8	40.00%	2.40%
[V-IC] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}	6	30.00%	1.80%
V-IC-[O] _{FOC}	3	15.00%	0.90%
[V-IC-O] _{FOC}	1	5.00%	0.30%
[V] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}	1	5.00%	0.30%
V-IC-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}	1	5.00%	0.30%

Table 120. Quantitative analysis of V I C O sentences.

As it is clear also on the basis of data on V I C O sentences, ICs relocated in post-verbal position are often focal. Sentence-final Os, then, coherently with what highlighted in the previous section concerning V S I C O sentences, tend to be left at the end of the clause due to their inherent complexity.

4.1.4 V O S (IC) orders

V O S (IC) examples in the corpus are 11 (3.29% of marked word orders and 0.26% of total). What emerges from the analysis of these sentences is consistent with what has been highlighted above. Consider examples (126) and (127), which are representative of the most frequently attested V O S sentence types:

- (126) *.i. huasringaib corp fulach innafochodo*
 that is has surpassed body endurance of the suffering
 «that is, after the endurance of suffering has moved beyond the body» (Ml. 22^d9).

Word order and information structure: V-[O]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

- (127) *.i. arna esngaba mod ácuindrech*
 that is for not exceed measure the chastisement
 «that is, that the chastisement does not exceed measure» (Ml. 22^c8).

Word order and information structure: [V-O]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

As for example (127), on the topical status of *ácuindrech*, see Latin *ne castigatio⁽⁸⁾ modum accensa indignatione⁽⁹⁾ non {ut} teneat*. *Ácuindrech* is already introduced in the

¹²⁷ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

universe of discourse. Also Irish *mod* has a direct correspondence in the Latin text (*modum*). This is nevertheless focal in Irish and belongs to the same informative unit of V (*arna esngaba*).

In Chapter 3 it was stressed that ‘plain’ V S O sentences mainly feature topical S and focal O. This IS alignment is well-represented also in the case of V O S clauses. The fact that here it is not the O but the S to be sentence-final is due to the fact that Ss are always heavier than Os (see Table 121). As far as the relocation of Os in post-verbal position is concerned, this mostly happens when V and O belong to the same informative unit (that is, they are both focal). [V-O]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP} examples are the most frequently attested V O S types in the Milan glosses. This alignment may depend either on context (e.g. Table 122 Ml. 102^a15) or on the type of predicate of the sentence (e.g. Table 122 Ml. 37^a10).

Table 121 reports all the V O S examples with focal O and topical S attested in the corpus. Table 122 reports all the V O S examples with focal V+O and topical S attested in the corpus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 24 ^a 19	<i>rofitir didiu 7 etirgein ní dú ulc intí lasmbí indencae</i>	he then who has the innocence knows and understands something of evil	V-[O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 132 ^a 1	<i>.i. fosissetar apectu [leg. apecthu] indfirien</i>	that is, the righteous confess their sins	V-[O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 121. V O S sentences with focal O and topical S.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>dogní doidngi 7 <chum> chumdubairt insin</i>	that causes difficulty and doubt	[V-O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>huare is moir sleb [leg. slebe] ffinne dæ</i>	because God's righteousness is as great as mountains	[V-O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^b 3	<i>.i. amal nadfrescat bás innacethrai</i>	that is, as the cattle do not expect death	[V-O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^b 10	<i>bith suthainidir sin ainm solmon</i>	the name of Solomon will be as everlasting as that	[V-O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^a 15	<i>airnifoircnea in fini hithe neich di anuas</i>	for the eating of something from it from above does not destroy the vine	[V-O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 128 ^a 4	<i>.i. ní cinní aimsir donec hisunt</i>	that is, <i>donec</i> does not define time here	[V-O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - IC/Adv

Table 122. V O S sentences with focal V+O and topical S.

Example (126) above explains in which way a relocation of constituents (in this case, a post-verbal O) may happen to be linked to focus. The IS of the corresponding Latin passage (*tribulatio ista, quam patior, excesso*⁽⁹⁾ {*I cesso sit in aliis*} *corpore usque ad animæ interiora peruenit*) can be analysed as: [*tribulatio ista, quam patior*]_{TOP}, [*excesso*⁽⁹⁾ {*I cesso sit in aliis*} *corpore usque ad animæ interiora*]_{FOC} *peruenit*. The Irish text and IS retrace what can be found in Latin, despite a different syntax.

A worth-mentioning example of the focal O vs. focal V+O difference in V O S sentences is Table 122. In this gloss, *sin* is not actually the direct object of *bith suthainidir*. *Suthainidir* is an equative form, and *sin* occurs to fulfil its meaning. Thus, informatively they should be considered together, yet respecting the focalising strategy of relocation. The same thing happens in Ml. 55^d11. In both cases the accusative governed by the equative is labelled as O, even if it is not a direct object of the verb.

In the end, one V O S sentence with a different IS is attested in the corpus (128).

- (128) *ní fitir* *immurgu* *olc* *netir* *intí*
 does not know then evil at all someone
 bís *isindencae*
 that is in the innocence
 «he, however, does not know evil at all who is in the innocence» (Ml. 24^a19).

Word order and information structure: [V]_{FOC}-O-[S]_{TOP}

Here only V is focal. This is signaled by the separation of V from the rest of the clause by *immurgu*.

In Table 123 the quantitative analysis of V O S sentences is summarised.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V O S	% out of MWO ¹²⁸
[V-O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	7	63.64	2.10%
V-[O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	3	27.27%	0.90%
[V] _{FOC} -O-[S] _{TOP}	1	9.09%	0.30%

Table 123. Quantitative analysis of V O S sentences.

4.1.5 VOIC S orders

A last (small) group of V-initial marked orders is made of V O IC S sentences. They are 7 examples (2.10% of marked word orders and 0.16% of total). Consider example (129):

¹²⁸ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

- (129) *dogní* *trumai* *ndo* *iarum·* *inmetsin*
 does heaviness to it afterwards that quantity
 «that quantity causes heaviness to it afterwards» (Ml. 20^a19).

Word order and information structure: V-[O]_{FOC}-IC-(Adv)-[S]_{TOP}

This represents the most diffused sentence type in the corpus, as far as V O IC S clauses are concerned: post-verbal O is on focus and sentence final (+ demonstrative) S is topical. Two major facts are worth-mentioning:

- i. the post-verbal relocated constituent is on focus;
- ii. the predication is non-standard, being made of light verb “do” + O.

Table 124 collects all the other V O IC S sentences attested in the corpus with focal O and topical S. Remarkably, every single sentence shows light verb constructions.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 92 ^a 7	<i>.i. coimfolnged ermitin feid mihi asocht som</i>	that is, that their silence might cause honour to me	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^b 16	<i>.i. imfolngi inducbail do inmolad rommolastar dia</i>	that is, the praise wherewith he has praised God causes glory to him	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^c 16	<i>.i. imfolngai didnad damsa moab</i>	that is, Moab causes consolation to me	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^c 16	<i>amal immefolngi didnad duneuch indmat achos afind choriu</i>	as washing one’s feet from a water-pot causes consolation to one	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 135 ^a 13	<i>immefolngi sonartai do neuch incotlud</i>	sleep produces strength to anyone	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}

Table 124. V O IC S sentences with focal O and topical S.

The same construction occurs also in the only V O IC S example in the corpus with an IS alignment different from the one seen above, that is, example (130):

- (130) *.i. duáirci cloini ñ do fadesin*
 that is causes iniquity to himself
inti asagusi etarhothaim· ácharat

he that wishes ruin of his friend
 «that is, he who wishes the ruin of his friend causes iniquity to himself» (Ml. 61^b17).

Word order and information structure: [V-O-IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

In (130), what changes is the type of focus, which is a predicate focus. This difference is context-based. Consider the whole Ml. 61^b17: *.i. duárchomraicset cloini n doib fesin meriti .i. indairlíti .i. indí assidroilisset· obtimi .i. indfoircimi [leg. indfoircimim]· de se · díb .i. indí adidroillisset commór inclóini nísín dutairciud doib· obtarent· .i. indí assaguiset· amal bid qui obtarent nobeth ánd .i. duáirci cloini n do fadesin inti asagusi etarthothaim· ácharat*, “i.e. they gathered iniquity to themselves; *meriti* i.e. deserved, i.e. those who deserved it; *optimi* i.e. the most excellent; *de se* of them; i.e. they who greatly deserved that that iniquity should be caused to them; *optarent*, i.e. those who wish, as though it were *qui optarent* that had been there, i.e. he who wishes the ruin of his friend causes iniquity to himself.” Highlighted in bold font is the portion of the gloss analysed in (130). The sentence closes Ml. 61^b17. If the underlined text is taken into account, that is, the sentence opening Ml. 61^b17, it comes immediately to light how *duáirci cloini n do fadesin* should be considered together in IS terms, in example (130).

A similar analysis, also given what shown in Table 124, is not surprising. In Table 125 quantitative data of V O IC S sentences are summarised. In Table 126, then, data from this section and from the previous one are compared.

Analysis	Instances	% out of V O IC S	% out of MWO ¹²⁹
V-[O] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}	6	85.71%	2.40%
[V-O-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	1	14.29%	0.30%

Table 125. Quantitative analysis of V O IC S sentences.

V O S	% out of V O S	V O IC S	% out of V O IC S
V-[O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	54.55%	V-[O] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}	85.71%
[V-O] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	36.36%	[V-O-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	14.29%
[V] _{FOC} -O-[S] _{TOP}	9.09%	-	-

Table 126. Comparison between of V O S and V O IC S sentences.

¹²⁹ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

As clear on the basis of Table 126, the IS-syntax pairings of V O S and V O IC S clauses are identical, and thus assimilable. Beside a sentence-final topical item, either post-verbal Os are on focus, or the whole constituent V + argument(s). Considerably, predications in the case of V O IC S clauses are always made of light verb constructions. Hence ICs have to be considered as part of the predication, in both argumental and IS terms.

4.2 Non V-initial marked sentences

Non V-initial marked sentences amount to 149 examples (43.57% of marked orders). In sentence initial position Ss, Os, ICs or Advs can occur.¹³⁰ As seen in Chapter 2, examples belonging to this category are not instances of *nominativus pendens*. What is missing here is the phoric pronoun coreferenced to the sentence-initial constituent. Examples of *nominativus pendens* will be dealt with in the next chapter.

4.2.1 S V marked orders

S V marked orders amount to 34 cases in the corpus (9.28% of marked word orders and 0.72% of total). A first sub-group to consider is in a certain sense marginal with respect to the others, as due to the relative pronoun *olsodin* (131).¹³¹

- (131) *olsodin* *nad* *fír* *n doib*
 which however is not true to them
 «which, however, is not true on their part» (Ml. 16^a10).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-[V-IC]_{FOC}

S of (131) is the pronoun *olsodin*. The S V IC order is due to the fact that this sentence is relative (see GOI §477). According to Thurneysen (GOI: 302), «this is obviously an artificial construction combining the demonstrative *su(i)de* with *ol* “because” (§905), see Lat. *quod* in another sense (*ol=id quod* only in Ml. 29^c10)». As a consequence, the IS alignment is the one we would expect in case of a relative construction: the head of the relative is topical, the relative clause is focal (see Section 9.1).

All the other *olsodin* S V sentences attested in the corpus are collected in Table 127.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
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¹³⁰ On the difference made here between ICs and Advs see below.

¹³¹ Lexical entry in DIL: *olsuide*.

Ml. 37 ^a 8	<i>olsodin nadchoir iarsint intliucht ebridu</i>	which, however, is not right according to the Hebrew signification	[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} - [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>olsodin nad choir hi sunt iarsint sians ebraidiu</i>	which, however, is not right here according to the Hebrew meaning	[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} - [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^a 12	<i>olsodain nad choir hi sunt</i>	which however is not fitting here	[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} - [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^b 5	<i>.i. olsodain immeromas</i>	that is, which however was transgressed	[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} - [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 4	<i>olsodin nadchoir anisin</i>	which, however, is not right	[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} - [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 5	<i>olsodain dano as chomrorcan</i>	which, however, is error	[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} - [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 3	<i>olsodain immurgu nadchoimtig linnai</i>	which, however, is not likely according to us	[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} - [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Table 127. *olsodin* (S) V^(REL) sentences.

A last note concerning Table 127 constructions is about Ml. 127^d4. Griffith and Stifter's database contains a *Translation Note*: «Normally, *olsodain* can be translated “which, however”. Thurneysen notes (p 301-2 §477; also DIL O-140.29ff.) that the phrase is here given a new subject, rendering the usual translation impossible». The «new subject» they are referring to is *anisin*, “this”. Griffith and Stifter then further add «This analysis does not seem necessary, however, since the *inchruthsin* “in that way” could be seen as the antecedent». Although the precise analysis of this sentence is still unclear, the collocation of Ml. 127^d4 within this syntactic category and its IS alignment is however not in doubt.

A second sub-group of S V marked orders is shown in example (132):

- (132) *.i. nertad denma ith [leg. denma maith] fil*
 that is exhortation of doing good that is
in hoc psalmo
 in hoc psalmo
 «that is, [it is] an exhortation of doing good that is in this psalm» (Ml. 35^c11).

Word order and information structure: (V^(COP))-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}

In (132), the sentence-initial constituent (*nertad denma ith*) is focal, while the sentence final IC (*in hoc psalmo*) is topical. Two further points need to be considered:

- a. V is a relative form (*fil*, “that is”);
- b. it is hard to translate (or even to understand) this sentence without positing a sentence-initial copula. This justifies the (V^(COP)) in the word order and information structure analysis above.

We just noticed how relative clauses modifying a nominal head are disciplined under the IS perspective so that the head is topical and the relative clause is focal, since it adds further information to a given referent. One may be led to conclude that also example (132) should be intended as an *olsodin*-like construction, with the head of a relative clause (*nertad denma* [*ma*]*ith*), followed by a relative clause (*fil in hoc psalmo*). Nonetheless, this is certainly not how examples such as Ml. 35^c11 should be analysed.

A first point emerges from the analysis of the broader context of the clause: *.i. is magister insalmsó .i. nertad denma ith* [**leg. denma maith**] **fil in hoc psalmo** *ergairi cech uilc*, “i.e. this psalm is *magister*, i.e. [it is] an exhortation of doing good that is in this psalm and [an exhortation] of forbidding every evil” (where the portion of the text belonging to (132) is in bold font). The first part of the gloss (namely, *.i. is magister insalmsó*) explains the topical status of *in hoc psalmo* in the sentence. What is focal, then, is that “an exhortation of doing good” is in that psalm (see Latin: *qui {psalmus} uocem magistri¹³² et exortationis inpleret*). This leads to a syntax-IS pairing definable as follows: [NP]_{FOC}-V^(REL)-[IC]_{TOP}.

Going back to point b. above, adding an understood copula before the just sketched structure gives (V^(COP))-[NP]_{FOC}-V^(REL)-[IC]_{TOP}. This is a cleft structure, without the sentence-initial copula, from both syntactic and IS standpoints.¹³² Note that the omission of the copula is rather well-attested in Old Irish, especially when it would have been a form of the 3rd person indicative (see GOI §818).

Table 128 collects all the S V sentences analysable as cleft sentences without the sentence-initial copula attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 20 ^b 17	<i>dogailse fodruar</i>	grief which has caused it	(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIXO) _{TOP}
Ml. 21 ^c 10	<i>et sicut bis and</i> [<i>amal</i>] <i> sodin</i>	and [it is] <i>sicut</i> that is there in that case	(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 29 ^d 6	<i>inna intled</i> [leg. intleda] <i>betis dillithi</i>	[that is] the snares which had to be turned aside	(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} -V- [Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^b 5	<i>essu rubuthoisech hisuidiu</i>	[it is] Joshua who was the leader in this	(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}

¹³² Cleft (and pseudo-cleft) structures will be treated in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Ml. 90 ^a 10	<i>et inponentem modum. bís and- amalsodin</i>	and [it is] <i>inponentem modum</i> which is there in that case	(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 108 ^c 16	<i>tuae .i. adæ bís archiunn amal sodin</i>	[it is] <i>tuae</i> , i.e. O God, which follows in that case	(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} -V- Adv-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^b 20	<i>.i. aingil dæ bete occomet indfir fírioin</i>	that is, [it is] the angels of God who will be engaged in guarding the righteous man	(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^b 10	<i>.i. ob₇ pello dodechuid is incomsuídigid</i>	that is, [it is] <i>ob</i> and <i>pello</i> which have entered into the composition	(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^c 3	<i>.i. in corp són nad delbaigther hua lamaib dói [leg. dóine]</i>	that is, [it is] the body which is not formed by the hands of men	(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}

Table 128. S V cleft sentences without the sentence-initial copula.

In addition to the just considered categories, 15 S V sentences remain to be analysed. Roughly, they fall into two further sub-groups. Compare example (133) and example (134):

- (133) *.i. cidnaimneda forodamarsa cose*
that is even the afflictions that I suffered until now
romferat dom aithirriuch
suffice me for my reformation
«that is, even the afflictions that I have endured until now can suffice to me for my reformation» (Ml. 22^d5).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{FOC}-V^(+INFIX.O)-[IC]_{TOP}

- (134) *.i. deacht athar no maicc ciphé ade*
that is divinity of father or of son whichever it is it
ní foindarpaide fo doinnacht macc [leg. maicc]
is not to be relegated under humanity of son
«that is, the divinity of the Father or of the Son, whichever it may be, it is not to be placed under the humanity of the Son» (Ml. 26^a1).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-V-[IC]_{FOC}

At a first look, the two clauses appear identical: a sentence-initial S is followed by a V plus an IC. Nevertheless, in (133) S is focal and IC is topical, in (134) S is topical and IC is focal. The IS of (133) can be understood on the basis of two main facts:

- i. concerning the topic of the clause, the Latin corresponding passage at Ml. 22^d5:
*et possunt mihi ad emendationem uel sola sufficere*⁵;
- ii. concerning the focus of the clause, focaliser pre-NP *cid* (“even”).

As for example (134), instead, the topical status of *deacht athar no maicc* is supported by the incidental clause *ciphé ade*.

The two categories to which (133) and (134) belong are displayed in Tables 129 and 130 respectively.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 33 ^c 12	<i>.i. cid oín dune dugneth maith</i>	that is, even one man would do good	[S] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^c 17	<i>.i. cid terissem namma nírbu toraisse les</i>	that is, even merely to resist was not fitting for him	[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 93 ^d 12	<i>.i. dílmaine aisndísnen [leg. aisndísen] atannaighni do</i>	that is, license of narration impels us to it	[S] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) -[IC] _{TOP}

Table 129. S V sentences with focal S.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 19 ^d 6	<i>intí díib bes tresa orcaid alaile</i>	the one of them that is stronger slays the other	[S] _{TOP} -[V-O] _{FOC}
Ml. 27 ^c 21	<i>.i. tabairt innan [leg. inna] diglae argair denum nuilc</i>	that is, the infliction of punishment hinders doing of evil	[S] _{TOP} -V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 28	<i>nach comaile [leg. comairle] immurgu dognither la fortach [leg. fortacht] dæ is bith suthin adæ</i>	every counsel, however, that is done with the help of God, it is lasting, O God	[S] _{TOP} -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>air nanní immairc du duaid immeairc du crist</i>	for everything that is suitable to David is suitable to Christ	[S] _{TOP} -V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^c 12	<i>.i. huaiti foirbthi dunpopul dorigensat innerégimse is indoiri</i>	that is, a few perfect ones of the people, they had made this complaint in the Captivity	[S] _{TOP} -V-O-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 110 ^d 10	<i>.i. forsamoith cath són odaig loc n̄ <dia> diaditin</i>	that is, he who is defeated in battle, he seeks a place for his protection	[S] _{TOP} -V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^c 9	<i>.i. acedardae asrubartmar isindiad et dixisti conuertemini dutiagat</i>	that is, the four things that we have mentioned, it is after <i>et</i> etc. that they come	[S] _{TOP} -V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 111 ^d 3	<i>.i. nachgním dungenam ni bid soinmech</i>	that is, every deed that we will do, it will be prosperous	[S] _{TOP} -[V] _{FOC}

Ml. 129 ^b 4 <i>.i. nach dualaig dungena dufiastar fair</i>	that is, every vice that he will do, it will be avenged upon him	$[S]_{\text{TOP}}-[V\text{-IC}]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 144 ^d 3 <i>.i. nachtorbatu coitchenn robói indib fridenum nuilc átrubalt tarhaesi ápectha</i>	that is, every common advantage that had been in them for doing evil, it has perished for their sin	$[S]_{\text{TOP}}-[V^{(+\text{INFIX})}]_{\text{IC}}_{\text{FOC}}$

Table 130. S V sentences with topical S.

In Table 130 Ml. 19^d6, *intí diib bes tresa* is well-established in the universe of discourse (see previous gloss: *acht intí bed tressa dofordiuclaim alaili*, “but whoever is stronger should devour the other”). The sentence-initial S is moreover quite complex from a morphosyntactic standpoint. In Ml. 27^c21, on the topical status of *tabairt innan diglae*, see Ml. 27^c20 (that is, the gloss preceding Ml. 27^c21), in which the “infliction of punishment” is introduced as well as activated in the universe of discourse. As for the IS of Ml. 90^c12, then, see Ml. 90^c11 (*.i. huahuathad do áis foirbthiu doronad inerigemsa*, “i.e. by a few perfect folk this complaint had been made”), which justifies the topicality of S in the following gloss. In Ml. 110^d10, the sentence-initial S is a headless relative clause (*forsamoith cath són*, “he who is defeated in battle”). In the end, on the infix with *at-bail* in Ml. 144^d3, see GOI §423.

In Table 129, note that in the first two cases the sentence-initial focal S is introduced by the focaliser *cid*. This however does not happen in Ml. 93^d12.

What emerges from a comparison between Tables 129 and 130 is that, besides similar syntactic patterns, non-relative non-cleft S V clauses in Old Irish may either have the sentence-initial S set as topic or as focus. I will venture an hypothesis concerning this behaviour exclusively at the end of the chapter, since it deals with extra-clausal constituents (ECCs), which will be matter for discussion in the next chapter. What is relevant to stress for the moment is that when the sentence-initial S is focal, it apparently belongs to structures different from cleft-like copula-less sentences considered above. The focus seems not due to a cleft syntax, but to a relocation of Ss in first position, as a consequence of a leftward rhematisation.

On a methodological ground, note that both syntactic types of sentences in Tables 128 and 129 show a sentence-initial focal S, followed by V + topical IC. Table 128 examples were classified as S V cleft sentences without the sentence-initial copula; Table 129 examples were classified as S V sentences with focal S (leftward rhematisation). The classification of examples in Table 128 as cleft sentences without the copula can mostly be based on relative verb forms (e.g. *bis/bís* in Ml. 21^c10, Ml. 90^a10, Ml. 108^c16). This separation is however not based on a strong principle, since in certain cases with direct arguments of Vs the relative status of Vs is not clear-cut, and however with clefted ICs no relative marking occurs at all (see Section 4.2.3). For the moment, I will preserve the difference occurring e.g. between Tables 128 and 129,

which is mostly based on the different translations (and analyses) of sentences proposed in Griffith and Stifter’s database: S V cleft sentences without the copula are always translated with [it is] in the database; this does not happen with S V examples where S occurs in sentence-initial position due to a leftward rhematisation. At the end of Sections 4.2.1-4.2.3, I will however re-consider the data and draw some conclusions on this difference.

What remains to be analysed is sentence (135):

- (135) *.i. cid inna hí ata beca andsom*
 that is even the things that are small in it
issuacbairi [leg. suacbairiu] indaas cechtír
 are more desirable than every land
 «that is, even the things that are small there, they are more desirable than every land» (Ml. 62^b10).

The word order and information structure analysis of this sentence is not trivial. *cid* (meaning “even”) is a widespread focaliser in Old Irish as seen above (Table 129). This would lead us to consider *inna hí ata beca andsom* the focus of the sentence. However, the Latin context of the sentence (*quia nobis [ea quæ parua sunt]_{TOP}¹⁰ uidentur quodammodo dulciora*), seems to argue in favour of the topicality of sentence-initial S and of the focality of the whole predicate *issuacbairi indaas cechtír*. For these reasons, the preferable analysis as far as example (135) is concerned is perhaps [S]_{TOP}-[V-IC]_{FOC}.

Table 131 shows quantitative data concerning S V marked order clauses attested in the Milan glosses corpus.

Analysis	Instances	% out of S V	% out of MWO ¹³³
(V ^(COP))-[S] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})	12	35.29%	3.51%
[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}	8	23.53%	2.34%
[S] _{TOP} -V-[X] _{FOC}	7	20.59%	2.05%
[S] _{TOP} -[V(-X)] _{FOC}	5	14.71%	1.46%
[S] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	4	11.76%	1.17%

Table 131. Quantitative analysis of S V sentences.

According to the data shown in Table 131, one of the most frequently attested S V sentence type is the *olsodin* sub-group. Nevertheless, due to the peculiar nature of this construction, in the quantitative analysis that will be performed in Chapter 10 such sentences

¹³³ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

shall be neglected, or rather assimilated to NPs/PPs + relative clause (see Section 9.1). A similar point can be made as far as cleft-like S V clauses are concerned: they could perhaps be more properly assimilated to other focal S-initial sentences.¹³⁴ In the end, it must be stressed how, although ranked 3rd and 4th in Table 131, S V clauses with topical Ss are shown to be considerably frequent. They are split into two typologies of sentences only on the basis of their different focus type, which is argument focus in 7 cases, predicate focus in 5.

4.2.2 O V marked orders

O V marked orders amount to 21 cases in the corpus (6.14% of marked word orders and 0.40% of total). The great majority of such sentences are cleft-like constructions, without the sentence-initial copula. First-position Os are thus focal (136):

- (136) *.i dede immefolngi dundi contuarcar*
 that is two things causes to that that is pounded
achomtuarcan
 its pounding
 «that is, two things which its pounding causes to that which is pounded» (Ml. 34^a27).

Word order and information structure: (V^(COP))-[O]_{FOC}-V-IC-[S]_{TOP}

Table 132 collects all the examples attested in the Milan glosses which are similar to (136).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 15 ^a 2	<i>trop tra donadbat som hi sunt</i>	[it is] a figure of speech, then, which he shows here	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V-[S ^{.EMPH}] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 22 ^c 1	<i>trop tra donadbat som isindísiu</i>	[it is] a figure of speech, then, that he shows in this here	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V ^[EMPH.SUBJ] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 40 ^a 15	<i>.i. taidbsin afirinne asber hí tosuch int sailm</i>	that is, [it is] an exposition of his righteousness which he utters in the beginning of the psalm	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ml. 44 ^b 10-11	<i>dalathar tra domber intrachtaita forsintestimiso [leg. intrachtairé forsintestimínso]</i>	[it is] two expositions, then, which the commentator gives upon this text	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V-S-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^b 30	<i>.i. air adradai idal dorigni cechtar indapopul</i>	that is, for [it is] worshipping of idols that each of the two peoples did	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}

¹³⁴ On that note, see what maintained on this note at the end of Sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4.

Ml. 55 ^c 17	<i>.i. ainm maicc asbered saul dúduaid</i>	that is, [it is] the name of son that Saul used to name David	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V-S- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>dechur tra tadbhat som isindisiu etir aní as emulari , aní as zelaueris</i>	[it is] a difference, then, that he shows in this between <i>emulari</i> and <i>zelaueris</i>	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- S. ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 61 ^a 23	<i>uniuersum dano asbeir</i>	then [it is] <i>uniuersum</i> that he says	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 67 ^b 3	<i>achenel fessin immurgu forchain duaid</i>	[it is] his own nation, however, that David instructs	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- [S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^d 7	<i>áquoniam eripuisti rl. asbeirsom</i>	the <i>quoniam eripuisti</i> etc. which he says	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} - V ^[EMPH.SUBJ] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^d 7	<i>aní remíérbart</i>	that which he had said before	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 75 ^a 10	<i>.i. donec transeat insidias fil lasude</i>	that is, [it is] <i>donec transeat insidias</i> that he has	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^b 11	<i>.i. trop cucumtuch , chonimbiud briathar for ingnám frecndairc adfet som</i>	that is, a figure with embellishment and abundance of words of the present deed that he speaks of	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- [S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^c 4	<i>.i. ord suidigtho á sailm adfeit som híc</i>	that is, [it is] the order of arrangement of his psalm that he sets forth here	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- S. ^{EMPH} -[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^d 4	<i>.i. aisndís sechmadachtaí dombeir som forsa todochide</i>	that is, [it is] a narrative of the past which he applies to the future	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- S. ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 10	<i>.i. cetheoira aicsin adfét som sunt síis</i>	that is, [it is] four causes that he sets forth here below	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- [S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} -Adv
Ml. 126 ^d 4	<i>asaltair cirini dombeir som dutrachtad híc</i>	[it is] the Psalter of Jerome that he brings for commentary here	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- S. ^{EMPH} -IC-[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^c 1	<i>dechur tra tadbhat som itir dóini , idlu cruthaigter foacosmailius</i>	[it is] a difference, then, which he shows between men and idols that are shaped after their likeness	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- S. ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^d 1	<i>.i. quoniam in æternum misericordia eius nogaibed indlachlas [leg. indalachlas] beus</i>	that is, [it is] <i>quoniam</i> , etc. that the second choir, moreover, used to sing	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V- [S] _{TOP}

Table 132. O V cleft sentences without the sentence-initial copula.

Ml. 44^b10-11 (but also e.g. Ml. 56^b33, Ml. 61^a23, etc.) may help to point out a relevant fact. In this gloss, between the sentence-initial focal O and V occurs the adverb *tra* (“then”). *Tra* and other similar adverbs (*dano*, *immurgu*, etc.) may or may not be attested in that position. As far as I am concerned, I have found no difference in IS terms between those examples where such adverbs occur and those where they do not (e.g. Ml. 40^a15, Ml. 55^c17, etc.). This seems

confirmed with a quick look at actual cleft sentences (see Chapter 6). Let us consider, for example, ML. 59^b2 (*.i. ní aforcenn rusuidigsíursa*, “that is, it is not the end that I have set”) and ML. 74^d4 (*ní duine didiu infoluid sin adnagursa*, “it is not, then, a man of that substance that I fear”). Both these sentences show a cleft structure, with focal O. In both cases the copula is negative, in both cases the emphatic S is topical. Nevertheless, besides the identical IS of the two sentences, in the second case *didiu* occurs after *duine*, while in the first case no adverb occurs in that position. In the end, as far as ML. 126^d4 is concerned, note the peculiar status of O, that is, definite article + NP followed by a definite genitive. This fact is worth noting if considered what highlighted by Roma (2009) on definite markers in noun + genitive NPs occurring in the Würzburg glosses:

«When the definiteness of the two nouns clash, only the head noun can carry a definiteness marker (either the article or a different determiner, such as *cach*), the dependent genitive being indefinite [...]. Otherwise (i.e. if the head noun is indefinite while the modifier is definite), the NP is split into a head noun and a Prepositional Phrase (usually headed by *de* or *do*, but possible also by other prepositions, such as *as*), e.g. Wb. 12a17 *imróol di rath in spirito nóib* >a great draught of the grace of the Holy Spirit< [...]. Such an analysis points towards the conclusion that the Irish article was as a rule a definiteness marker for NPs rather than simply for nouns in the N+NG configuration» (Roma 2009: 229-230).

Roma (2009) highlighted also that rare but attested instances featuring “double determiner” (that is, both the noun and the genitive introduced by a definite article) could appear where the doubling of the article highlights a stronger anaphoric relationship. To put it another way, a relationship where the definiteness of the head NP is linked to the previous text. ML. 126^d4, in Table 132, seems not that far from this type of behaviour. Truly, the genitive is not introduced by a determiner, but it is “inherently definite” (Roma 2009: 229). This fact, in addition to the general sense of the gloss itself which recalls the Psalter of Jerome as relevant in the context described by the gloss, makes ML. 126^d4 perhaps analysable as an instance of DetN+DetGen, in Roma’s terms.

In a later article focalised on the Milan glosses, Roma (2014) noted that in the Milan glosses the frequency of double-determiner NPs is higher than in the Würzburg glosses (6.78% vs. 3.61%). The same ML. 126^d4 is included in Roma’s analysis:

«ML 126d4 *a saltair cirini (domber som du trachtad)* ‘the Psalter of Jerome that he brings for commentary’ (this example may rather be analysed similarly to no. 36, with proleptic possessive, even though no other case of the purported structure [(P)[[Poss N[NGdef]]REL] occurs in ML)» (Roma 2014: 159)».¹³⁵

¹³⁵ P = Preposition; Poss = Possessive; N = Noun; G = Genitive case; def = definite genitive noun; REL = Relative clause.

Despite the fact that I will not adhere to Roma’s analysis of *Ml. 126^d4* but to Griffith and Stifter’s (*a* = definite article nt.), what is extremely relevant here from Roma’s (2014) analysis concerns the discourse status of such complex NP structures:

- i. construction [N[DetG NG]] features a discourse status [+ identifiable];
- ii. construction [Det N[DetG NG]] features a discourse status [+ reactivated];
- iii. construction [Poss N[DetG NG]] features a discourse status [+ contrast].

As noted above, *Ml. 126^d4* can be described as constructions under ii. This analysis is coherent with the meaning of the gloss which recalls the Psalter of Jerome as relevant in the context described by the gloss, thus stressing the relationship of the NP with a previous context.

One further O V sentence is attested in the Milan glosses. It is shown in (137).

(137) *.i. nanni assagusea níœetada*
 that is whatever that (he) desires (he) will not obtain (it)
 «that is, whatever he desires, he will not obtain (it)» (*Ml. 129^b5*).

Word order and information structure: [O]_{TOP}-[V]_{FOC}

This sentence shows a very interesting syntax: a sentence-initial O is topical and not coreferenced to any phoric infix on V, which is focal. In the case of a left-dislocated object (see Chapter 5), we would expect the occurrence of an infix on V. In the case of a leftward rhematisation of O, we would expect a sentence-initial focal and not topical object. Needless to say, O would be focal also in the case of a copula-less cleft-like structure. This sentence seems comparable to non-*olsodin* non-cleft S V clauses with topical S analysed above. Consequently – as anticipated – they will be all dealt with at the end of this chapter.

In Table 133, quantitative data concerning O V sentences are collected.

Analysis	Instances	% out of O V	% out of MWO ¹³⁶
(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})	20	95.24%	5.85%
[O] _{TOP} -[V] _{FOC}	1	4.76%	0.29%

Table 133. Quantitative analysis of O V sentences.

¹³⁶ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

4.2.3 IC(/Adv) V marked orders

IC V sentences are 94 in the Milan glosses corpus (27.49% of marked word orders and 2.19% of total). Coarsely, they fall into two sub-groups: cleft-like structures and leftward rhematised structures. Example (138) shows a copula-less cleft-like sentence.

- (138) *airdoib* *danau berthair* <*thir*> *anisiu sí*
 for to them then that would be referred this below
 «for [it is] to them, then, that this below would be referred» (Ml. 37^a8).

Word order and information structure: (V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}

The demonstrative S is topical, and the sentence-initial IC is focal. Similar cases are rather numerous in the corpus. They are collected in Table 134.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^c 2	<i>.i. fochoic sechtmogat ata diabsalma isintsaltir</i>	that is, [it is] seventy-five times that <i>diabsalma</i> is present in the Psalter	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 25 ^d 17	<i>.i. didoinacht maicc is immaircide</i>	that is, [it is] of the humanity of the Son that it is fitting	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 32 ^a 10	<i>fochetoir dognither inso</i>	[it is] immediately that this is construed	(V ^(COP))-[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 8	<i>badoib berthir sanctis</i>	or [it is] to them that <i>sanctis</i> would be referred	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^a 1	<i>.i. dodia ráuc</i>	that is, [it is] to God that he applied it	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIXO] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^d 7	<i>.i. indomnuch rogabad</i>	that is, [it was] on Sunday that it was sung	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 48 ^b 11	<i>.i. dichosecrad tabernacuil rocachain duaid insalmso</i>	that is, [it is] about the consecration of the Tabernacle that David sang this psalm	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-S-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^a 14	<i>forsan dixi trachtait inda focull sa</i>	[it is] on <i>dixi</i> that these two words comment	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^a 1	<i>.i. forsaní as· corda· dtrachtid lesom anisiu</i>	that is, [it is] on <i>corda</i> that this comments, according to him	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^a 8	<i>fri finxit fochetoir dotet ásingulatim fundul nisiu</i>	[it is] with <i>finxit</i> directly that <i>singulatim</i> goes in this case	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 53 ^d 14	<i>forsammimoriam trachtid som isindisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>memoriam</i> that he comments here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-S ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^d 16	<i>forsaperdat trachtaid anisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>perdat</i> that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>inainsir intindnaculsin</i> [leg. <i>intindnaculsin</i>] <i>didiu dunecommacht dia inni saul innalamosom rogabsom insalmso</i>	[it was] at the time of that giving, then, whereby God delivered Saul into his hands, that he sang this psalm	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -S. ^{EMPH} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^c 6	<i>forsaní as dilinquat trachtaid anísiu</i>	[it is] on <i>dilinquat</i> that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^c 14	<i>forsaní as iniquitas , odium trachtid so síis</i>	[it is] on <i>iniquitas</i> and <i>odium</i> that what follows comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^b 40	<i>forsaní as iniquitatem trachtaid</i> [leg. <i>trachtaid</i>] <i>som hisunt</i>	[it is] on <i>iniquitatem</i> that he is commenting here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -S. ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^c 14	<i>forsin canoin archiunn trachtid anísiu</i>	[it is] on the following scripture-text that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^d 17	<i>forsa sagitæ trachtid som isindhisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>sagittæ</i> that he is commenting here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -S. ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 60 ^a 14	<i>for a spes trachtaid anisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>spes</i> that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 60 ^b 14	<i>forincanóin archiunn trachtid inso</i>	[it is] on the following text that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^c 1	<i>forsan homo pacis trachtataid</i> [leg. <i>trachtaid</i>] <i>anisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>homo pacis</i> that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^d 6	<i>for in similitudinem gentibus trachtid anisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>in similitudinem gentibus</i> that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 64 ^b 2	<i>dúnni bed fortachtigthi</i>	[it is] for us that it should be helped	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V}
Ml. 64 ^b 6	<i>forsan· humiliare est in puluere trachtid lesom anisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>humiliate est in pulvere</i> that this comments for him	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^b 12	<i>forsa populi sub te cadent trachtid som isindisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>populi sub te cadent</i> that he is commenting in this	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -S. ^{EMPH} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^b 14	<i>.i. trithrop asindet afele inhuli choibgi int sailmso</i>	that is, [it is] via trope that he sets forth that which is in the whole context of this psalm	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 66 ^d 8	<i>hisiria áta inpalastina hisin</i>	[it is] in Syria that that Palestine is	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^b 3	<i>.i. duchenelaib echtrannaib asrubart essaías</i>	[it is] of foreign nations that Isaiah had spoken	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^c 18	<i>.i. hi luan rogabad insalmso</i>	that is [it is] on Monday that this psalm was sung	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 77 ^a 1	<i>.i. huilliu adcumnet indatae chlaidib</i>	that is, [it is] more greatly that they wound than swords	(V ^(COP))-[Adv] _{FOC-V} -IC
Ml. 84 ^a 1	<i>forsaperficisti trachtaid som isindisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>perficisti</i> that he is commenting here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -S. ^{EMPH} -[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^b 8	<i>forcanoin simmaig trachtaid som isindí siu</i>	[it is] on the text of Symmachus that he is commenting here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC-V} -S. ^{EMPH} -[IC/Adv] _{TOP}

<p> Ml. 93^a21 <i>for dexteram tuam thrachith [leg. thrachtith] inso</i> </p>	<p>[it is] on <i>dexteram tuam</i> that this comments</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 94^c5 <i>.i. duthormuch innafochaide asbeir som anisiu</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] to exaggerate the afflictions that he says this</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-S^{EMPH}-[O]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 95^c8 <i>foraní as intendit traichtaid inso</i> </p>	<p>[it is] on <i>intendit</i> that this comments on</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 96^c10 <i>fochetoir dugnither inso</i> </p>	<p>[it is] directly that this is construed</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 102^a7 <i>.i. etir israheldu atá són</i> </p>	<p>that is, (it is) among the Israelites that it is</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 103^d26 <i>.i. hitintud chirini ata inso</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] in the translation of Jerome that this is</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 108^c9 <i>.i. araittreibhidib inna nnél asbersom in nubus</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] for the inhabitants of the clouds that he says <i>in nubibus</i></p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V^(+EMPH.SUBJ)-[O]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 110^d7 <i>.i. apersainn moysi rogabad in salm so</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] in the person of Moses that this psalm was sung</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 110^d9 <i>.i. airnaib imnedaib doneimni adé</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] against the troubles You (sg) protect us, O God</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V^(+INFIX.O)]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 111^a9 <i>.i. inn ecenocht tantum biid iarfir anisin</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] at the equinox only that that really is</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-IC/Adv-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 111^b4 <i>hosunt dudechummar a ægipt</i> </p>	<p>[it is] from here that we have come out of Egypt</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 111^b25 <i>.i. forsa quando uenit mansuetudo rl. trachtaid híc</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] on <i>quando</i> etc. that he is commenting here</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[Adv]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 112^c11 <i>.i. dia sathairmn rogabad insalm so</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] on Saturday that this psalm was sung</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 113^d3 <i>.i. dia cétaíne rogabad insalmso</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] on a Wednesday that this psalm was sung</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 113^d11 <i>.i. araithis fort su dummunetar som ani sin</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] as a reproach upon You (sg) that they consider</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-S^{EMPH}-[O]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 114^a7 <i>.i. plebs dei asídanbertheni ón</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] <i>plebs Dei</i> that we used to be called</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[NP]_{FOC}-V^(+INFIX.SUBJ)]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 115^d9 <i>.i. cummascdae adfét in salmso di buaid innam babelóndae , di thaichur [leg. thaidchur] in popuil</i> </p>	<p>that is, (it is) mixedly that this psalm speaks of the victory over the Babylonians and of the return of the people</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-S-[IC]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 116^c2 <i>.i. dithuasulgud inpopuil asindoiri rogabad insalmso</i> </p>	<p>that is, [it is] of the release of the people from the Captivity that this psalm has been sung</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 118^c6 <i>forsaní as quia cinirem trachtaid híc</i> </p>	<p>[it is] on <i>quia cinerem</i> that he is commenting here</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[Adv]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 122^c6 <i>for a faciem trachtaid som híc</i> </p>	<p>[it is] on <i>faciem</i> that he is commenting here</p>	<p>(V^(COP))-[IC]_{FOC}-V-S^{EMPH}-[Adv]_{TOP}</p>

Ml. 123 ^c 8	<i>.i. forsaní as primogenitum trachtaid som híc</i>	that is, [it is] on <i>primogenitum</i> that he is commenting here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-S. ^{EMPH} -[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 123 ^c 11	<i>forsa lætata est trachtaid híc</i>	[it is] on <i>lætata est</i> that he is commenting here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 123 ^c 16	<i>forsaní asaturauit [leg. assaturauit] eos trachtaid [leg. trachtaid] són</i>	[it is] on <i>saturauit eos</i> that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^c 11	<i>for a sancto suo trachtid anisiu</i>	[it is] on <i>sancto suo</i> that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^d 15	<i>iarsin báes doindu asberr sin</i>	[it is] after human custom that that is said	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 128 ^c 5	<i>forsam· memor fil in psalmo trachtaid ánisiu</i>	[it is] on the (word) <i>memor</i> which is in <i>psalmo</i> that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 128 ^d 14	<i>.i. is intodochidiu asberr tinnacul inna fochraicce donaib noib [leg. noibaib]</i>	that is, [it is] in the future that the giving of the rewards to saints is spoken of	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^b 8	<i>.i. a persainm rí g són forcongarar</i>	that is, [it is] in the person of a king that it is ordered	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 129 ^d 19	<i>.i. armelacht dait siu adrimet som anisin</i>	that is, [it is] as a reproach unto You (sg) that they count that	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-S. ^{EMPH} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 133 ^a 13	<i>forsaní as gratis trachtaid hisunt</i>	[it is] on <i>gratis</i> that he is commenting here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 133 ^b 1	<i>di doiri babelone rogabad fon dulso</i>	[it is] of the Captivity of Babylon that it has been sung according to this way	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 133 ^d 9	<i>forsaní asuí(r)tute trachtaid híc</i>	[it is] on <i>uirtute</i> that he is commenting here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 136 ^c 1	<i>causa metri duronad sin</i>	[it is] <i>causa metri</i> that that has been done	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 136 ^c 4	<i>etir sicut ⁊ sí atá imfrecrae lesom hí sunt</i>	[it is] between <i>sicut</i> and <i>sí</i> that he has a correspondence here	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC-IC/Adv
Ml. 138 ^c 13	<i>forsan israhel ⁊ aron ⁊ asleui trachtaid inso</i>	[it is] on Israel and Aaron and Levi that this comments	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^d 1	<i>.i. etir dichlais nogaibthe in salmso</i>	that is, [it is] between two choirs that this psalm used to be sung	(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}

Table 134. IC V cleft sentences without the sentence-initial copula.

In general terms, there is not much more to say on Table 134's clauses than what assessed above as for S V and O V comparable sentences. More specifically, in Ml. 64^b2 what is tagged as V is actually made of copula + verbal of necessity. In Ml. 65^b14, what is tagged as O is a relative clause (*afele inhuli choibgi int sailmso*, "that which is in the whole context of this psalm"). In Ml. 77^a1, what is tagged as Adv morphologically is an adjective (that is, *huilliu*,

“greater”).¹³⁷ In Ml. 115^d9, on the topical status of the sentence-final IC, see Latin: *hoc* {*argumentum*} *quoque carmen ἐπιπύκεν* {*aliter carmen laudabile interpretatur*} *est*⁽⁹⁾. In the end, on the argumental status of (*s*)*ón* (Ml. 102^a7, Ml. 123^c16), see Chapter 3.

Example (24) shows a case of a IC-initial leftward rhematised sentence:

- (139) *.i. diasoirad dilamaib asar rogab*
 that is of their deliverance from the hands of Assyrians sang
incetnæ salm
 the first psalm
 «that is, of their deliverance from the hands of the Assyrians he sang the first psalm» (Ml. 35^b24).

Word order and information structure: [IC]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}

In example (24), the sentence-initial IC is focal. As clarified above, the difference occurring between sentences with leftward-rhematised ICs as example (24) and sentences considered cleft sentences without the sentence-initial copula (see Table 35) is based on the different translations proposed in Griffith and Stifter’s database. Even more so, this is true for ICs, with which no overt relative marking on Vs occurs in case of clefting.

Worth mentioning in example (139) is also the considerable morphosyntactic heaviness of the IC in first position, which is made of a PP (*diasoirad*) modified by a second PP (*dilamaib asar*).

In Table 135, all the other IC V sentences displaying a leftward rhematisation of IC attested in the corpus are listed.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 35 ^b 24	<i>dús cia atrebea isin chathraig iarsint soirad hisin rogab inso</i>	to learn who will dwell in the city after that deliverance he sang this	[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>.i. conoibi namma doberamni do thintud in suin ebraidi sluindes ilsésu , ilintliuchtú laebreu</i>	that is, with holiness only, we apply to translate the Hebrew word that signifies many senses and many meanings for the Hebrews	[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) - [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 48 ^c 10	<i>.i. arneit ingníma asubart som deus maiestatis</i>	that is, on account of the greatness of the deed he said <i>Deus maiestatis</i>	[IC] _{FOC} -V-S ^{EMPH} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 50 ^b 8	<i>pro sustinui da [leg. dano] dauic dauid an· dixi</i>	so for <i>sustinui</i> David has put <i>dixi</i>	[IC] _{FOC} -V-S-[O] _{TOP}

¹³⁷ On that note, see Chapter 2.

Ml. 51 ^c 2	<i>.i. aircech ceneliu ciuil honid techtae molad dáé do ber som ani as chithara as beir</i>	that is, for every kind of musical instrument with which the praise of God is fitting, he puts the <i>cithara</i> which he mentions	[IC] _{FOC-V-S} ^{EMPH} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^c 11	<i>.i. trí insci redi , soirb [leg. soirbi] duadbat som , relaid</i>	that is, through plain and easy words he sets forth and shows	[IC] _{FOC-V-} [S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP/V}
Ml. 54 ^c 34	<i>forsin canoin archiunn trachtid anisiu síis ódarici incanoin</i>	this below, until the Scripture text, comments on the following Scripture passage	[IC] _{FOC-V-[S]} _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 56 ^b 16	<i>dochloud tra indligid sin rogabad insalmso</i>	in order to overthrow that view, then, this psalm was sung	[IC] _{FOC-V-[S]} _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^a 12	<i>resinchanoin hisiu atá atrachtad</i>	before this text is its commentary	[IC] _{FOC-V-[S]} _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^c 20	<i>.i. condaiscari , dimicim runleicis huait</i>	that is, with vileness and contempt you let us go from you	[IC] _{FOC-} V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 67 ^d 9	<i>.i. diatitín aringáith antuaid duralad sliab innascath antuaid</i>	that is, to protect it against the north wind, the mountain was put to shelter it from the north	[IC] _{FOC-V-[S]} _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 74 ^b 5	<i>.i. ardigail tairmtecha rechta dáé luid in ailithri</i>	that is, on account of vengeance for the transgression of Law of God he went into exile	[IC] _{FOC-V-IC}
Ml. 77 ^a 7	<i>.i. iarmét apectha , iarnarim óardard dia digail cocoir forcech n ae</i>	that is, according to the extent of their sin and according to the number of it that God might inflict punishment suitably on every one of them	[IC] _{FOC-V-S-[O]} _{TOP-} Adv-IC
Ml. 81 ^d 5	<i>.i. inaimsir mordochei rocomallad techt doib huili forecht n imdibi , duadrad dáé</i>	that is, in the time of Mordecai it was fulfilled that they all went under the law of circumcision and to worship God	[IC] _{FOC-V-[S]} _{TOP}
Ml. 86 ^d 16	<i>.i. archuit nimmaircidetad· namber duchesad</i>	that is, in respect of appropriateness, apply it to the Passion!	[IC] _{FOC-} V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 87 ^b 20	<i>.i. ardenum athule som fodaimet som achimbedacht</i>	that is, for doing His will they suffer His bondage	[IC] _{FOC-V-} [S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP-O}
Ml. 90 ^c 11	<i>.i. huahuathad do áis foirbthiu doronad inerigemsa</i>	that is, by a few perfect folk this complaint had been made	[IC] _{FOC-V-[S]} _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^a 14	<i>.i. apersain inpopuil asbeirsom innahisiu</i>	that is, in the person of the people he says these things	[IC] _{FOC-V^(+EMPH.SUBJ)-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^b 23	<i>.i. airmeit ind huachta nírubthar indib</i>	that is, for the greatness of the cold no one may exist in them	[IC] _{FOC-V-[IC]} _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^c 7	<i>.i. inaimser estoisc fine ructha som indoiri</i>	that is, at the time of the pressing of the vine they had been carried into captivity	[Adv] _{FOC-V-} [S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP-IC}

Ml. 102 ^d 3	<i>.i. hua asseilbiud 7 gudi s6n asrubart dia friu som</i>	that is, by testimony and prayer God had told them	[IC] _{FOC-V-S} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 116 ^b 5	<i>.i. iarngrad ch6ich dutiagar leu dufailti fris6r6g [leg. frisin-] in buadach</i>	that is, according to the rank of each, men come among them to welcome the victorious king	[IC] _{FOC-V} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 120 ^d 9a-b	<i>dol6r sudigthir ditiu dugr6s</i>	against a floor, a covering is always placed	[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP-Adv}
Ml. 120 ^d 9a-b	<i>dul6r nime dano sudigtir induisci</i>	against the floor of heaven, then, the waters are placed	[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^d 9	<i>.i. archuit adoinachtae dano asberr fris</i>	that is, with respect to his Manhood, also, it is said to Him	[IC] _{FOC-V-IC}
Ml. 134 ^d 2	<i>.i. cidbrothad nibiat fo m6m inna culech</i>	that is, even for a moment they will not be under the yoke of the profane	[Adv] _{FOC-V-IC}
Ml. 136 ^c 3	<i>.i. etir sed exaltaui 7 ita ata imfrecrae dano</i>	that is, between <i>sed exaltaui</i> and <i>ita</i> there is then correspondence	[IC] _{FOC-V} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 135. IC V sentences with focal IC.

In Ml. 35^b24, the whole sentence *cia atrebea isin chathraig iarsint soirad hisin* (“who will dwell in the city after that deliverance”) is considered part of an IC, governed by *d6s*. It is nonetheless also analysed in Chapter 3 Table 86. The label IC was chosen on the basis of the syntactic function of the indirect interrogative clause with respect to the verb of the main clause (*rogab*). In Ml. 37^a10, what is topical is not actually the whole IC, that is, “the act of translating the Hebrew word that signifies many senses and meanings for the Hebrews”, but the NP governed by the IC *do thintud* (i.e. *in suin ebraidi* etc). In Ml. 54^c34, note that *6darici incanoin* originally was a sequence verb (with infix object) + object. *6ricci* then developed a prepositional meaning in certain constructions, as the one into account.

To conclude the analysis of IC(/Adv) V sentences, consider e.g. Table 135 Ml. 136^c3 (*.i. etir sed exaltaui 7 ita ata imfrecrae dano*, “that is, between *sed exaltaui* and *ita* there is then correspondence”). The syntactic structure of this sentence (focal IC + V + topical S) is not that different from those of Table 134’s examples. In particular, consider for example Ml. 136^c4: *etir sicut 7 s6at6 imfrecrae lesom hi sunt*, “[it is] between *sicut* and *s6* that he has a correspondence here”. Not only the syntax and the IS of the two clauses, but even the meaning of the two sentences is rather similar. This may suggest that the above-described difference between cleft-like X V structures and leftward rhematised X V structures, based on the different translations proposed in the database, can be neglected. There is no clear reason to posit a so-strong theoretical differentiation among the two: the morphosyntax is identical, the IS is

identical, the semantics are identical. As a consequence, in the quantitative analysis of data (see Chapter 10), the two categories will be merged as examples of focalising strategies.

Table 136 reports quantitative data concerning IC(/Adv) V sentences examined in this section.

Analysis	Instances	% out of IC V	% out of MWO ¹³⁸
(V ^(COP))-[IC] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})	67	72.04%	20.06%
[IC] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})	27	27.96%	8.09%

Table 136. Quantitative analysis of IC V sentences.

In the totality of cases, a sentence-initial IC marks the focus of the clause.

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Before concluding the chapter, a further note on X V clauses is recommended. A short reconsideration of data examined in the second part of this chapter tells us that:

- i. in S V clauses,¹³⁹ sentence-initial S is focal in 14 cases (cleft-like and leftward rhematised structures are here considered as a whole), while it is topical in 12 cases;
- ii. in O V clauses, sentence-initial O is focal in 20 cases, while it is topical in 1 case;
- iii. in IC(/Adv) V clauses, sentence-initial IC is always focal (94 examples).

Leaving out the O V example with topical O for a moment, on the basis of O V and IC(/Adv) V data appears clearly how X V structures are syntactic devices employed to focalise Xs. Be such cases to be intended as cleft-like structures or not, the outcome does not change. What is significantly divergent from this framework is the picture portrayed by S V clauses, which are roughly equally divided among S-focal and S-topical examples.

I am convinced that this difference in alignments is due to a peculiar syntactic behaviour of Ss in Old Irish. In the next chapter, extra-clausal constituents will be taken into consideration. When fronting occurs, the leftward dislocated item is topical in terms of IS and coreferent to a pronominal element occurring in the following part of the sentence. As it will

¹³⁸ MWO stands for *Marked Word Orders*.

¹³⁹ *Olsodin*-sentences are not considered here.

be shown, this is valid for Ss, Os and ICs. Nevertheless, in Old Irish Ss may happen to be left-dislocated also with zero anaphora, that is, with no overt pronominal element coreferent to the S.

Consider examples (140) and (141) below:

- (140) *intí* *diib* *bes tresa* *orcaid alaile*
 he of them that is stronger slays other
 «the one of them that is stronger slays the other» (ML. 19^d6).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-[V-O]_{FOC}

- (141) *intícharas* *nech* ₇ *fortét focertar* *side*
 he whom loves someone and helps is thrown that
 iarum hiselbad *indfirsin* *foridtet*
 after that in possession of that man that helps him
 «he whom anyone loves and helps is thrown afterwards into the possession of
 that man who helps him» (ML. 30^c3).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-V^(+ANAPH.PN)_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

Example (140) was analysed in Section 4.2.1. A sentence-initial S (*intí*; modified by a PP, *diib*, and by a relative clause, *bes tresa*) is topical and is followed by a verb. No anaphoric referential item occurs later in the clause. In example (141), a sentence initial S (*intí*; modified by a relative clause, *charas nech* ₇ *fortét*) is topical and followed by a verb. Anaphoric *side* is coreferent to S, and remarks its syntactic function in the clause, making of S in example (141) a clear case of extra-clausal constituent.

Despite this difference, sentence (140) and sentence (141) are coarsely equal: sentence-initial constituents share the same IS role, as well as syntactic function. For this reason, I am inclined to believe that left-dislocated Ss in Old Irish may be featured by zero anaphora. This will be further scrutinised in the next chapter. What needs to be stressed here is that Section 4.2.1 S V clauses appear divided into instances of topical Ss and focal Ss not due to the fact that a leftward relocation of Ss is a syntactic device employed in the language to mark, in certain cases, focuses and, in others, topics, but due to a superficial overlap of different structures. Focal sentence-initial Ss are actual cases of leftward rhematisations (assimilable to O V or IC V orders), topical sentence-initial Ss have to be intended as cases of left-dislocations (that is, Ss are extra-clausal constituents) with zero anaphora of subject.

What remains to be accounted for is ML. 129^b5, here proposed again as example (142).

- (142) *.i. nanni assagusea níœetada*
 that is whatever that (he) desires (he) will not obtain (it)
 «that is, whatever he desires, he will not obtain (it)» (Ml. 129^b5).

Word order and information structure: [O]_{TOP}-[V]_{FOC}

As noted above, in (142) there is a sentence-initial topical O, not coreferenced to any phoric infix on V, as we would expect in the case of a left-dislocated object (see Chapter 5). This sentence seems thus comparable to example (140) above. I would not however venture any hypothesis on zero anaphora of Os, as Ml. 129^b5 – which also occurs quite late in the corpus – is the only case I noticed behaving in this way. Even if this issue has not been largely investigated yet, on possible null direct objects in Old Irish see e.g. Griffith (2013).

5. Extra-clausal Constituents

Extra-clausal constituents (ECCs) have received increased interest in recent years, even though they have not been grouped under a unite denomination.¹⁴⁰ One of the first scholars who endeavoured to consider as well as classify them systematically was Dik (1997), within his Functional Grammar:

«Especially in spoken discourse [...] we often produce a variety of expressions which can be analysed neither as clauses nor as fragments of clauses. These expressions may stand on their own, or precede, follow, and even interrupt a clause, being more loosely associated with it than those constituents which belong to the clause proper. These expressions will here be called extra-clausal constituents (ECCs)» (Dik 1997: 379).

Dik (1997: 383) identifies four types of ECCs, that are differentiated according to their position in relation to the clause: (i) Absolute/free-standing ECCs, (ii) Preclausal ECCs, (iii) Clause-internal or parenthetical ECCs, and (iv) Postclausal ECCs. These types of ECCs fulfil a number of functions, but they share a few features (Dik 1997: 380-381):

- they either occur on their own, or are set off from the clause by breaking the prosodic contour;
- they are never essential to the internal structure of the clause with which they are associated in terms of morphosyntax;
- they are not sensitive to the grammatical rules operating within the clause;¹⁴¹
- they are typical of the spoken language;
- they typically occur in ongoing discourse;
- they are loosely linked to the clause, so that they cannot be analysed according to clause-internal rules;
- they can only be understood as pragmatic units.

¹⁴⁰ On that note, see Kaltenböck et al. (2016): other different terms employed to describe ECCs (or other elements sharing some linguistic properties with ECCs) are e.g. parentheticals, disjuncts, pragmatic/discourse markers, interjections, tails and afterthoughts, in subordinate clauses, vocatives, left-dislocands, formulae of social exchange.

¹⁴¹ Although they may happen to be related to the clause by coreference, parallelism and antithesis.

Also Biber et al.'s (1999: 1082 ff.) reference grammar focusses on units outside the clause. Differently from Dik (1997), however, they limit their analysis to the so-called “non-clausal units”, that is, (i) inserts and (ii) syntactic non-clausal units. Inserts are single words (e.g. Eng. *hi*), «characterized in general by their inability to enter into syntactic relations with other structures» (Biber et al. 1999: 1069).¹⁴² As for syntactic non-clausal units, they «differ from inserts in that they can be given a syntactic description in terms of the structures and categories of sentence grammar» (Biber et al. 1999: 1099).¹⁴³

Huddleston and Pullum (2002) identify a grammatical category which is defined very similarly to that of Dik's ECCs, namely “supplementation”.¹⁴⁴ “Supplements” are items not integrated into the syntax of the clause they are referred to; they also cannot function as dependents to heads. They are also separate from the host clause either in terms of intonation or in terms of punctuation and they are semantically non-restrictive (that is, referents individuated by supplements cannot serve to pick out a specific individual from a set of individuals). As for their position, supplements are either embedded into or appended to the referring clause.

ECCs were treated also by Thetical Grammar (Kaltenböck et al. 2011; Heine et al. 2013). The central point of this perspective is that not all the instances of ECCs are embedded into in a ‘host’ clause or even require a ‘host’ clause. Crucially, however, Kaltenböck et al. (2011) considers ECCs as belonging to a separate domain of grammar, Thetical Grammar, which is on a par with Sentence Grammar (Kaltenböck et al. 2016). In principle, any linguistic element (a word, a phrase, a clause) can be used as a thetical, if they can be identified by the following properties (Kaltenböck et al. 2011: 857; Heine et al. 2013: 159):¹⁴⁵

- a. they are syntactically independent from their environment;
- b. they are set off prosodically from the rest of the utterance;
- c. their meaning is non-restrictive;
- d. they tend to be positionally mobile;

¹⁴² They include interjections (*oh, ugh*), greetings (*hi, good morning, bye*), discourse markers (*well, right*), attention signals (*hey, yo*), response elicitors (*eh? see?*), response forms (*yeah, okay, mhm*), hesitators (*uh*), polite speech-act formulae (*please, thanks, excuse me*), and expletives (*God, damn*).

¹⁴³ They include elliptical replies (A: *Where did you guys park?* B: *Right over here*), condensed questions (*Not your thing?*), echo questions, exclamations (*That boy!*), and vocatives (*darling*).

¹⁴⁴ Typical supplements are non-restrictive relative clauses, appositions, content clauses (*The excuse he gave – that the train had been late – seemed to satisfy his boss*), interjections, non-finite clauses (*all things considered*), PPs like *in my opinion* and AdvPs like *frankly*.

¹⁴⁵ Theticals can be comment clauses, vocatives, formulae of social exchange, imperatives, interjections, left/right-dislocands, non-restrictive relative clauses, discourse markers, phrasal appositives, tag questions and afterthoughts.

- e. their internal structure is built on principles of Sentence Grammar but can be elliptic.

Regardless of how they are considered, on the basis of all the above definitions, it is rather clear how the core feature of ECCs is their extra-clausal status: ECCs lack a clear syntactic link to the clause they are referred to. As such, they are not part of the constituent structure of that clause and are therefore considered syntactically disjunct. This syntactic independence of ECCs was demonstrated via numerous tests (mostly in generative literature) aiming at revealing that ECCs do not form a syntactic unit with their host, so that they can be neglected without affecting the grammaticality of the rest of the structure, and that their position is outside the scope of negative operators and quantifiers in the host clause.¹⁴⁶ This is illustrated for the adverb *frankly* in the following example (1).

- (143) *Frankly, those reasons are not good enough* (ICE-GB:w2b-013-056)¹⁴⁷
- a. *It is **frankly** that those reasons are not good enough. [no focus of *it*-cleft]
 - b. How is that? ***Frankly**. [no questioning]
 - c. Ø Those reasons are not good enough. [omissibility]
 - d. **Frankly**, those reasons are good enough. [unaffected by negation of the host]

What must be stressed, however, is that although ECCs are syntactically independent from the structure of the 'host' clause, they are at the same time integrated into the host structure in linear terms, either by juxtaposition or interpolation (see e.g., Peterson 1999), as well as in terms of information structure. ECCs are indeed part of the universe of discourse of the clause they are appended to.

With regard to all the ECCs categories identified in the very first part of this chapter, I must specify how my attention will be focused on instances of dislocated NPs/PPs only, that is, NPs or PP's occurring at the beginning or at the end of the 'host' clause, with which they preserve some sort of morphosyntactic link. Among all the definitions given to similar structures in the literature, I am convinced the most glaring as well as effective one is that of Left/Right-Dislocated constituents (henceforth, LD will stand for 'Left-Dislocation' and RD for 'Right-Dislocation'). Syntactically, L/RD sentences contain no gaps, they are complete predications with or without the left/right-detached NP, which however is coreferenced to a pronominal element in the 'host' clause. See the following Italian example (144):

¹⁴⁶ See Kaltenböck et al. (2016: 4) for references.

¹⁴⁷ ICE-GB is the British component of the *International Corpus of English*.

- (144) *I libri li leggo volentieri*
 «the books, I gladly read them»

The left-dislocated NP (*i libri*) is outside the argument structure of the clause (*li leggo volentieri* only is grammatical in Italian). Nevertheless, it is coreferential to the pronominal *li*, which functions as direct object of the verb (*leggo*).

5.1 State of the art (Kaltenböck et al. 2016)

ECCs were described differently according to different grammatical models. Roughly, ECCs were accounted for in (i.) generative frameworks, (ii.) functional frameworks and (iii.) Construction Grammar frameworks.

- (i.) Early generative grammarians tried to account for their syntactic behaviour by referring to existing templates of semantic (Jackendoff 1972) or of syntactic analysis, by the application of transformations.¹⁴⁸ Syntacticians of subsequent generations, however, argued that ECCs cannot easily be reconciled with established tree-structure types of syntactic representation.

The main problem was that within the generative programme linearity is strictly bound to hierarchical structure, and all the strategies proposed to overcome such issue involved some “special assumptions” (Burton-Roberts 2006: 181), such as expanding the grammar by adding a further level of grammatical representation to describe the relation between host and ECCs (e.g., Espinal’s (1991) three-dimensional tree structure), by adding the dimension of “behindance” in addition to dominance and precedence (De Vries 2007) or by making a basic distinction between a syntactic and a pragmatic module (e.g., Barton 1998), and ‘outsourcing’ the link to some post-syntactic level of representation, which is either semantic (e.g., Arnold 2004) or pragmatic (e.g., Espinal 1991).

Roughly, all these solutions vary with respect to where the link of ECC with their host sentences are located: in the syntactic or the non-syntactic (i.e. semantic, prosodic or pragmatic) module. Depending on the degree of syntactic integration, three different types of proposals were distinguished (Arnold 2007: 277–8; Heringa 2011: 123):

¹⁴⁸ To give an example, Ross (1973) assumes that ECCs are base-generated as a main clause and end up in a (parenthetical) adjunction structure after a transformation called sentence lifting (slifting) which moves the complement clause to the left of the main clause.

- a. “syntactically integrated analyses”: ECCs are a syntactic part of the host clause;
 - b. “radical orphanage analyses”: ECCs are not seen as part of the syntactic structure of the host at any level of syntactic representation;
 - c. “non-radical orphanage analyses”: there is a link at a later point in their derivation between ECCs and their host clauses.
- (ii.) In addition to generative lines of research, functionalism also dealt with ECCs. The main contribution in the functionalist domain is Dik’s (1997) above-mentioned work on ECCs in the framework of his Functional Grammar. This tradition regards ECCs as a single, separate category and has been continued in Heine et al.’s work (e.g., Heine et al. 2013), according to whom ECCs are featured by their own grammar (Thetical Grammar).
- Nonetheless, in most functional and cognitive accounts a general concept of ECCs is not recognised. To give an example, in Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008), vocatives and interjections are treated as lexical illocutions, various adverbs and reduced clauses are treated as operators or modifiers of different interpersonal units, non-restrictive relative clauses and appositions are treated as separate Discourse Acts. Similarly, in Systemic Functional Grammar (Halliday 1985), some types of ECCs fall under the category of textual metafunction (e.g. *well, right*) or of interpersonal metafunction (e.g. *frankly, in my opinion*), some are treated in terms of the ideational metafunction (e.g. *obviously, evidently*), some are even not analysed as extra-clausal, but as independent clauses with no thematic structure but which select for mood (declarative, interrogative, imperative or exclamative).
- (iii.) In the end of this short survey, there is Construction Grammar. However, the potential of Construction Grammar for the analysis of ECCs, due to its perspective on the close integration of form with function which defines constructions as form-meaning pairs, has not yet been fully exploited. Worth of mention are Fischer’s (2010) work, in which a constructional analysis of turn-initial pragmatic markers that precede *but*-clauses is proposed, and a number of studies analysing comment clauses from a constructional perspective (e.g., Kaltenböck 2013; Hilpert 2013).

5.2 ECCs and Information Structure

5.2.1 *Left-dislocated Cs*

According to Prince (1997), LD tokens assume three distinct functions:

- i. simplifying;
- ii. contrasting;
- iii. pre-empting violations.

As for i., consider the following context (145):

- (145) *It's supposed to be such a great deal. The guy, when he came over and asked me if I wanted a route, he made it sound so great. Seven dollars a week for hardly any work. And then you find out the guy told you a bunch of lies.*¹⁴⁹

What Prince means with “simplifying” is simplifying the discourse processing of discourse-new entities by removing them from a syntactic position disfavoured for discourse-new entities and creating a separate processing unit for them. To go back to example (145), if the pre-clausal NP *the guy* were not left-dislocated, it would be in subject position. And subject position is a dispreferred position for new referents since it is often the grammatical expression of topic.

As for ii., the LDC is used to mark a referent contrasting with an inferentially related element in the discourse. Consider the following case (146):

- (146) *“My father loves crispy rice”, says Samboon “so we must have it on the menu. And Mee Grob, too, he loves it just as much.”*¹⁵⁰

Here, the LDC coreferential pronoun is in object position, which is prototypical for discourse-new entities.¹⁵¹

As for iii., LDCs can serve to pre-empt violations on long-distance dependencies, as in the following case (147):

- (147) **CG:** *You bought Anttila?*
EP: *No, this is Alice Freed's copy.*
CG: *My copy of Anttila, I don't know who has it.*¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ The example is from Prince (1997: 121).

¹⁵⁰ The example is from Prince (1997: 125).

¹⁵¹ Mee Grob is a typical Thai dish made with rice noodles.

¹⁵² The example is from Prince (1997: 133).

In (147), the LDC *my copy of Anttila* is used to make clear that what CG does not know who has is his/her copy of Anttila, and not Alice Freed's copy.

In spite of this three-fold differentiation,¹⁵³ however, what seems clear is that LDs allow the introduction of a referent in an extra-clausal position, with the result that what would otherwise be a discourse-new referent is readily expressed as a pronoun, and thereby mapped to the subject role in a clause whose focus structure is the canonical topic-comment pattern. According to Gregory and Michaelis (2001: 1675):

«since an obvious reason for the speaker to employ such an optimizing device is precisely to place an otherwise unqualified referent in the grammatical role canonically reserved for topics, the mere fact that a preponderance of LD sentences are subject-based gives us the strong suspicion that topic promotion is something that speakers use LD to do».

Of course, this “preponderance” of subject-based LD sentences can be recognised for those languages featuring clitic subjects, such as English. What happens e.g. in Italian, where the subject pronoun is absent but the subject is indicated by the morphology of the verb, is that what tends to be left-dislocated is the direct object of the sentence (e.g. *il riso, Filippo l'ha mangiato ieri*, “the rice, Filippo ate it yesterday”). As will be seen in later sections, a similar behaviour is shown by Old Irish.

Gregory and Michaelis's (2001) idea is not far from the one proposed by Dik (1997), in whose work LDCs and thematisations are nevertheless grouped under the label of “Themes”.¹⁵⁴ For Dik (1997: 389), «a constituent with Theme function specifies an ensemble of entities with respect to which the following clause is going to present some relevant information». See for instance example (148):

(148) *As for the students, they won't be invited.*

The structure of the linguistic expression can be understood in terms of the following strategy implemented by the speaker: there is something (*the students*) with respect to which I am going to produce some information and there is what I want to say about it (*they won't be invited*). Accordingly, a Theme constituent aims at orienting the speaker/reader with respect to the discourse topics in relation to which the content of the following clause is to be interpreted. On different constructions to convey sentence topics see Maslova and Bernini (2011).

¹⁵³ Various authors as e.g. Gregory and Michaelis (2001) strongly criticised it.

¹⁵⁴ Theme is called differently but nevertheless identified as a linguistic unit by other authors (e.g. *external topic*, Foley and Van Valin 1985).

Although Theme and clause are independent of each other, this does not mean that just any term and just any clause can be combined into a Theme+clause construction. With respect to possible relations between Theme and clause, Dik (1997: 393) identifies two subcases:

- a. $(X_i)_{\text{Theme}}, (\dots(X_i)\dots)_{\text{Clause}}$
- b. $(X_i)_{\text{Theme}}, (\dots)_{\text{Clause}}$

The first subtype describes cases of LD, where the Theme is resumed within the clause by some sort of pronominal (demonstrative or personal) element (see example (150) below). In the case of this type of relation, which is the one that is relevant for the present work, Dik describes the constraints on Theme+Clause combinations in semantic/syntactic terms: «the Theme must be such that it could also have occupied the corresponding position within the clause» (Dik 1997: 394). Thus, the fact that (149) is a well-formed Theme+Clause combination correlates with the well-formedness of (150). Conversely, the relevant selection restrictions have been violated in (151) and (152).

- (149) *As for John, he is crazy about bronze statues.*
- (150) *John is crazy about bronze statues.*
- (151) **As for bronze statues, they are crazy about John.*
- (152) **Bronze statues are crazy about John.*

For Foley and Van Valin (1985), the primary function of such constructions is introducing new referents into a discourse or reintroducing a referent previously introduced but not mentioned in the immediately preceding discourse.

5.2.1.1 Methodology: Left-dislocation and Nominativus Pendens

By *nominativus pendens*, we generally mean in Old Irish a syntactic pattern in which a sentence-initial NP in the nominative case is followed by a non-relative clause and is resumed by a pronominal element (Roma 2000: 98), as in example (153). On a short but complete sketch of how this construction was considered in the literature, see MacCoisdealbha (1998: 83 and ff).

- (153) *chuíche n-aímin inmédach agtáit fir agus mná*
game enjoyable funny play it men and women
«a pleasing and enjoyable game, men and women play it» (IB 41).

Although I will not take position against the definition of *nominativus pendens*, in this thesis I will prefer to refer to constructions such as that shown in (153) with the more general label of left-dislocation. This is because my aim is to put more emphasis on the syntactic function of the sentence-initial NP in the host clause (e.g. S, or O, as will be seen below). Moreover, different structures could be considered together according to the morphology of the anaphoric pronoun, which could also be zero anaphora under certain circumstances, as seen at the end of Chapter 4. Consider, for example, sentence (154):

- (154) *.i. insce .dé. is mou ade didiu indaas*
 i.e. (of) word of God is bigger it then than
insce duini
 word of man
 «that is, of the word of God, that is bigger, then, than the word of man» (Ml. 35^c31).

In (154), sentence-initial *insce .dé.* is resumed by *ade*. As will be seen below, example (154) could be grouped together with other sentences attested in the corpus showing LDs of (topical) S, coreferential with *side/sidi/ade* (see Table 137 below). Note, then, that *insce* is glossed as genitive singular in Griffith and Stifter's database. If we agreed with this analysis (in fact, *insce* could also be a nominative), the sentence-initial NP would not even be in the nominative case. Accordingly, it would hardly fall under the label of *nominativus pendens*.

Talking about LD and not about *nominativus pendens* allows also for cases where it is a PP that occurs in sentence-initial position, resumed by an anaphoric element in the host clause (155) to be considered as belonging to the same sentence type of examples (153) and (154) above:

- (155) *.i. arlín innalaithe ised immefolngi*
 i.e. for number of the days is it that causes
éccintigi dundaímsir
 infinite to the time
 «that is, for the number of days, that is what makes time infinite [lit. that causes infinite to time]» (Ml. 17^d6).

In (155), the anaphoric pronoun *ed* occurs in a cleft environment (*is + ed + immefolngi*). In Section 5.2.1.4, I will analyse Ml. 17^d6 this way. Nevertheless, Griffith and Stifter (2013) take the sentence-initial *ar* to be a conjunction and not a preposition. Accordingly, example (155) would result as a standard case of left-dislocated S, resumed by an anaphoric element in the host clause.

MacCoisdealbha (1998) also divides LDs into sub-categories according to the syntactic function of sentence-initial items in the following host clauses, as I am proposing to do in this chapter.¹⁵⁵ Indeed, the scholar analyses the extraposition of NP as follows:¹⁵⁶

- i. Syntactical role of resumptive: **S**
 - a. ANAPHORIC RESUMPTIVE: \circ
 - b. ANAPHORIC RESUMPTIVE: *són*
- ii. Syntactical role of resumptive: **O**
 - a. ANAPHORIC RESUMPTIVE: \circ
 - b. ANAPHORIC RESUMPTIVE: infixed pronoun

All these things considered, I will label fronted N/PPs according to the syntactic function the pronominal elements coreferential with them play in the ‘host’ clause. Accordingly, hence, both sentences (154) and (155) can be analysed as instances of fronted subjects.

Following this principle, within the Milan glosses database the ensuing categories of fronting were identified:

- a. EC subject;
- b. EC object;
- c. EC IC with the syntactic function of S/O;
- d. EC NP with syntactic function of IC.

The total number of sentences featuring left-dislocation attested in the Milan glosses corpus is 44, while instances of right-dislocation are 19.¹⁵⁷ Hence, there are 63 ECC-clauses (1.47% of total), out of which 69.84% show left-dislocated constituents and 30.16% show right-dislocated constituents.

5.2.1.2 *Extra-clausal Ss*

In the Milan glosses there are 20 clauses featuring left-dislocation of subject (31.75% of ECC-clauses, 0.47% of total). At the end of Chapter 4, example (156) was taken into account as representative of this category:

¹⁵⁵ MacCoisdealbha (1998) considers resumptive constructions both the so-called *nominativus pendens* [NOM. PHRASE_r] and NPs/PPs + relative clause constructions [NOM. PHRASE_{r,r}]. The latter are not taken into account as instances of ECCs in this thesis, but as single constituents with theme-rheme alignment (see Section 9.1).

¹⁵⁶ Copular clauses are neglected here. They will specifically dealt with in Chapter 7.

¹⁵⁷ Copular clauses are not included in this chapter.

- (156) *intícharas nech 7 fortét focertar side*
 he whom loves someone and helps is thrown that
iarum hiselbad indfirsin forídtet
 after that in possession of that man that helps him
 «he whom anyone loves and helps is thrown afterwards into the possession of
 that man who helps him» (Ml. 30^c3).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-V^[+ANAPH.PN]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

In example (156), a sentence initial NP constituent (*intí*; modified by a relative clause, *charas nech 7 fortét*) is topical and followed by the verb *focertar*. Anaphoric *side* is coreferent to it, and expresses its syntactic function in the clause.

Only four further examples are attested in the corpus, showing a left-dislocated topical NP coreferent to the anaphoric pronoun *side/sidi/ade*. They are reported in Table 137.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 27 ^b 15	<i>.i. inna ancríde innafochaide dobertar forsinnáís noib ad cobratsídi cumscugud fercaē dæ dothabairt digle taranési</i>	that is, the cruelties of the afflictions that are wrought on the saints desire the stirring of the anger of God to inflict vengeance for them [i.e. the cruelties]	[S] _{TOP} - V ^[+ANAPH.PN] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 35 ^c 31	<i>.i. insce .dé. is mou ade didiu indaas insce duíni</i>	that is, of the word of God; it is greater, then, than the word of man	[S] _{TOP} -V- [ANAPH.PN] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^a 3	<i>.i. nach accuís trissanétatsat som inna anu hisin atbelat sídi 7 innasoinmecha fesin</i>	that is, every cause through which they obtained those riches, they (the causes) will perish and the prosperous things themselves	[S] _{TOP} -[V ^{[+INFIX]]_{FOC}- [ANAPH.PN/S]_{TOP}}
Ml. 115 ^d 12	<i>arintí forsmaid [leg. forsamaid] gillaid [leg. giallaid] side iarum durig</i>	for he who is defeated submits to a king afterwards	[S] _{TOP} -V- [ANAPH.PN] _{TOP} - Adv-[IC] _{FOC}

Table 137. LD Ss-sentences with topical NP coreferent to *side/sidi/ade*.

Note that in Ml. 35^c31, according to Griffith and Stifter's analysis the extra-clausal NP resumed by a pronoun functioning as S (*ade*) of V (*is mou*) is in the genitive case (*insce*). This genitive would be required by the glossed Latin word (*auctoritate*), which would be modified by *insce .dé*. As for the infix pronoun with *at-bail* in Ml. 57^a3, see GOI §423. This sentence shows an instance of predicate focus.

When the resumptive element is *side/sidi/ade*, the LD element coreferent to the subject is always topical. As for the focus type, in 4 out of 5 cases it is argumental, while in one case only it is the V to be on focus (Ml. 57^a3). As seen in previous chapters, this difference is context-based.

The most widespread subject LD sentence structure shows an anaphoric reference to the dislocated constituent via (*s*)*ón*, as in (157):

- (157) *inna trisecht tra dofoirndea són in treodata(id)*
 the three sevens then expresses it the triplicity
 «the three sevens then, that expresses the triplicity» (Ml. 2^d2).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-V^[+ANAPH.PN]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}

In (157), *tra* occurs between the extra-clausal subject (i.e. *inna trisecht*) and the verb (i.e. *dofoirndea*), thus remarking the extra-clausal status of *inna trisecht*.¹⁵⁸

The other similar cases attested in the corpus are reported in Table 138.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^d 2	(<i>a</i>) <i>nóin immurgu dofoirndea són-óintaid innatríndoti</i>	the one, however, expresses the oneness of the Trinity	[S] _{TOP} - V ^[+ANAPH.PN] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^b 6	<i>.i. intomus inchumachtai fil linní- is laigiúson indaas chumachtai doinachtæ crist</i>	that is, the measure of the power that we have; it is less than (the measure) of the power of the humanity of Christ	[S] _{TOP} - V ^[+ANAPH.PN] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 27 ^d 7	<i>.i. dlíged buthe inboicht fo mam intsommai níretaltar [leg. níretar] son doneuch naichidfitir</i>	that is, the argument that the poor should be under the yoke of the rich, that is not manifest to one who does not know it	[S] _{TOP} - V ^[+ANAPH.PN] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 18	<i>.i. in son file iarcul indi as sanctis asber són ducech [leg. ducech] sainredach , rubrigach techtas nech apud ebreos</i>	that is, the word which is behind <i>sanctis</i> is ascribed among the Hebrews to everything particular and preminent that anyone has	[S] _{TOP} -V- [ANAPH.PN] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC} -IC
Ml. 51 ^d 22	<i>aní asæculæ [leg. assæculæ] sæculorum tar æsi indí aspenitus ata són</i>	<i>saecula saeculorum</i> is for <i>penitus</i>	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -V- [ANAPH.PN] _{TOP}

¹⁵⁸ This fact, in addition to the topical status of S, supports what argued by Lash (2014) concerning “subject-1” subjects.

Ml. 72 ^d 9	<i>air nanni immeairc duduaid immeairc són ezechiaë</i>	for whatever is suitable to David is suitable to Hezekiah	[S] _{TOP} -V- [ANAPH.PN] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^a 6	<i>.i. derchoiniud dorochóinsem ni arníc imfolngi molad dait siu ón</i>	that is, the despair wherewith we had despaired of our salvation, that causes praise to You	[S] _{TOP} -[V-O] _{FOC} -IC- [ANAPH.PN] _{TOP}
Ml. 109 ^a 2	<i>misericordia immurgu dudilgud pecthae teit són</i>	<i>misericordia</i> , however, [it is] to forgiveness of sins that that applies	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -V- [ANAPH.PN] _{TOP}
Ml. 109 ^a 2	<i>ueritás immurgu dúfirinni tairngeri téit són</i>	<i>ueritas</i> , however, [it is] to truth of promise that that applies	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -V- [ANAPH.PN] _{TOP}

Table 138. LD Ss-sentences with topical NP coreferent to (*s*)ón.

Also in Table 138 Ml. 2^d2, an adverbial element, that is, *immurgu*, occurs between the extra-clausal subject (i.e. *anóin*) and the verb (i.e. *dofoirndea*) remarking the extra-clausal status of the sentence-initial constituent. In Ml. 27^d7, the topical status of *dliged buthe inboicht fo mam intsommai* can be understood from the Latin: *ostendit autem quod sit rationis aliquid propter quam patitur Dominus sub diuitum iniquitate laborare pauperem, quam quidem⁽⁶⁾ rationem⁽⁷⁾ ignorantibus taceret*. Remarkably, in the end, Ml. 89^a6 shows a case of sentence and not argument focus.

A few relevant notes must be added to comment on the clauses listed in Table 138. The first issue concerns the syntactic status of *són*. As extensively underlined, *són* is mostly analysed as an expletive pronoun, thus with no argumental status. Its analysis as anaphoric pronoun in Table 138 goes against this definition, since it is the actual subject of the host clause. It is also true that overlooking its presence would also be inaccurate. As it will be shown later, a more diachronic-oriented analysis of left-dislocation of Ss may perhaps account for such a discrepancy.

Of great interest are also Ml. 51^d22 and Ml. 109^a2. These glosses attest three examples of ‘double fronting’: the topical S stands in P₁, the focal IC occurs immediately after. Such cases should be analysed as featuring both a LD-S and a copula-less cleft structure. If we consider e.g. Ml. 51^d22, the sentence *aní asæculae* [leg. *assæculae*] *sæculorum tar æsi indí aspenitus ata són* could assume a more syntactic ground if understood as *aní asæculae* [leg. *assæculae*] *sæculorum (is) tar æsi indí aspenitus ata són*. The anaphoric *són* regularly coreferences *aní asæculae* [leg. *assæculae*] *sæculorum*.

A further group of sentences shows extra-clausal initial NPs not resumed by subject/anaphoric PNs, but by a clefted pronoun. Consider example (158):

- (158) *.i. forcitlaidi lasarobae atredese*
 that is teachers with whom there were these three things
it [add. hé] fortan roichechnatarni
 are they that taught us
 «that is, the teachers who had these three things, it is they that taught us» (Ml. 63^b1).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{FOC}-V^(COP)-[PN]_{FOC}-V^(+INFIX.O)_{TOP}

In (158), the sentence-initial NP (*forcitlaidi lasarobae atredese*) coreferences with *hé*. *Hé*, then, functions as S of the V of the pseudo-relative clause.¹⁵⁹ As normal with cleft sentences, the clefted item is focal. In the case of this example, the focal value of *hé* prevails over the topicalising force of the left dislocation, since *forcitlaidi lasarobae atredese* is focal as well.

The other examples of LD Ss-sentences + cleft structures behaving this way are collected in Table 139.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 115 ^a 14	<i>digal formaccu israhel huili immalle is [leg. ised] fil isin cétnae chetbuid</i>	punishment on all the Children of Israel together, it is this which is in the first sense	[S] _{TOP} -V ^(COP) - [PN] _{TOP} -V-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 116 ^d 3	<i>.i. indigal dombeir som is ed inchosaig afreçidarcus</i>	that is, the punishment which He inflicts, it is that which indicates His presence	[S] _{TOP} -V ^(COP) - [PN] _{TOP} -V-[O] _{FOC}

Table 139. LD Ss-sentences + cleft structures.

Interestingly, examples in Table 139 and example (158) above are not assimilable under the IS perspective. In 2 out of 3 cases, the left-dislocated NP, even though coreferenced by a clefted pronominal item, is topical.¹⁶⁰ This is relevant since all clefted items encountered until now as well as those that will be analysed in Chapter 6 are on focus. Consider e.g. Table 140 Ml. 115^a14. In this sentence *digal formaccu israhel huili immalle* (“punishment on all the Children of Israel together”) can be analysed as topical with no doubt on the basis of Latin: *ob hoc itaque odio habui et auersatus sum⁽¹³⁾ omnem illam generationem { .i. filiorum israhel } quia mihi in eís morum prauitas displicebat. Aliter⁽¹⁴⁾ { id est }, nihil patribus uestris ad deponendam⁽¹⁵⁾ infidilitatem profuit quod multo tempore, id est xl annís, peccatores { .i. de*

¹⁵⁹ See Chapter 6 for a detailed analysis of cleft structures.

¹⁶⁰ This alignment partially sustains what highlighted by Schram (2016) and taken into account in Section 1.2.2.

israheļ obpremere⁽¹⁶⁾ uirtutum mearum testes fuerunt⁽¹⁷⁾. Ml. 116^d3 also behaves similarly. Conversely, in Ml. 63^b1 (example (158) above) the extra-clausal constituent is focal, coherently with the clefted status of the resumptive pronoun *hé*.

The other 2 cases of left-dislocation of S attested in the Milan glosses are collected in Table 140.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 42 ^b 27	<i>.i. inroithiud roithes alaith [leg. alaith] alaill riam duadbat etarcnae ndæ insin</i>	that is, the impulse by which the day impels another before it, that shows the knowledge of God	[S] _{TOP} -V-[O] _{FOC} - [PN] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^c 20	<i>anuile dorairngert dia trisinrecht sin duneuch nud comálnabadar doindnastar dún anuile sin</i>	the whole that God promised through that Law to anyone who will fulfill it, that whole shall be given to us	[S] _{TOP} -[V-IC] _{FOC} - [NP] _{TOP}

Table 140. Further examples of LD Ss-sentences.

In Ml. 42^b27, the pronominal element coreferencing the sentence-initial topical constituent (*inroithiud roithes alaith* [leg. *alaith*] *alaill riam*, “the impulse by which the day impels another before it”) is a demonstrative (*insin*). In Ml. 46^c20, the sentence-initial constituent (*anuile dorairngert dia trisinrecht sin duneuch nud comálnabadar*, “the whole that God promised through that Law to anyone who will fulfill it”) is coreferenced by the full NP (*anuile sin*, “that whole”).

To draw a first order of conclusions, the ‘prototypical’ syntax of cases of EC subject is that of the following example (159):

- (159) *inna trisecht tra dofoimdea són in treodata(id)*
 the three sevens then expresses it the triplicity
 «the three sevens then, that expresses the triplicity» (Ml. 2^d2).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-V[^(+ANAPH.PN)]_{TOP}-[O]_{FOC}

In (159), a NP in the nominative occurs at the beginning of the clause, resumed by the anaphoric pronoun *són* in the host clause, playing the syntactic role of subject. In terms of information structure, the fronted NP is the topic of the sentence, while the direct object is its focus. To this group belong also cases such as Table 137 Ml. 35^c31, in which the fronted NP could possibly not be in the nominative case.

A case worth mentioning is also (160):

- (160) *anuile dorairngert dia trisinrecht sin*
 the whole that promised God through the law that
duneuch nud comálnabadar doindnastar dún anuile sin
 to anyone who will fulfill it will be given to us that whole
 «the whole that God promised through that Law to anyone who will fulfill it,
 that whole shall be given to us» (Ml. 46^c20).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-[V-IC]_{FOC}-[NP]_{TOP}

In this sentence, the fronted NP is not resumed by a pronominal element, but from a fully inflected NP (*anuile sin*), which partially copies its antecedent.

Example (161) shows then a case of ‘double fronting’ (see Table 138):

- (161) *aní asæculae [leg. assæculae] sæculorum tar æsi*
 that that is saeculae saeculorum instead of
indí aspenitus ata són
 that that is penitus is it
 «*saecula saeculorum* is for *penitus*» (Ml. 51^d22).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[ANAPH.PN]_{TOP}

The IC *tar æsi indí aspenitus* assumes a focal position, occurring before the verb in a cleft structure without the copula.

To summarise quantitative data concerning left-dislocated subject clauses, consider Table 141.

Analysis	Type of PN	Instances	% out of S-LD ¹⁶¹	% out of ECC ¹⁶²
[S] _{TOP} -V-[PN] _{TOP}	ANAPH <i>són</i>	7	35.00%	11.11%
[S] _{TOP} -V-[PN] _{TOP}	ANAPH <i>side sidi ade</i>	5	25.00%	7.95%
[S] _{TOP} -[X] _{FOC} -V-[PN] _{TOP}	ANAPH <i>són</i>	3	15.00%	4.77%
[S] _{TOP} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -V-[X] _{FOC}	PN. ^{SUBJ}	2	10.00%	3.18%
[S] _{TOP} -V-[PN] _{TOP}	DEM <i>insin</i>	1	5.00%	1.59%
[S] _{TOP} -[V-IC] _{FOC} -[NP] _{TOP}	NP. ^{DEM}	1	5.00%	1.59%
[S] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	PN. ^{SUBJ}	1	5.00%	1.59%

¹⁶¹ S-LD stands for *Left Dislocation of Ss*.

¹⁶² ECC stands for *Extra-Clausal Constituent orders*.

Table 141. Quantitative analysis of S-LD sentences (with PNs' types differentiation).

On the basis of Table 141, it could be argued that 'canonical' left dislocations of Ss, that is, clauses with an overt pronominal item coreferencing to the left-dislocated constituent, is a living strategy in the Old Irish phase – or at least in the Milan glosses. If we focus on pronominal items occurring in sentences summarised in Table 141, however, the framework can sharply change. In 10 out of 20 cases the anaphoric pronoun is *són*, the morphosyntactic status of which is more than dubious already in Old Irish.¹⁶³ In 2 out of 3 'cleft' examples, the personal pronoun coreferencing the extra-clausal constituent is philologically added (see ML. 63^b1 and ML. 115^a14). In one case the left-dislocated constituent is resumed by a full NP (ML. 46^c20), and in one case by a demonstrative pronoun (ML. 42^b27). All these points put together, 'prototypical' LDs of subjects occur in only 7 out of 20 cases.

5.2.1.3 Extra-clausal Os

In the corpus there are 17 clauses featuring left-dislocation of object (26.98% of ECC-clauses, 0.40% of total). An example of argument focus sentence with left-dislocation of O is shown in (162):

- (162) *.i. innahí batar buthi arthuus*
 that is the things were should be first
dusrale fodiad
 put them last
 «that is, the things that should have been first, he put them last» (ML. 23^c16).

Word order and information structure: [O]_{TOP}-V^[+INFIX,O]_{TOP}-[IC/Adv]_{FOC}

In (162), the extra-clausal NP (in the nominative case) *innahí batar buthi arthuus* is coreferenced by an infixed pronoun and is topical.

After a topical fronted O, the host clause may be disciplined differently in terms of information structure. Sentence (163) is a case of predicate focus, sentence (164) is a case of sentence focus.

¹⁶³ Consider that *són* is analysed as expletive in most of the Milan glosses, even though its origin is certainly anaphoric in nature.

- (163) *.i. nanní robuthol do· dofrithoircnib*
 that is anything that was desire for him for injuries
frimsa forchui [leg. *fortchui*]
 to me he completed it
 «that is, whatever of injuries was a desire for him (to do) to me, he completed it» (Ml. 33^a18).

Word order and information structure: [O]_{TOP-}[V]_{FOC}[^(+INFLX.O)]_{TOP}

- (164) *.i. nanní frisoirc doib fascannat*
 that is anything that offends to them (they) toss it
huaadarcaib
 with their horns
 «that is, anything which offends them, they toss it with their horns» (Ml. 63^b17).

Word order and information structure: [O]_{TOP-}[V]_{FOC}[^(+INFLX.O)]_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC}

The other attested cases of argument/sentence focus clauses showing left dislocation of O are reported in Table 142.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 22 ^a 4	<i>.i. inloc diambuthabarthi ermitiu feid 7 imbu choir frecur céil dé· atléntaisom adi</i>	that is, the place to which honour should have been given and in which the worship of God was fitting, they used to pollute it	[O] _{TOP-} [V] _{FOC} [^(+INFLX.O)] _{TOP}
Ml. 29 ^a 3	<i>.i. insciám arafóimsom 7 dungní indoíndid fortacomaisom dano iarum 7 dusgní dogres isnaib salmaib</i>	that is, the figure that he adopts and applies once, he preserves it then afterwards and applies it always in the psalms	[O] _{TOP-} [V] _{FOC} [^(+INFLX.O)] _{TOP} [^(+EMPH.S)] ₋ Adv(-IC) _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 11	<i>.i. anibaepert[h] [leg. eperthi] dosuidib at beir som donaib doirsib</i>	that is, that which should have been said to them he says it to the doors	[O] _{TOP-} V[^(+INFLX.O)] _{TOP-S} . ^{EMPH} ₋ [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 12	<i>airnaní nogigiús ebarthi dia</i>	for whatever I shall pray for, God will give it	[O] _{TOP-} [V] _{FOC} [^(+INFLX.O)] _{TOP-S}
Ml. 51 ^b 27	<i>na chomairle dong</i> [leg. <i>dongní</i>] <i>duine sech dia</i> <i>nosnesrassaigedar</i> [leg. <i>nosnerassaigedar</i>] <i>dia</i>	every counsel that a man makes apart from God, God makes it void	[O] _{TOP-} [V] _{FOC} [^(+INFLX.O)] _{TOP-S}

Ml. 54 ^a 9	<i>.i. nan ní robu accubu</i> [leg. <i>accubur</i>] <i>leu atchotatsat fordia</i>	that is, whatever was a desire for them, they obtained it from God	$[O]_{TOP^-}[V]_{FOC}^{(+INFLX.O)}_{TOP^-}$ $[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 73 ^b 17	<i>.i. aní ba immaircide duthabair</i> [leg. <i>-thabairt</i>] <i>forru fesin daratsat formsa</i>	that is, that which was fitting to be inflicted upon themselves, they have inflicted it upon me	$[O]_{TOP^-}V^{(+INFLX.O)}_{TOP^-}$ $[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 94 ^b 1	<i>.i. air ní prichessom huabriaraib comallaidi operibus</i>	that is, for that which he preaches in words, he fulfils it in deeds	$[O]_{TOP^-}[V]_{FOC}^{(+SUFF.PN)}_{TOP^-}$ $[IC]_{FOC}$

Table 142. LD Os-sentences with topical O (non-cleft).

In sentences above, the phoric pronoun is a pronominal object, normally expressed by a morph bound to the verb. It is also worth noting the fact that the nominative/accusative case of the extra-clausal constituent is not relevant to express its syntactic function in the host clause, which is defined by the phoric pronoun, and not by the morphology of the dislocated constituent itself. In the end, it is remarkable the distribution of focus types: in 3 cases the focus is argumental, in 8 cases we have predicate/sentence focus. The total absence of ‘zero anaphora’ LD objects tells us that this was not a living strategy for extra-clausal Os.

Also in the case of left-dislocations of Os, the phoric item can belong to a cleft structure. Consider examples (165) and (166):

- (165) *.i. indfithis tete inpeccad*
 that is the circuit that goes the sin
ishí te [leg. *tete*] *in pian innadiglae*
 is she that goes the pain of the punishment
 «that is, the circuit by which the sin goes is that by which the pain of the punishment goes» (Ml. 28^c19).

Word order and information structure: $[O]_{FOC}V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}V-[S]_{TOP}$

- (166) *.i. aní asberinn cosse is ed*
 that is that that (I) used to say until now is it
asbээр beus
 that (I) will say again
 «that is, that which I used to say until now, it is that that I will say again» (Ml. 91^b10).

Word order and information structure: [O]_{TOP}-V^(COP)-[PN]_{TOP}-[V-Adv]_{FOC}

In (165), what prevails in terms of IS between the left-dislocation and the cleft structure is the second. The pronoun (*s*)í is on focus, and so is the coreferential left-dislocated O. On the topical status of *in pian innadiglae*, see Latin: *seueritatem ultionis adiungit. quæ omnia ueluti⁹ uestigio malefacta²⁰ consequitur*.

In (166), on the other hand, what prevails in terms of IS is the topicalising value of the LD. The sentence-initial constituent, which is made of a NP + relative clause (*aní asberinn cosse*, “that which I used to say until now”), is set as topic of the clause, even if its coreferential pronoun in the host clause is clefted (see once more the Latin glossed passage: *ut in hanc sententiam^o deliberando¹ procederem*).

Table 143 reports the remaining case of object LDs + cleft structures.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 30 ^c 17	<i>airmidetu 7 lín <inna> 7 lane inna pián is ed dogair som hoanmáim chailich</i>	the numerousness and number and fullness of the punishments, it is that he calls by the name of ‘cup’	[O] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[S ^(EMPH)] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 63 ^a 6	<i>.i. nanní bes chosse carthae latsú ised dugénsa</i>	that is, whatever is consecrated in Your (sg) eyes it is that that I will do	[O] _{TOP} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -V ^(+EMPH.S) _{FOC}
Ml. 99 ^d 9	<i>.i. ingnímai adrimter hilibur iudicum ithæ adfetsom híc</i>	that is, the deeds which are recounted in the Book of Judges, it is these that he relates here	[O] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 123 ^d 4	<i>.i. aní adchúiaid [leg. adchúaid] hitosuch int sailm is ed adfét iterum híc</i>	that is, that which he has related in the beginning of the psalm, it is that which he sets forth <i>iterum híc</i>	[O] _{TOP} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[V-Adv-Adv] _{FOC}

Table 143. LD Os-sentences + cleft structures.

Left-dislocated Os followed by a cleft structure are focal in 3 out of 6 cases (Ml. 28^c19, Ml. 30^c17, Ml. 99^d9). Three are the instances of topic as well (Ml. 63^a6, Ml. 91^b10, Ml. 123^d4).

Table 144 summarises quantitative data of O-LD sentences.

Analysis	Instances	% out of O-LD ¹⁶⁴	% out of ECC ¹⁶⁵
$[O]_{TOP}-([]V(]_{FOC})[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}-[X]_{FOC}$	11	64.70%	17.46%
$[O]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[X]_{TOP}$	3	17.65%	4.77%
$[O]_{TOP}-V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[V]_{FOC}$	3	17.65%	4.77%

Table 144. Quantitative analysis of O-LD sentences.

Left dislocation of Os (similarly to what highlighted with Ss) is a clear topicalising structure. The only exception to this alignment are a few (i.e. three) cleft structures, where the focalising value of the cleft prevails.

5.2.1.4 Extra-clausal ICs resumed with the syntactic function of Ss/Os

That of extra-clausal ICs with the syntactic function of Ss/Os is surely a minor category in Old Irish. Only one example is indeed attested in the corpus (1.67% of ECC-clauses, 0.02% of total). It is shown in (167).

- (167) *.i. arlín innalaithe ised immefolngi*
 that is for number of the days is it that causes
éccintigi dundaimsir
 infinity to the time
 «that is, for it is the number of days that causes infinity to time» (Ml. 17^d6).

Word order and information structure: $[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}-IC$

Example (167) is a case of ECC + cleft sentence. At the information structure level, *lín innalaithe* is focal, while the fact that *éccintigi* is topical may be inferred from the Latin passage (*infinitum.. namque tempus in-numero*⁽⁶⁾ *dierum est*), where *infinitum* is set as topic. Table 145 summarises quantitative data concerning sentences where extra-clausal ICs occur with the syntactic function of Ss/Os in the host clause, attested in the corpus.

Analysis	Instances	% out of IC-LD ¹⁶⁶	% out of ECC ¹⁶⁷
$[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[X]_{TOP}$	1	100.00%	1.59%

¹⁶⁴ O-LD stands for *Left Dislocation of Os*.

¹⁶⁵ ECC stands for *Extra-Clausal Constituent orders*.

¹⁶⁶ IC-LD stands for *Left Dislocation of ICs*.

¹⁶⁷ ECC stands for *Extra-Clausal Constituent orders*.

Table 145. Quantitative analysis of IC-LD sentences.

5.2.1.5 *Extra-clausal NPs with the syntactic function of ICs*

In the Milan glosses corpus there are 6 cases where a sentence-initial left-dislocated NP occurs coreferenced by an IC belonging to the host clause. Such a category represents 9.52% of ECC-sentences and 0.14% of the total number of clauses considered in this work.

Consider example (168):

- (168) *indí* *foraithmenatar* *assarú* *hicomdenum* *pectha*
 those that call to mind Assyrians in doing equally sin
friu *condírgedar* *dosuidib*
 with them reproves to them
 «those who call to mind the Assyrians in doing sin equally with them, he
 reproves them» (Ml. 34^a23-24).

Word order and information structure: [NP]_{TOP}-[V]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}

Example (168) represents well what we expect both in terms of syntax and IS from sentences belonging to this category: a sentence-initial (heavy) NP (*indí foraithmenatar assarú hicomdenum pectha friu*, “those who call to mind the Assyrians in doing sin equally with them”) occurs left-dislocated and coreferential with a phoric pronoun governed by a preposition in the host clause (*dosuidib*, “to them”). As for the focus type, in this case it is predicate focus. Nevertheless, argument as well as sentence focuses occur in the corpus as well.

Clauses with the same pairing morphosyntax ~ IS of (168) above are collected in Table 146.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 51 ^d 5	<i>.i. intamlai 7 chosmailsea dober dodemnigiud dliged n aile nitaib [leg. nitaibir] ebraide dobrethir hisuidib</i>	that is, the similes and comparisons which he puts to confirm other sayings, the Hebrew does not put an adverb in them	[NP] _{TOP} -V-S-[O] _{FOC} - [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^a 11	<i>.i. áanais [leg. anais] rudelbad doib octuístin acoirp niroisset á leth adi</i>	that is, their age that was ordained for them at the generation of their body, they will not reach the half of it	[NP] _{TOP} -V-[O] _{FOC}

Ml. 136 ^a 8 <i>.i. inmoltai dogniín se tribindius, chlais araruchiuir moguth occaib</i>	that is, the praises which I used to make in melody and choir, my voice has failed at them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V-S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
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Table 146. LD NPs>ICs-sentences with topical IC (non-cleft).

Ml. 51^d5 and Ml. 74^a11 show cases of argument focus, while Ml. 136^a8 is an instance of sentence focus. Note that in Ml. 51^d5 the IC coreferent to the left-dislocated NP occurs in sentence-final position. In Ml. 74^a11, the topical extra-clausal constituent is resumed by *a ... adi*, which itself is topical, but belongs to the same constituent as O, which is focal. In the case of this gloss, the coreferential indirect item is not governed by a preposition, but it is in the genitive case (*adi*). Then, on the 3rd singular neuter infix with *ara-*chrin** in Ml. 136^a8, then, see GOI §423.

Left-dislocated NPs>ICs are also attested with cleft structures. They are all reported in Table 147.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^c 3	<i>.i. inti as a ainm bis isnaib titlaib isdoib doaisilbter intsailm sin</i>	that is, he the name of whom is usually in the headings, it is to them that those psalms are ascribed	[NP] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V- [S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^a 13	<i>.i. áliquefacta est asber inna diad is fair trachtaid is indisiu</i>	that is, the <i>liquefacta est</i> that he mentions afterwards, it is on that that he is commenting here	[NP] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}

Table 147. LD NPs>ICs-sentences + cleft structures.

Table 148 summarises quantitative data of sentences belonging to this category.

Analysis	Instances	% out of NP>IC-LD ¹⁶⁸	% out of ECC ¹⁶⁹
[NP] _{TOP} -([]V([]FOC)[IC] _{TOP} -[X] _{FOC}	4	66.67%	6.36%
[NP] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	2	33.33%	3.18%

Table 148. Quantitative analysis of NP>IC-LD sentences.

¹⁶⁸ NP>IC-LD stands for *Left Dislocation of NPs coreferential with ICs*.

¹⁶⁹ ECC stands for *Extra-Clausal Constituent orders*.

5.2.2 Right-dislocated Cs

The pragmatics behind RDCs were studied among others by Michaelis and Lambrecht (1996). For the authors, a RDC is always topical. Consider the following example (169):¹⁷⁰

- (169) **Announcer:** *Hear what denture wearers all over America are saying about the difference Fixodent has made in their lives.*
Denture wearer: *It's amazing, the difference.*

The discourse status of the entity denoted by the RDC can be understood by considering grammatical definiteness, which reflects the cognitive status of identifiable referents. According to Lambrecht (1994), identifiable referents are those referents the speaker assumes have a representation shared by the hearer. In the following figure, an example of RDC (a), an example of nominal extra-position (b) and a presentative sentence (c) are shown.

a.	It's AMAZING	{	*a	
			the	difference.
			that	
b.	It's amazing	{	*a	
			the	DIFFERENCE.
			*that	
c.	There's	{	an	
			*the	amazing DIFFERENCE.
			*that	

Figure 1. Examples of RDC (a.), nominal extra-position (b.) and presentative sentence (c.), from Michaelis and Lambrecht (1996: 233).

The referent in b and c is not active and not topical. The referent in b cannot contain anaphoric reference to some recently introduced discourse entity, nor deictic reference to some entity in the text-external world. This fact explains the inappropriateness of the determiner *that* in b. However, the referent in b cannot also be coded as an unidentifiable referent (*an*), as it happens in c. In the case of a, the identifiability requirement stems from the topic function of the dislocated NP.

Therefore, in case of RDs the dislocated NP «is a straightforward instance of a topic» (Michaelis and Lambrecht 1996: 234), that is, a predicate representing a predictable argument

¹⁷⁰ Example from Michaelis and Lambrecht (1996: 232).

of the predicate. The relation between the NP referent and the proposition is treated as pragmatically recoverable.

RDCs are described by Dik (1997) as a subcategory falling under the definition of 'Tails'. According to Dik, tails are constituents presenting information meant to clarify or modify (some constituent contained in) the unit to which they are adjoined (170-171).

- (170) *He's a nice chap, your brother.*
 (171) *John gave the book to a girl, in the library.*

In (170), which is an instance of RD, the Tail constituent adds a further specification to a term which is already contained in the clause. It is as if the speaker fears that his initial, rather unspecific term may be insufficient for the addressee to identify the intended referent. In (171) the Tail adds a specification of a location which has not yet been referred to in the clause. However, since any action necessarily takes place somewhere, the added constituent may nevertheless be seen as a further specification of the content of the clause. Since a Tail constituent most often provides some additional information pertaining to the proper interpretation of the clause as a whole, its typical position is after the clause.¹⁷¹ Moreover, given that the Tail is always adjoined to some preceding material, it cannot usually be produced in absolute form, but must carry the marking corresponding to the item in the clause to which it corresponds.

Right-dislocations with non-copular clauses in the Milan glosses database are three-fold:

- i. RD of Ss;
- ii. RD of Os;
- iii. RD of ICs.

5.2.2.1 Right-dislocated Ss

The total amount of right-dislocations of Ss attested in the corpus is 6. This value corresponds to 9.52% of ECC-sentences and 0.14% of the total. Examples of RD of Ss in non-copular clauses are reported below in examples (172-175).

- (172) *.i. sechis cot rairléicsom ón intí dia*
 that is that is he(EMPH) has permitted him EXPL he God
 «that is, namely, He, God, has permitted him» (Ml. 44^d16).

¹⁷¹ Even if Tails may also occur as parenthetical insertions within the clause (e.g. *He pretended that it was there, in the library, that the whole thing took place*).

Word order and information structure: $[V^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{FOC} [^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP} - [S]_{TOP}$

- (173) *.i amal as trait forndiuclannar*
 that is as is quickly that is devoured
ade incháill huantenid
 it the wood by the fire
 «that is, as it is quickly that it is devoured, the wood by the fire» (Ml. 104^b5).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)} - [Adv]_{FOC} - V - [ANAPH.PN]_{TOP} - [S]_{TOP} - IC$

- (174) *IS hé rufiastar cumachtae innadiglae dombiur*
 is he that will know power of the punishment that inflict
siu [leg. dombir siu] hualondas intí duécicigi [leg. duécigi] [...]
 you(EMPH) in wrath he that will see [...]
 «it is he who will know the power of the punishment which You (sg) inflict in
 wrath: he who shall see [...]» (Ml. 111^c13).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)} - [PN]_{FOC} - V - [O]_{TOP} - [S]_{FOC}$

- (175) *aracrete són nombiad iarfir aní [...]*
 so that might be believed this would be truly that [...]
 «so that this might be believed: that would be truly that [...]» (Ml. 126^c10).

Word order and information structure: $[V]_{FOC} - [ANAPH.PN]_{TOP} - [S]_{TOP}$

Example (172) is a standard case of right-dislocation of S. The sentence-final constituent (*intí dia*) is anticipated by the pronominal element *-som*, a *nota augens*. They are both topical. What is focal is the whole verbal complex V + infix O (*cot rairléic*).

In example (173), what is tagged as Adv is morphologically an adjective (*trait*) used adverbially. The structure of the host clause is cleft, and right-dislocated S (*incháill*) is anticipated by anaphoric *ade*. It is worth noticing the final position of the IC, which occurs after the right dislocated S.

Example (174) is a further case of cleft host clause. In this case, it is the clefted item which is coreferential with the sentence-final S. Thus, they are both focal.

Example (175) is once more a standard example of RD of S. The status of the dislocation is however questionable due to the fact that the anaphoric element coreferent to the

sentence-final topical S is *són* (see above). In this clause, the sentence-final S is a clause itself (*nombiad iarfir aní* [...], “that would be truly that [...]”).

Two last examples of RD of S are shown in Ml. 36^c14 and in Ml. 44^b10-11. In the first case (*.i. it bithdommaisidi dáe gente*, “that is, the gods of Gentiles are ever-poor”), the anaphoric S *sidi* anticipates sentence-final topical *dáe gente*. What is focal here is V (*it bithdommai*). In the second case (*.i. air nísfail liium* [leg. *lium*] *innabriathrasin*, “that is, for there are not with me those words”), the infixed O *-s-* anticipates the sentence-final topical *innabriathrasin*. Note the impersonal construction of the gloss (on which see Section 3.5), which explains the fact that is S in the accusative as well as its coreference with an infixed pronominal O.

Table 149 collects quantitative data of RDs of Ss with non-copular clauses.

Analysis	Instances	% out of S-RD ¹⁷²	% out of ECC ¹⁷³
$[V^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{FOC}-[PN]_{TOP}-[S]_{TOP}$	2	33.32%	3.18%
$V^{(COP)}-[X]_{FOC}-V-[PN]_{TOP}-[S]_{TOP}$	1	16.67%	1.59%
$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$	1	16.67%	1.59%
$[V]_{FOC}-[ANAPH]_{TOP}-[S]_{TOP}$	1	16.67%	1.59%
$V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$	1	16.67%	1.59%

Table 149. Quantitative analysis of S-RD sentences.

5.2.2.2 Right-dislocated Os

The total amount of right-dislocations of Os attested in the corpus is 12 (19.05% of ECC-sentences, 0.28% of total).

The prototypical case of RD of O in the Milan glosses is shown in example (176):

- (176) *.i. intan odairleici dia isna fochaidi inna*
 that is when lets them God in the trials the
frianu
 righteous
 «that is, when God lets the righteous [fall] into tribulations» (Ml. 54^a10).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}-S-[IC]_{FOC}-[O]_{TOP}$

In example (176), a 3rd plural infixed object coreferences a right-dislocated O. They are both topical. What is focal, is the IC *isna fochaidi* only.

¹⁷² S-RD stands for *Right Dislocation of Ss*.

¹⁷³ ECC stands for *Extra-Clausal Constituent orders*.

In 9 out of 12 cases, the right-dislocated O is anticipated by an infix object and they are both topical. They are all collected in Table 150.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 19 ^b 11	<i>ciasidfiadat som dundicfet infochaidi</i> [leg. <i>innafochaidi</i>]	although they say it, that the afflictions will come thus	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S ^{EMPH}] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 39 ^c 34	<i>nisroissed inned na erchrae dogrés asoinmigi acloinaib</i>	neither anxiety nor want would ever reach their, the wicked men's, prosperity	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 39 ^d 3	<i>.i. nísrochret</i> [leg. <i>nísrochretset</i>] <i>trogai diatichtin</i>	that is, they did not believe that miseries would come to them	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^d 12	<i>.i. air atroilli dia a aigsin donaib doinib</i>	that is, for God deserves to be feared by men	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^d 3	<i>ní cosfuarsa innafurgradsin</i>	I did not find those remains	[V] _{FOC} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 109 ^b 2	<i>.i. rafoilsigestar Nathan duduíd anadfidar</i> [leg. <i>anadfiadar</i>] <i>is indsalm so</i>	that is, Nathan revealed to David what is related in this psalm	V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC-IC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^b 2	<i>nosdechrigetar æm inna ceul nephgnatha inna gnimu gnethi tris nammoltu nui</i>	the unusual songs indeed distinguish the deeds done through the new praises	V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^d 16	<i>.i. ataimet ind noib ata pecthaig</i>	that is, the saints confess that they are sinners	V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP-} [S] _{FOC-} [O] _{TOP}

Table 150. RD Os-sentences with infix topical O.

In Ml. 39^c34, note how the right-dislocated object (*asoinmigi acloinaib*) is separated from the rest of the sentence by *dogrés*. In Ml. 109^b2, the right-dislocated topical O is an open relative clause (*anadfidar* [leg. *anadfiadar*] *is indsalm so*). In Ml. 131^d16, what is tagged as O is a clause itself (*ata pecthaig*). In 4 out of 9 cases argument focus occurs; in 5 out of 9 cases sentence focus occurs.

A minor but interesting category is represented by the example shown in Table 151.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 26 ^b 10	<i>amal dundgniat indfilid linní cid insin</i>	even as the poets with us do that	V ^(+INFIX.O) _{FOC-S-} [IC] _{TOP-} [O] _{FOC}

Table 151. RD Os-sentences with infix focal O.

Ml. 26^b₁₀ shows a case of right-dislocated O coreferential with an infixed pronoun, that is, a sentence morphosyntactically identical to those seen in Table 150, but where O(s) are focal. This is underlined by the adverbial (focaliser) *cid* occurring before *insin*.

The last two examples of RDs of O attested in the Milan glosses are shown in Table 152.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 91 ^c ₁	<i>nítucussa insin· inruetarscar fanaic</i>	I did not understand that: whether it had departed or not	$[V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{FOC-}[DEM]_{TOP-}$ $[O]_{TOP}$
Ml. 128 ^c ₃	<i>.i. huare nach dermi aadamrugud ara meit</i>	that is, because he cannot express admiration of Him for the greatness of it	$V[^{(+INFIX.O)-O}]_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC}$

Table 152. Further examples of RD Os-sentences.

Ml. 91^c₁ shows a verb form with no infixed O (*nítucussa*), followed by a demonstrative yet pronominal O (*insin*). Then, a sentence with the same function of O of *nítucussa* occurs (*inruetarscar fanaic*). Even different is Ml. 128^c₃, where the right-dislocated topical O, coreferenced by an infixed pronoun, is not sentence-final, but is followed by focal *ara meit*.

Table 153 reports quantitative data of RD Os sentences attested in the corpus.

Analysis	Instances	% out of O-RD ⁷⁴	% out of ECC ⁷⁵
$([]V([]_{FOC})[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP-}[X]_{FOC-}[O]_{TOP}$	9	75.01%	14.28%
$V[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{FOC-}[X]_{TOP-}[O]_{FOC}$	1	8.33%	1.59%
$[V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{FOC-}[DEM]_{TOP-}[O]_{TOP}$	1	8.33%	1.59%
$V[^{(+INFIX.O)-O}]_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC}$	1	8.33%	1.59%

Table 153. Quantitative analysis of O-RD sentences.

As clear on the basis of Table 153, the fact that RDs should be intended as topicalising strategies in Old Irish is no doubt confirmed by data. Different cases are indeed either not clear-cut in their analysis, or due to extremely idiosyncratic contexts.

5.2.2.3 Right-dislocated ICs

One case of RD-IC is attested in the Milan glosses corpus (1.59% of ECCs, 0.02% of total). It is shown in (177):

⁷⁴ O-RD stands for *Right Dislocation of Os*.

⁷⁵ ECC stands for *Extra-Clausal Constituent orders*.

- (177) *nad taibrem ni acht oincheill asindi as int sanctis*
we (EMPH) bring but one sense from it from the sanctis
« we bring only one sense from it, from the *sanctis* » (Ml. 37^a10).

Word order and information structure: V-S.^{EMPH}-[O]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}-[IC]_{TOP}

In Ml. 37^a10, the RD-IC *as int sanctis* is anticipated by an inflected preposition: *asindi*. Also in this case the RD is a strategy with topicalising value.

6. Cleft and Pseudo-cleft Sentences

Lambrecht (2001: 466) defines cleft sentences as follows:

«a complex sentence structure consisting of a matrix clause headed by a copula and a relative or relative-like clause whose relativized argument is coindexed with the predicative argument of the copula. Taken together, the matrix and the relative express a logically simple proposition, which can also be expressed in the form of a single clause without a change in truth conditions».

According to Foley and Van Valin (1985), English cleft constructions are divided into two sub-types: pseudo- or *wh*-clefts (*who/what/where* + clause – argument_i + copula + argument_i)¹⁷⁶ and *it*-clefts (*it* + copula + predicate nominal + relative clause). The fact that the clause following a clefted item is properly relative was matter for debate since Jespersen (1937), for whom this type of sentence was a sort of special “parenthetical clause”, since

- i. the relative clause and the preceding predicative phrase should be adjacent to each other,
- ii. the relative clause and the preceding predicative phrase cannot be separated by a pause,
- iii. the relative clause and the preceding predicative phrase should be “intonationally coherent”,
- iv. the relative pronoun (or marker) can be absent in certain languages (e.g. English and Danish),
- v. in English *that* is used preferably to *who* or *which*,
- vi. in English (and French), no comma is used before the relative clause,
- vii. the relative-clause verb agrees in person and number with the immediate antecedent,
- viii. in certain languages (e.g. Italian) no *it*-like pronoun occurs introducing the clefting copula, and this pronoun would be the supposed head of relative clause,
- ix. there is no possible substitute for *it* when the element following *it is* is an adverb,

¹⁷⁶ That is, «a *wh*-word followed by a clause minus an argument constitutes the ‘subject’ of the construction, with the copula *be* as predicate and the argument from the *wh*-clause as a predicate nominal» (Foley and Van Valin 1985: 359).

- x. *it* cannot be stressed, differently from ordinary antecedents of relative clauses.

Point vii. above is in contrast with what is shown by Old Irish, where there is only number agreement. In Old Irish, we could have *is hé d'ía as éola indium-sa* ("it is God that is wise in me", Wb. 8^d23), where the relative verb *as* agrees with the (3rd singular) clefted item, but we could also have *is tú su immidfolngi dam dæ* [leg. *adæ*] ("it is You who bring it about for me, o God", Ml. 92^a17), where the clefted item is a 2nd person singular, but the relative verb is at the 3rd singular. Regardless of this, however, since Jespersen, many works have focussed on cleft structures, approaching the question both from a syntactic and an informative point of view.

Interestingly, Jespersen proposes to label the clefted item with the syntactic function it plays in the following (relative) clause. For example, a sentence as *it is the wife that decides* is represented by labels [sv] S V, given that *the wife* is subject of *decides*. Conversely, as for *it was John we saw*, the syntactic representation is [sv] O S V, given that *John* is whom *we saw*. This is a principle I will adopt in syntactically labelling clefted items in my analysis of Old Irish (pseudo)cleft sentences. Moreover, the term "pseudo-cleft sentence" will be used to identify cases in which the clefted item is pronominal in nature and has a cataphoric (rather than anaphoric, as in pure cleft sentences) value.

In Prince's (1978) view, cleft sentences have several functions under the IS perspective. Firstly, the relative clause in the cleft may represent information that the speaker does not assume the hearer is thinking about but which (s)he believes the hearer knows. In the second place, the relative clause may contain information which the speaker believes the hearer knows but is not thinking about.

Even more specific is Lambrecht's (2001) analysis. After a detailed classification of cleft types (with a prevalence of English examples), the scholar points out how cleft copula-introduced items tend to occur as foci of the proposition in which they play a semantic argument role, that is, the following relative clause. To put it another way, the presence of the copula and its overt/covert pronominal subject does not influence the semantic structure of the sentence but its IS only:

«Cleft constructions are focus-marking devices used to prevent unintended predicate-focus construal of a proposition. Clefts serve to mark as focal an argument that might otherwise be construed as nonfocal, or as nonfocal a predicate that might otherwise be construed as focal, or both» (Lambrecht 2001: 487).

For Lambrecht, cleft sentences may both be argument-focus (e.g. *it's the use of clefts that he wants to explain*), if employed with a specificational function,¹⁷⁷ and sentence-focus (e.g. *there is a linguist who wants to explain clefts*), where – differently from argument-focus clefts – the relative clause proposition is not pragmatically presupposed but asserted.

As far as cleft sentences in Old Irish are concerned, Mac Coisdealbha (1998: 143) claims how «the construction represents a very basic device in the expression of ‘emphasis’». The same point was raised by Thurneysen (1946: 492), who stressed that

«the copula may be used to bring forward not merely a particular word or phrase (§513) but also an entire subordinate clause; e.g. *is combat maithi coiscitir*, lit. “it is so that they may be good (that) they are corrected” Wb. 31^b25».

The copula, in Old Irish cleft constructions, may be omitted as well: *tol cholno forchanat*, “[it is] the will of the flesh that they teach” (Wb. 20^c20).¹⁷⁸ This order is attested also in Welsh (see GMW, §146).

Interestingly, MacCoidealbha (1998: 145-146) talks about certain sentence-initial copulas in cleft structures as verbs which lost their verbal nature in many functions, putting such copulas near to sentence particles. This way, the author is allowed to define cleft structures as functional displacements of some sentence elements:

«The COP. EMPH. constructon, then, stands apparently in marked relation among the patterns of linear ordering of elements owing to its dynamic for fronting an element in the basic order type».

MacCoisdealbha (1998) differentiates among cleft sentences showing different forwarded elements:

- i. Nominal/pronominal;
- ii. Prepositional;
- iii. Adjectival;
- iv. Adverbial;
- v. Clausal.

Table 154 below details such types of clefts on the basis of the syntactic role played by clefted items.

¹⁷⁷ The term “specificational” comes from the fact that the main function of argument-focus cleft sentences is that of specifying the value of a variable in a presupposed open proposition.

¹⁷⁸ On that note, see GOI §513.

IA	Nominal phrase i. Underlying S ii. Underlying O	IB	Pronominal phrase i. Underlying S ii. Underlying O
IIA	Prepositional phrase – nom i. Underlying Adv ii. Underlying Ind Obj iii. Underlying Nom Valence iv. Underlying Adj Valence v. Underlying Subj Apposition	IIB	Prepositional phrase – pron. i. Underlying Adv ii. Underlying Ind Obj iii. Underlying Nom Valence
III	Adjective i. Underlying Adv		
IV	Adverb i. Underlying Adv		
V	Subordinate clause i. Underlying Adv		
VI	Prepositional phrase i. Underlying valence of <i>at-tá</i>		
I-II	(Pro)nominal phrase [+prep +rel] i. Underlying Adv (pron.) ii. Underlying Ind Obj (NP)		

Table 154. Adapted from MacCoidealbha (1998: 146): «description of cleft sentence types in Wb. according to the ‘fronted’ element as a part of speech (capitals). The subclassification (small numerals) is according to the underlying syntactic rôle».

The nominal, pronominal and prepositional types cover over 90% of total in Wb. At a morphosyntactic level, MacCoidealbha underlines how there is no difference between the construction with emphatic nominal and with emphatic pronominal (types IA-IB). As for type II, it consists of cleft sentences with the fronted element having a preposition as head. Note that clefted PPs may both be argumental or not. Category VI collects clefted PPs followed by *at-tá* (e.g. Wb. 6^a19: *is amne atáa*, “it is thus that it is”). In Old Irish, as seen in Chapter 2, an adjective may be fronted in a cleft structure so as to function as an adverb to the following V (GOI, §383). This category is represented by III above. In IV are included fronted elements which in the formal grammatical sense may be termed adverbs (GOI, §383).

MacCoidealbha (1998) proposes then an analysis of the function of cleft sentences. It may be summarised as follows:

- a. Approximately 50% of analysed sentences show contrast, which could either be syntagmatic (that is, recoverable from the Irish gloss alone,¹⁷⁹ in an interglossal

¹⁷⁹ E.g. Wb. 1^b19: *i. ni delb adrsat actiscosmulius delbe*, “that is, it is not an image that they have adored, but it is the likeness of an image”.

textual relationship,¹⁸⁰ or through the Latin text alone¹⁸¹) or paradigmatic.¹⁸²

According to the author, “it may be possible to claim, then, from the above examples that the COP. EMPH. construction even in the Old Irish period was felt intuitively by the speaker to be a fronting device” (MacCoisdealbha 1998: 164-165);

- b. The clause following the fronted element is frequently contextually bound/known. This is confirmed by certain instances of the correlation between LDs and clefts structures, where new information is set as theme of the sentence;¹⁸³
- c. Opposed to these examples are those where the clefted item is a resumptive of a topicalised syntagma (see Chapter 5 e.g. Table 143, where left-dislocated ECCs resumed by pronominal items occurring clefted were shown to be either topical or focal). On this note MacCoisdealbha proposes a rather complex explanation, by maintaining that

«the [topicalised] element introduced by the indefinite [e.g. *inti*, *a^N*, *nach*], due to its high communicative dynamism, is abstracted in the linear order and in the syntactic construction (functional v. formal distribution) from the emphatic component, by a process of juncture and resumption. [...] It might be tentatively proposed that, together with the proposal made there, there is a tendency owing to the contrastive or emphatic function of the construction of the cleft sentence, to free the construction of communicatively heavy elements, i.e. expressions of high communicative dynamism. This is achieved by the marked topicalization. It is as if the functional load of the linguistic sign were too great resulting in a splitting on the surface level of the two chief communicative functions involved, viz.: the communication of new, contextually independent information and, secondly, the expression of emphasis with relation to this information» (MacCoisdealbha 1998: 171);

- d. Most of non-contrastive (that is “focal”) cleft sentences should be intended as deictic (e.g. Wb. 8^a9: *.i. is airi asbiur frit stultam*, “that is, it is therefore I say to thee *stultam*”, but see also Wb. 8^c9: *.i. ished inso dogní colnidi diib*, “that is, it is this that makes carnal men of you” v. Latin: *cum enim inter nos zelus et contentio nonne carnales estis?*). Remarkably, the fronted element strongly tends to be pronominalised. This means that what should be considered on focus is not the content, but the syntactic relation of the element with the predication;

¹⁸⁰ E.g. Wb. 10^a29: *.i. massu cut séitchi rocretis na scarad frit iarcretim*, “that is, if you have believed with your wife let her not part from you after believing”; see Latin *alligatus és uxori? Noli querere solutionem*.

¹⁸¹ E.g. Wb. 12^b13: *.i. ithé rogabsat airegas quia uiderunt apostoli*, “that is, it is they (the apostles) that have received precedence *quia uiderunt apostoli*”; see Latin *et quosdam quidem possuit Deus in ecclesia primum Apostolos, secundo profetas, tertio doctores. É (apostolos)* is in contrast with *profetas* and *doctores*.

¹⁸² E.g. Wb. 10^d23: *.i. madarlóg pridchasa .i. armetiuth et mothoschith*, “that is, if I preach for pay, that is, for my raiment and my sustenance”; see Wb. 10^d26: *.i. massuthol atomaig do manidarlóg*, “that is, if it is desire that drives me to it; if it is not for pay”.

¹⁸³ E.g. Wb. 14^d25: *.i. aní doluigimse airibsi iscrist dodluga lim*, “that is, what I forgive for you, it is Christ that forgives it with me”.

- e. So-called “attitudinal disjuncts”, that is, clefted adverbs expressing the speaker’s attitude to what he is saying, should not be considered instances of clefting.¹⁸⁴

As far as I am concerned, what I will focus on in this chapter is cleft sentences on the one hand (Section 6.1), pseudo-cleft sentences on the other (Section 6.2). The position of topical items in the pseudo-relative clause, their syntactic function, as well as the syntactic and functional role of clefted items will be matter for a deep analysis. In this chapter, only non-copular (pseudo)cleft sentences will be considered, that is, (pseudo)cleft sentences featuring a non-copular verbal structure in the pseudo-relative clause.¹⁸⁵

6.1 Cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are 505 in the Milan glosses corpus (91.16% of (pseudo)cleft sentences and 11.79% of total).

6.1.1 Clefted Ss

A regular cleft sentence type is shown in (178):

- (178) *.i. it doini saibibem dogniat inso*
 that is are men most perverse (they) do this
 «that is, the men who do this are most perverse» (Ml. 3^a5).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}$

In (178), the clefted item functions as S of the pseudo-relative clause, that is, *doini saibibem* is who *dogniat*. The total amount of cleft sentences where what is cleft is the S is 132 (26.14% of cleft sentences).

The information structure of example (178) can be interpreted rather straightforwardly by considering the corresponding Latin *locus*: *Sic ubi ergo editio mea a ueteribus {i. lxxta interpretibus} discripauerit interroga quemlibet hebreorum et liquido⁽²⁾ peruidebis mé ab emulis⁽³⁾ frustra lacerari, qui mallunt contempnere⁽⁴⁾ uideri praeclara quam discere, peruersissimi⁽⁵⁾ homines*. Thus, the O (*inso*) can without a doubt be considered topical.

Example (178) can be considered part of a sub-group of cleft sentences where the clefted focal item plays the syntactic function of S of the V, and where the topical item is post-

¹⁸⁴ E.g. Wb. 8^c15: *.i. issúáignid itfognamthidi*, “that is, it is well-known, they are labourers”.

¹⁸⁵ Instances of copular (pseudo)cleft sentences will be examined in Chapter 7.

verbal.¹⁸⁶ All the other similar cases attested in the corpus are reported in Table 155. To Table 155 belong also cases of topical infix O (e.g. Ml. 25^c5).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^c 3	<i>as a ainm bis isnaib titlaib</i>	the name of whom is usually in the headings	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 14 ^c 6	<i>ishires astoisech hisuidib</i>	that is, it is faith that is chief among them	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 14 ^d 1	<i>ma [leg. mad] argumento bes ant</i>	if it was <i>argumento</i> that was there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 20 ^b 14	<i>.i. asnimchomarc fil and</i>	that is, that it is a question that is there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^c 5	<i>.i. odib degnim immefolngither de</i>	that is, so that it may be a good deed that is produced from it	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^d 17	<i>cenibed áainmsom bes foir</i>	although it might not be his name which he has	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 25 ^c 5	<i>huare asindeacht fodaraithmine [leg. fodaraithminedar] 7 nodafortachtaigedar</i>	because it is the divinity who remembers it and helps it	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIX.O] _{TOP}
Ml. 27 ^b 1	<i>.i. combad sechmadachtae nobeth and</i>	that is, that it is a preterite which should have been there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 28 ^a 10	<i>is. in longum bis ant</i>	it is <i>in longum</i> that is there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^b 21	<i>is securum bis ánd amal sodin</i>	it is <i>securum</i> which is there in that case	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 32 ^a 5	<i>.i. amal bidnech iarmidoised dosom</i>	that is, as if there had been someone who had asked it of him	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIX.O] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 34 ^d 7	<i>7 is inpopul fadesin amal [sodin] duadchuridar ánd</i>	and it is the people itself in that case who return there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^c 23	<i>huare is dia dodbeir</i>	because it is God that gives it	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIX.O] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^b 2	<i>is manus dano bis indib</i>	it is <i>manus</i> than that is in them	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^b 15	<i>.i. airisergem [leg. airiserégem] file isintleth toisech di confitebor</i>	that is, for it is complaining that is in the first half of <i>Confitebor</i>	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>odib oinson tintá in son nebraide cosnaib ilchiailaib techtas</i>	that it be one word which should translate the Hebrew word with the many meanings that it has	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 38 ^c 11	<i>is ernaigde fil and</i>	it is prayer that is there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}

¹⁸⁶ With “post-verbal topic” is intended a topical item occurring immediately after V.

<p> $ML. 40^c_2$ </p>	<p> <i>airni fubthad fil is indlassir</i> </p>	<p> for it is not intimidation that is in the flame </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 42^a_{14}$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. nífir adrad huathuil bís leu dudia</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is not true worship out of desire which they have to God </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}-IC$ </p>
<p> $ML. 42^b_{18}$ </p>	<p> <i>bid praeceptoír asid indissed₇ nodprithched ho belaiþ</i> </p>	<p> it were a teacher who set it forth and preached it with his lips </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}/V[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}-IC$ </p>
<p> $ML. 42^b_{24}$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. asdia dorigni in firmimint nisín</i> </p>	<p> that is, that it is God who has made that firmament </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 44^a_{19}$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. amal bid nech tochorad adruim frianaimtea forteched remib</i> </p>	<p> that is, as though it were one who turned his back to his enemies in flight before them </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}-IC-IC$ </p>
<p> $ML. 44^d_{14}$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. asndia dudnuic issanimned</i> </p>	<p> that is, that it is God who has brought him into the affliction </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}-IC$ </p>
<p> $ML. 44^d_{21}$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. ní dia dudgní son</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is not God who does this </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 45^b_{14}$ </p>	<p> <i>bid adnuntiaþit nobeth híc</i> </p>	<p> that it is <i>anduntiaþit</i> that should be here </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[Adv]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 46^c_5$ </p>	<p> <i>airis mites file isintintud septien</i> </p>	<p> for it is <i>mites</i> that is in the Septuagint translation </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 48^c_{19}$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. huare as ñ aquas ní aqua tuic and</i> </p>	<p> that is, because it is <i>aquas</i>, not <i>aqua</i>, which he has put there </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}/V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC/Adv]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 49^a_{11}$ </p>	<p> <i>amal bid coscrad dognethe· do</i> </p>	<p> as though it were destruction that it had been done to it </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 51^b_{23}$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. nicosc mbec doþerr forsna pectha [leg. pecthachu] fochosmailius nanoib</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is not a little correction that is inflicted on sinners like saints </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 53^a_8$ </p>	<p> <i>airis corda doþhet fris isnaib dolaib ailib</i> </p>	<p> for it is <i>corda</i> that goes with it in the other cases </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}-IC$ </p>
<p> $ML. 53^d_9$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. is dia doroidni [leg. dodonnroidni]</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is God who sent us </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 55^c_{10}$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. no is cursachad fil is indí as non</i> </p>	<p> that is, or it is reproof that is in <i>non</i> </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 56^b_{15}$ </p>	<p> <i>airis soinnmige adchotar trisuidib</i> </p>	<p> for it is prosperity that is obtained through them </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 60^b_{16}$ </p>	<p> <i>.i. amal as nerlatu tantum rosoer maccu israhel asindoiri</i> </p>	<p> that is, as it was obedience only that delivered the Children of Israel from the Captivity </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}-IC$ </p>
<p> $ML. 61^b_{17}$ </p>	<p> <i>amal bid qui obtarent nobeth ánd</i> </p>	<p> as though it were <i>qui optarent</i> that had been there </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC/Adv]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> $ML. 62^c_7$ </p>	<p> <i>ní medullorum bís and amal sodain</i> </p>	<p> it is not <i>medullarum</i> that is there in that case </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V-[IC/Adv]_{TOP}-IC$ </p>

Ml. 62 ^c 7	<i>is consulabar dano bís and amal sodin</i>	it is <i>consulabar</i> that is there in that case	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V- [IC/Adv] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 69 ^a 16	<i>asndia dudecommacht do</i>	that it is God who has given it him	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} - IC
Ml. 72 ^c 9	<i>.i. is bec ñ di dechur fil etarru siu 7 tall</i>	that is, there is little difference between them here and there [lit. it is a little of difference which is between them here and there]	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 73 ^d 1	<i>.i. matis munamait dudagnetis</i>	that is, if it had been my enemies that did them	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 73 ^d 1	<i>maniptis mu charat [leg. charait] dudagnetis</i>	if it had not been my friends that did them	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^b 3	<i>.i. airba frendairc ba choir dosom híc</i>	that is, for it was the present that was right for him here	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP} -Adv
Ml. 76 ^d 2	<i>.i. 7 ni emnad fil and amal sodin</i>	that is, and it is not iteration which is there in that case	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V- [IC/Adv] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 78 ^b 14	<i>.i. amal bid nach toisech corpthae dudfessed</i>	that is, as though it were some corporeal leader that led him	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 81 ^c 7	<i>air is todochide ba immaircide ánd</i>	for it is the future that would be appropriate there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 84 ^c 9	<i>sech immurgu is euseph duchoid in egipt 7 maicc iacoib· olche [leg. olchene]</i>	yet, however, it was Joseph who went into Egypt and the other sons of Jacob	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP} /[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 84 ^d 4	<i>as ñ dath glas roboi forsindslib [leg. sleib] fo chosmailius saphirr</i>	it was a blue color, like sapphire, that was on the mountain	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 85 ^b 11	<i>cenided insin asreid duthabairt as intrachtad</i>	though it is not that which is easy to get out of the commentary	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^b 11	<i>is laithe foilsigedar cech rét</i>	it is the day that makes every thing clear	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^d 6	<i>bid exaggeranter duintad anemfases asbeir som</i>	that it would be <i>exaggeranter</i> that would render the <i>emphasis</i> that he uses	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 92 ^d 12	<i>is ainm caclacein [leg. cachlancein] du cach escmun aslentar hua drochgnimaib</i>	it is a name alternately to every one impure who is defiled by evil deeds	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^a 13	<i>.i. airis guth de asrubart aliquefacta est rl.</i>	that is, for it is the voice of God which had said <i>liquefacta est</i> etc.	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 95 ^a 5	<i>banert fadesin immefolnged choscur doib</i>	that it was their own strength that wrought victory for them	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP} -IC

Ml. 96 ^a 7	<i>is diltud tabairte trocaire fil sunt</i>	it is denial of the giving of mercy that is there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 98 ^d 2a	<i>.i. ní aithrech chétbada tra file sunt</i>	that is, it is not a correction of sense then that is here	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^a 15	<i>.i. bid sochaide atrefea indiutsiu</i>	that is, it is a multitude who will dwell in you	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^a 16	<i>as n̄ dia prithchibes doib</i>	that it is God who will preach to them	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^b 7	<i>is quid b̄is and</i>	it is <i>quid</i> that is there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^c 17	<i>.i. amal as n̄ dlíged fir b̄is inarim doneuch atarimi</i>	that is, as there is a true principle in counting to one that counts them	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^b 4	<i>.i. huræ [leg. huare] atan gnímai nui nadrognatha riam rognítha and</i>	that is, because it is new deeds, which had not been done before that, that had been done then	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 120 ^c 6	<i>.i. combad duthracht fordunad insalm</i>	that is, that it might be devotion that closes the psalm	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^c 10	<i>is dia rodlabrastar</i>	that it was God that had spoken it	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIX.O] _{TOP}
Ml. 128 ^a 5	<i>.i. amal bid semper nobeth and</i>	that is, as though it is <i>semper</i> that had been there	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 128 ^d 15	<i>airis sóinmige inbetho frecndairc adfidar [leg. adfiadar] is indsalm so</i>	for it is the prosperity of the present world that is spoken of in this psalm	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 130 ^a 6	<i>as n̄ duil dæ dodaforsat inna ídlu</i>	it is a creature of God who has created the idols	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 130 ^a 8	<i>.i. as nach aile dudagni</i>	that is, that it is any other that makes them	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIX.O] _{TOP}
Ml. 130 ^c 10	<i>.i. is anima aschoair hisunt</i>	that is, it is <i>anima</i> which is proper here	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^d 12	<i>.i. amal bid dia faridgellad taidchor doib as indói</i>	that is, as though it were God who had declared their return out of the Captivity	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}

Table 155. Cleft sentences with focal clefted S and post-verbal/infix topic.

In Ml. 28^a10, *in longum* has to be considered a NP and not a PP. In Ml. 84^c9, the extracausal NP in the nominative (i.e. *maicc iacoib· olche*) is focal, as it is syntactically coordinated with the clefted NP (i.e. *euseph*). A different possible analysis of Ml. 85^b11 (*cenided insin asreid duthabairt as intrachtad*), then, is the following: V^(COP)-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}, where the demonstrative S (*insin*) is modified by a relative clause (*asreid duthabairt as intrachtad*).

Example (179) shows a case of clefted S which is not a NP but a tonic pronoun:

- (179) *ishe dano cotammidethar*
 it is he then that governs them
 «it is He then who governs them» (Ml. 17^b2).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}$

In the specific case of (179), the topical element is an infixed O. The other cases of clefted tonic pronouns functioning as Ss in the pseudo-relative clause attested in the Milan glosses are reported in Table 156.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 27 ^b 13	<i>.i. amal [leg. as] ne dor(e)geni cechnduil</i>	that is, as it is He who has made every creature	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^c 8	<i>it he sisi dugaithatar</i>	it is they who are deceived	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V$
Ml. 31 ^c 25	<i>it hesi [leg. hesidi dugaithatar</i>	it is they who are deceived	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S-S]_{FOC}-V$
Ml. 32 ^a 5	<i>ised foderam dam</i>	it is that which brings it about for me	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-$ $V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}-IC$
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>ised nobiad sin</i>	it is that which it would have been there	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 43 ^d 27	<i>is ed inrochoissecht trisodin</i>	it is this that was signified thereby	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^d 3	<i>airit hesidi ata sonartam indiunni</i>	for it is they that are strongest in us	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^a 19	<i>is [add. ed] rodaucai dorad innam briathar sa</i>	it is that which brought them to say these words	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-$ $V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}-IC$
Ml. 47 ^a 2	<i>is mese nad frithchomart nech</i>	it is I who have not injured anyone	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 50 ^d 2	<i>ishe asber nad fil dleged remdeicsen dáe diadulib</i>	it is he who says there is no rule of providence of God for His creatures	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 52 ^x 00	<i>acht masued foraimthentarm and</i>	unless it is this that is recalled in it	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^a 20	<i>air it háe a [leg. ata] firien lesom</i>	for it is they who are righteous according to him	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^a 20	<i>it háe ata dirgi hochridiu</i>	it is they who are upright in heart	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>is ed insin dorosilc lo in íc [leg. dorosloinn íc] nerumsa</i>	it is that that denied healing to me	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC}-V-$ [O] _{TOP}-IC}

Ml. 59 ^c 11	<i>.i. ní tú duindnaig són 7 forta congair trisaib chumachtae 7 anfiri</i>	that is, it is not You (sg) who gives and who orders them through false power and unrighteousness	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} - V/V ^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 62 ^c 7	<i>is mé bís and</i>	it is <i>me</i> that is there	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^b 13	<i>airis hesom dubeir innninducbáil nísín dusuidib</i>	for it is He who gives them that glory	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- [O] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 90 ^b 15	<i>.i. ní hægogab insalmsó</i>	that is, it was not he who sang this psalm	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 92 ^a 17	<i>is tú su immidfolngi dam dæ [leg. adæ]</i>	it is You who bring it about for me, o God	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 92 ^a 17	<i>is tu adæ immidfolngi dam</i>	it is You (sg), O God, who bring it about for me	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 94 ^b 7	<i>.i. amal as messe dudaforsat inna duli</i>	that is, as it is I who have created the elements	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^a 20	<i>.i. airis heside nadfacaib ní di etir</i>	that is, for it is he that does not leave anything of it at all	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^c 5	<i>ised fil inderiud int sailm so</i>	it is that that is at the end of this psalm	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^b 5	<i>.i. ní mese immid folngi doibsom</i>	that is, it is not I who cause it to them	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 114 ^a 17	<i>issed bís is indfoeitsecht huatha ipse xrici sapit</i>	it is that which is to be understood from <i>ipse</i> to <i>sapit</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 116 ^a 11	<i>.i. huare it hæ ata huaislem ánd</i>	that is, because it is they that are most exalted there	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- [IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 116 ^d 6	<i>ithe foridgellat</i>	it is they which attest it	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP}
Ml. 124 ^b 3	<i>ní sní cetiddeirgni</i>	it is not we who have done it first	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP}
Ml. 124 ^b 3	<i>nísni dudrigni nammá</i>	it is not we who have done only it	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP}
Ml. 128 ^d 14	<i>ised adfiadar hisuidiu</i>	it is that which is set forth here	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- [IC/Adv] _{TOP}

Table 156. Cleft sentences with focal clefted PN.S and post-verbal/infix topic.

In Ml. 50^d2, the whole sentence *nad fil dleged remdeicsen dá diadulib* (“there is no rule of providence of God for His creatures”) is labelled as O. It is considered topical, as suggested by e.g. the previous gloss (Ml. 50^d1): *.i. ciarudreigsom namboi remcisiu dæ de asbeir immurgu nadmbí ciall la nech disluindi dliged remdeicsen*, “that is, though he complained that there was no providence of God for him, he says, however, that there is not sense in anyone who denies the rule of Providence”. In Ml. 114^a17, the topical element is actually not

the whole IC (*is indfoeitsecht huatha ipse xrici sapit*), but only the ICs modifying it (that is, *huatha ipse xrici sapit*).

A further different case is reported in example (180):

- (180) *nant he macc dæ rogenair iarcolain*
 was not he son of God that was born according to flesh
 «that it was not the Son of God who was born according to the flesh» (Ml. 24^d4).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[PN.S-S]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}

In (180), the clefted S is made of both a tonic pronoun (*he*) and a NP (*macc dæ*). Differently from MacCoisdealbha (1998, §3.6), which considers such cases as a sub-category of copular clauses, I am inclined to stress their cleft nature (for a more detailed discussion on copular clauses, see Chapter 7). Note the case agreement between *he* and *macc dæ*. This suggests that they should be considered together, as a unit.¹⁸⁷ This way, the syntactic function of S they play is stressed. In Table 157 all the similar cases attested in the corpus are reported.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 27 ^d 2	<i>ised inso tosach indalasailm dognither dunt salmso laebreo</i>	this is the beginning of the second psalm which is made from this psalm among the Hebrews	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 36 ^a 19	<i>.i. is ed indas indfirseo beus átrefea hitabernacuil dé</i>	that is, this is the type of man further who shall dwell in the tabernacle of God	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 38 ^c 3	<i>.i. ní hé apstal citarogab intest[m] <n> inso</i>	that is, it is not the apostle who first uttered this text	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 33	<i>.i. is ed inso file isind ebrae tar aesi qui oderunt iustus delinquent</i>	that is, it is this which is in the Hebrew in place of <i>qui</i> etc.	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>isedinsin fodera innerigim</i>	that is what causes the compliant	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>ised dano insin doroslúind cainchomrac armuchnamaibse</i>	it is that moreover that denied peace to my bones	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[O] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 63 ^a 2	<i>.i. issí inciall fil and</i>	that is, this is the sense that is there	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^d 4	<i>is ed inso fil lasuide</i>	it is this that he has	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP}

¹⁸⁷ Note that this pronominal element could occur in every copular clause, when the predicate is definite (see e.g. Section 7.1 Table 202).

ML. 68 ^a 15	<i>airis ed ins [leg. insin] immefolgi [leg. immefolgni] asonartnugudsi tri fortacht dæ</i>	for it is that which causes its strengthening through the help of God	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[O] _{TOP} -IC
ML. 83 ^b 1	<i>.i. issí inne fil is indi as fluit</i>	that is, this is the sense that is in <i>fluit</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP}
ML. 91 ^a 19	<i>.i. connided inso fil ánd</i>	that is, so that this is what is there	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
ML. 138 ^c 3	<i>.i. nochis si inanim són nadelbaigther hua lamaib doine</i>	that is, it is the soul that is not formed by the hands of men	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP}

Table 157. Cleft sentences with focal clefted PN.S-S and post-verbal/infix topic.

Remarkably, in ML. 54^a33, in ML. 55^d11, in ML. 58^a11 and in ML. 63^d4, what is labelled as S is a demonstrative pronoun. On the infixation of the pronoun with *fo-fera*, in ML. 55^d11, see GOI §425.

It is not true that cleft sentences where it is the S that is extraposed show with no exception instances of post-verbal topics. Consider sentence (181).

- (181) *.i. ni atobae namma fil and dogní*
 that is is not the incision only that is there that makes
dasalm de
 two psalms out of it
 «that is, it is not only the incision which is in it that makes two psalms out of it»
 (ML. 26^c2).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[S]_{FOC}-V-O-[IC]_{TOP}

In (181), the topical item (that is, *de*) is indeed sentence-final,¹⁸⁸ and preceded by the O of *dogní* (*dasalm*). Similar examples are collected in Table 158.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
ML. 63 ^b 12	<i>as nert dá du daruid som ducech imniud 7 ruhort anaimtea leu 7 nachanert fesin</i>	that it was the strength of God that led them from every trouble, and which, together with them, destroyed their enemies, and not their own strength	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIXO) _{TOP} -IC/V- O-[IC] _{TOP}
ML. 93 ^a 13	<i>is asónniche fodera do andugni frinni</i>	it is his prosperity that makes him do that which he does to us	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-IC- [O] _{TOP}

¹⁸⁸ A “sentence-final topic” means a non post-verbal topic as defined in footnote 186.

Ml. 98 ^c 10	<i>as ciall sechmadachti as erbirthe as cechtodochid [leg. a cechthodochidiu] file riam is int salm</i>	that it is the sense of a past which must be expressed by every future which is before it in the psalm	$V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC-V-Adv}$ [IC] _{TOP}
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Table 158. Cleft sentences with focal clefted S and sentence-final topic.

In Ml. 63^b12, there are two pseudo-relative clauses: the former shows a topical infix O, the second a sentence-final topical IC. I decided to classify this sentence as belonging to the sub-type of clauses with sentence-final topic, and not to the sub-type of post-verbal (or infix) topic, for a few reasons. Firstly, the infixed O and the sentence-final IC are coreferent, that is, they both refer to a 3rd plural referent. Secondly, the position of topic in the first pseudo-relative clause is less significant than the position of topic in the second pseudo-relative clause due to its morphology: an infixed O is strictly linked to a specific position in the verbal complex; this does not happen in the case of free N/PPs. In Ml. 93^a13, what is tagged as O is an open relative clause (that is, *andugni frinni*). On the infix in case of *fo-fera* see once more GOI §425.

Sentence-final topics occur also with clefted PN.Ss (182):

- (182) *amal asned as soirbem 7 fornafil*
as is it that is easiest and on which there is not
erchot inerbirt riatharinnadige
hindrance in using of torrents of drink
«as it is that that is easiest and on which there is no hindrance in the enjoyment
of torrents of drink» (Ml. 56^a13).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC-V/V-S-[IC]_{TOP}}$

The same thing just seen happens in (183) as well, where what is clefted is PN.S-S (on these elements occurring within a single unit see Table 157 above).

- (183) *is he atraachtad adi file inna diad usque*
is it its commentary of it that is in the end usque
misericordia
misericordia
«it is the commentary on it which follows down to *misericordia*» (Ml. 46^c14).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN.S-S]_{FOC-V-IC-[IC]_{TOP}}$

Example (183), differently from example (182), shows a case of PN.S-S. Also in this case, however, the topical item (*usque misericordia*) is not post-verbal, but sentence-final, as preceded by *inna diad*. The fact that the sentence-final topical PP is in Latin, and not in Irish, is worth of notice.

All cases attested in the Milan Glosses of clefted PN.Ss/PN.S.Ss with sentence-final topics are reported in Table 159 and Table 160.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 94 ^b 7	<i>isme dano bæras· mes firian foraib</i>	it is I also who will pass righteous judgment on them	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- O-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 19	<i>.i. is ed dorat foraibsom accobur tuid(ech)tae do ath(i)r(riuch) duch(um ati)re</i>	that is, it is this which had given them desire of coming again to their land	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V- IC-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^c 14	<i>is hæ dano dodauic esse iterum</i>	it was He, moreover, who has brought them out of it <i>iterum</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O) -[IC] _{TOP}

Table 159. Cleft sentences with focal clefted PN.S and sentence-final topic.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 48 ^a 21	<i>.i. is ed acumachtae cétnæ indí dé rodamsorsa dingalarsa , durat digail forsna assaru</i>	that is, it is the same power of God that delivered me from this disease, and that inflicted vengeance on the Assyrians	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O) -[IC] _{TOP} /V- O-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^b 1	<i>ised andeso [leg. andedeso] rogabad dún· isnaib argumentaib archiunn</i>	it is these two things that have been recited to us in the arguments that follow	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 20	<i>ithe innagnusi insnadat dunní int sonartae [leg. in sonartaí] innamúr doforsailced hilluathred</i>	it is the appearances which put in our mind the strength of the walls which had been resolved into ashes	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-IC-[O] _{TOP}

Table 160. Cleft sentences with focal clefted PN.S-S and sentence-final topic.

In Table 159 Ml. 118^d19, due to the fragmentary status of the gloss, it is quite hard to understand whether the one reported is a case of clefting or an instance of pseudo-cleft clause. The first opinion is the one I followed.

Example (184) constitutes a case of clefted focal S with non-overt topic:

- (184) *.i. amal bid nech immechoimairsed dano*
 that is as if was someone would ask moreover
 «that is, as if there were someone who had asked, moreover» (Ml. 20^b18).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC-V}$

In similar cases, it looks like what is topical is the elliptic O of V. Other similar cases are reported in Table 161.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 35 ^c 23	<i>maduine doberad</i>	if it were a man who gave (it)	$V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC-V}$
Ml. 58 ^c 6	<i>ba dia ɔrairleic fobith apectha som</i>	it was God who had permitted [it] on account of his sin	$V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC-V-IC}$

Table 161. Cleft sentences with focal clefted S and non-overt topic.

Note that in certain cases the morphosyntactic shape of Ss is not that of NPs, but Ss can also be – as seen above – e.g. PN.S (185), or PN.S + NP (186).

- (185) *acht is hé ɔairleci*
 but is he that allows
 «but it is He who allows» (Ml. 44^d21).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN.S]_{FOC-V}$

- (186) *is ed inso sí(s) fil ó(n)*
 is it this below that is EXPL
 «it is they who are deceived» (Ml. 118^d21).¹⁸⁹

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN.S-S]_{FOC-V}$

Table 162 collects all the examples similar to (185) and (186) attested in the corpus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 73 ^a 10	<i>airis ed insin astech latsú</i>	for it is that which is best in Your opinion	$V^{(COP)}-[PN.S-S]_{FOC-V-IC}$

¹⁸⁹ Ml. 118^d21 is however a rather unclear case. On that note, see Text Notes in Griffith and Stifter's (2013) database: «check this: impossible to tell what is gloss 21 and what is 19».

ML. 109^c4 | *.i. issí as moam* | that is, it is this which is greatest | V^(COP)-[PN.S]_{FOC-V}

Table 162. Cleft sentences with focal clefted PN.S(-S) and non-overt topic.

The total amount of cleft sentences with focal Ss is 132 (24.19% of (pseudo)cleft sentences attested in the corpus). Table 163 reports a first quantitative analysis of cleft sentences with focal Ss. Different types of Ss are highlighted in the table.

Analysis	Type of S	Instances	% out of CS ¹⁹⁰	% out of (P)CS ¹⁹¹
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC-V} -[X] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	54	10.70%	9.57%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC-V} -[X] _{TOP}	PN.S	20	3.96%	3.61%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC-V} -[X] _{TOP}	PN.S-S	13	2.57%	2.35%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC-V} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	13	2.57%	2.35%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC-V} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP}	PN.S	10	1.98%	1.81%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC-V-X} -[Y] _{TOP}	PN.S	4	0.79%	0.72%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC-V-X} -[Y] _{TOP}	PN.S-S	4	0.79%	0.72%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC-V-X} -[Y] _{TOP}	S. ^{NP}	3	0.59%	0.54%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC-V}	S. ^{NP}	3	0.59%	0.54%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC-V}	PN.S	2	0.40%	0.36%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC-V}	PN.S-S	2	0.40%	0.36%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC-V} [^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP-X/V-X-} [Y] _{TOP} ¹⁹²	S. ^{NP}	1	0.20%	0.18%

Table 163. Quantitative analysis of cleft sentences with focal S (with Ss' types differentiation).

As evidenced by Table 163, the most attested sentence type with focal S is by far the one with S.^{NP} and a post-verbal topical NP. Remarkably, the two other sub-types belonging to Table 163 top three both show post-verbal topics, even if Ss are in one case tonic pronouns, in the other tonic pronouns + S.^{NP}s.

With a specific focus on Ss' types, S.^{NP}s are the most frequent (73 instances in total), outranking the sum of PN.Ss (35) and PN.S-Ss (19). As far as these last two categories are concerned, some extra reflections can be made. In the case of PN.Ss, the clauses are not that different from pseudo-cleft sentences. In the case of pseudo-cleft sentences, what is clefted is

¹⁹⁰ CS stands for *Cleft Sentences*.

¹⁹¹ (P)CS stands for *(Pseudo)Cleft Sentences*.

¹⁹² This case requires however a deeper analysis. It shows two parallel pseudo-relative clauses. In the first one, what is topical is an infix O; in the second one, what is topical is the sentence-final IC. The infix O and sentence-final IC are coreferenced. This is the reason for the analysis proposed above. The sentence could however also be split into two different instances of clefting: clefted S with topical infix O and clefted S with sentence-final topic.

a pronoun coreferential with something occurring later in the clause (see Section 6.2). With clefted PN.Ss, what is clefted is a pronoun coreferential with something

- i. occurring outside the clause and outside the gloss (e.g. Ml. 90^b15, where *hæ* refers to Latin *DAUID*);
- ii. occurring outside the clause and (earlier) inside the gloss (e.g. Ml. 102^c5, where *ed* refers back to *.i. cuingid techta adoinmigi hisoimigi* [leg. *hisoinmigi*], “i.e. the seeking to go from adversity into prosperity”).

Cases (i.) and (ii.) above are assimilable to pseudo-cleft sentences (even if – of course – pseudo-cleft sentences, differently from these examples, feature cataphoras and not anaphoras). The only sub-type of cleft sentences with focal PN.S which cannot be strictly compared to pseudo-cleft sentences is the one where the clefted tonic pronoun is deictic in nature (e.g. Ml. 124^b3, where what is clefted is *sní*, “we”).

Cleft sentences with focal PN.S-S, in the end, should be dealt with carefully. MacCoisdealbha (1998) considers them in the same way as copular clauses (§3.6). I would prefer not to follow such analysis, since PN.S and S tend to show a strong morphosyntactic coherence, which leads me to posit them as belonging to a single constituent (see discussion following example (180) above and more generally on copular clauses (Chapter 7)). Even more so, as it will be also seen in Chapter 7, some cases of actual copular clauses confirm this hypothesis (e.g. clauses made of V^(COP) PN.S SNP S, where PN.S and S should be considered together). Rather than having the syntactic function of a predicate noun, the tonic pronoun seems more linked to the definiteness of clefted items. This can be seen with a quick glance of e.g. the first examples reported in Table 157 (see Table 164 below):

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 27 ^d 2	<i>ised inso tosach indalasailm dognither dunt salmso laebreo</i>	this is the beginning of the second psalm which is made from this psalm among the Hebrews	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 36 ^a 19	<i>.i. is ed indas indfirseo beus átrefea hitabernacuil dé</i>	that is, this is the type of man further who shall dwell in the tabernacle of God	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 38 ^c 3	<i>.i. ní hé apstal citarogab intestí[m] <n> inso</i>	that is, it is not the apostle who first uttered this text	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 33	<i>.i. is ed inso file isind ebrae tar æsi qui oderunt iustus delinquent</i>	that is, it is this which is in the Hebrew in place of <i>qui</i> etc.	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>isedinsin fodera innerigim</i>	that is what causes the compliant	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[O] _{TOP}

Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>ised dano insin dorosluind cainchomrac armuchnamaibse</i>	it is that moreover that denied peace to my bones	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[O] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 63 ^a 2	<i>.i. issi inciall fil and</i>	that is, this is the sense that is there	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^d 4	<i>is ed inso fil lasuide</i>	it is this that he has	V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} - V-[IC] _{TOP}
...

Table 164. Extract from Table 157 above. Morphologically definite clefted Ss are highlighted in bold font.

In the great majority of cases, clefted Ss preceded by PN.S show overt markers of definiteness (e.g. demonstratives). Even in the cases of non-overt marking of definiteness (e.g. Ml. 38^c3), referents could be considered ‘inherently’ definite: in Ml. 38^c3 what is clefted is *apstal*, ‘the apostle’.

Table 165 reports a quantitative analysis of topic types of cleft sentences with focal Ss.

Analysis	Type of TOP	Instances	% out of CS ¹⁹³
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	54	10.70%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	20	3.96%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	15	2.97%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIX.O] _{TOP}	Infix	13	2.57%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIX.O] _{TOP}	Infix	10	1.98%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Sentence-final	4	0.79%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Sentence-final	4	0.79%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Sentence-final	3	0.59%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V	No overt	3	0.59%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	2	0.40%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	2	0.40%
V ^(COP) -[PN.S-S] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIX.O] _{TOP}	Infix	1	0.20%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^[+INFIX.O] _{TOP} -X/V-X-[Y] _{TOP} ¹⁹⁴	Sentence-final	1	0.20%

Table 165. Quantitative analysis of cleft sentences with focal S (with topic’s types differentiation).

On the basis of Table 165, apparently the great majority of topics in cleft sentences with clefted Ss occurs in post-verbal position (88 cases out of 132). Sentence-final topics

¹⁹³ CS stands for *Cleft Sentences*.

¹⁹⁴ This case requires however a deeper analysis. It shows two parallel pseudo-relative clauses. In the first one, what is topical is an infix O; in the second one, what is topical is the sentence-final IC. The infix O and sentence-final IC are coreferenced. This is the reason for the analysis proposed above. The sentence could however also be split into two different instances of clefting: clefted S with topical infix O and clefted S with sentence-final topic.

instead are rare (12 cases out of 132). This seems to suggest a rather significant coherence in terms of topic placement inside the pseudo-relative clause. Nevertheless, in most cases the post-verbal and sentence-final positions of topic coincide, given that only one (topical) constituent occurs after V. In order to avoid ambiguous contexts, only those sentences with more than one post-V constituent should be examined in terms of TOP position.

In the Milan glosses corpus, 29 cleft sentences with clefted Ss show more than one constituent after V. In 17 cases (58.62%), the topical element is the post-verbal constituent; in 12 cases (41.38%), the topical element is the sentence-final constituent. On the basis of these data, the correspondence of post-verbal constituents in cleft structures and topic appears significantly less solid. What however can be said is that post-verbal/sentence-final topics are far more numerous with clefted Ss than non-overt or infix topics (100, vs. 24 infix topics and 8 non-overt topics).

6.1.2 Clefted Os

Cleft sentences with clefted Os are 67 (13.27% of cleft sentences). A first example of clefted O is shown in (187):

- (187) *.i. acht is ainm fuasnada nephdlighich*
 that is but is name of perturbation irrational
ech dobeir doib
 of horses gives to them
 «that is, but it is the name of the irrational perturbation of horses that he gives to them» (Ml. 16^b12).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$

The O *ainm fuasnada nephdlighich ech* (“name of the irrational perturbation of horses”) is a focal NP. What is topical is the post-verbal IC, *doib* (“to them”).

All the other sentences attested in the corpus behaving in the same way are collected in Table 166. To Table 166 belong also cases in which what is topical is not an actual post-verbal NP, but a *nota augens* (e.g. Ml. 15^d2).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 15 ^d 2	<i>.i. ní diltud esærgi asrubartsom</i>	that is, it is not denial of the Resurrection that he uttered	$V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-$ $V[(+EMPH.SUBJ)]_{TOP}$
Ml. 16 ^b 12	<i>.i. ní ainm fuasnada doine domuic and</i>	that is, it is not the name of a perturbation of men that he has put there	$V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-V-[IC/Adv]_{TOP}$

Ml. 19 ^b 11	<i>bid insoirad donerchanat som arthuus</i>	it was the deliverance that they prophesy at first	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 21 ^d 4	<i>air is tremfeidligud suthin inchosig permaneo</i>	for it is everlasting endurance which <i>permaneo</i> indicates	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 25 ^c 11	<i>.i. is honair dorat deacht dodoinacht</i>	that is, it is honor that the divinity gave to the humanity	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 36 ^a 1	<i>ní ed gaibes stoirier immurgu sunt</i>	it is not that, however, that the commentator says here	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -Adv
Ml. 37 ^a 12	<i>.i. amal mbis inne neich sluinde inna anman</i>	that is, as is the quality of anything that the names signify	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 43 ^c 6	<i>.i. arisfaltigiud inpopuil immefolngi failte inna rí</i>	that is, for it is the rejoicing of the people that the joy of the kings causes	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^c 30	<i>.i. is ornatus tuic side</i>	that is, it is <i>ornatus</i> which he has put	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^a 7	<i>airis indéeric uilc taræsi nuilc < taræsi nuilc> dogni side</i>	for it is the repayment of evil for evil that he does	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^b 2	<i>.i. ní aforcenn rusuidigsiorsa</i>	that is, it is not the end that I have set	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^d 4	<i>ní duine didiu infoluid sin adnagursa</i>	it is not, then, a man of that substance that I fear	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) _{TOP}
Ml. 92 ^a 17	<i>.i. cid failte adcot sa , dungneu</i>	that is, if it should be joy that I obtain and make	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} /V
Ml. 98 ^b 9	<i>.i. madalourtu noestais diib</i>	that is, if it were an adequate supply that they had eaten of them	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^a 5	<i>is accuis tra dunadbat nach quod fil sunt sí.</i>	it is a cause, then, that every <i>quod</i> which is here below expresses	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^b 8	<i>.i. nítat ááiriltin fessin donárbaid in popul dia soirad</i>	that is, it is not its own merits that the people had shown for its deliverance	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 113 ^d 7	<i>.i. nírbusosc coir dorratsat forru són</i>	that is, it was not a proper correction that they had inflicted upon them	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^b 6	<i>.i. airmad panem namma duberadsom</i>	that is, for if it were only <i>panem</i> which he put	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.S) _{TOP}
Ml. 130 ^d 15	<i>.i. amal bid log mór dubertha erru</i>	that is, as though it were a great price that you (sg) had given for them	V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}

Table 166. Cleft sentences with focal clefted O and post-verbal topic.

In Ml. 37^a12, *mbis* is analysed as a form of the copula even if in the database it is considered a form of *attá*.¹⁹⁵ This is mostly hypothesised on the basis of the syntax of the sentence.

Sentences such as Ml. 51^c30 tell something important on cleft sentences with clefted Os where topical is an anaphoric or emphatic S. As a matter of fact, similar examples (there are 6 emphatic subjects and 2 anaphoric subjects) should be assimilated to $V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-V$ clauses with non-overt topic, rather than to $V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}$ clauses. Roughly in all $V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-V$ clauses with non-overt topic, what is topical is the subject of V expressed by the verbal ending (see below). This seems to be the preferred analysis also when S is overtly expressed by a *nota augens* or an anaphoric pronoun. To go back to Ml. 51^c30, compare the gloss (*.i. is ornatus tuic side*) with e.g. Ml. 51^c26 (*Is cæli tunuic*). The two clauses are identical, both syntactically and semantically. Nevertheless, in the first case an anaphoric S occurs, in the second case non-overt S occurs except for the verbal ending.

A focus on Ml. 92^a17 can strengthen this view: *.i. cid failte adcot sa 7 dungneu*, “that is, if it should be joy that I obtain and make”. This cleft sentence shows two pseudo-relative clauses: the former (i.e. *adcot sa*) is made of a V + topical S.^{EMPH}; the latter (i.e. *dungneu*) is made of a V only. Of course, the two pseudo-relative clauses have to be considered equivalent from a syntactic standpoint. This is also regardless of the occurrence of a topical emphatic subject in the first of the two.

The morphosyntactic shape of clefted Os may also be that of tonic pronouns (188) or tonic pronouns + NP (189).

- (188) *is ed* [*do*]*rat* *dam*
 is it (he) gave to me
 «it is that that He gave to me» (Ml. 37^d3).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$

- (189) *ithesidi* *dorumadirsi*
 is these he measured
 «it is these that it had measured» (Ml. 16^c11).

¹⁹⁵ The analysis is based on the fact that, if *mbis* were a form of the copula, the nasalisation would follow the verb form and not precede it.

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN-O]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_{TOP}$

Note that in example (189), what is topical is a *nota augens*.

Table 167 below catalogues all the examples attested in the corpus featuring clefted focal tonic pronouns functioning as Os with post verbal topics. Table 168 below lists all the examples attested in the corpus featuring clefted focal PN-Os and with post verbal topics.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 40 ^a 15	<i>ised dano tadbát inna diud</i>	it is this moreover that he sets forth in the end of it	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>ised tadbát , foilsigedar intitú</i>	it is that that the title shows and makes manifest	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 98 ^c 6	<i>ní ed immurgu durigni dia anísín</i>	it is not that, however, that God has done	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}(-O)$
Ml. 102 ^c 5	<i>is ed ón dano araberta is intitúl quando dicit pro his qui commotabuntur</i>	it is that also which he prepares for in the title <i>quando dicit pro his qui commotabuntur</i>	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 139 ^a 8	<i>is [add. ed] dugniat anargumenta</i>	it is that that their <i>argumenta</i> establish	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}$

Table 167. Cleft sentences with focal clefted PN and post-verbal topic.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 30 ^d 25	<i>.i. ishe mes dombera fair fesin</i>	that is, that is the judgment that he will pass on himself	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-O]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>ní ed <in> insin asrubart som</i>	it is not that that he said	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-O]_{FOC}-V-[S_{EMPH}]_{TOP}$
Ml. 40 ^c 17	<i>ma atis hé indfersai grandi insin namma dumberad duaid</i>	if David had put only those verses of horror	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-O]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 77 ^b 6	<i>is hé introp cétnae dunadbat is indisiu</i>	it is the same figure that he shows in this	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-O]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 77 ^d 11	<i>.i. ishé inso indolud asmbersom</i>	that is, this is the distress that he speaks of	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-O]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_{TOP}$
Ml. 94 ^d 4	<i>.i. condib hé intliucht so [leg. int intliucht so]· domberae as</i>	that is, that this may be the sense that you (sg) get from it	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-O]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$

Table 168. Cleft sentences with focal clefted PN-O and post-verbal topic.

In Table 167 Ml. 40^a15, the actual topic of the clause is conveyed by the possessive *-a* in *inna*. On Table 167 Ml. 98^c6 peculiar construction with sentence-final *anísín*, see DB Text Notes: “The *anísín* at the end seems superfluous”.

At a more general level, what strikes from data in Table 167 is the fact that tonic pronouns functioning as Os in clefted position are always 3rd singular neuter, with no exceptions. This emphasises the referential value of PNs, which moves this subtype of cleft structures closer to pseudo-cleft sentences.

Example (190) shows an instance of clefted O with sentence final topic.

- (190) *airis* *inunn oín* *diatét* *lessom·indacr(a)nn* γ
 for is same one that applies for him the sandal and
indchos
 the foot
 «for it is to one and the same that it, sandal and foot, applies in his opinion»
 (Ml. 56^b1).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-V-IC-[S]_{TOP}$

Topical element in (190) is the S *indacr(a)nn* γ *indchos*, as clear both on the basis of the whole gloss (*sechis mochois ón airis inunn oín diatét lessom· indacr(a)nn* γ *indchos* .i. *donchomthururus* γ *dind fresngabail*, “that is my foot, for it is to one and the same that it, sandal and foot, applies in his opinion, namely, to incursion and ascension”), and on the basis of Latin: *sic alibi ait{dauid}: super Edumeam extendam calciamentum meum¹⁻², id est, ascendam super Edumeam*. All the other examples of analogous sentences are reported in Table 169.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 90 ^a 14	<i>.i. amal betis degmaini dobertais do gudi airi aduthracht</i>	that is, as though it were benefits that prayers for him with devotion gave him	$V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-V-IC-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 92 ^b 10	<i>.i. ní iarfaigid coneregim dungnisom híc</i>	that is, it is not a seeking with complaint that he makes here	$V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}-[Adv]_{TOP}$

Table 169. Cleft sentences with focal clefted O and sentence-final topic.

Ml. 90^a14 is analysed differently from how it is examined in Griffith and Stifter’s (2013) database (translations: «that is, as though it were benefits they gave, to pray for him with devotion **OR** that is, as though it were benefits which they gave to the prayer for him with

devotion»). *Do* is to be intended as an inflected preposition (“to him”), rather than a simple preposition (*do gudi*), and *gudi* is analysed as nominative plural rendering Latin *vota*, rather than a dative. This way, subject of *dobertais* is *gudi*, and *degmaini* is a clefted O.

As for *ML. 92^b10*, the clause is listed in this category due to a rigid application of the rule concerning the position of topic: it is sentence-final because an emphatic S occurs between the verb form and the topic itself. Nevertheless, since we just saw how emphatic subjects should perhaps be neglected in this kind of analysis, *ML. 92^b10* may happen to be convincingly assimilated to post-verbal topic cases.

Cleft sentences with focal Os may also feature non-overt topics. This happens in (191), where the clefted O is a NP, in (192), where the clefted O is a tonic pronoun, and in (193), where the clefted O is a tonic pronoun + NP.

- (191) *nant* *neque manebunt* *asrubart*
 that is not neque manebunt that (he) said
 «that it is not *neque manebunt* that he said» (*ML. 21^d4*).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[O]_{FOC}-V$

- (192) *nant* *hæ* *rocrohsat*
 and was not he that (they) crucified
 «and that it was not He whom they crucified» (*ML. 24^d4*).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V$

- (193) *ised* *inso* *dlomas*
 tis it this that (he) declares
 «it is this that he declares» (*ML. 30^b19*).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN-O]_{FOC}-V$

Table 170 below collects all the examples of cleft sentences with focal clefted O and non-overt topic attested in the Milan glosses. Table 171 below collects all the examples of cleft sentences with focal clefted tonic pronoun (functioning as O) and non-overt topic attested in the Milan glosses. Table 172 below, then, collects all the examples of cleft sentences with focal clefted PN-O and non-overt topic attested in the Milan glosses.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
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<p> Ml. 35^c26a <i>.i. mad quis est qui habitabit rl. doberad and</i> </p>	<p>that is, if it were <i>quis est qui habitabit</i> etc. which he had put there</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 46^d10 <i>.i. is in miscuis cloín asmbeir dorigensat assir</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is the iniquitous hatred which he says that the Assyrians practiced</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 51^c26 <i>is caeli tunuic</i> </p>	<p>it is <i>caeli</i> which he has put</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 59^a7 <i>oldaas bid iniquus asberad</i> </p>	<p>than if it were <i>iniquus</i> that he had said</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 63^b9 <i>.i. amal bid claind noclantis</i> </p>	<p>that is, as though it were a planting by which they were planted</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 67^a3 <i>is debe tintuda duduic</i> </p>	<p>it is a difference of rendering that he has cited [lit. he has cited it]</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}- V^(+INFIX.O)_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 67^a8 <i>bid pugnator asberad</i> </p>	<p>it were <i>pugnator</i> that he had said</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 92^a17 <i>cid indeb dano adcot</i> </p>	<p>if it also should be wealth that I obtain</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 92^d6 <i>indate bitis cranna doiscairi dufubaitis</i> </p>	<p>than had they been common trees which they had been cutting down</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 98^c11 <i>.i. ní todochide tuicc</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is not a future what he has put</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 101^c6-7 <i>huare ataforgartaidi domber</i> </p>	<p>because they are imperatives that he puts</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 131^b12 <i>.i. corrobubec duessarcnaib forodamair</i> </p>	<p>that is, so that it was few blows that it has endured</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 135^a13 <i>indaas bid suide garait nosessed etarlam</i> </p>	<p>than if it were (lit. though it were) a short sitting that he would sit</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 137^d5 <i>.i. ní locdatu inchosig</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is not locality that it signifies</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V</p>
<p> Ml. 142^d1 <i>huare as nolc immefolngi do neuch forsanimber</i> </p>	<p>because it is evil that it causes to him on whom it is used</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[O]_{FOC}-V-IC</p>

Table 170. Cleft sentences with focal clefted O and non-overt topic.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<p> Ml. 27^d23 <i>.i. is ed duducai immedon</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is that which he has put into the middle</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[PN]_{FOC}- V^(+INFIX.O)-IC</p>	
<p> Ml. 39^b2 <i>is ed dugní</i> </p>	<p>is it that he does</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[PN]_{FOC}-V</p>	
<p> Ml. 43^d5 <i>is ní ni foralaig</i> </p>	<p>it is we whom it had prostrated</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[PN]_{FOC}-V</p>	
<p> Ml. 54^a32 <i>.i. is hé asrubartmar</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is this that we have said</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[PN]_{FOC}-V</p>	
<p> Ml. 95^b7 <i>bid ed asberad</i> </p>	<p>it was that that he had said</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[PN]_{FOC}-V</p>	

Ml. 103 ^d 16	<i>.i. combad ed dugnitha [leg. dugnetha]</i>	that is, that it be that You (sg) should do	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 131 ^d 1	<i>ised asberam</i>	it is that that we will say	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V

Table 171. Cleft sentences with focal clefted PN and non-overt topic.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 51 ^b 15	<i>.i. amal bid ed inso asberad</i>	that is, as though this were what he had said	V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 71 ^b 14	<i>.i. it hé atimnae di namma rusarigestar</i>	that is, it was His ordinances only that he had violated	V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 136 ^b 4	<i>ní ed æm insin dorigensat</i>	that is indeed not what they have done	V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V

Table 172. Cleft sentences with focal clefted PN-O and non-overt topic.

On the redundant use of 3rd singular neuter pronoun *-d-* in Table 170 Ml. 67^a3, see GOI §425. In Table 170 Ml. 131^b12, what is tagged as O is a neuter form of an adjective functioning as a NP (*bec*), modified by a partitive phrase. The translation of *etarlam* in Ml. 135^a13 is uncertain (“opportune” (?)).

In Table 171 Ml. 27^d23, *ed* refers back to Latin: “*comprehenduntur in consilis*” autem “*quibus cogitant*” *interpositum est*⁽²³⁾ *propter metri necessitatem*. On the function of the infixed 3rd singular neuter pronoun (*du-d-ucai*), see GOI §422.

Table 173 below summarises quantitative data of cleft sentences with focal O. Different O-types are also highlighted.

Analysis	Type of O	Instances	% out of CS ¹⁹⁶	% out of (P)CS ¹⁹⁷
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	O. ^{NP}	20	3.96%	3.61%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V	O. ^{NP}	15	2.96%	2.70%
V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V	PN	8	1.58%	1.44%
V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP} ¹⁹⁸	PN-O	7	1.38%	1.26%
V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	PN	6	1.19%	1.08%
V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V	PN-O	4	0.79%	0.72%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	O. ^{NP}	3	0.59%	0.54%

¹⁹⁶ CS stands for *Cleft Sentences*.¹⁹⁷ (P)CS stands for *(Pseudo)Cleft Sentences*.¹⁹⁸ In 2 out of 8 cases, Ss are emphatic.

Table 173. Quantitative analysis of cleft sentences with focal O (with Os' types differentiation).

The morphosyntactic shape of clefted Os is in the great majority of cases that of a NP (59.70% of instances). This is coherent with what highlighted above for cleft Ss. Clefted PNs with the function of Os and clefted PN-Os (see above) also behave similarly. What marks a slight difference from cleft sentences with focal Ss is the behaviour of topic types. They are reported in Table 174.

Analysis	Type of TOP	Instances	% out of CS ¹⁹⁹
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	20	3.96%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	15	2.96%
V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	8	1.58%
V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	7	1.38%
V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	6	1.19%
V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	4	0.79%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Sentence-final	3	0.59%

Table 174. Quantitative analysis of cleft sentences with focal O (with topic's types differentiation).

Post-verbal topics seem to be once more the most attested topic-type category (34 instances). As in the case of cleft Ss, actual post-verbal topics should be separated from sentence-final topics, given that it is unclear, in sentences with only one (topical) constituent after V, whether such constituent is post-V or sentence-final. In total, 8 examples only in the Milan glosses show more than one constituent in the pseudo-relative clause. Out of these, in 5 cases (62.50%) the topical element is the post-V constituent, while in 3 cases (37.50%) the topical element is the sentence-final constituent. This distribution is consistent with that highlighted for cleft Ss.

Certainly, the huge gap, highlighted in the previous section, between post-verbal/sentence-final topics on the one hand, and the other topic sub-groups on the other, is inconsistent in the case of Os. Indeed, cleft sentences with non-overt topics amount to 26 examples.²⁰⁰

What is even more relevant stems from the above-described assimilation of instances of non-overt topic and instances of post-verbal topical emphatic/anaphoric subject. Quantitative data of clefted-O sentence sharply change, if this position is accepted. They are summarised in Table 175.

¹⁹⁹ CS stands for *Cleft Sentences*.

²⁰⁰ The second category in quantitative terms as for clefted Ss sentences was that with infix.O topics (see above). This type of topic is obviously not attested in the case of clefted Os.

Analysis	Type of TOP	Instances	% out of CS ²⁰¹
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	23	4.62%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	12	2.38%
V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	8	1.58%
V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	6	1.19%
V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	6	1.19%
V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	5	1.00%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Sentence-final	3	0.59%

Table 175. Quantitative analysis of cleft sentences with focal O where emphatic/anaphoric Ss are assimilated to verbal endings (with topic's types differentiation).

The total amount of cleft sentences with clefted O and non-overt topic is 37 (59.70% of clefted-O sentences). This is by far the widest topic category occurring in the corpus in the case of cleft sentences with focal O.

6.1.3 Clefted IC/Adv

Cleft sentences with clefted IC/Adv are 306 (60.59% of cleft sentences). A first example of clefted IC is shown in (194):

- (194) *is dognimaib amal sodin téit á uideri*
 is to actions as that refers the uideri
 «it is to actions in that case that *uideri* refers» (Ml. 3^a4).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-IC-V-[S]_{TOP}

This sentence retraces what seen in previous sections for clefted S/Os: the topic position is post-verbal, as clear on the basis of Latin *qui mallunt contempneré⁴ uideri praeclara quam discere, peruersisimí⁵ homines*.

Table 176 collects all the clefted-IC/Adv sentences with post-verbal topic. Topical emphatic Ss are for the moment kept within this category. Sentences with topical infix.Os are reported in Table 176 as well.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
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²⁰¹ CS stands for *Cleft Sentences*.

Ml. 14 ^a 4	<i>.i. isairi inso rogabad som hirige</i>	that is, it was because of this that he was adopted into the kingship	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}$ - $V[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP-IC}$
Ml. 14 ^b 12	<i>.i. isairi doralad arthuus insalmso</i>	that is, it is because of it that this Psalm was put first	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP}}$
Ml. 14 ^b 13	<i>.i. airnibu fuareir fesin boisom isintaim(sir)sin</i>	that is, for it was not under his own control that he was at that time	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}$ - $V[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP-IC}$
Ml. 14 ^c 19	<i>istrichaingnimu rosegar , arosailther indhires foirbthe do engnu</i>	it is through good works that perfect faith is attained and is opened up to understanding	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP-IC}}$
Ml. 15 ^c 10	<i>.i. isimmalle fosdidmat</i>	that is, together they will suffer them	$V^{(COP)}-[IC/Adv]_{FOC}$ - $V[^{(+INFIX.O)}]_{TOP}$
Ml. 16 ^a 7	<i>.i. as duchrist asimmaircide insalmso</i>	that is, that it is to Christ that this psalm is appropriate	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP}}$
Ml. 16 ^a 10	<i>.i. combad de rogabthe insalmso</i>	that is, that it would be of him this Psalm could have been sung	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP}}$
Ml. 17 ^b 2	<i>.i. amal asnuaid som doforsat innaduli</i>	that is, as it is from Him(self) that He has created the elements	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[O]_{TOP}}$
Ml. 17 ^b 18	<i>.i. airis dimsa rogabad insinso</i>	that is, for it is of me that this was sung	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP}}$
Ml. 20 ^b 2	<i>.i. isairi darogartsom noib</i>	that is, it is for this reason that he has called himself a saint	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}$ - $V[^{(+INFIX.O)}]^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP}$
Ml. 20 ^b 13	<i>.i. ni fí indidit ata irascemini sunt</i>	that is, it is not as an affirmation that <i>irascemini</i> is here	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP}}$ - IC/Adv
Ml. 22 ^c 14	<i>.i. airimmou [leg. airismou] ruicim les mairchissechtae indaas digal dothabair [leg. dothabair] form</i>	that is, for it is more that I need compassion than to have punishment inflicted on me	$V^{(COP)}-[Adv]_{FOC-V-[O]_{TOP-IC}}$
Ml. 24 ^d 7	<i>.i. combad si amersin rongabthe insalm</i>	that is, that that was the time in which the psalm was sung	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-Adv]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP}}$
Ml. 24 ^d 10	<i>.i. indí sunt rogabad insalm fanac</i>	that is, whether it is of this here that the psalm was sung or not	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP}}$
Ml. 24 ^d 29	<i>asndudeacht , doinacht maic rogabad insalm so</i>	that it is of the divinity and the humanity of the Son that this psalm was sung	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP}}$
Ml. 25 ^b 6	<i>asnduchrist rocét de</i>	that it was of Christ that it was uttered	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-[S]_{TOP}}$

<p> Ml. 25^d18 <i>is asintsalm hoduaid· d[u]uic omnia subiecisti rl.</i> </p>	<p>it is out of the psalm from David that he has brought <i>omnia subiecisti etc.</i></p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 26^b10 <i>.i. amal as homolid , adamrugud inchoimded intinscana insalmso</i> </p>	<p>that is, as it is with the praise and admiration of the Lord that this psalm begins</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 27^c10 <i>is dodigail teit hisuidi</i> </p>	<p>(it) is to punishment that it applies there</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[IC/Adv]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 28^a10 <i>.i. ni ba cián mbete oca cloinib</i> </p>	<p>that is, it will not be long that they will be at their wicked deeds</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 28^c8 <i>is tri intleda , breic dagniat</i> </p>	<p>it is through snares and deceit that they do it</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V^(+INFIX.O)_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 30^a3 <i>ba imfortgidiu [leg. infortgidiu] , ba hitemul dugnith saul conamuntair intleda , erelca friduaid</i> </p>	<p>it was covertly and it was in darkness that Saul with his people used to make snares and ambushes against David</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[Adv]_{FOC}/V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}-IC-O-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 30^a9 <i>fubith istrimetur roceta int sailm</i> </p>	<p>because it is in meter that the psalms were sung</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 30^c5 <i>is airi tuic som oculi eius</i> </p>	<p>it is for that reason that he has put <i>oculi eius</i></p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC/Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S.^{EMPH}]_{TOP}-O</p>
<p> Ml. 31^a23 <i>.i. is cummae mbis memnae [leg. menmae] cechtar de fri togais alaili</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is equally that the mind of each of them is [set] on the deceiving of the other</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 31^b22 <i>, ni ar indí asdarobartis immurgu innabriathra hisin</i> </p>	<p>and it is not because they uttered them, however, those words</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V^(+INFIX.O)_{TOP}-[O]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 31^b23 <i>.i. isand at [leg. atá] gním tengad is indhuiliu labramarni</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is there that the action of the tongue is in all that we say</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 31^d12 <i>.i. is dusuidib ba inbesa</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is for them that it was the custom</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 32^d6 <i>is frisandliged remeperthe dano ata inco[s]mailiuso síis</i> </p>	<p>it is with the aforesaid saying, then, that this comparison below is</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 34^d6 <i>ciasu for oin fiur ata at inda nainm so .i. iacob , israhel</i> </p>	<p>although these two names, to wit, Jacob and Israel, are on one man</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 34^d6 <i>combad du dethriub notesad áin iacob</i> </p>	<p>it is to the two tribes that 'Jacob' applies</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>
<p> Ml. 35^a8 <i>.i. as di assaraib rogabab insalmso</i> </p>	<p>that is, that it is of the Assyrians that this psalm was sung</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}</p>

Ml. 35 ^a 9	<i>cid fosodinogabad duaid</i>	if it were in accordance with that that David had sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^a 10	<i>.i. asndiassaraib int sainriud rogabad insalmsa</i>	that is, that it is of the Assyrians in particular that this psalm was sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^b 16	<i>bed fouí nogabtais innadligeda inna canone fetarlaice</i>	that it was of that that the sayings of the Canon of the Old Testament were uttered	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^b 18	<i>.i. combad fou nogabthe isintfaiths[ní]</i>	that is, that it was concerning that that it was uttered in the Prophecy	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^b 3	<i>.i. is and duacair infrinni</i>	that is, it is then that he declares the truth	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>im du iudaib fagentib berthair a sanctis fil sunt</i>	it is to Jews or to Gentiles that <i>sanctis</i> is referred here	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>acht is dogentib is coir a breth</i>	but it is to Gentiles that it is right to refer it [lit. its referring]	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 14	<i>isfodobertar inna anman</i>	it is in accordance with that that the names are given	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 16	<i>.i. arishoinni dora[ad] int ainmnigud hisin donaib che[né]laib immerabtar iudeu</i>	that is, for it is from its quality that that appellation was given to the nations who were about the Jews	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 38 ^a 5	<i>.i. amal is ho imratib gnaitheir cechgním</i>	that is, as it is from thoughts that each deed is done	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 38 ^a 5	<i>is hofethib gnitir comaccobra 7 imraiti</i>	it is from the kidneys that desires and thoughts are worked	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 40 ^c 20	<i>.i. is airi as indet som donaib huaislib indiad inna nísle</i>	that is, it is for this reason that he speaks of the elevated after the humble	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} -IC-IC
Ml. 42 ^b 7	<i>is do apstalaib beirthi</i>	it is to the apostles that he refers it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 42 ^b 7	<i>cenid fou ragab duaid</i>	although it was not with reference to that that David uttered it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} -S
Ml. 43 ^a 2	<i>.i. madfrifrecur cheill de nosbera</i>	that is, if it be to the worship of God that he should apply them	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 43 ^c 13	<i>.i. armbad dianim racloadsom</i>	that is, that it should be from His heaven that He should hear him	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} (+EMPHSUBJ)

<p> Ml. 44^a14 <i>is fri frithorcuin dait siu dosratsat som adi· a dáé</i> </p>	<p> it is for offending You (sg) that they have applied them, O God </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}-S_{EMPH}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 45^a9 <i>.i. is do óin fiur asrobrad iacob , israhel</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is of one man that Jacob and Israel have been said </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 45^d7 <i>is dolaithiu esærgiu [leg. esærgi] Christ rogabad insalmso</i> </p>	<p> it is of the day do Christ's resurrection that this psalm was sung </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 46^c24 <i>is ar sainemli adrimther toneuch rudfinnadar</i> </p>	<p> it is as excellence that it is reckoned to him that finds it out </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 46^d6 <i>mad ainnetach [leg. ainmnetach] fondamtar inna imneda inbetha frecndairc ar dia</i> </p>	<p> if it should be patiently that the troubles of the present world are borne for God </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}-IC$ </p>
<p> Ml. 47^a20 <i>.i. is leu dorignius chomgnimu</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is with them that I did joint works </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 48^a6 <i>as né sílias , as né taceas trachtid anisiu síis</i> </p>	<p> it is on <i>ne síleas</i> and <i>ne taceas</i> that this below comments </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 49^b7 <i>sech is archuindriug pectho dosber som</i> </p>	<p> but it is for the correction of sin that He inflicts it </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}-S_{EMPH}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 50^a8 <i>.i. airnídoragab infaith iarfirinni stoír</i> </p>	<p> that is, for it was not for that that the prophet uttered it according to the literal truth </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}-S-IC$ </p>
<p> Ml. 50^b8 <i>niarindí bed n aipert as ind robrad som</i> </p>	<p> it is not because it was as an uttering that he would have said it </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}-S_{EMPH}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 50^d18 <i>.i. arní fou ragab infaith</i> </p>	<p> that is, for it is not with reference to that that the prophet uttered it </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}-S$ </p>
<p> Ml. 51^a19 <i>is airí asrubart in tempore oportuno</i> </p>	<p> it is therefore that he said <i>in tempore oportuno</i> </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 51^b12 <i>.i. ní indfessin eirbthi</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is not in himself that he trusts </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+SUFF.O)}_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 51^b12 <i>nachdoduaisilbi nanní dogní</i> </p>	<p> it is not to him(self) that he ascribes whatever he does </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 51^d10 <i>isdothormuch molto , inducbále dodia daber</i> </p>	<p> it is in order to increase praise and glory to God that he puts it </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 53^b8 <i>.i. cid in imnid [leg. imniud] cid hisocumail beusa</i> </p>	<p> that is, whether it is in trouble or in happiness that I might be </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_{TOP}$ </p>

Ml. 53 ^b 11	<i>ni doib fesin do airibset</i> [leg. <i>do airilbset</i>] <i>nach n dégním dorigensat</i>	it was not to themselves they ascribed every good deed which they had done	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^b 11	<i>acht is do daairilbset</i> ₇ <i>indorecatar</i>	but it was to Him they ascribed it and in Him they hoped	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} /V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^c 14	<i>is do berthar</i> [leg. <i>do doberthar</i>] <i>bethusin</i>	it is to him that life will be given	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 7	<i>airis menic dondecmaing</i>	for it is often that it happens thus	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX) _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^c 18	<i>noch ba duloig biid immurgu noteged som</i>	yet, however, it was for the purchase of food that he used to go	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^a 21	<i>is inneit sin dano bias dilgadche dáe do</i>	it is accordingly that amount that God's forgiveness to him will be	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 56 ^b 3	<i>nochis amaib gnimaib són dungniat som honaib ballaib hisin atbeirsom</i>	that is, it is for the deeds that they do with those members that he says it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} ^(+EMPHSUBJ)
Ml. 56 ^b 11	<i>.i. airní siu dober</i> [leg. <i>doberr</i>] <i>anduulgine sidi</i>	that is, for it is not here that their reward is given	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>.i. intan asnéút téit an emulari</i>	that is, when it is jealousy to which <i>emulari</i> applies	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^c 11	<i>.i. amal is immedonlathi is relem cech rét</i>	that is, as it is at midday that everything is clearest	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^c 22	<i>.i. ní ba cian mbias in pecthach</i>	that is, it will not be long that the sinner will abide	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^c 12	<i>is denithir sin arachrin cumachtae innapecthach</i>	even so swiftly does the power of sinners perish [lit. it is as swiftly as this that the power of sinners perishes]	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^d 8	<i>is huant firinni inbrithemnachtae</i> [leg. <i>innabrithemnachtae</i>] <i>sí</i> [leg. <i>sin</i>] <i>conocaba</i> [leg. <i>conocabar</i>] <i>infirián</i>	it is by the truth of that judgment that the righteous man is exalted	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^d 13	<i>is dilaithiu sabbait rocét insalmso</i>	it is of the Sabbath day that this psalm was sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^a 33	<i>.i. iscummae in bis ualitudo ænartae</i> ₇ <i>ualitudo sonartae</i>	it is equally that there is <i>ualetudo</i> 'weakness' and <i>ualetudo</i> 'strength'	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^d 2	<i>as tria airilliud som rosoirad inchathir dilamaib assar</i>	that it was through his merit that the city had been	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC

		delivered from the hands of the Assyrians	
Ml. 62 ^c 2	<i>.i. amal bid dí muir atberad</i>	that is, as if it were of the sea that he had said it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^c 7	<i>is ámin tra as cert intestiminso</i>	it is thus, then, that this text is correct	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^b 9	<i>airis sonairt atreba ní clantar</i>	for it is firmly that that which is planted dwells	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 64 ^a 10	<i>.i. bafou fachartatarsom</i>	that is, it was for that that they applied it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)
Ml. 64 ^a 13	<i>.i. ní fris ruchét a profeta</i>	that is, it was not with reference to it that it was sung <i>a propheta</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 66 ^d 4	<i>.i. huare is ladethriub tantum roboi atrab ñ dæ intain sin</i>	that is, because it was among the Two Tribes only that God's dwelling-place was at that time	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 66 ^d 15	<i>.i. is airi asrubart montentes [leg. montes] , in cor maris</i>	that is, it is therefore that he has said <i>montes</i> and <i>in cor maris</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^b 18	<i>it maicc israhel arind(er)géné dia</i>	it is the children of Israel for whom God had done it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} - S
Ml. 67 ^d 8	<i>is hituaisciurt slebe síoin ata inchathir</i>	it is on the north of Mount Zion that the city is (located)	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^b 2	<i>.i. amal bid arecin nosgabthæ</i>	that is, as though it were by force that you had taken it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^b 3	<i>acht bid arecein nusgabtis [leg. nusgabthæ]</i>	but it was by force that they had taken it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^a 11	<i>.i. is do duberat ananman forna tire</i>	that is, it is for that that they put their names upon the lands	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 69 ^a 18	<i>.i. conid cummae aramber biuth hua cechrét frissacomraic etir glan , anglan</i>	that is, so that it is equally that he enjoys every thing that he meets with, both pure and impure	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^d 3	<i>is de atror int huile talam</i>	it is from it that the whole earth worshipped Him	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} - S
Ml. 69 ^d 14	<i>.i. isairi dorogart nem</i>	that is, it is for that reason that He called heaven	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 72 ^d 1	<i>isand sin bieid íc du israhel</i>	it is then that there will be salvation to Israel	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 74 ^a 1	<i>.i. amal nibad cen cinta dugnetis intárcudsín damsa</i>	that is, as though it were not without offences (to them)	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP} -IC

		that they wrought that infliction to me	
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>air is du duaid immeairic insalmso</i>	for it is to David that this psalm is suitable	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 79 ^b 5	<i>.i. amal as trummu forluadi hisuidi</i>	that is as it sways more heavily on it	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 80 ^c 7	<i>l. issís berair anisiu</i>	or it is below that this is applied	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 83 ^b 14	<i>.i. airnap árécín dagnet</i>	that is, that is not under compulsion that they do it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^a 8	<i>.i. is mou duandrigensat indaas cidrairelcissiu</i>	that is, they have done it more than You (sg) have permitted it	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 90 ^b 15	<i>ni as apersain fessin rogab insalmso</i>	it was not in his own person that he sang this psalm	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^a 15	<i>.i. is forsan· iustitias iudicabo trachtaid anisiu</i>	that is, it is on <i>iustitia iudicabo</i> that this comments	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^c 5	<i>ocus is for sodain trach(t)aid anisiu· síis</i>	and it is on this that this below comments	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^c 10	<i>no is dulani indiglae [leg. innadiglae] teit aplenus</i>	or it is to the fullness of the punishment that <i>plenus</i> applies	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 95 ^c 2	<i>.i. combad ellam nocomallaitis aní asrochoilset</i>	that is, that it should be speedily that they should fulfill what they had determined	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^a 10	<i>mad and atbelmaisni isnaib fochaidib 7 isnaib innedaib hirobammarr</i>	if it would be there that we would die in the tribulations and afflictions in which we were	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} - V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 97 ^d 17	<i>.i. onach fochetoir radanaigestar</i>	that is, so that it is not at once that He bestowed it	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 98 ^c 10	<i>is fou rogabad insalm</i>	it is in accordance with that that the psalm has been sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^c 4	<i>air is du israheldaib hulib teit cechtarde</i>	for it is to all the Israelites that each of the two applies	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>is forrígartaíd tra fosin dutiagar ámanifestare fil is ind salm</i>	it is as an imperative, then, like that, that the <i>manifestare</i> which is in the psalm is construed	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^a 15	<i>.i. airis cuít adaill adnellat sídi in finí duthabairt neich doib dia thorud</i>	that is, for it is only a passing visit that they make to the vine to take some of its fruit for themselves	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V- [S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} -O

Ml. 103 ^b 12	<i>is foir trachtaid inso</i>	it is on it that this comments	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^b 14	<i>.i. is foir trachtaid inso</i>	it is on it that this comments	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^d 27	<i>is duforgairib téit ánisíu</i>	it is to precepts that this applies	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 106 ^c 11	<i>.i. ní amal dundatmecetarsu ind amairesaig atá dumes amuchoimdiu</i>	that is, not as the unbelieving despise You (sg) is Your (sg) estimation, O my Lord	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 109 ^a 1	<i>amal as ar gním dubeir am manum</i>	as it is for deed that he puts manum	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^b 15	<i>arríbad hisoinmigi dosmelmais</i>	it may be in prosperity that we may spend it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^b 17	<i>.i. is dian immamberat acoosa oc ind figi</i>	that is, it is swiftly that they ply their feet in the weaving	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 112 ^b 12	<i>is toisigiú adciam teilciud in bela</i>	we see the throwing of the axe earlier	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^b 20	<i>is airí cotnoat som</i>	it is therefore they guard him	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 113 ^c 7	<i>.i. combad and nogabad flaith són</i>	that is, that it was then that he received sovereignty	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^a 9	<i>.i. isamne ascoir alathar 7 estoasc achéille</i>	that is, it is thus that it is fitting to explain it and to express its meaning	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^b 6	<i>isarcehsasad dauic som amal sodin</i>	it is for every food that he has put it then	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} -S ^{EMPH} -IC
Ml. 121 ^d 8	<i>.i. nífríde bíid foindel innambiasta</i>	it is not by day that the roaming of the beasts is	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 124 ^b 3	<i>.i. combad do facherred</i>	that is, that it be for this that he should put it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}
Ml. 125 ^a 11	<i>.i. isdun foccull sa adfet inso hule hothisuch int sailm</i>	that is, it is of this word that he declares all this from the beginning of the psalm	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 126 ^b 2	<i>.i. is donertad in popuíl adcuíd som</i>	that is, it is to encourage the people that he has spoken	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^d 2	<i>.i. airis du deacht tantum asberr an dominus</i>	that is, for it is of the Godhead only that the (word) <i>Dominus</i> is said	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^b 2	<i>.i. corrupt léir roscomallathar intí ardatuáissi</i>	that is, that he who hears them may fulfill them diligently	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} -S
Ml. 130 ^b 8	<i>airimp isin gessae in dilg(u)d</i>	that it be here that the forgiveness was asked for	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 131 ^c 14	<i>.i. as honchoimdid forconnacair am brith som is indoiri</i>	that is, that it is from the Lord that their being carried into the Captivity has come about	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 137 ^b 7	<i>is sunt bia sa in eilithri collae messa</i>	it is here that I will be in pilgrimage until the Day of Doom	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-[S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} -IC-IC
Ml. 139 ^a 6	<i>.i. as n̄ du doiri babelone rogabta [leg. rogabtha] in sailm fil isint saltair</i>	that is, that it is of the Babylonian captivity that the psalms which are in the psalter have been sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 139 ^a 6	<i>as n̄ du doiri babilone rogabtha int sailm sin</i>	it is of the Babylonian captivity that those psalms have been sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 139 ^a 8	<i>.i. airis didoiri bababilone [leg. babilone] rogabtha huili</i>	that is, for it is of the Babylonian captivity that they have all been sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-([S] _{TOP})
Ml. 145 ^c 4	<i>.i. amal is trí accomol nildule cterissedar indomon</i>	that is, as it is through the conjunction of many elements that the world consists	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP}

Table 176. Cleft sentences with focal clefted IC and post-verbal topic.

In Ml. 15^c10, *immalle*, even if here considered an indirect complement undergoing clefting, has nevertheless the synchronic adverbial value of “jointly”. Note how in Ml. 17^b2 *innaduli* has a clear correspondence in Latin: *omnium {elimentorum}*. Ml. 20^b2 shows a particular syntax. What is topical is S^{EMPH}, which occurs together with a coreferential 3rd sg. object pronoun (*darogartsom*). *Noib*, which occurs in sentence-final position, also belongs to the predicate. In Ml. 22^c14, O is made of a noun in the accusative case + a noun in the genitive case. The whole O is marked as topical, even if it is only the noun in the genitive which is topical. Ml. 24^d7 attests a case of clefted PN + Adv (*si amserin/si aimser*). This is possible since the Adv is morphologically a non-oblique NP. In Ml. 31^a23 *cummae* is directly glossing Latin *par*. Ml. 31^b22 shows an instance of right dislocation of the direct object. The O is extra-clausal and kept separated from the rest of the clause by *immurgu*. In Ml. 50^b8 the IC on focus is a sentence itself: *arindí bed n aipert*, “because it was an uttering”. In Ml. 56^a21, the so-glossed IC is a NP in the dative case (*inmeit sin*). *Meit* is a peculiar NP in Old Irish, since it often occurs with an adverbial value of quantity (see e.g. Ml. 138^a12 Table 178 below). This justifies the mismatch often identifiable between functional labels attached to *meit* (e.g. Adv) and its morphosyntactic behaviour (e.g. in Table 178 Ml. 138^a12 it forms a constituent with a 3rd sing. neut. pronoun, as a regular NP). On the infix with *ara-chrin* in Ml. 57^c12, see GOI §423. In Ml. 69^a18, *ar-beir biuth* is followed by *hua* + NP in the dative (*hua cechrét*). Normally, after *ar-beir*

biuth there is a NP in the accusative. In this case, however, the construction *hua* + NP in the dative seems motivated by Lat. *utor* + ablative. In Ml. 79^b5, *trummu* is a comparative adjective but with an adverbial use. Ml. 102^a15 shows an ambiguous structure: the V (*adnellat*) seems to govern two different accusatives (*cuít adail*, clefted, and *in finí*). In my analysis, the second one is considered direct object of V, while the first one is considered an adverbial adjunct. In Ml. 106^c11, what is tagged as IC is a sentence itself (*amal dundatmecetarsu ind amairesaig*, “as the unbelieving despise You”). In Ml. 111^b17, in Ml. 112^b12, and in Ml. 129^b2 what is labelled as Adv is actually a morphological adjective (*dian, toisigiú, léir*). In the end, Ml. 139^a8 is a crucial example, arguing in favour of the assimilation posited above between no-overt topic clauses, where the topic itself is conveyed by the verbal ending, and post-verbal topic clauses, where the topic is expressed by a *nota augens*. In the case of Ml. 139^a8, non-overt topic occurs, but in post-verbal position the adjective *huili* (“all”) is attested, which is coreferent to the verbal desinences-expressed 3rd pl. topical subject of the clause.

At a more general level, coherently with what seen with clefted-S sentences, actual post verbal topics and infixes O topics are kept separate quantitatively. With clefted IC/AdvS, the first category amounts to 106 examples, the latter 31. As for emphatic/anaphoric topical Ss, in the end, 10 + 2 examples are attested. As discussed in earlier sections, this sub-group of examples should be assimilated to cleft sentences featuring topics conveyed by the verbal ending only.

Example (195) shows a case of clefted IC with sentence-final topic:

- (195) *.i cid hodeacht maicc nó hodeacht*
 that is although is from divinity of Son or from divinity
athar arafoima doinacht maicc aní arroet
 of Father receives humanity of Son that received
 «whether it should be from the divinity of the Son or from the divinity of the
 Father that the humanity of the Son would assume that which He has assumed»
 (Ml. 17^c3).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-S-[O]_{TOP}$

The other similar cases attested in the corpus are collected in Table 177.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 14 ^a 4	<i>isairi inso robu immaircide</i> <i>lia[]ailiu insalmsa dothaisilbiud</i> <i>dosom</i>	it was for this reason that some deemed it appropriate to ascribe this Psalm to him	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-IC-[S]_{TOP}$

Ml. 14 ^a 9	<i>.i. huare ishitilchaib ardaib-nobitis adi</i>	that is, because they used to be in high hills	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 17 ^c 7	<i>.i. huare is athir [leg. hoathir] arroét macc cumachtae</i>	that is, because it is from the Father that the Son has received power	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 17 ^c 7	<i>airis ho athir arroét macc cumachtae</i>	for it is from the Father that the Son has received power	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 26 ^a 8	<i>.i. cid do deacht athar cid du deacht maicc asberamni foammamugud doinachtae maicc cosnaib hulib dulib fomamaigter [leg. foamamaigter] dosuidi</i>	that is, whether it is to the divinity of the Father or to the divinity of the Son that we ascribe the subjection of the humanity of the Son with all the creatures which are subjected to it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} /V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 31 ^b 17	<i>is airi asbeirsom a epirt doib</i>	it is therefore that he says that they said it [lit. its saying by them]	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^c 21	<i>.i. ní hodoib condraig aithesc sunt</i>	that is, it is not from men that he seeks an answer here	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-O-[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>7 huare nach du noibi téit laebreu hisunt in son diandid tintud linnai a sanctis</i>	and because it is not to holiness that the word for which <i>sanctis</i> is the rendering with us applies with the Hebrews here	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC-Adv/IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 42 ^b 7	<i>.i. is dosocelu berid[nt] apstal insalmso</i>	that is, is to the Gospel that the apostle refers this psalm	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^b 1	<i>is dáe rogab duaid insalmso</i>	it is of that that David sang this psalm	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^b 2	<i>.i. as duchesad <ches> Christ ragab duaid inso</i>	that is, that it is of the passion of Christ that David sang this	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^a 8	<i>isairi asrubart som in medio ecclesiae laudabo</i>	it is for that reason that he said <i>in medio ecclesiae laudabo</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S. ^{EMPH.} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^d 8	<i>.i. is airi as beirsom is inchoimded int huile talam</i>	that is, it is therefore that he says the whole earth is the Lord's	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^a 21	<i>.i. isairi aderrigsom forsanimchomarc fodi</i>	that is, it is therefore that he repeats the question twice	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[IC] _{TOP} -IC/Adv
Ml. 46 ^d 3	<i>.i. is airi asbersom unicus 7 pauper rl.</i>	that is, it is therefore that he says <i>unicus et pauper</i> etc.	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 47 ^a 8	<i>.i. is airi frisracachasa quoniam Misericordia rl.</i>	that is, it is therefore that I have hoped <i>quoniam misericordia</i> etc.	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{TOP}

<p> Ml. 50^d7 <i>huare is hifoscud menman ruradussa inna briathra asruburt</i> </p>	<p> because it is in darkness of mind that I spoke the words that I uttered </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_-$ $[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 50^d7 <i>is airi insin· rocualasu guth mernaigdese</i> </p>	<p> it is therefore that You (sg) heard the voice of my prayers </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_-$ $[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 51^d2 <i>is foncosmailiusin darigni duaid isindisiu</i> </p>	<p> it is in that way that David has done it in this </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+INFIX.O)}_-S-$ $[IC]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 51^d25 <i>isón bes doíndu asbeir som insin dodia</i> </p>	<p> it is from human custom that he says that of God </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-S_{EMPH}_-$ $[O]_{TOP-}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 52^x00 <i>is du atlugud buide dodia iarsint soirad sin rondsóer rogab dauid insalmso· sí</i> </p>	<p> it is to render thanks to God after that deliverance wherewith He delivered him, that David sang this psalm below </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-IC-V-S-[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 53^a19 <i>is foir trachtaidsom isindisiu</i> </p>	<p> it is on that that he is commenting in this </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_-$ $[IC]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 53^c13 <i>is airi asbeir som táit amaccu</i> </p>	<p> it is therefore that he says “Come, o sons! </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-S_{EMPH}_-$ $[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 54^d4 <i>.i. nidu ucht etaig asbeir heremias inso</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is not of the bosom of a garment that Jeremiah says this </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-S-[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 56^a20 <i>is inmeit sin is téchtae doib dilgadche</i> </p>	<p> it is in that amount that forgiveness is fitting for them </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-IC-[S]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 64^c19 <i>.i. is hochridiu asindet som inna hísín</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is from the heart that he declares those things </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-S_{EMPH}_-$ $[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 71^c9 <i>.i. is duthaidbsin ind imdaigthea tuccad sunt an ecce</i> </p>	<p> that is, it is to indicate abundance that the <i>ecce</i> has been put here </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-IC/Adv-$ $[S]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 75^b7 <i>is soirbidir sin foridengatsom inni bis fuammam</i> </p>	<p> it is as easily as that that they oppress him who is subject to them </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[Adv]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}_-$ $[O]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 77^a15 <i>is dúnn imchumurc fil is inchanoin frisgair lessóm animchomarc n isiu</i> </p>	<p> it is to the question that is in the Scripture-text that this question answers with him </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-IC-[S]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 83^d9 <i>huare is arsaintoirthigi doberthe ódia donpopul afleuchud sin</i> </p>	<p> because it is for special fruitfulness that that rain used to be given by God to the people </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-IC-$ $[S]_{TOP}$ </p>
<p> Ml. 86^d6 <i>.i. ba mmo immefolngitis brón damsá cid inna hí nobitis dam huamchairtib</i> </p>	<p> that is, even the things that used to be to me from my kinsmen used more to cause grief to me </p>	<p> $V^{(COP)}-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-O-IC-$ $[S]_{TOP}$ </p>

Ml. 88 ^b 15	<i>is airi insin gudidsom hitosuch intsalm</i>	it is for that (reason) that he prays in the beginning of the psalm	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) - [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^b 7	<i>.i. is do dugninn se anisin</i>	that is, it is to that end that I used to do that	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S. ^{EMPH} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 92 ^b 9	<i>.i. istraitiu adcotar fortacht dá trisinnedbair [leg. edbairt] dugnither in hierusalem quam in aliis locis</i>	that is, it is more quickly that the help of God is obtained through the offering which is made in Jerusalem than in other places	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-S-[IC] _{TOP} - IC
Ml. 94 ^c 3	<i>.i. is and suidigitir som aní as uinum pro seueritate ultionis</i>	that is, it is then that they put uinum pro seueritate ultionis	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V-S. ^{EMPH} -[O] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 96 ^b 18	<i>isairi asbeirsom quis est deus. 7 tu es deus</i>	it is therefore that he says <i>quis est deus</i> and <i>tu es deus</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>is fo infinit dutiagar fudulso [leg. fundulso] ám manifestare fil is indsalm</i>	it is as an infinitive that the <i>manifestare</i> which is in the psalm is construed this time	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^b 1	<i>.i. is and beirsom [leg. asbeirsom] respice</i>	that is, it is then that he says <i>respice</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} - V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^c 7	<i>is and duratad digal foranaimtea</i>	it is then that punishment had been inflicted on their enemies	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V-S- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 105 ^a 4	<i>.i. isairi [add. ní] rufeidligsem marni indib</i>	it is therefore that we have not continued in them	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) - [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^c 12	<i>.i. is arsuídiu fufálgi siu innanaimtea</i>	that is, it is on its [i.e. the congregation's] account that You (sg) overthrow the enemies	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S. ^{EMPH} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^c 12	<i>is forsani as eclesia sanctorum trachtaid som is indí siu</i>	it is on <i>eclesia sanctorum</i> that he is commenting in this	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S. ^{EMPH} - [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 109 ^a 1	<i>.i. is ar neurt dubeir som dugræs am brachium</i>	that is, it is for strength that he always puts <i>brachium</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S. ^{EMPH} -Adv- [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^c 13	<i>is ar trocairi 7 censi dubirsiu forunni siu innahi fodaimem retecht innúinn</i>	it is from mercy and gentleness that You (sg) inflict on us here those things which we suffer before going there	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) - IC-Adv-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^a 2-3	<i>.i. as dudia teit lesom anisin</i>	that is, that it is to God that that applies with him	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 121 ^c 16	<i>IS duoin euín [leg. eún] dobersom inna tri anman</i>	it is to one bird that he gives these three names	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 123 ^c 8	<i>is airi asbertar príngéindi dosuidib</i>	it is for this reason that “first-born” is given as a name to them	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S-[IC] _{TOP}

Ml. 124 ^b 3	<i>.i. ní dusemigud pectha atbersom inso</i>	that is, it is not to extenuate sin that he says this	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^d 2	<i>airis fri doinacht asber som sin</i>	for it is to the Manhood that he says that	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-S ^{EMPH} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^b 1	<i>.i. coruléir [leg. corupléir] dungné nech inprecept</i>	that is, that each one may do the teaching diligently	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-S-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 132 ^a 1	<i>nochis apersainn innapecthach asberatsom anisin</i>	it is in the person of the sinners that they say that	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 136 ^c 11	<i>.i. huare rombu mór dorat duaid læri frit adrad su</i>	that is, because it is greatly that David has given diligence to worshipping You	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-S-O- [IC] _{TOP}

Table 177. Cleft sentences with focal clefted IC and sentence-final topic.

In Ml. 14^a4, S of the sentence is the complex phrase *insalmsa dothaisilbiud dosom*, which follows the construction NP + *do* + verbal noun (see GOI §720). In Ml. 14^a9, *adi*, which is topical, refers back to *.i. honaib idlaib* (that is, from the idols) and the whole sentence has to be intended as an explanation of it (see Lat. *ab excelsis*). On the topical status of the direct object in Ml. 26^a8 (i.e. *oammamugud doinachtæ maicc cosnaib hulib dulib fomamaigter* [leg. *foamamaigter*] *dosuidi*), see both Latin (i.e. *et post pauca infert {apostolus}, “cum autem subiecta fuerint illi omnia,” sine dubio quæ nunc⁽⁵⁾ subiecta non sunt ei. cum enim dicat, “omnia subiecta sunt tunc et ipse filius⁽⁶⁾ subiectus erit, ” Hominem⁽⁷⁾ debemus accipere, et “qui sibi subiecit omnia” siue hoc de Patre, siue de Deo Verbo senserimus⁽⁸⁾, non patemur errori. Ostendit autem scriptura diuina omnia a deo uerbo homini esse subiecta.*) and Ml. 26^a1 (i.e. *.i. deacht athar no maicc ciphé ade· ní foindarpaide· fo doinnacht macc* [leg. *maicc*], “that is, the divinity of the Father or of the Son, whichever it may be, it is not to be placed under the humanity of the Son”). In Ml. 56^a20, *inmeit sin* is labelled as IC but is actually a NP in the dative case. In Ml. 92^b9, although we have the sequence V^(COP) + Adj (that is, *istraitiu*), the comparative Adj is tagged as Adv and so considered, not adding itself to the copula to form a V. Note, then, that the second term of comparison introduced by Lat. *quam* is governed by the Irish comparative (*traitiu*). In the end, in both Ml. 129^b1 and Ml. 136^c11, morphologically, what is tagged as Adv is an adjective (*léir* and *mór*). In the specific case of Ml. 136^c11, the O *læri* and the IC *frit adrad su* are not taken to be part of the same constituent (see e.g. Wb. 13^d5).

Ml. 31^b17 nicely illustrates a case of a clefted-IC sentence featuring a sentence-final topic, since a *nota augens* occurs between the verb form and the topic. As clarified in previous sections, similar examples should perhaps be assimilated to post-verbal topic clauses, given

the neglectable status of emphatic particles. The same thing happens also in Ml. 45^a8,²⁰² Ml. 45^d8,²⁰³ Ml. 46^a21, Ml. 46^d3, Ml. 47^a8, Ml. 50^d7,²⁰⁴ Ml. 51^d25, Ml. 53^a19, Ml. 53^c13,²⁰⁵ Ml. 64^c19, Ml. 75^b7, Ml. 88^b15, Ml. 91^b7, Ml. 94^c3,²⁰⁶ Ml. 94^c5, Ml. 96^b18, Ml. 102^b1, Ml. 105^a4, Ml. 108^c12, Ml. 121^c16, Ml. 124^b3, Ml. 127^d2 and Ml. 132^a1. Therefore, the total amount of clauses belonging to this sub-type is 26.

In addition, instances of non-overt topic, as in (196), are attested in the corpus:

- (196) *ciasu iartain rocet*
 although is afterwards was sung
 «although it is afterwards that is was sung» (Ml. 2^b6).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[IC(/Adv)]_{FOC}-V

What is topical in (196) is the psalm, as it is clear from the whole gloss: *.i. huare rombu imaircide dopersin moysi. insalmso. isairilbed* [leg. *isairi doairilbed*] *do ciasu iartain rocet*, “that is, because this psalm was appropriate to the person of Moses, it was therefore ascribed to him, although it was sung (composed) afterwards”. Note, then, that even if originally *iartain* was a PP, synchronically it functions as an adverb – that justifies its label IC(/Adv).

The whole amount of clefted-IC sentences with non-overt topic are reported in Table 178.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^b 6	<i>isairilbed</i> [leg. <i>isairi doairilbed</i>] <i>do</i>	it is because of it that was ascribed to him	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ml. 14 ^b 12	<i>isdobestaid</i> [leg. <i>bestataid</i>] <i>infét</i>	because it speaks of morality [lit. because it is of morality that he tells]	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 18 ^c 10	<i>.i. is trisodin dofocuirther</i>	that is, it is through it that he might be invited	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 20 ^b 13	<i>acht is foimchomarc ata</i>	but it is as a question that (it, i.e. <i>irascemini</i>) is	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V

²⁰² In the case of this gloss the whole Latin expression *in medio ecclesiae laudabo* is what is classified as topical object.

²⁰³ The topical object is a whole sentence (*is inchoimded int huile talam*, “the whole earth is the Lord’s”). Its topical status can be inferred from Latin: *DOMINI EST usque EIUS.*⁽⁸⁾

²⁰⁴ Note, in the case of this sentence, the morphosyntax of the clefted item: *airi insin*. This construction will be matter for specific investigation in the next pages.

²⁰⁵ In the case of this gloss, the whole sentence *táit amaccu* (“come, o sons!”) is intended as O.

²⁰⁶ The sentence-final IC (*pro seueritate ultionis*) is a Latin PP integrated in the Irish text. This happens also in Ml. 92^b9.

Ms. 21 ^a 11	<i>.i. manid óchomacnabud innam briathar ndoinde arrubart biuth</i>	that is, unless it is the usage of the human words that he has employed	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 24 ^c 15	<i>amal bid hifrecndairc nobeth</i>	as though it were present that he was	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 24 ^d 30	<i>l. is do dia teit namma hothonuch intsailm</i>	or, it is to God only that it refers from the beginning of the psalm	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ms. 25 ^b 8	<i>asnduchrist rocét</i>	that it was said of Christ	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 27 ^c 10	<i>is doruccai ₇ melacht teit</i>	(it) is to shame and disgrace that it applies	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 31 ^b 1	<i>acht is immalle guaigitir</i>	but it is together that they lie	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 32 ^c 17	<i>is de canat dib linaib</i>	it is concerning this that they both agree	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-Adv
Ms. 32 ^d 6	<i>₇ isfochetoir dugnither</i>	and it is immediately that is construed	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 32 ^d 10	<i>airis immacu biid són</i>	for it is towards the children that that tends to be	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 33 ^d 12	<i>.i. ní duminpecthib asrobrad</i>	that is, it is not of little sins that it was said	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 35 ^a 8	<i>is dib rogabad intsainriud</i>	it is of them that it was sung in particular	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-Adv
Ms. 35 ^b 9	<i>ni arindi donairchet</i>	it is not because it had been prophesied	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 35 ^b 10	<i>is fosodin rogabad</i>	it is of that that it was uttered	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 36 ^c 21	<i>.i. amal bid hiláim nobed</i>	that is, as though it were in the hand that it was	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 37 ^b 16	<i>.i. ní homud neirt nóchaine dogairemni noibu</i>	that is, it is not from the fashion of strength or beauty that we call (men) holy	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ) -O
Ms. 39 ^c 15	<i>.i. combad frisnaguade ₇ frisnafortu citacommaised</i>	that is, so that it might be against the cheeks and against the eyebrows that it would first meet	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 41 ^d 9	<i>cid dían ₇ cián nothéisinn</i>	though it is fast and far that I would go	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V
Ms. 42 ^a 15	<i>.i. airis arecin duberr foraib</i>	that is, for it is by force that it is put on them	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ms. 44 ^b 19	<i>nach armu peccad orad [leg. doratad] form</i>	that it was not because of my sin that it was inflicted on me	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ms. 45 ^a 8	<i>.i. acht is dosochidi noprithchib</i>	that is, but it is to a multitude that I will preach	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V

Ml. 46 ^d ₁₀	<i>huare nach dudia duairilbset forb[r]isiud innaniudae</i>	because it is not to God that they ascribed the routing of the Jews	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-O
Ml. 47 ^a ₁₇	<i>is dobailondib [leg. dobabilondib] téit</i>	it is to the Babylonians that it applies	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 47 ^c ₁₁	<i>armbad hitempul dáe nobeth</i>	that it might be in the temple of God that he was	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 53 ^b ₁₁	<i>.i. ní intiú fadesin dorecachtar</i>	that is, it was not in themselves they hoped	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 53 ^d ₁₇	<i>.i. is india dorecatar</i>	that is, it is in God they hoped	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 54 ^a ₁	<i>is airí ícfaitir</i>	it is on that account that they will be saved	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 54 ^a ₂₁	<i>.i. combad donaib hulib doinib notésed</i>	that is, that it should be to all men that he refers	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 54 ^a ₂₂	<i>.i. air is doassaraib int sainriud trímedirgedar</i>	that is, for it is to the Assyrians in particular that he refers	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 54 ^c ₁₈	<i>ba (dia)mmrath noteg [leg. noteged]</i>	it was for their betrayal that he used to go	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 55 ^c ₁₉	<i>ba oc imradud chloine nobíth</i>	he used to be meditating iniquity [lit. he was at thinking of iniquity]	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 55 ^d ₁₉	<i>.i. huare is forais firian dobertar</i>	that is, because they are inflicted on righteous folk	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 56 ^b ₁₅	<i>huare is hífochaidib bithir hisuidib 7 dungenat immurgu innadulchi [leg. innadualchi]</i>	since it is in tribulations that men are for them, and that, however, they will practice the vices	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC/V-O
Ml. 57 ^c ₁₂	<i>as ngair mbis</i>	it is briefly that it exists	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 59 ^a ₁₂	<i>mad huaicniud bes amlabar</i>	if it is by nature that he is dumb	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 60 ^b ₁₁	<i>as dí sunt arbeir biuth</i>	that it is of this he uses (it)	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 66 ^d ₁₄	<i>.i. ní ba cián in bete and</i>	that is, it will not be long that they will be there	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-IC/Adv
Ml. 67 ^c ₁₈	<i>is dindoipred forchomnacuir and</i>	it is of the work that happened then	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC/Adv
Ml. 67 ^d ₈	<i>ní for sodin trachtid archiun</i>	it is not on this that he comments below	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-Adv
Ml. 67 ^d ₂₄	<i>.i. ciasu in·is teit</i>	that is, though it is in <i>is</i> that it ends	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 69 ^b ₁	<i>.i. is and rofessatar atan dóini aprisci</i>	that is, it is then that they will know that they are frail men	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V-O
Ml. 69 ^b ₁	<i>is and molfait dia</i>	it is then that they will praise God	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V-O

Ml. 69 ^d ₃	<i>.i. is dé ropridach</i>	that is, it is from it that He preached	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 71 ^b ₁₄	<i>airis fuamaám robói</i>	for he was subject to him [lit. for it was under his yoke that (he) was]	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 72 ^d ₉	<i>.i. ciasu du duaid adfiadar is intitule</i>	that is, though it is to David that it (the psalm) is ascribed in the title	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ml. 72 ^d ₁₂	<i>is dú digail teit</i>	it is to vengeance that it (<i>iudica</i>) goes	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 74 ^c ₂₁	<i>.i. is frise dhutair</i>	that is, it is with this that it is brought into close connection	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 81 ^f ₄₋₆	<i>.i. is ar forngartaidi dubertar tri imberta innafaidsine</i>	or it is for imperatives that they are put, through the usages of prophecy	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ml. 84 ^c ₉	<i>.i. amal bid iarmaim [leg. iarmaidm] chatha forru dubertis</i>	that is, as though they were brought after a victory over them in battle [lit. as though it is after a victory in battle over them that they were brought]	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 85 ^d ₁	<i>.i. ní arindi arindrochrietis</i>	that is, it is not because of it that they perished	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 86 ^d ₁₃	<i>.i. airni and rogabad</i>	that is, for it is not then that it was sung	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 86 ^d _{19a}	<i>.i. airní doib citarochet</i>	that is, for it is not to them that it was first sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 88 ^a ₁₇	<i>is triutsu doronad</i>	it is through You (sg) that it has been wrought	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 89 ^b ₆	<i>.i. ní do á oinur is immaircide</i>	that is, it is not to him alone that is appropriate	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 90 ^d ₁₁	<i>acht corbu immaith beith semper</i>	provided that it be in good that one is (engaged in) <i>semper</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 95 ^a ₁	<i>combad and namma friscoirthe céil</i>	that it was only there that He was worshipped	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 100 ^b ₂	<i>.i. nínanenech robitha</i>	that is, it is not in their faces that they had been wounded	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 103 ^d ₂₆	<i>is tar hæsi ind ferso remeperthi ata [...] hitintud sephtiein</i>	it is in place of the aforesaid verse [...] that it is in the version of the Septuagint	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ml. 106 ^c ₃	<i>isfofoxlaid am [leg. amal] sodin dutiagtar</i>	in that case it is as an ablative that they are construed	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -IC-V
Ml. 109 ^a ₂	<i>is dufrinni brithemnachtae téit</i>	it is to righteousness of judgment that it applies	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V

Ml. 110 ^d 16	<i>is dufolud nephchumscaighthiu asber</i>	it is to an unchangeable substance that it is applied	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 111 ^d 4	<i>combad mou de nocrete s6n</i>	that it might be the more believed	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 112 ^b 12	<i>.i. is deniu adciam huasulib</i>	that is, we see with the eyes more quickly	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-IC
Ml. 112 ^c 11	<i>is dinchumsanad tochildiu [leg. todochildiu] rogabad</i>	it is of the future rest that it was sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 113 ^d 3	<i>is dingnim forchomnacuir is ind laithiu sin is immaircide</i>	it is to the deed which happened on that day that it is appropriate	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 115 ^a 14	<i>is forcech l6n a huair immeroimded</i>	it is on the entire number in turn that sinned	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -IC-V
Ml. 118 ^b 6	<i>robad dundsasad diant ainm panis tantum noregad</i>	it would be to the food which is called <i>panis</i> only that it would apply	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 121 ^b 13	<i>is du chensi moysi t6it immurgu</i>	it is to the meekness of Moses that it applies, however	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 123 ^c 10	<i>indaas bid censomataid leu doathchretis</i>	than if it were without wealth with them that they had been redeemed	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 126 ^c 10	<i>.i. isairi asbersom is dia rodlabrastar</i>	that it, it is for this reason that he says that it was God that had spoken it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-O
Ml. 126 ^d 9	<i>is focethoir [leg. fochetoir] dugnither</i>	it is directly (with the Biblical text) that it is construed	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 133 ^b 2	<i>n6 dudoiri babilone amal sodin rogabtha</i>	it is not of the Captivity of Babylon in that case that they have been sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -IC-V
Ml. 138 ^a 12	<i>.i. ni ed amet asnetarcnad dun trannditin [leg. triarnditin]</i>	that is, it is not only that it is known to us through our protection	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -V-IC-IC
Ml. 139 ^a 9	<i>.i. combad dudoiri babile [leg. babilone nogabtis 6n</i>	that is, that it is of the Babylonian captivity that they would have been sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 139 ^a 10	<i>acht is didoiri babilone rogabtha</i>	but it is of the Babylonian captivity that they have been sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 139 ^a 11	<i>as n di doiri babilone rogabtha</i>	it is of the Babylonian captivity that they have been sung	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 142 ^d 1	<i>.i. cidtriaingliu doindnastar s6n</i>	that is, although it is through angels that it be given	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V

Table 178. Cleft sentences with focal clefted IC and non-overt topic.

Ml. 14^b12 for example nicely illustrates what happens with clefted-IC/Adv sentences with non-overt topic in most of cases. In the gloss, the topic (i.e. *insalmsō*, “this Psalm”), which is inferable on the basis of the previous part of the gloss (*isairi doralad arthuus insalmsō*), is expressed by the verbal ending. In Ml. 41^d9 and in Ml. 66^d14, *cián* and *dían*, although morphologically neuter adjectives in the nominative case, are analysed as Adv as this is their syntactic function in the pseudo-relative clause (see above and Chapter 2). The same thing happens in Ml. 57^c12 (*ndian* and *ngair*) and in Ml. 112^b12 (*deniu*, comparative of *dían*). In Ml. 69^b1, the O is a sentence itself: *atan dóini aprisci* (“that they are frail men”). As for Ml. 85^d1, how the sentence is analysed is different from what is done in Griffith and Stifter’s (2013) database. In the database, *arindi* is considered a conjunction. Synchronically, *arindi* is certainly a conjunction in Old Irish, even if its origins lie in a PP (*ar indí*, “because of that”). In the case of this gloss, however, the latter interpretation seems preferable. There is a contrast between the focal *indí* (the clefted constituent, following the interpretation proposed above) and the PP introduced by the copula in the second part of the gloss (i.e. *armeinci inna indithme dosom indiu* [leg. *intiu*], “because of the frequency of the intentness to him in them”). Moreover, the Latin passage which is glossed by Ml. 85^d1 (...*DEFECERUNT OCULI MEI usque DEUM MEUM. labore continuæ expectationis*⁽²⁰⁷⁾) also goes in this direction. In the end, on the non-argumental status of (*s*)ón (see e.g. Ml. 111^d4, Ml. 139^a9, Ml. 142^d1, see previous chapters).

A fourth sub-group of clefted-IC/Adv sentences consists of clauses where the copular predicate is the adverb *samlid* (“thus”), as in (197):

- (197) *issamlid* *rosnainmgestar* *som* [leg. *rosnainmnigestar som*]
 is thus named them he
 «it was thus that he named them» (Ml. 26^b8).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[*samlid*]_{FOC}-V^(+INFIX.O)_{TOP-S}.^{EMPH}

Samlid (see GOI §§434, 826) synchronically functions as an adverb meaning “thus, so”. Its origin is nevertheless clearly prepositional (*amal* + 3rd sing. neut.). In Old Irish, *samlid* was already perceived as an independent-standing adverb (see DIL s.v. 1 *samlaid*)²⁰⁷. The reason why *samlid* can be kept separated from the other cases of clefted IC is that, in certain cases, the function of *samlid* can be different from that of a clefted IC, that is, it may occur in order to focalise the verb (see Table 179 below). In other cases, instead, the neuter pronominal

²⁰⁷ <http://edil.qub.ac.uk/36150> (last access 29/09/2019).

element within *samlid* still shows a phoric behaviour: it may happen to refer to something occurring later in the clause (see Section 6.2), or to something preceding the clause. In the specific case of (197), *samlid* has an anaphoric and not cataphoric value. This is because it refers back to the previous portion of the gloss (*.i. amal rombói ingnae cáich*, “i.e. as was the understanding of each”).

Table 179 collects all the cleft sentences in the Milan glosses corpus where the copular predicate is *samlid*.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 31 ^b 25	<i>issamlid infet som innaisndis</i>	it is so that he sets forth the explanation	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V-S ^{EMPH} - [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^b 6	<i>issamlid insin nísgaib som lius difordiuclaimmim muthaithese</i> [leg. <i>muthaithese</i>]	it is in the same way that no disgust of devouring my people affects them	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -S
Ml. 37 ^a 12	<i>issamlid dobertar anman doib la ebreu</i>	it is thus that the names are given to them among the Hebrews	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} - IC-IC
Ml. 37 ^c 20	<i>.i. niba samlid doemsa mo thuaid insin</i>	that is, it will not be so that I shall defend my people	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} - V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)]-[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^a 19	<i>is samlid insin rotachatar</i>	it is thus that they fled	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V
Ml. 45 ^c 9	<i>is samlid insin immetét leusom intais lósc</i>	it is thus that the cripples walk with them	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i> -V] _{FOC} - [IC] _{TOP} -S
Ml. 50 ^a 5	<i>issamlid gaibid ní</i>	it is thus that it catches something	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i> -V] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^d 8	<i>issamlid insin rodaingnigestar dia inna abissiu</i>	it is in that way that God has fortified about the abysses	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V-S- [IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^d 28	<i>issamlid adrothreb dia maccaib</i> [leg. <i>maccu</i>] <i>israhel</i>	it is thus that God has taken possession of the children of Israel	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V-S- [O] _{TOP}
Ml. 66 ^c 1	<i>.i. bad samlid fosisidersu á eclais</i>	that is, let it be thus that you confess, o Church	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i> - V] _{FOC} [^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^d 10	<i>.i. is samlid noroifed hires inna foammaigthe</i> [leg. <i>foammamaigthe</i>]	that is, it is thus that the faith of the subjects would waver	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i> -V] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^c 11	<i>issamlid insin rosengatar intainid , intorainn forsna egiptacdu</i>	it is even so that the lightnings and the thunders have poured down onto the Egyptians	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} - IC
Ml. 119 ^d 3	<i>issamlaid doróscasset maic israhel donaib chenelaib cocríchthaib</i>	it is thus that the Children of Israel were distinguished from the neighboring nations	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} - IC

Table 179. Cleft sentences with focal clefted *samlid*.

In general terms, *samlid* happens to show an actual anaphoric value in 10 cases out of 14. In most instances, *samlid* is coreferential with an earlier occurring sentence/constituent introduced by *amal* (see e.g. Ml. 31^b25, Ml. 34^b6, Ml. 37^a12, etc). In Ml. 37^c20 what is coreferential with *samlid* is not introduced by *amal*, but is *innisseo*, glossing Lat. *talis*. Similarly, in Ml. 51^d8 instead of *amal* coreferential with *samlid* is *fochosmailius*, and in Ml. 119^d3 is the glossed Lat. *sicut*. In 4 out of 14 cases, *samlid* has no anaphoric value and functions as focaliser of V (Ml. 45^c9, Ml. 50^a5, Ml. 66^c1 and Ml. 85^d10).

At a more specific level, in Ml. 34^b6 (but also Ml. 44^a19, etc.) note the presence of *insin* after *samlid*. They belong to the same constituent. *Insin* is coreferential with the pronominal element occurring within *samlid* (see GOI §480).²⁰⁸ This way, the clefted item assumes the same morphosyntactic substance of PN-NP already noticed in previous sections. On that note, Ml. 37^c20 shows a peculiar syntactic behaviour, since *insin* occurs in sentence-final (and obviously non-cleft) position, even if it is coreferential with *samlid*.

Clefted-*samlid* sentences show the same topic types seen above for clefted-IC clauses. On the total amount of 14 sentences belonging to this sub-group, 2 show topical infixed O, 1 shows non overt topic, 4 show actual post-verbal topic, 3 show actual sentence-final topic, while 4 show overt topic at the same time post-verbal and sentence final, due to the reasons highlighted above.

Table 180 summarises quantitative data concerning clefted-IC/Adv sentences attested in the Milan glosses.

Analysis	Type of TOP	Instances	% out of CS ²⁰⁹
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	109	21.59%
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	80	15.82%
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Sentence-final	52	10.29%
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}	Infix	32	6.34%
V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	4	0.79%
V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i> -V] _{FOC} -[X] _{TOP}	Post-V	4	0.79%
V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Sentence-final	3	0.60%
V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}	Infix	2	0.40%
V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	1	0.20%

²⁰⁸ Note what reported in the database: «As noted in Thes Pal, *insin* usually would be found after *samlid* (see also Thurneysen p 304 §480)».

²⁰⁹ CS stands for *Cleft Sentences*.

Table 18o. Quantitative analysis of cleft sentences with focal IC/Adv (with topic's types differentiation).

On the basis of the data given in Table 18o, post-verbal topic clauses seem to be the majority in case of clefted-IC/Adv sentences. Non-overt instances amount to a comparable value of cases, while sentence-final topic and infix topic examples are much less in quantitative terms.

As widely argued above, however, Table 18o data can be dramatically refined. The guidelines followed to perform such a review can be summarised as follows:

- i. clefted-*samlid* examples where *samlid* shows anaphoric value should be distributed in various clefted-IC topic types;
- ii. post-verbal topic clefted-IC sentences should be combined with clefted-IC sentences categorised as sentence-final but with a S.^{EMPH} only occurring between V and TOP;
- iii. clefted-IC sentences with topical S emphatic/anaphoric should be eliminated from post-verbal topic clefted-IC category and counted together with non-overt clefted-IC sentences where topical is the S conveyed by the verbal ending;
- iv. cleft sentences with a S.^{EMPH} only occurring between V and TOP should be considered instances of post-verbal and not of sentence-final topic;

On the basis of these variations, quantitative data of clefted-IC/Adv sentences attested in the Milan glosses can be re-organised as represented in Table 181.

Analysis	Type of TOP	Instances	% out of CS ²¹⁰
V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V/Sentence-final	109	21.78%
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	93	18.59%
V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}	Infix	32	6.40%
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Sentence-final	28	5.54%
V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP} -Y	Post-V	21	4.20%

Table 181. Revised quantitative analysis of cleft sentences with focal IC/Adv (with topic's types differentiation).

Post-verbal/sentence-final topics, that is, post-verbal topics in sentences with only once constituent occurring after V, constitute the major category in terms of topic type with

²¹⁰ CS stands for *Cleft Sentences*.

clefted IC. If we compare actual post-verbal and sentence-final topic sentences (that is, those sentences with more than one constituent after V), in the case of clefted-IC sentences, sentence-final topics outrank post-verbal topics (28 vs. 21). The category of non-overt topics, then, is extremely relevant quantitatively. This confirms what highlighted above with O-clefts, where topical tended to be Ss conveyed by the verbal ending/*notae augentes*.

A final point concerns clefted-IC sentences where the clefted item is the PP *airi* (*isairi*-clauses). This is a rather widespread construction in the Milan glosses. Consider example (198), that is, ML. 46^d3:

- (198) *.i. is airi asbersom unicus 7 pauper rl.*
 that is is for it that he(EMPH) says unicus et pauper etc.
 «that is, it is therefore that he says *unicus et pauper* etc.» (ML. 46^d3).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}-[O]_{TOP}$

Regardless of the IS of this sentence, I would argue in favour of the fact that *is airi* should be considered an arising conjunction in this phase of the language. If the Latin context of the gloss is taken into account (*solitarius¹ et cunctorum auxilio distitutus efficaciter totum ad inclinanda² Dei indulgentiam confero {uel indicat} quia³ et solus et in malis multis sit.*), it can be noted how what is glossed by example (198) is *quia*, that is, precisely a clausal conjunction, which is what I am assuming *is airi* to be. Moreover, the cleft meaning behind *is airi* seems rather opaque in the case of this gloss, since the meaning of “is for it” is to be discarded. I would hence tend to consider *isairi*-clauses as original cleft structures, which evolved in ‘pure’ VS orders ($V^{(COP)}-IC-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}-O > V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}-O$). Or, at least, this evolution could be considered in progress in the Old Irish phase. In addition, note that *airi* could also function phorically with respect to something preceding or following it in the clause (see e.g. ML. 14^b12: *.i. isairi doralad arthuus insalmsa- quia isdobestaid [leg. bestataid] infét*, “i.e. therefore was this psalm put first: because it speaks of morality”; where *airi* anticipates *quia isdobestaid infét*). This is the reason why *isairi* should be considered a conjunction with meaning “therefore/for this reason”, rather than “because” or “since”.

Nevertheless, this hypothesis requires a deeper examination. In the perspective of this thesis, given its aims and scopes, I would not consider *isairi*-clauses as non-clefts but instances of clefted-IC/Adv sentences (as above), since this function of *isairi* appears in progress in the Old Irish phase. This point will however be matter for discussion in future work.

To conclude this section, Table 182 collects all quantitative data as far as cleft sentences in the Milan glosses are concerned. In Chapter 10, some conclusions will be drawn

on cleft sentences topic-types categories regardless of morphosyntactic and functional features of clefted items.

Analysis	Instances	Type of TOP	% out of CS ²¹¹	% out of (P)CS ²¹²
V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	109	Post-V/FP	22.80%	19.62%
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V	93	Non-overt	19.46%	16.74%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	72	Post-V/FP	15.06%	12.96%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V	37	Non-overt	7.74%	6.64%
V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} - V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}	32	Infix	6.69%	5.74%
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	28	Sentence-final	5.86%	5.02%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}	24	Infix	5.02%	4.30%
V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	21	Post-verbal	4.39%	3.76%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	18	Post-V/FP	3.77%	3.22%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	17	Post-verbal	3.56%	3.06%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	12	Sentence-final	2.51%	2.16%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V	7	Non-overt	1.46%	1.26%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	5	Post-verbal	1.05%	0.90%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	3	Sentence-final	0.63%	0.54%

Table 182. Quantitative analysis of cleft sentences (with no S/Os' types differentiation).²¹³

6.2 Pseudo-cleft sentences

Pseudo-cleft sentences attested in the corpus amount to 48 instances (8.84% of (pseudo)cleft sentences and 1.14% of total). The difference between cleft sentences, where the clefted item is pronominal, and pseudo-cleft sentences consists in the different phoric behaviour of the clefted pronoun. In the case of cleft sentences, the clefted pronoun recalls something occurring earlier in the text or in the context (i.e. its value is anaphoric); otherwise, in case of pseudo-cleft sentences, the clefted pronoun anticipates something occurring later in the text or in the context (i.e. its value is cataphoric). Consider example (199):

(199)	<i>air</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>asdulem</i>	<i>dún</i>
	for	is	it	that is most beloved	to us
	<i>doengnu·</i>			<i>instoir</i>	

²¹¹ CS stands for *Cleft Sentences*.

²¹² (P)CS stands for *(Pseudo)Cleft Sentences*.

²¹³ Post-V stands for "post-verbal"; FP stands for "sentence-final".

for the understanding the history
 «for history is that which is most desirable for us to understand» (ML. 14^{d7}).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$

The clefted 3rd sing. neut. pronoun *ed* anticipates the focal sentence-final *instoir*, which functions as S in the pseudo-relative clause *as dulem*. Thus, *ed* can be considered focal as well. Example (199) shows a pseudo-cleft sentence type in which the clefted pronominal item anticipates a NP occurring later in the clause. Such a NP could function as S of the pseudo-relative clause (Table 183), as O of the pseudo-relative clause (Table 184), or it could be a PP functioning as a IC/Adv in the pseudo-relative clause (Table 185). In this last case the clefted pronominal item may also happen to be an inflected preposition. Of course, instead of NPs/PPs, syntactically equivalent clauses may occur as well.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
ML. 16 ^{c10}	<i>is ed inchoisecht trisodin coic bliadni deac dothormuch forasaigulsom</i>	it is this that was indicated through it, that fifteen years should be added to his life	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
ML. 54 ^{c2}	<i>airised roboi hirrecht digal cutrummae frissinpeccad</i>	for it is that which was in the Law: punishment equal to the sin	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
ML. 90 ^{c12}	<i>is hed ón dano achomadas [leg. aschomadas] huathad foirbthe du denum innaæreigmese</i>	it is this, then, that is fitting, that a few perfect men should make this complaint	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{FOC}$
ML. 103 ^{a9}	<i>.i. is ed as dulem daitsiu metarcnae</i>	that is, it is that which is most desirable for you, to know me	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
ML. 114 ^{b7}	<i>ithe ata findbadaig indi chomallaite timnae n dae triaforcital doib , ní arpianaib duthabairt forru</i>	it is they who are blessed, the ones who fulfill the commandment of God through its being taught to them and not on account of the infliction of punishments upon them	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{FOC}$
ML. 130 ^{b8}	<i>.i. ised as maith ladia airimp isin gessae in dilg(u)d</i>	it is this that is good in the eyes of God, that it be here that the forgiveness was asked for	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[IC]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$

Table 183. Pseudo-cleft sentences with a PN coreferent to a later occurring NP functioning as S of the pseudo-relative clause.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 17 ^c 7	<i>.i. ised berat [leg. asberat] ind heritic aslaigiu deacht maicc indaas deacht athar</i>	that is, it is this that the heretics say, that the divinity of the Son is less than the divinity of the Father	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 29	<i>.i. ised asberat asndudeacht₇ doinacht maic rogabab insalm so</i>	that is, it is this that they say, that it is of the divinity and the humanity of the Son that this psalm was sung	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>air mad ed asberad usquequo domine obliuisceris me</i>	for if that which he had said were only <i>usquequo Domine obliuisceris me</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>ised rogised amal sodin aimacomarleicthe hifochaid etir</i>	it is this that he would have prayed for then, that he should not be let go into tribulation at all	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -IC-V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>ised guides amal sodin arnach n dermanadar dia hiforcenn</i>	it is this that he prays then, that God should not forget him forever [lit. into the end]	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -IC-V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 14	<i>.i. is ed rochreti cách duibsi nachaibersoilcfithe etir₇ nachabticfed for rí nach far tuad atoiri do imthecht foirb [leg. foirib] a doirse</i>	that is, it is this that everyone believed of you, that you (pl) would not be opened at all, and that neither your (pl) king nor your (pl) people would come to you (pl) out of captivity to pass over you (pl), o doors	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-S-[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^c 3	<i>.i. is ed conaitech tantum dílgud apecthae ndo hodia</i>	that is, it is this only that he asked: the forgiveness of his sins to him by God	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^d 8	<i>.i. is ed asbersom tra isinchanóin se is hituaisciurt slebe síóin ata inchathir</i>	that is, it is this that he says in this text, that it is on the north of Mount Zion that the city is (located)	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPHSUBJ) -[IC] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^b 10	<i>.i. is ed durumenatarsom nad fess ingnín dorigensat</i>	that is, it is that that they had thought, that the deed which they had done was not known	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V ^(+EMPHSUBJ) _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 84 ^d 4	<i>.i. is [ed] adfet alegend as n dath glas roboi forsindslib [leg. sleib] fo chosmailius saphirr.</i>	that is, it is this that the text relates, that it was a blue color, like sapphire, that was on the mountain	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^d 6	<i>.i. is ed as doig liun is indisiu bid exaggeranter duintad anemfases asbeir som</i>	that is, it is this that we deem probable here [lit. that is likely for us here], that it	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-IC-[IC/Adv] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}

		would be <i>exaggeranter</i> that would render the <i>emphasis</i> that he uses	
Ml. 93 ^d 14	<i>.i. is ed asberat som is gau dúnni innahi adfidam</i> [leg. <i>adfiadam</i>] <i>dichrisst</i>	that is, it is this that they say, the things that we declare of Christ are a lie of ours	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V- [S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^a 5	<i>.i. ised asbertis banert fadesin immefolnged choscur doib</i>	that is, it is this that they used to say: that it was their own strength that wrought victory for them	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{FOC}
Ml. 106 ^d 3	<i>.i. is ed asbeirtis ba madae dam du frecur cheill siu- adé</i>	that is, it is that that they used to say, that worship of You (sg) was vain of me, O God	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^a 14	<i>is</i> [leg. <i>ised</i>] <i>immurgu adfét huatha aliter síis is forcech lín a huair immeroimded doberthe digal</i>	it is this, however, that it expresses from <i>aliter</i> onwards, it is on the entire number in turn that sinned that punishment used to be inflicted	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[IC] _{TOP} - [O] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^c 3	<i>is ed duginí iarum athluchedar buidí do dia nammá</i>	it is this that he does afterwards he gives thanks to God only	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-IC/Adv- [O] _{FOC}

Table 184. Pseudo-cleft sentences with a PN coreferent to a later occurring NP functioning as O of the pseudo-relative clause.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 24 ^d 26	<i>.i. is de rogabad insalmso dodechur etir deacht deacht , doinach</i> [leg. <i>doinacht</i>] <i>maicc</i>	that is, it is of this that this psalm was sung, of the difference between the divinity and the humanity of the Son	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 3	<i>ní fou dauc int apstal foncheill fuandrogab in faith</i>	it is not to that that the apostle applied it: according to the sense in which the prophet uttered it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) - S-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 27	<i>combad de nogagthe</i> [leg. <i>nogabthe</i>] <i>insalmso dichossegrad innacathrach</i> {arcs síón} <i>conrotacht laduaid hi síón</i> {i. arcs síón} <i>· fri ebustu</i>	so that it would be of this that this psalm would have been sung: of the consecration of the city that was built by David on Zion against the Jebusites	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[S] _{TOP} - [IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 48 ^d 28	<i>is de rogab duaid insalm dindathlugud buide dorigni ezechias dodia dia· íc dingalar hirobae</i>	it is of this that David sang the psalm: of the thanksgiving that Hezekiah made to God for healing him of the sickness in which he lays	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-S-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 56 ^c 11	<i>is do ducad s6n duthaidbsin· nadndichil ní ar dia ingnimaib cech 6in</i>	it is for this that it was brought forward, to show that nothing is hidden from God in the deeds of every one	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 62 ^a 2	<i>.i. is do tuicsom asitiuit duthaidbsin inchosmailseo beus</i>	that is, it is for this that he has put <i>sitiuit</i> , to show forth the comparison further	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 89 ^a 2	<i>.i. as n do dubertis inna olc forumsa du imthrenugud du cháingnímae siu adé atam mathi</i>	that is, that it is to this end that the evils used to be inflicted on me, to commend Your (sg) benefits, O God, that they are good	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}-IC-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 94 ^c 10	<i>is do doadbat· lani inchailig duthaidbse nad desta ní du digail</i>	to that end he shows forth the fullness of the cup, to show that nothing of punishment is lacking	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>is do saidisiu for hirubinaib condárbais frecndarcus du fortachtæ dunaib trebaib so diasoirad</i>	it is for this that You (sg) sit on the Cherubim, that You (sg) may show the presence of Your (sg) help to these tribes for their deliverance	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}-[IC]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>is do saidisiu adæ for hirubinaib dothoisigecht 7 choimdinecht donaib trebaib so</i>	it is for this that You (sg) sit, O God, on the Cherubim, to lead and to rule these tribes	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}-[IC]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 107 ^d 8	<i>.i. is ed á eret is gessi dia cene in bether in hac uita</i>	that is, this is the length of time that God is to be supplicated, while one is <i>in hac uita</i>	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 108 ^b 4	<i>.i. is and asgniintar incharait intan mbither in periculis</i>	that is, it is then that friends are known, when men are <i>in periculis</i>	$V^{(COP)}-[IC/Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC/Adv]_{FOC}$
Ml. 111 ^b 15	<i>is do tra duicsem andligedso duthaidbsin 7 dugudi</i>	it is for this then, that he has put this expression, to show and to pray	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[O]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$
Ml. 111 ^c 3	<i>is do tra dugnither insin diachosc 7 timmarcuin dochum dæ</i>	it is for this, then, that that is done, to correct him and to drive him to God	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$

Ml. 113 ^c 2 <i>.i. is and adruithreb inpopul talmain tire tairingeri arrunetendiged indoire</i>	that is, it is then that the people inhabited the soil of the Land of Promise, when the captivity had been relaxed	$V^{(COP)}-[IC/Adv]_{FOC}-V-S-$ $[O]_{TOP}-[IC/Adv]_{FOC}$
Ml. 132 ^a 1 <i>is airi rouctha indoiri fobith apecthae</i>	it is for this that they have been brought into captivity, because of their sins	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-IC-[IC]_{FOC}$

Table 185. Pseudo-cleft sentences with a PN coreferent to a later occurring PP functioning as IC/Adv of the pseudo-relative clause.

In Table 184 Ml. 24^d29, the sentence *asndudeacht 7 doinacht maic rogabad insalm so* is also analysed separately as an instance of cleft sentence. On the argumental status of (*s*)ón in Table 30 Ml. 56^c11, see previous chapters.

What comes immediately to light from the examinations of Tables 183, 184 and 185 above is that, in the great majority of cases, what occurs later in the text which is anticipated by a clefted pronominal item is a clause, rather than a NP/PP. This accounts well for the fact that morphologically the clefted pronominal item tends to be a 3rd singular neuter pronoun.

Resumed clauses may be argumental clauses with the syntactic function of S/O, but also oblique clauses. Oblique clauses may both be argumental (e.g. Ml. 24^d26, or Ml. 48^d27), or circumstantial with either final (e.g. Ml. 56^c11, or Ml. 111^b15) or temporal value (e.g. Ml. 108^b4, or Ml. 113^c2).

The distribution of the sentences just considered in terms of topic types (Table 186) is also worth considering.

Pseudo-clefted item	Topic type	Instances
S	Post-verbal	5
S	Non-overt	2
O	Post-verbal	5
O	Non-overt	9
O	Sentence-final	2
IC	Post-verbal	12
IC	Non-overt	1
IC	Infixed O	1
IC	Sentence-final	2

Table 186. Quantitative analysis of pseudo-cleft sentences' topic types.

On the basis of Table 186, post-verbal topic appears to be the most frequent as far as pseudo-clefted-S and pseudo-clefted-IC sentences are concerned. As for pseudo-clefted-O sentences, non-overt topics are consistently the most frequently attested. Interestingly, this scenario is coherent with what highlighted in previous sections concerning cleft sentences:

- i. Table 165 (quantitative analysis of clefted-S clauses' topic types): the majority of cases shows post-verbal topics; rare sentence-final topic sentences;
- ii. Table 175 (quantitative analysis of clefted-O clauses' topic types): the majority of cases shows non-overt topics;
- iii. Table 182 (quantitative analysis of clefted-IC clauses' topic types): the majority of cases shows post-verbal topics.

The distribution of topic types is not the only consistency identifiable between the categories of cleft sentences and pseudo-cleft sentences. Well-attested in the sub-group of pseudo-cleft sentences are also pseudo-clefted-*samlid* clauses, as in (200), given that *samlid* may function also cataphorically and not only anaphorically as shown in Section 6.1:

(200) *issamlid léicfimmíni doibsom aisndis*
 is thus we will leave to them narration
dintsens ₇ *dinmoralus*
 of the sense and of the morality
manip ecoir frisinstoir adfiadamni
 if is not unproper at the history that we(EMPH) relate
 «it is thus we will leave to them the exposition of the sense and the morality»
 (Ml. 14^d10).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[*samlid*]_{FOC}-V-IC-[O]_{TOP}

The phoric value of *samlid*, in this case, points onwards in the clause. The gloss ends with *manip ecoir frisinstoir adfiadamni* (“if it is not at variance with the history that we relate”), which is precisely what is focal and anticipated by *samlid*.

All the pseudo-cleft sentences with clefted *samlid* attested in the corpus are reported in Table 187. The reasons why pseudo-cleft sentences with *samlid* are, for the moment, kept separate from the other pseudo-cleft sentences lies in the eventual focalising value which *samlid* could assume with respect to V (see e.g. Table 187 Ml. 27^d22).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
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<p> Ml. 18^a8 <i>.i. insamlid insin robói aflaithe mnacht indibsi [Lat. non ut⁸ prouidentia sua regeret atque defenderet]</i> </p>	<p>that is, is it thus that his rule was on you (pl.)?</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[<i>samlid</i>]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}-IC-[FOC]</p>
<p> Ml. 23^a12 <i>issamlid inso asmbertar ut</i> </p>	<p>it is thus that they are said: <i>ut</i></p>	<p>V^(COP)-[<i>samlid</i>]_{FOC}-V-[NP]_{FOC}</p>
<p> Ml. 27^d22 <i>issamlid is immaircide frisinceill</i> </p>	<p>it is thus it is suitable to the sense</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[<i>samlid</i>-V]_{FOC}-IC</p>
<p> Ml. 30^d24 <i>.i. issamlid is deid som maarí inferso· maní nairi immurgu nídeid₇ isbronach abethu amal sodin</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is thus that he is careless: if he should find this man; if, however, he should not find him, he is not careless, and his life is sad in that case</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[<i>samlid</i>]_{FOC}-V-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP}-[FOC]</p>
<p> Ml. 49^a11 <i>.i. issamlid atrim som inforcomet sin amal bid coscrad dognethe· do·₇ osecarthe iarum</i> </p>	<p>that is, it is thus that he reckoned that protection, as though it were destruction that had been done to it, and it were consecrated afterwards</p>	<p>V^(COP)-[<i>samlid</i>]_{FOC}-V-S^{EMPH}-[O]_{TOP}-[FOC]</p>
<p> Ml. 51^d2 <i>.i. combed samlid dagneth ponens abisos· sicut in tesaurís</i> </p>	<p>that is, so that it might be thus that he should make it, <i>ponens abisos sicut in tesaurís</i></p>	<p>V^(COP)-[<i>samlid</i>]_{FOC}-V^(+INFIX.O)_{TOP}-[FOC]</p>

Table 187. Pseudo-cleft sentences with focal *samlid*.

In Ml. 18^a8, the phoric status of *samlid* is questionable. *Samlid* refers to the Latin *non ut prouidentia* etc. This reference may either be understood as cataphoric, since what is translated by the Irish gloss is what occurs earlier than *non ut prouidentia* in Latin (that is, *beatus Daud in uos iús accipit imperii ut uos comminuere⁷ atque contereret*), so that the Irish portion of text would occur earlier than *non ut prouidentia*, or as anaphoric, since the Latin text glossed by Ml. 18^a8 should be considered as given in the universe of discourse. Note, then, the presence of *insin* after *samlid*, coherent with what highlighted above for cleft sentences with focal *samlid*. In Ml. 23^a12, the focal NP has the value of an apposition of 3rd plural S. Ml. 27^d22 is a case of pseudo-clefted *samlid* functioning as focaliser of V. In Ml. 30^d24 *samlid* anticipates what occurs ahead in the gloss (i.e. *maarí inferso· maní nairi immurgu nídeid₇ isbronach abethu amal sodin*, “if he should find this man; if, however, he should not find him, he is not careless, and his life is sad in that case”). The same happens also in Ml. 49^a11, where *samlid* anticipates *amal bid coscrad dognethe· do·₇ osecarthe iarum* (“as though it were destruction that had been done to it, and it were consecrated afterwards”), and in Ml. 51^d2, where *samlid* anticipates *ponens abisos· sicut in tesaurís*.

As far as pseudo-clefted-*samlid* clauses topic types are concerned, non-overt topic sentences amount to 3 examples, post-verbal topic sentences amount to 1 example, infixed topic sentences amount to 1 example, sentence-final topic sentences amount to 1 example, post-verbal/sentence-final topic sentences amount to 1 example.²¹⁴

In the end, Table 188 collects further examples of pseudo-cleft sentences attested in the Milan glosses corpus. They could be combined with pseudo-cleft categories highlighted above (e.g. Ml. 74^d13 is a pseudo-cleft sentence built on the O). Nevertheless, they are presented in a separate section since the focal text portion coreferent to the clefted item is outside the pseudo-cleft sentence (such portions are separated by *.i.*). This did not happen in the pseudo-cleft examples considered until now.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>issí ciall dumber side assindísiu .i. nimalartae siu- hua inscribiunt intituil</i>	this is the sense that he brings out of it, namely: you (sg.) may not obliterate him from the inscription of the title	V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V-S- [IC] _{TOP} -[FOC]
Ml. 97 ^b 4	<i>.i. ised inso dorigensat.i. conuersi sunt rl.</i>	that is, it is this that they have done, that is, <i>conuersi sunt</i> etc.	V ^(COP) -[PN-O] _{FOC} -V

Table 188. Further examples of pseudo-cleft sentences.

Both the cases belonging to Table 188 show the focalisation of O. As for their topic types, then, the two pseudo-clefted-O sentences attest one case of post-verbal topic and one case of non-overt topic.

Table 189 coarsely summarises quantitative data concerning pseudo-cleft sentences attested in the Milan glosses corpus.

Analysis	Instances	% out of PCS ²¹⁵	% out of (P)CS ²¹⁶
V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})-[O] _{FOC}	16	33.34%	2.88%
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})-[IC] _{FOC}	16	33.34%	2.88%
V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})-[S] _{FOC}	7	14.58%	1.26%
V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})-[IC] _{FOC}	6	12.50%	1.08%
Further pseudo-cleft examples	2	4.16%	0.36%
V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V(-[X] _{TOP})	1	2.08%	0.18%

²¹⁴ Correctives discussed above such as V-[S.^{EMPH}]_{TOP} combined with non-overt topic clauses have already been applied.

²¹⁵ PCS stands for *Pseudo-cleft Sentences*.

²¹⁶ (P)CS stands for *(Pseudo)Cleft Sentences*.

Table 189. Quantitative analysis of pseudo-cleft sentences (with no S/Os' types differentiation).

Above-shown data can however be refined, on the one hand joining $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V(-[X]_{TOP})-[IC]_{FOC}$ clauses and $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V(-[X]_{TOP})-[O]_{FOC}$ clauses, on the other hand combining “further pseudo-cleft” examples and pseudo-clefted-O sentences. This way, Table 189 data can be modified as shown in Table 190.

Analysis	Instances	% out of PCS ²¹⁷	% out of (P)CS ²¹⁸
$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V(-[X]_{TOP})-[IC]_{FOC}$	22	45.76%	3.96%
$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V(-[X]_{TOP})-[O]_{FOC}$	18	37.44%	3.24%
$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V(-[X]_{TOP})-[S]_{FOC}$	7	14.58%	1.26%
$V^{(COP)}-[samlid]_{FOC}-V(-[X]_{TOP})$	1	2.08%	0.18%

Table 190. Refined quantitative analysis of pseudo-cleft sentences (with no S/Os' types differentiation).

What results from Table 190 is that pseudo-cleft sentences mostly feature focal IC/Adv. Conversely, focal S constitute the minority of examples.

Interesting data can emerge from an analysis of pseudo-cleft sentences' topic types as well. They are reported in Table 191.

Clefted-item	Post-V	Non-overt	Infix	Sentence-final	Post-V/FP	Total
S	5	2	0	0	0	7
O	5	10	0	3	0	18
IC	13	4	2	3	1	23
Total	23	16	2	6	1	48

Table 191. Refined quantitative analysis of pseudo-cleft sentences per topic type.²¹⁹

Table 191 shows how post-verbal topic sentences are the most frequently attested as far as pseudo-cleft sentences are concerned. They constitute the major category with all clefted items except Os, coherently with what seen for cleft sentences. Non-overt topic clauses

²¹⁷ PCS stands for *Pseudo-cleft Sentences*.

²¹⁸ (P)CS stands for *(Pseudo)Cleft Sentences*.

²¹⁹ Post-V/FP stands for “post-verbal/sentence-final position” topic, that is, topics occurring in post-verbal position in sentences with one constituent only after V.

as well are rather frequent in the corpus. Infix-topic pseudo-clefts and sentence-final topic pseudo-cleft are, instead, absolutely marginal.

7. Copular Clauses

The term 'copula' identifies some sort of auxiliary element, whose precise nature strongly depends on its place within the system of the language, but whose function is to support non-verbal predication strategies in the case of languages where non-verbal and verbal strategies can be distinguished (Stassen 1997). To give an example, consider the English clauses *he sleeps* and *he is a boy* (from Lash 2011): verbal predicates (*sleeps*) in English, that is a language distinguishing between non-verbal and verbal strategies, can appear on their own without auxiliary elements; nominative (i.e. non-verbal) predicates (*a boy*) need the supporting *is*.²²⁰

For Lash,

«the copula [...] is a heuristic device for linguistic description, not itself a category to be explained by linguistic analysis. There can be no unified analysis/definition of the copula because there is no unified copula» (Lash 2011: 19).

Pustet (2003) proposes three different syntactic perspectives on the copula:

- i. The LINKER ANALYSIS;
- ii. The PREDICATOR ANALYSIS
- iii. The DUMMY ANALYSIS.

In the framework of the LINKER ANALYSIS, a copula is a syntactic link between subject and predicate.²²¹ This, however, makes no substantive claims, appearing to be based on the only observation that in many languages non-verbal predicates occur with copular items (Lash 2011). Moreover, there are languages like Chinese in which nominal predicates require the copula (201), while adjectival predicates do not (202):

²²⁰ On the other hand, within a system where the auxiliary criterion does not distinguish between verbal and non-verbal strategies, any supporting item is not a copula (e.g. Tagalog, see Stassen 1997: 142).

²²¹ See also Crystal (1980: 93): copula is «a term used in grammatical description to refer to a linking verb whose main function is to relate elements of clause structure, especially subject and complement».

- (201) *Ta* *de* *lian* *hao* *hong*
 she GEN face very red
 «Her face is very red» (cited from Lash 2011: 21, examples from Huang 2002).
- (202) *Ta shi* *laoshi*
 he is teacher
 «He is a teacher» (cited from Lash 2011: 21, examples from Huang 2002).

According to the PREDICATOR ANALYSIS, some lexically non-predicative linguistic items may become predicative linguistic items in the syntax via combination with a copula. On that note, see also Hengeveld (1992: 32):

«a copula enables a non-verbal predicate to act as a main predicate in those languages and under those circumstances in which this non-verbal predicate could not fulfill this function on its own».

Against this perspective, Lash (2011) points out that it remains to be explained which lexical items denoting the same concept may behave differently as for compatibility with copulas in different languages (for example, English *tall* requires a copula, the Chinese equivalent *gao* does not, but both English and Chinese possess copular items). Nevertheless, it may well be the case that Chinese adjectives are inherently predicates while English adjectives are not, so that the second are in the need of a predicator (Pustet 2003).

Lastly, the DUMMY ANALYSIS hypothesises that the copula fulfils a purely grammatical need, occurring in the context of a lexical predicate which cannot be the morphological carrier of certain grammatical categories (Stassen 1997).²²² In this perspective, the copula may be absent when the grammatical categories hosted by it are unmarked. For example, Russian is a language in which the present tense of predicational sentences does not feature a copula (203), while the past tense does (204):

- (203) *Ona* *vrač*
 she doctor
 «she is a doctor» (WALS: §20).
- (204) *Ona* *by-l-a* *vrač(-om)*
 she COP-PST-F doctor(-INST)
 «she was a doctor» (WALS: §20).

For Lyons (1967), this is due to the fact that the Russian present tense is unmarked. As a consequence, the copula does not need to be present to host any morphological feature.

²²² Grammatical categories such as tense/mood/aspect, but sometimes also person/number/gender.

A few objections may be raised against this standpoint:

- i. It is mostly based on Indo-European languages (Stassen 1997);
- ii. The notion of ‘markedness’ is rather vague (Stassen 1997). For an example, consider the case of Latin: zero copula is allowed with 3rd person, but it is not with all the others. It is rather unclear why 3rd person should be seen as less marked than non-3rd persons in Latin. For a further example, consider the comparison between English and Russian: in both those languages present tense is unmarked in relation to the past, but only in the latter zero copula is allowed in the present tense;
- iii. Cross-categorical distinctions within a single language are not predicted (Stassen 1997). For instance, see Hungarian examples (205) and (206):

(205) *Péter* **/van* *katona*
 Peter **/COP.3S* soldier
 «Peter is a soldier» (Example from Stassen 1997: 67).

(206) *A* *fa* *a* *kert-ben* *_/*van*
 The tree the garden-in *_/*COP.3S*
 «The tree is in the garden» (Example from Stassen 1997: 67).

In Hungarian, the copula is mandatory in the present tense with nominal predicates (205), but disallowed in the present tense with locational predicates (206).

- iv. Chinese lacks tense and person morphology (and aspect morphology is not mandatory). According to the dummy analysis, we would expect Chinese did not need a copula since it would have not anything to host at the morphological level, but Chinese does have a copula (*shi*), as seen in (202) above.

One further perspective which could be taken into consideration regarding the copula is the so-called semantic analysis, according to which the copula could be intended as a

«linguistic element which co-occurs with certain lexemes in certain languages when they function as predicate nucleus. A copula does not add any semantic content to the predicate phrase it is contained in» (Pustet 2003: 5).

Maienborn (2005, 2007) argues against this position. According to this scholar, the copula introduces into the semantic derivation a state argument referring to a state of the

copula's subject that displays the property expressed by the given predicate. For example, in the sentence *John is tired*, the adjective *tired* is a property itself, while the whole sentence is a state in which that property holds of the subject *John*.²²³

As far as Old Irish copular clauses are concerned, two major analyses must be considered, that is, MacCoidealbha's (1998) and Lash's (2011). For MacCoidealbha (1998: 22), «the normal order in the simple copula construction is COP + PRED + SUBJ or simply COP + PRED if there is no overt subject: in the case of a pronominal subject». This means that, in declarative (i.e. non-relative) clauses with finite verb, a grammatical S and predicate are identifiable. To put it another way, according to MacCoidealbha (1998: 25), in the case of copular clauses the grammatical function of post-copular items is defined by word order, so that "COP + 1 + 2 = COP + PRED + SUBJ".²²⁴

Copular clauses in Old Irish may however feature also more complex structures. For example, different types of pronominal items may occur in post-copular or sentence-final position. MacCoidealbha (1998) identifies such cases as shown by Table 192.

Cop. sentences – non cleft²²⁵

a)	COP + PRON + [<i>inso, insin, són, ede</i>] + NOM PHRASE
b)	COP + PRON + NOM PHRASE + [<i>inso, insin, aní-siu, són</i>]
c)	COP + PRON + NOM PHRASE
d)	COP + PRON + NOM PHRASE + NOM PHRASE

Table 192. Adapted from MacCoidealbha (1998): formal description of sentence-types introduced by COPULA + PRONOUN. "PRON" stands for stressed pronoun.

The scholar analyses such sentence types in terms of cataphora, with the exception of Table 192 case c), where there is only one phrase following COP + PRON. This means that Table 192 PRON should be intended as coreferential with something occurring later in the clause (either a NP or a demonstrative).

To sum up, for MacCoidealbha (1998):

- i. 'plain' copular clause syntax is COP + PRED + SUBJ;
- ii. certain cleft sentence types are directly assimilable to i.;

²²³ Both Pustet's and Maienborn's perspectives are partially adopted by Lash (2011), who sustains those hypotheses with Old Irish data.

²²⁴ On the difficulty concerning a clear identification of subject and predicate, note also what is pointed out by Thurneysen (GOI §478), who underlines how it is sometimes hard to clearly distinguish between subject and predicate.

²²⁵ The specification "non cleft" is necessary from MacCoidealbha's perspective according to which cleft sentences are a sub-type of copular clauses.

- iii. Some copular clauses are characterised by a post-copular stressed pronoun (*é, sí, ead*). Three sub-categories are here distinguishable:
 - a. COP + PRON + NP + NP: formally, such a sequence can be both understood as COP + PRED + SUBJ + PRED, or as COP + [PRON + PRED] + SUBJ. To put it another way, the pronoun may belong to the same constituent as either PRED or SUBJ. In the former case, the pronoun has a cataphoric value, in the latter, the pronoun belongs to the predicate. On this differentiation, to conclude, note what underlined by MacCoisdealbha himself: «even with the help of contextual deliberations, some instances, because of a certain independence of the gloss, appear to remain ambiguous» (1998: 28). What is discerning between the two cases above is the agreement of tonic pronouns either with the first or with the second NP (Ó Nualláin 1911: 368);
 - b. COP + SUBJ + PRED: according to the author it is possible only with post-copular pronouns (thus SUBJ = PRONOUN);
 - c. COP + SUBJ + PRED: where PRED = post-copular pronoun + following *inso, insin, són, ede*;
- iv. certain cleft sentence types are directly assimilable to iii.

The same syntactic criterion to identify PRED and SUBJ in plain copular clauses is adopted by Lash (2011), although under a different theoretical perspective, that is, a formalist (and more precisely minimalist) one.²²⁶ A few slight differences with MacCoisdealbha's framework highlighted by Lash are the following:

- i. there are some cases in which the first item after V is not the predicate but the subject of the copular clause; this looks like MacCoisdealbha's category iii.b. above, but what is intended by Lash is the sub-group of clauses in which demonstratives with referential value occur;
- ii. clauses corresponding to the structure COP + PRONOUN + NP + NP²²⁷ where a discontinuous relative clause occurs (that is, a sentence-final relative clause not modifying the last NP) apparently do not conform to the observation that the first nominal is definite. This point is discussed also in MacCoisdealbha (1998: 62), but with different outcomes;
- iii. so-called "pronominal augments", that is, post-copular tonic pronouns, tend to agree with the predicate noun.

²²⁶ Remember that according to Lash, as seen in Chapter 2, both *is* and *at-tá* are to be considered as copulas.

²²⁷ Under the definition of NP, in Lash's terms, fall: proper names, nouns followed by a restrictive relative clause, possessed nouns, nouns following the article.

Copular clauses are extremely frequent in the Milan glosses. This is true not only in quantitative terms (they amount to 571 examples, that is, 13.33% of all sentences considered in this analysis), but also in qualitative terms. As a matter of fact, several sub-categories of copular clauses can be identified:

- i. unmarked copular clauses: to this sentence-type belong copular clauses with an unmarked word order (e.g. $V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-S);
- ii. marked copular clauses: to this sentence-type belong copular clauses with a marked word order (e.g. $V^{(COP)}$ -S-SNP);²²⁸
- iii. extra-clausal constituents copular clauses: to this sentence-type belong copular clauses featuring either left- or right-dislocation of a constituent;
- iv. (pseudo)cleft copular clauses: to this sentence-type belong pseudo-cleft or cleft sentences with predicate nouns;
- v. further cases of copular clauses: to this sentence-type belong other minor categories of copular clauses (e.g. sentences with *ro-gab* employed in relative clauses as a suppletive form of “to be”).

On the basis of this presentation, it seems clear how copular clauses deserve special consideration as far as Old Irish syntax is concerned. Rather than a syntactic device with clear functions, they look like a separate category, which can take advantage of all the morphosyntactic/IS devices identified in previous chapters for non-copular orders (e.g. clefting, dislocations, etc.), with similar aims.

7.1 Copular clauses with unmarked word order

Unmarked copular clauses amount to 456 examples in the corpus. They constitute 80.14% of copular clauses and 10.65% of all sentences analysed.

The standard unmarked type is shown in example (207):

- (207) *.i. issainred doib insin*
 that is is property of them this
 «that is, that is a characteristic of them» (Ml. 31^b12).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

²²⁸ On the notion of markedness in MWO see what specified in Chapter 4 and at the beginning of Chapter 3.

In example (207), the copula is followed by two NPs: *sainred doib* and *insin*. According to the syntactic principle adopted in defining items belonging to copular clauses, the first NP is labelled as SNP, the latter as S. As for their IS, no syntax-based rules are applied in this case, but the attribution of topic and focus is based on contextual factors. In *Ml. 31^b12*, the demonstrative *insin* is coreferent to Latin *mendacium* and topical. *Sainred doib* constitutes the predication, hence representing the focus of the clause.

$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-S examples are 78 in the corpus (13.66% of copular clauses). In terms of IS, they behave almost all in the same way: post-copular SNP is focal and sentence-final S is topical (e.g. example (207) above).

All the $V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-S copular clauses with focal SNP and topical S attested in the Milan glosses are reported in Table 193.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>Ml. 2^c2</i>	<i>it coicsailm secht[mogat] dian[diant] titul diabpsalma</i>	there are seventy-five psalms of which <i>diapsalma</i> is the heading [lit. seventy-five are the psalms the heading of which is <i>diapsalma</i>]	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 2^d1</i>	<i>.i. mad forcenn libuir nachmagen imbeth amen indib</i>	that is, if every place in which amen is in them were the end of a book	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 14^d3</i>	<i>.i. cidecen áisndís doneuch as doruid coleir</i>	that is, although an explanation, in a careful manner, of anything which is difficult is a necessity	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 14^d4</i>	<i>fobith istaipe inso</i>	because this is a fragment	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 17^c8</i>	<i>.i. airndib tosach super síon</i>	so that <i>super Sion</i> may be the beginning (of a clause)	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 19^a14</i>	<i>.i. nochis inditín són</i>	that is, namely, the defense	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 21^c11</i>	<i>as ndia cloine macc</i>	(that) the Son is a God of iniquity	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 21^c12</i>	<i>.i. conapad firdía mac</i>	that is, that the Son should not be true God	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 26^c1</i>	<i>bed noin salm beatus uir, quare</i>	that <i>Beatus uir</i> and <i>Quare</i> are one psalm	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 27^a6</i>	<i>is gell són toraisse</i>	this is a proper pledge	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 30^c3</i>	<i>is cele dáé infer hisin</i>	that man is a servant of God	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 31^a3</i>	<i>air batar carait iresaig adi</i>	for they were faithful friends	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 31^c7</i>	<i>isbriathar de insin tra</i>	that, then, is the word of God	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>Ml. 32^b18</i>	<i>.i. it ilsailm dano hitadbadar foisitiu apecthae duuid</i>	that is, there are many psalms, moreover, in which the	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

		confession of his sins by David is shown	
Ml. 35 ^c 11	<i>.i. is magister insalmso</i>	that is, this psalm is <i>magister</i>	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^d 4-5	<i>.i. nochis dia inforcilid [leg. inforcitlid] hisin</i>	that is, but that teacher is God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 15	<i>ar is taipe inso</i>	for this is a fragment	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 39 ^d 30	<i>.i. it namait do dia indi fris orgat dondi oirdnes dia</i>	that is, they who injure him whom God ordains are enemies to God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 40 ^c 15	<i>isbés inna tabernacuil didiu is solus</i>	it is the manner of the tabernacle then that it is light	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 42 ^d 9	<i>.i. ní sancte intómun fil lasuidib</i>	that is, the fear which they have is not <i>sancte</i>	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 43 ^a 10	<i>.i. is peccad sin</i>	that is, that is sin	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 43 ^d 20	<i>.i. bacumdubart in étaste fanaic trisnaguidi aní rogáidsom</i>	that is, it is doubtful whether or not that which he prayed for would be obtained through the prayers	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^c 1	<i>.i. amal ata carit incrumai [leg. innacrumai]· dunchried</i>	that is, as worms are friends to the clay	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 44 ^c 6	<i>bá brón disuidib maicsin inimniud iarmbuith socumail</i>	seeing me in trouble after being happy was a grief to them	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^c 9	<i>bid cobuir do india [add. dia] forgeni , hirufrescachae</i>	the God whom he served, and in whom he hoped, will be a help to him	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^d 19	<i>.i. ní augtor síde uilc</i>	that is, he is not the author of evil	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^b 20	<i>is ílar són huacheill</i>	it is plural in its sense	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 45 ^d 8	<i>is inchoimded int huile talam</i>	the whole earth is the Lord's	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^c 19	<i>.i. is cumtubart cia he</i>	that is, it is a doubt who it is	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 48 ^c 33	<i>.i. is dibdud duntenid achoscrad , assreud</i>	that is, its scattering and dispersion is extinction to the fire	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 20	<i>.i. nibas coitchen inso dianaisndet duaid</i>	that is, this is not a common death of which David speaks	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 10	<i>í. is medontestimin inso</i>	or this is the middle of a period	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^d 15	<i>í. is iartestimin inso</i>	or this is the conclusion of a period	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 59 ^a 15	<i>.i. is didnad doneuch bis hifochaidib , innedaib eritiu briathar honeuh [leg. honeuch]</i>	that is, it is a consolation to one who is in tribulations and afflictions to receive words from someone else and to	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

	<i>anall , éraic mbriathar taranæsi huadsom dia cheliu</i>	repay words for them from himself to his fellow	
Ml. 62 ^a 3	<i>.i. is ítugud sainemail dano int ítugud hisin</i>	that is, that thirsting then is a peculiar thirsting	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^d 13	<i>as comdiu diarigain inrí</i>	that the king is lord to his queen	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^c 7	<i>.i. is inne so inna ermiten</i>	that is, this is quality of the honour	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^c 9	<i>.i. is ecnae ind ord preceptae se</i>	that is, this order of teaching is wise	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^c 7	<i>.i. ní bec diñndergeni [leg. diandergeni] forcenn asailm inti duaid</i>	that is, it is not a small thing of which David has made the conclusion of his psalm	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^b 1	<i>.i. is fursundud , is foillsigud dund eregim , dund imniud coinedar duaid insalmso</i>	that is, this psalm is an illumination and a manifestation of the complaint and of the trouble that David laments	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} /V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 75 ^d 3	<i>.i. amba saibsacart alchimus and</i>	that is, when Alchimus was false priest there	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC/Adv
Ml. 75 ^d 6	<i>.i. ambat foirlidi indoltai secht gnimai són</i>	that is, when the distress, that is to say deeds, will be witnesses	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 78 ^b 12	<i>fobith romatar indarmthi á oic</i>	because its warriors were the armed ones	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 86 ^d 9	<i>l. combad trachtad hule inso</i>	or this could be all commentary	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^b 8	<i>.i. sech ba degedbart ón in lege</i>	that is, though that was a good offering <i>in Lege</i>	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 87 ^b 9	<i>nochis edbart logmar insin hirecht</i>	yet that is a precious offering in the Law	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 88 ^b 14	<i>.i. is fortórmach anam hisiu</i>	that is, the <i>nam</i> here is an argumentation	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC/Adv
Ml. 89 ^b 2	<i>.i. is cummæ inso</i>	that is, this is the same thing	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^a 9	<i>.i. bith flaitthem inti solam for saint</i>	that is, Solomon will be king over cupidity	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^b 13	<i>condib inducbal du dia anní as inducbal dia muntair</i>	that which is glory to His folk be glory to God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 90 ^c 27	<i>.i. is fresmacht inmrechtraid innan ule ñ doine cen soinmigi , doinmigi do tecmung ducech óin díib</i>	that is, it is an exception to the rule of the variety of all men that prosperity and adversity not happen to every one of them [lit. it is an exception to the rule of the	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

		variety of all men without prosperity and adversity to happen to every one of them]	
Ml. 93 ^d 14	<i>is gau dúnni innahi adfidam</i> [leg. <i>adfiadam</i>] <i>dichrisst</i>	the things that we declare of Christ are a lie of ours	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^b 5	<i>atosge huilc dún nanní du fochaidib inotgam</i>	anything of the tribulations into which we enter are the beginnings of evil to us	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 96 ^b 5	<i>romdar tosge maith doib nanní du degmainib , sainemla</i> [leg. <i>sainemlaib</i>] <i>dunecommacht dia doib</i>	the benefits and the excellent things which God gave them were the beginnings of good to them	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>as forgartaid am manifestare</i>	<i>manifestare</i> is an imperative	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 106 ^a 5	<i>.i. amal as remséaighid indfirinne</i>	that is, as righteousness is a foregoer	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^b 6	<i>is canoin dano inso</i>	this is also Scripture-text	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 120 ^d 11	<i>.i. it anman aier niuil , gaitha</i>	that is, clouds and winds are names of airs	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 123 ^d 3	<i>airat cuidi tirmaidi sidi</i>	for they are dry pits	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^d 8	<i>.i. arniécen aepert friadeacht</i>	that is, for saying this to his Godhead is not necessary	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^d 5	<i>iarsindi bateipirsniige aicne</i> [leg. <i>aicned</i>] <i>inna tón</i>	after the nature of the waves was fluidity	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^a 8	<i>.i. airrobad frecorp</i> [leg. <i>freacor</i>] <i>aithirrech forsanoín aimn</i> [leg. <i>aimn</i>]· <i>beos</i>	that is, for a further repetition of the same name would have been objectionable	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 132 ^a 8	<i>.i. airis torbae peccatoribus ání doberar ho dia sanctis</i>	that is, because that which is given by God <i>sanctis</i> is a profit <i>peccatoribus</i>	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 136 ^a 5	<i>.i. ba ársce</i> [leg. <i>árosce</i>] <i>insin la aithrea</i>	that is, that was a saying with (their) fathers	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 137 ^c 13	<i>am(al as to)lesom óntu</i> [leg. <i>óintu</i>] <i>du(n)popul</i>	as unity for the people is a desire for him	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^a 3	<i>.i. airis imradud álabradsidi in menman</i>	that is, for the speech of the mind is thought	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^c 9	<i>is frithorcuin dosuidib insin</i>	that is an offense to them (the gods)	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 140 ^c 5	<i>.i. is dée intsoilse</i>	that is, the light is God's	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 140 ^c 5	<i>amal asndæ inna dorche</i>	as the darkness is God's	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 193. Copular clauses with post-copular focal SNP and topical S.

In Ml. 2^c2, what is tagged as S is a headless relative clause (i.e. *dian*[*diant*] *títul diabpsalma*). The same thing happens in Ml. 69^c7, where S of the clause is a headless relative clause (*diñander geni* [leg. *diander geni*] *forcenn asailm intí duaid*). In Ml. 2^d1, *nachmagen imbeth amen indib*, an indefinite NP followed by a relative clause, is considered subject of the copular structure with predicate noun *forcenn libuir*. The information structure of Ml. 14^d3 follows the one of the corresponding Latin passage, which is faithfully reflected in the Irish gloss: *et si necesse fuerit*⁽³⁾ *pro consideratione rerum occurrentium* [*aliqua*]_{TOP} *latius* [*explicare*]_{FOC}. In Ml. 17^c8, subject of the sentence is a phrase in Latin (i.e. *super sion*), which is directly quoted from the Latin passage glossed: *SUPER SION MONTEM SANCTUM EIUS PRAEDICANS PRAECEPTUM DOMINI. Ita legendum atque intelligendum est: ego autem constitutus sum rex ab eo, ut sit*⁽⁸⁾ *plena distinctio et sequatur super sión montem sanctum eius*. In Ml. 40^c15, S is the argumental clause *is solus* (“it is bright”). In Ml. 43^d20, S is a whole sentence (*in étaste fanaic trisnaguidi aní rogaidsom*, “whether or not that which he prayed for would be obtained through the prayers”: interrogative sentence introduced by *in-*). In Ml. 44^d19, note the sentence-final NP in the genitive (*uilc*), which goes with the predicate noun *augtor*. In Ml. 46^c19, what is tagged as S is a sentence itself (*cia he*, “who it is”, interrogative introduced by *cia*). In Ml. 67^c7, the NP in the genitive (*inna ermiten*) modifies the predicate noun *inne*. Similarly, in Ml. 87^b8, Ml. 87^b9, Ml. 90^a9 and Ml. 136^a5, clause-final ICs (*in lege, hirecht, for saint* and *la aithrea*) modify post-verbal SNPs (*degedbart, edbart logmar, flaitheam* and *ársc* respectively). In Ml. 90^c27, *cen* functions as a negation of the verbal noun argument clause (even if this is a peculiar case given that *cen* is not directly followed by the verbal noun, that is, *cen soinmigi 7 doinmigi do tecmung (do) tecmung*, “without prosperity and adversity to happen”). As for the topic, due to coherence reasons, the whole S constituent is tagged as S, but the constituent has an internal structure which is more articulated. The actual topic is *ducech óin díib* only.

In Ml. 45^d8 and Ml. 140^c5, the SNP is a NP in the genitive case (*inchoimded, dáé* and *dæ* respectively). Similar cases are worth-considering since they are a sub-type of predicative copular clauses (A belongs to B).

Note, in the end, that the argumental status of (*s*)*ón* in Ml. 19^a14, Ml. 45^b20 and Ml. 87^b8 may be questioned (see previous chapters).

Four further cases of V^(COP)-SNP-S are attested in the corpus. Although they represent different cases, they can be grouped together since they do not adhere to the [SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP} IS alignment seen above. They are reported in Table 194.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 37 ^b 19	<i>is ainm sanctus dó· dindrubríci sin</i>	<i>sanctus</i> is its name from that preeminence	V ^(COP) -SNP-[S] _{TOP} -IC- [IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 42 ^d 2	<i>isrecht duetarcnu dæ tréu</i>	that God should be known through them is a law	$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-S-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 67 ^c 12	<i>coroib indithem and colleir</i>	that there may be intentness therein diligently	$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S/IC]_{TOP}$ IC
Ml. 67 ^d 24	<i>cobed</i> [leg. <i>combed</i>] <i>chiall</i> <i>ainsedo ildai and</i>	there would be the sense of an accusative plural in it	$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S/IC]_{TOP}$

Table 194. Further cases of copular clauses with post-copular SNP + S.

In Ml. 42^d2, according to the analysis proposed, S is made of *do* + verbal noun. This way, the sentence type of the gloss would be once more $V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$. In Ml. 67^c12 and Ml. 67^d24, the morphological post-predicate IC functions as S (thus, it is labelled as S/IC). *and* has the syntactic features of a NP (cfr. Italian *domani è mercoledì*, “tomorrow is Wednesday”). These two sentences could be analysed with less problems if *-roib* and *-bed* were considered forms of *at-tá* and not forms of the copula (V-S-IC). Nevertheless, Griffith and Stifter’s database analysis is here followed.

Sentences reported in Table 194 are the minority of $V^{(COP)} + NP + NP$ clauses. As a consequence, in $V^{(COP)} + NP + NP$ copular clauses, post-copular SNPs tend to be focal, while Ss tend to be topical.

What appears to be a sub-type of the category of sentences just described is that represented by example (208):

- (208) *romtar bibdaid som*
 that are guilty people they(EMPH)
 «that they had been condemned» (Ml. 125^b9).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP}$

In (208), after the copula, a focal SNP occurs (*bibdaid*), followed by an emphatic topical S (*-som*). The only difference between this example and the previous ones concerns the morphosyntactic nature of S, which is here a *nota augens*. The position of the emphatic subject after the first stressed word of the sentence and not immediately after the copula is regular (GOI, §404):

«Emphasizing particles cannot come immediately after the copula, which is itself proclitic and hence incapable of supporting an enclitic; instead, they are attached to the next stressed word».

I would therefore tend to consider such cases, although scarcely attested, not different from examples of $V^{(COP)}$ + topical SNP + focal S, where S is a NP.²²⁹ All other similar instances attested in the Milan glosses are reported in Table 195. The total amount of such sentences is 5 in the corpus

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 35 ^c 26a	<i>baimchomarc nespach som amal sodin</i>	it would be an idle question as such	$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP}$ IC/Adv
Ml. 62 ^d 5	<i>.i. huare robummar bibidni dait siu adé</i>	that is, because we were guilty to You, o God	$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP}$ IC
Ml. 101 ^d 9	<i>.i. ammi cland ni doibsom</i>	that is, we are their offspring	$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP}$ IC
Ml. 102 ^b 16	<i>.i. ar bemmis muntarni dait</i>	that is, that we should be Your (sg) folk	$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP}$ IC

Table 195. Copular clauses with post-copular focal SNP and topical S.^{EMPH}.

Table 193 Ml. 74^b1 may help to find out something more concerning this sentence macro-type. In Ml. 74^b1, two sentences occur: the first is made of a copula + SNP only (*is fursundud*), the latter (*is foillsigud dund eregim 7 dund imniud coinedar duaid insalmso*) adds a final topical S (*insalmso*). Of course, the subject of the second sentence functions as S also of the first one.

Consider, then, example (209):

(209) *.i. is=rét ard*
 that is is=thing hard
 «that is, it is a high matter» (Ml. 14^c10).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}$

This sentence is made of a copula + NP. This NP can be considered the SNP of the copular clause. This can be inferred on the basis of two facts:

- a. it is focal, and SNPs demonstrated to be focal in nearly the totality of cases of copular clauses + NP + NP;
- b. topical is the zero-anaphora S of the clause.

²²⁹ This is coherent also with the choice made in the case of anaphoric Ss, which were assimilated to NP Ss already in tables above since no difference in syntax occurs due to this difference in morphology.

The zero-anaphora topical S of the clause can be identified both on the basis of the following portion of the gloss (*.i. isré t ard .i. foglaim innahiris se foirbthe*, “that is, it is a high matter, that is, the learning of perfect faith”) and on the basis of the Latin context (*et fidei quidem ad perfectum⁹ comprehensio res ardua¹⁰ atque difficilis*). As a consequence, copular clauses where after the copula only one NP occurs can also be assimilated to the above described category (V^(COP)-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}).²³⁰

V^(COP)-SNP(-IC) clauses attested in the Milan glosses are 115 (20.14% of copular clauses). Most of them follow the IS alignment described for (209) above, that is, the post-copular SNP is focal, and what is topical is the (zero) anaphora or the deictic 1st or 2nd person pronoun S expressed by verb inflection. They are all reported in Table 196.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 23 ^a 11	<i>.i. ní aithirgí hobriathraib nammá cengnám</i>	that is, it is not repentance in words only without deed	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 27 ^b 13	<i>amal isindenmada coitchin</i>	as it is of the common maker	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 27 ^d 5	<i>ní nanaerigme</i> [leg. <i>naerigme</i>]	it is not of complaining	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^c 10	<i>.i. ní cuit broto</i>	that is, it is not a passing moment (lit. it is not a portion of a moment)	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^a 20	<i>issa eregem adi</i>	it is his complaint	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^c 23	<i>ni duaid huaid fessin</i>	it is not David of himself	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 35 ^c 27	<i>amal bid innacaldim deithidnig</i>	as if it were the earnest address	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 41 ^d 5	<i>.i. snede</i> [leg. <i>asnde</i>]	that is, that [it] is two things	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 19	<i>.i. amal bidalai</i> [leg. <i>bidalaili</i>] <i>chumachtaig rethes cenerchót áretho</i>	that is, as if it were of some mighty one who runs without hindrance to his running	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 24	<i>is tosach amal sod[i]nn</i>	is the beginning in that case	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 44 ^b 8	<i>.i. amal bid nech frisambeth frec</i> [leg. <i>ferc</i>]	that is, as though it were some one against whom there was wrath	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 10-11	<i>.i. lase ascian</i>	that is, when it is far	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^c 10	<i>.i. is forcill æm</i>	that is, it is a testimony indeed	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^d 5	<i>.i. is sainred do</i>	that is, it is particular to it	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^b 10	<i>.i. it bibdid</i>	that is, they are liable	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^b 10	<i>it fechemain</i>	they are debtors	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^a 21	<i>.i. is inunn cumachtae</i>	that is, it is the same power	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}

²³⁰ This choice in terms of topic treatment is consistent with the one made e.g. in the case of (pseudo)cleft sentences (see Chapter 6).

Ml. 48 ^b ₃	<i>amal bid inchloithi</i>	as it were of one having been heard	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d ₅	<i>.i. intan as nainm do luc</i>	that is, when it is the name for a place	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 50 ^b ₈	<i>arindí bed n aipert</i>	because it was as an uttering	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c ₉	<i>l. is innuall dongniat</i>	it is the noise that they make	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c ₂₅	<i>.i. iss bés</i>	that is, it is an idiom	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c ₂₆	<i>ní cælhum</i>	it is not <i>cælhum</i>	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^b ₁₂	<i>.i. ní ointu luic</i>	that is, it is not unity of place	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^b ₁₂	<i>acht is ointu tuile dæ</i>	but it is unity of the will of God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a ₂	<i>.i. ninnech forsatabar [leg. forsatabarr] adenum</i>	that is, it is not one who is compelled to do it	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a ₃₄	<i>amal robuthol doib</i>	as was their will	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^b ₁₉	<i>.i. coba ingraintid cumtach [leg. cumachtach] donaib hisin adæ</i>	that is, so that You (sg) may be a powerful persecutor to them, O God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^a ₁₃	<i>amal as narasc</i>	as it is a proverb	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^d ₂₃	<i>.i. is duremdeicsiusu adæ</i>	that is, it is your providence, o God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^d ₇	<i>.i. niba chían cuforcenn ásaigul</i>	that is, it will not be long to the end of his life	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 60 ^b ₁	<i>nídat forbanda</i>	that they are not superstitions	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c ₇	<i>ní ipse</i>	it is not <i>ipse</i>	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^d ₈	<i>is bæs</i>	it is an idiom	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^b ₁₂	<i>nachanert fesin</i>	and it was not their own strength	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^c ₁₆	<i>.i. ní labrad hobelaib namma</i>	that is, it is not speaking with lips only	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^a ₃	<i>is trachtad amal sodin</i>	in that case it is commentary	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 68 ^b ₃	<i>.i. amal nibad atrab n duib fadisin</i>	that is, as though it had not been a dwelling to you yourselves	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^c ₁₀	<i>.i. níbat briathra nach aili</i>	that is, they will not be the words of any other	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^a ₂₁	<i>cid accubur líum</i>	though I desire it	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 69 ^b ₁	<i>atan dóini aprisci</i>	that they are frail men	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d ₄	<i>acht is dia</i>	but it is God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^a ₂₋₃	<i>.i. amal bid innani</i>	that is, as if it were of those	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 79 ^b ₇	<i>air ní dat ní</i>	for they are nothing	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 79 ^b ₁₁	<i>.i. airtis ní etir</i>	that is, that they could be anything at all	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}

Copular Clauses

Ml. 80 ^b 4	<i>airis ind andaig comerchloithi</i>	for he is of a driven-together iniquity	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^b 6	<i>.i. sechis hit saige [leg. saigte] as indfidboicc</i>	that is, namely it is arrows from the bow	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 84 ^b 2	<i>isailtrimthid</i>	it is a nurturer	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^a 3	<i>isnani sin</i>	it is of those	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^c 14	<i>.i. ní cummae fri cach crieid</i>	that is, it is not the same thing as any clay	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 86 ^d 5	<i>.i. bed ranchobfodlaid tristitiaie meæ</i>	that is, that he is a participator <i>tristitiaie meae</i>	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^b 10	<i>.i. is acétnae nais</i>	that is, it is the first age	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^b 4	<i>.i. am delb deroil adchoburthar du deicsin ara dochraidí</i>	that is, I am a wretched form, which is desired to be seen for its ugliness	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^a 11	<i>.i. ní innicc cuitbedaig</i>	that is, it is not the frivolous salvation	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^b 7	<i>.i. lasse basnim foramenmuin</i>	that is, when it was a care on his mind	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^d 13	<i>.i. combad flaith iar fir són</i>	that is, that it should be a sovereignty according to truth	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 90 ^a 9	<i>ona ba flaith</i>	so that it will not be sovereign	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^b 8	<i>.i. bit comlín frifér</i>	that is, they will be equal number to grass	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^b 16	<i>.i. amal· bimmis maicc deit adæ</i>	that is, as though we were your sons, o God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 92 ^a 12	<i>bid deus meus</i>	(if) it were <i>Deus meus</i>	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^a 15	<i>.i. lassaní nonda brithem</i>	that is, when you are judge	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^d 11	<i>.i. amal bitis luic deroli ón</i>	that is, as though it were mean places	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^d 8	<i>is ancríde ñ dait siu ón dano</i>	it is indeed an injury to You (sg)	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 94 ^a 6	<i>ammi muntar dait siu adæ</i>	we are Your (sg) people, O God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^c 17	<i>intan bes náil do</i>	when it is a desire for Him	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^a 5	<i>ni bu dia</i>	it was not God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^d 13	<i>mad buith cen chothud tantum</i>	if it were only to be without sleep	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^d 1	<i>huare romsa ugaire doib</i>	because You were a shepherd unto them	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 97 ^d 10	<i>.i. is peccad diabul lesom</i>	that is, he deems it a double sin	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 98 ^a 4	<i>intan as n accubur linn</i>	when we have a desire	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 98 ^a 7	<i>is anairmert</i>	it is their preparing	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}

Ml. 99 ^d 7	<i>connarbtar ní- etir</i>	so that they were nothing at all	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^b 21	<i>is canoin amal sodin</i>	it is text in that case	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 103 ^b 5	<i>acht it an drochairiltin</i>	but it is their ill-deserts	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^b 8	<i>acht it innatairigere durairngert dia do duaid dusoird in popuil</i>	rather, it is the promises which God had made to David for the deliverance of the people	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^c 10	<i>.i. is áinducbaeae adi</i>	that is, it is of His glory	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^c 16	<i>masachoimdiu</i>	if He is Lord	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^c 16	<i>is coimdiu dano</i>	He is indeed the Lord	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^b 28	<i>manibad trocairi n dáe</i>	but is not for the mercy of God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^c 8	<i>.i. oldaas atan diglaidi</i>	that is, than that they are avengers	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^d 4	<i>.i. amal bemmis bibdaid</i>	that is, as though we were guilty	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^b 3	<i>.i. nídat chummai frisnamoltu dograés</i>	that is, they are not always like the praises	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC-IC/Adv}
Ml. 118 ^a 5	<i>.i. masa chumachtae n dom</i>	that is, if it is possible for me	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 119 ^d 10	<i>.i. is cían etarru</i>	that is, it is far between them	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 121 ^c 5	<i>.i. manibet atriur</i>	that is, if it should be all three [lit. if they should be all three]	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^b 4	<i>it frithchaighthi [leg. itfrithchathaighthi]</i>	they are rebels	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^c 25	<i>.i. is indligid</i>	that is, it is of the right	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^d 3	<i>.i. it dugnimaisiu adé</i>	that is, they are Your (sg) works, O God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 11	<i>is debe tintuda</i>	it is a difference of rendering	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^c 7	<i>ní cuit ataidbsen nammá cenachomallad ingním</i>	it is not only a matter of showing it without fulfilling it in deed	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^d 11	<i>.i. ní cuitir ataidbsen tantum</i>	that is, it is not only a matter of the display of it	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^c 5	<i>is mínd</i>	it is an insignia	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^c 10	<i>ní animam rl.</i>	it is not <i>animam</i> etc.	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^d 7	<i>.i. it nephdimdi</i>	that is, they are nothing	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^d 7	<i>.i. ní dat ní</i>	that is, they are not anything	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}

Ml. 131 ^c 3	<i>bed nainm do dorus sainredach in hierusalem</i>	it may be the name of a particular gate in Jerusalem	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 3	<i>is nomen duchathraig</i> [leg. <i>dunchathraig</i>] <i>fissin</i>	it is a name of the city itself	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^d 16	<i>ata pecthaig</i>	that they are sinners	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 132 ^d 1	<i>it mo gudise</i>	they are my prayers	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 134 ^b 3	<i>.i. manibad fortachtain dé són</i>	that is, if is not for the help of God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 135 ^d 8	<i>.i. ní cech fær dano</i>	that is, it is not every grass then	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^a 1	<i>amal bid innagniadu</i>	as though it were “the workers”	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^c 2	<i>manipad taschidetaid indmetir</i>	but should be for the metrical necessity	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 137 ^d 5	<i>acht is illíc</i>	but it is <i>illíc</i>	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC}

Table 196. Copular clauses with post-copular focal SNP and zero-anaphora topic.

In a considerable amount of cases in Table 196, the SNP is not a NP in the nominative case. The NP may happen to be in the genitive case (e.g. Ml. 27^d5, *nanaerigme*; Ml. 42^c19, *alaili*; Ml. 48^b3, *inchloithi*; Ml. 75^a2-3, *innani*; Ml. 80^b4, *ind andaig comerchloithi*; Ml. 85^a3, *naní sin*; Ml. 108^c10, *áinducbalaé adí*; Ml. 124^c25, *indligid*),²³¹ in the dative case (e.g. Ml. 44^b10-11, *inchian*; Ml. 121^c5, *atriur*), or in the accusative case (e.g. Ml. 35^c27, *innacaldim deithidnig*;²³² Ml. 89^a11, *innicc cuitbedaig*;²³³ Ml. 111^b28, *trocairi*;²³⁴ Ml. 134^b3, *fortachtain*;²³⁵ Ml. 136^c2, *taschidetaid*)²³⁶.

In Ml. 64^c16, the IC (*hobelaib*) depends on *labrad*. In Ml. 137^d5, the complete gloss is: *.i. ní locdatu inchosig acht is illíc. indusin*. *Indusin*, “there”, looks like a translation of *illíc*. It is however not considered part of the sentence *acht is illíc*, albeit plausible under both the syntactic and semantic perspective, since *illíc* itself and *indusin* are separated by ·, that is, a mid-height dot employed to signal clause-internal separations or sections.

Consider, in the end, Ml. 45^b10 (*.i. it bibdid*). This gloss is rather similar to Ml. 62^d5, belonging to the type described above in Table 195 (V^(COP)-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S^{EMPH}]_{TOP}). In the one case, a non-overt topical S occurs, in the other case, an overt (yet emphatic) topical S occurs. This

²³¹ For all those cases, it is valid what stated above: they belong to a sub-type of predicative copular clause (A belongs to B), with a few exceptions (e.g. Ml. 80^b4, where the genitive case occurs to express quality, calquing Latin syntax: *coactae malitiae*).

²³² In this case, the accusative case seems calqued on the Latin *sollicitam consultationem*.

²³³ In this case, the accusative case seems calqued on the Latin *salutem*.

²³⁴ In this case, the accusative case signals a causal meaning.

²³⁵ In this case, the accusative case signals a causal meaning.

²³⁶ In this case, the accusative case signals a causal meaning.

would sustain the hypothesis according to which the categories reported in Table 195 and Table 196, but also in Table 193, should be more coherently considered as a single sentence-type.²³⁷

Table 197 collects all remaining examples of $V^{(COP)}$ -SNP(-IC) clauses attested in the Milan glosses corpus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 23 ^d 17	<i>.i. isamacc diaæ̃s</i>	or it is his son after him	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^a 12	<i>7 is suas amal sodin</i>	and it is <i>suas</i> in that case	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} - [IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^c 4	<i>.i. is dethiden dó</i>	that is, it is a care to him	$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 6	<i>.i. is accbur [leg. accobur] leu</i>	that is, it is a desire with them	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>.i. huare is sanctis conoincheill and</i>	that is, because it is <i>sanctis</i> with one sense in it	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^a 3	<i>bamór fechtae cenae</i>	there were many times besides	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} - [IC/Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^a 17	<i>robu machdad leu</i>	they were astonished	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 47 ^d 2	<i>airis debe tintuda lessom</i>	for he has a difference of rendering	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^b 20	<i>is oinchétfaid lesom fuanisiu</i>	and he considers it the same sense as this one	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^c 7	<i>.i. nibaserc tantum cen degnimu</i>	that is, it will not be love only without good works	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 36	<i>.i. nabad format lat</i>	that is, be not envious	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^d 15	<i>nabadmebul lat</i>	do not be ashamed!	[$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 80 ^a 9	<i>cid accubur leu</i>	though they desire it	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^a 11	<i>ní soilse doneuch bís imbrón</i>	it is not light to one who is in sorrow	$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^e 8	<i>.i. corub mebuil leu ón</i>	that is, that they are ashamed	$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}

Table 197. Further examples of $V^{(COP)}$ -SNP(-IC) clauses.

Out of 15 examples, 10 show the IS alignment focal SNP + topical IC. Two examples show non-overt topic and sentence-final focal IC. One example is attested for focal SNP + IC, topical SNP and focal IC, and focal $V^{(COP)}$ + SNP and topical IC.

In Ml. 30^c4, the IC (*dó*) is considered focal on the basis of a comparison with the Latin text: *iste illius est, iste ad illum pertinet*. Here *illius* as well as *ad illum* are on focus. Similarly,

²³⁷ This fact would also make instances of topical (*s*)*ón* highlighted in Table 193 less problematic to classify, since no difference would at that point occur between ‘argumental’ topical *són* (e.g. Table 193 Ml. 19^a14) and expletive *són* (e.g. Table 196 Ml. 92^d11).

Ml. 54^c7 is a clear case in which the Latin is essential to correctly interpret the information structure of the Irish sentence (*OMNIA OSSA* {*.i. uirtutes meæ*} *usque TIBI. totum quicquid in mé uiriū est ad agendas tibi gratias*⁽⁵⁾ *admouebo, neque ei*⁽⁶⁾ *post liberationem sola dilectione*⁽⁷⁾ *contentus*⁽⁸⁾ *ero.*).

Ml. 46^a17, Ml. 47^d2, Ml. 65^d16 and Ml. 80^a9 show interesting constructions, where we would expect *at-tá* to occur (see Chapters 3 and 4). Nevertheless, the morphological forms of Vs occurring in these three glosses is that of the copula.

In copular clauses the predicate may also not be a NP, but a PP. Consider example (210):

- (210) *niba* *samlid* *insin*
 will not be like that this
 «it will not be like that» (Ml. 27^c4).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[*samlid*]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

After the (negative) copula (*niba*), the focal PP *samlid* + topical S *insin* occur. In example (210) what is considered an IC is *samlid*, which was already dealt with in previous sections. Nevertheless, more standard ICs may also occur in focal position after the copula, as shown in Table 198.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 23 ^d 23	<i>ní samlidsón dunní</i>	it is not like this with us	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 24 ^d 30	<i>.i. is dodoinacht maicc cachlafocull</i>	that is, one of every two phrases is of the humanity of the Son	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^d 6	<i>combad du deichthrib immurgu an israhel</i>	it is to the ten tribes, however, [that] Israel [applies]	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 42 ^b 11- 12	<i>is fo huath [leg. huathud] amal sodin an institutæ creaturæ</i>	in that case <i>institutæ creaturæ</i> is in the singular	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -Adv-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^c 3	<i>.i. is argnám andixit asrubart intí duaid</i>	that is, the <i>dixit</i> that David uttered is for deed	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^b 11	<i>is samlid insin dano cip cruth</i>	it is like to that in any case	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - Adv
Ml. 70 ^a 5	<i>combad iarum gait an anmae díb</i>	that the taking of their name from them might be afterwards	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 83 ^d 4	<i>.i. airis dochum tire tairngeri són dano</i>	that is, for it is to the Land of Promise then	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 84 ^c 9	<i>ba samlid an doire leu</i>	even so they deemed their captivity	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 90 ^c 27	<i>nirbu samlaid s6n doib som didiu</i>	it was not so to them	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 91 ^a 7	<i>.i. baitmelacht su anisiu</i>	that is, this was in your disgrace	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^a 8	<i>.i. n6 indnephdeithbir dumni domolad su ad6</i>	that is, it is not unreasonably, for us to praise You (sg), O God	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^b 17	<i>.i. n6 huad fessin atairigeri</i>	that is, it is not from oneself the promise	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^c 14	<i>.i. as la dia cechrann neirt duchoissin</i>	that is, that every part of virtue (<i>uirtutis</i>) that there is belongs to God	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^a 2-3	<i>.i. as ladia inpopul</i>	that is, that the people is God's	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^d 8	<i>ba fri aicned dano intalam dluith do indluch</i>	that the solid earth should be cleft was contrary then to nature	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 198. Copular clauses with post-copular focal IC/Adv/*samlid* + topical S.^{NP}.

In Ml. 34^d6, the verb *notesad* (“applies”) is omitted, but the structure is that of a cleft sentence. Ml. 23^d23 and Ml. 90^c27 show uncertain analyses instead. In the former case, it is not clear whether *s6n* should be considered argumental (rather than expletive). And even in this case, it is doubtful if it should be considered as coreferencing the 3rd sing. neut. pronominal element occurring within *samlid*, rather than being the S of the copula. Similarly, *s6n* in 90^c27 may be expletive.

Two further cases of V^(COP) IC S are attested in the Milan glosses. They both show topical IC and focal S (Table 199).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 45 ^d 9	<i>.i. is ladia cid caldea</i>	that is, even Chaldea is God's	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^c 14	<i>amal ata les inna nert</i>	as the virtues (<i>uirtutes</i>) belong to Him	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}

Table 199. Copular clauses with post-copular topical IC/Adv/*samlid* + focal S.^{NP}.

The IS of these two sentences is non-standard with respect to copular clauses with IC and sentence-final S, and can be understood on the basis of either sentence-internal devices

(this is the case of Ml. 45^d9, where the focaliser *cid* precedes the S) or the context (this is the case of Ml. 108^c14, since the preceding portion of the gloss is *.i. singulis uirtutibus dei .i. as la dia cechrann neirt duchoissin*, “i.e. *singulis uirtutibus Dei*, i.e. that every part of virtue (*uirtutis*) that there is belongs to God”).

Consistently with what claimed above concerning V^(COP)-SNP sentences, the overt/non-overt presence of S should perhaps be neglected in the perspective of a quantitative analysis of V^(COP)-IC data.²³⁸ As a matter of fact, Old Irish Milan glosses enumerate a conspicuous amount of V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC} sentences, where either topical S is non-overt, or is pronominal. Consider example (211)

- (211) *is lasuide*
 is with him
 «it is with him» (Ml. 19^d14).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[IC]_{FOC}

The S of the sentence, expressed through the verbal ending only in Old Irish, can be understood on the basis of the Latin glossed passage: *quare inquit audetis in haec uerba prorumpere ut decatis non esse qui rerum inspector insistat apud quem¹⁴ cura uigeat ultionis*. Nevertheless, the syntactic as well as IS sentence-type of the clause retraces that of the sentences in Table 198 analysed above. All the examples behaving similarly attested in the Milan glosses corpus are reported in Table 200.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 20 ^b 3	<i>.i. ní hodegnimson fadesin</i>	that is, that is not from his own good word	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 22 ^d 13	<i>amal as dundfercach</i>	as it is to the angry one	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^c 9	<i>.i. amal bid doíc agalair</i>	that is, as though it would be to heal his sickness	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^a 13b	<i>.i. nois ondirgi són abrithemnachtae</i>	that is, or it is by the righteousness of His judgment	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^d 27	<i>amal bid isinterchru</i>	as if it were in the failure	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 16	<i>.i. corbu dureir nachaili labraimme</i>	that is, that it should be at the will of some other one that we should speak	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^a 25	<i>amal bid on etartetarcur</i>	as if it were by intercession	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>.i. ní intuasailcthid</i>	that is, it is not absolutely	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC}

²³⁸ In this case, the eventual argumental status of *són* would have no impact on data.

Ml. 33 ^b 3	<i>amal is donaib retaib dufoscaiget</i>	as it is for the things that move	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^b 9	<i>amal as dunchaindénmidiu</i>	as is for the beneficent (one)	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^a 8	<i>acht is do asraib intsainriud</i>	but it is of the Assyrians, to be precise	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC-Adv}
Ml. 35 ^d 17	<i>.i. nibi chondumu do degnímaib for nephdenum induilc</i>	that is, it is not with a heap of good deeds upon not doing evil	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 7	<i>is lasinnisin</i>	it is with that one	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 15	<i>is inna imcaisin adi</i>	it is in his sight	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^b 20	<i>is innachuimlecht adi</i>	it is to its advantage	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^d 19	<i>.i. amal bid hochocrunn</i>	that is, as if it were by lot	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^d 15-16	<i>amal is onchumscugud</i>	as is by the motion	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^d 17	<i>.i. amal bid hualailiu chlausul adbchlostu</i>	that is, as though it were by some ostentatious conclusion	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^c 13	<i>arnabad atempul tantum</i>	that it should not be from the temple only	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 4	<i>mad dustoir</i>	if it is according to the literal sense	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 10-11	<i>is inchian</i>	it is at a distance	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 23	<i>.i. nisam[laid]sin duit siu</i>	that is, that is not so with you	V ^(COP) -[samlid-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 12	<i>noch is arnaib dorsaidib són</i>	that is for the doorkeepers	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^d 8	<i>.i. ní arolc friu són</i>	that is, it is not because of evil against them	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^d 10	<i>acht is dianeurt fessin</i>	but it is to their own strength	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^a 11	<i>.i. amal bid arinchoisecrad</i>	that is, as if it were for the consecration	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^b 7	<i>ni arferc</i>	is not out of anger	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^d 11	<i>.i. amal bid hoscíath</i>	that is, as if it were by a shield	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^b 8	<i>acht is arindí arruneastar</i>	rather it is because he expected	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 12	<i>acht is dodia</i>	but it is to God	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 30	<i>ni ontoracht</i>	it is not because of the success	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^a 10	<i>is ar inret nisin</i>	it is on account of that thing	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^d 17	<i>ní intiu fesin</i>	it is not in themselves	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^c 18	<i>nibu d(i)ndisin</i>	it was not because of that	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^a 12	<i>bid hogeinim</i>	(if) it is from birth	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^a 23	<i>.i. cinip hondsemídetu [leg. hondsemígetu]</i>	that is, if it is not from the tenuity	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^a 23	<i>.i. cenip ho erutrummugud [leg. etrummugud] inna na nolc [leg. inna nolc] form</i>	that is, if it is not from the lightening of the evils upon me	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}

Copular Clauses

Ml. 62 ^c 10	<i>is indiunni</i>	it is in us	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^b 7	<i>.i. nírbu cenfrithorcuin truim dunaib egiptacdib oco</i>	that is, it was not without heavy affliction to the Egyptians therein	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^d 2	<i>amal nibad huanach comthumus</i>	as though it were not by any compensation	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^b 13	<i>is daitsiu</i>	it is to you	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^d 8	<i>acht is for ammons síon</i>	but it is on <i>mons Sion</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^c 7	<i>.i. ní dunepní</i>	that is, it is not of nothing	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 71 ^b 19	<i>is daít siu</i>	it is to You	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 71 ^c 9	<i>ní dufailsigud</i>	it is not to manifest	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 72 ^d 4	<i>ishisuidi</i>	it is in that	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^a 2	<i>.i. amal bid tar ési nuilc huain se [leg. huaim se] friusom</i>	that is, as though it were in return for evil from me towards them	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>mad la cirine</i>	if it is according to Jerome	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^a 2	<i>amal bid holailiu lon</i>	as if it were by a certain fat	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 82 ^a 5	<i>.i. is duibsi</i>	that is, it is to you	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 83 ^b 15	<i>.i. air ñ dib ar oas</i>	that is, that it may be willingly	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^d 1	<i>acht is armeinci inna indithme dosom indiu [leg. intiu]</i>	but it is because of the frequency of the intentness to him in them	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^b 7	<i>.i. ní hua écumachtgi</i>	that is, it is not because of its impossibility	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^c 12	<i>amal bid inaraim</i>	as though it were in sum	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^a 19	<i>.i. is cuccut su</i>	that is, it is to You	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^a 20	<i>.i. isduitsiu</i>	that is, it is to you	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^c 16	<i>.i. is linni</i>	that is, it is with us	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^d 6	<i>.i. is hua fodail ade</i>	that is, it is by imparting it	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^c 10	<i>ni dulani inchailig</i>	it is not to the fullness of the cup	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^d 6	<i>.i. airis indiunni israhelda il-daib [leg. israheldai]</i>	that is, for it is in us, the Israelites	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^b 2	<i>is innandrummai</i>	it is in their backs	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^c 8	<i>is daitsiu adé</i>	it is to You, o God	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^d 12	<i>amal bid huánchlaind socheneuil</i>	as if it were by the noble plant	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^d 27	<i>ní du persanaib</i>	it is not to people	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^a 3	<i>is dísin</i>	it is thence	V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^b 8	<i>is aetarcnae ade</i>	it is knowledge of him	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^d 3	<i>is dí sin</i>	it is therefore	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 116 ^a 10	<i>amal is donaib hí ata huaisliu ón</i>	as it is to those that are more exalted	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}

Ml. 118 ^b 1	<i>isairi éim</i>	it is for this reason truly	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 120 ^c 4	<i>.i. amal as dudia</i>	that is, as it is to God	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^c 3	<i>is indibsi</i>	it is in you (pl)	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^b 9	<i>.i. ní imthimchiull</i> [leg. <i>huaimthimchiull</i>]	that is, it is not by surrounding	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^b 9	<i>.i. ní huandí foralaig</i>	that is, it is not because he had overthrown	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^b 9	<i>.i. ní ho imsuidiu impu ón</i>	that is, it is not by besieging them	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^b 3	<i>is do chuingid dilguda dosom</i>	it is to seek forgiveness for himself	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^c 1	<i>.i. ní indlésc</i>	that is, it is not sluggishly	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^d 3	<i>.i. ní inderbartach biuth</i>	that is, it is not skillfully	V ^(COP) -[Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^d 12	<i>ni hitaidbsin</i>	it is not in showing	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^c 12	<i>cid amal bid duthoschib</i>	as if it were to what beginnings	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^d 20	<i>istriunni</i>	it is through us	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^b 11	<i>.i. ní cen mu chluais</i>	that is, not without hearing me	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 135 ^b 4	<i>isduibsi</i>	it is to you	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^c 4	<i>ní etir sicut , ita</i>	it is not between <i>sicut</i> and <i>ita</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 139 ^c 5	<i>nínsaibtempluib</i>	it is not in the temples	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC}

Table 200. Copular clauses with predicative focal IC/Adv/*samlid*.

The above-proposed analysis of Ml. 20^b3 may be questioned, as *són* could be understood as argumental. In more general terms, however, the one or the other analysis do not affect the result, given what assessed above regarding copular clauses featuring argumental *són*. The same thing happens in Ml. 24^a13b, where – in the case of argumental *són* – the discontinuous nature of the IC (*ondirgi abrithernachtae*) should be highlighted. Ml. 49^b7 is part of a broader cleft sentence (*is archuindriug pectho dosber som , ni arferc (dosber som)*, “it is for the correction of sin that He inflicts it, and not out of anger (that He inflicts it”). This however does not change the analysis of the clause. Similar cases are not rare in the corpus (see e.g. Ml. 71^c9). In Ml. 50^b8, the IC is a sentence itself: *arindí arruneastar*, “because he expected”. The same happens in Ml. 123^b9 (*huandí foralaig*, “because he had overthrown”). All these circumstantial clauses have been treated as ICs, as in previous chapters. Ml. 128^c1 and Ml. 128^d3 show then a similar phenomenon: from a morphological point of view, *ind* is a form of the article (dat. sing. neuter), while *lésc*/*erbartach* are adjectives (see also Ml. 32^d5).

In more general terms, it may well be the case that some of $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}$ sentences should be treated like cleft sentence fragments, given that the substantive verb, and not the copula, would be expected with IC predicates. A form of the copula would however be perfectly normal if the gloss were the first part of a cleft sentence (e.g. *is samlid* [*do-tét*], “it is thus [that he comes]”). This hypothesis, of course, would not be acceptable in cases such as (211) above (*is lasuide*, “it is with him/he has it”). What really counts, in any event, is that certain $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}$ sentences can be understood as cleft sentence fragments or not; their syntactic nature is however not in doubt. Furthermore, the IS would remain the same according to both the analyses.

What needs to be stressed is how the great majority of $V^{(COP)} + IC/Adv$ clauses show non-overt topical S (expressed by verbal inflection) and focal IC. Only a very few cases all over the corpus behave differently; they are collected in Table 201.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 47 ^c 5	<i>is</i> ⟨ <i>dotra</i> ⟩ <i>dothrachtad</i> <i>lessom forsin testim</i> [leg. <i>testimin</i>] <i>níchtarach hotha ubi</i> <i>dicit ut sit sensus rl.</i>	from where he says <i>ut sit</i> <i>sensus</i> , it is in order for him to comment on the text below	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-IC-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 68 ^c 4	<i>.i. asndithalam do</i>	that is, that he is of the earth	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

Table 201. Further examples of copular clauses with post-verbal IC/Adv/*samlid*.

Ml. 47^c5 is a rather particular case. In this gloss, the IC *forsin testim[i]n níchtarach* modifies the IC *dothrachtad*, and is thus focal. The topical status of the sentence-final IC (*hotha ubi dicit ut sit sensus rl.*) may then be understood on the basis of the Latin glossed passage: *id est magis*⁴, *ut sit sensus*⁵. In Ml. 68^c4, *do* is understood as a case of non-canonical S, that is, the main argument of a copular clause.

Unmarked copular structures which remain to be analysed are those showing a stressed pronoun following the initial copular form (see above Table 192). Examples (212) and (213) offer a standard case of such sentences:

- (212) *.i. ba he angnimsom molad dáé*
that is was it their work praising of God
«that is, their work was the praise of God» (Ml. 24^a4).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$

- (213) *issí* *écmailte* *inchoscair* *insin*
 is it insolence of victory this
 «that is the insolence of victory» (Ml. 33^c13).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

In example (212), *molad dáe* functions as S of the copular clause. *Angnimsom* is the topical SNP (see Latin: *erat iste mos apud filios Israhel ut ad sallendum³ Deo concurrerent hi ad quorum spectabat officium⁴*). The post-copular tonic pronoun *he* agrees with the first NP occurring in the clause, the predicate noun (*gním* is masculine). This tells us they can be considered as a unit under the IS perspective.

A similar framework in syntactic terms is offered by example (213), where S is *insin* and SNP is *écmailte inchoscair*. Once more, *sí* agrees with *écmailte* (feminine noun). They are therefore analysed together in terms of IS. What differs from example (212) is the topical and not focal status of *insin*. Vice versa, focal is here the SNP.

So-behaving similar cases of $V^{(COP)}$ PN SNP S are reported in Table 202.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 14 ^c 1	<i>ised inso indalanai</i>	this is one of them (of the two)	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 14 ^c 3	<i>ised inso anaill</i>	this is the other	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 20 ^d 2	<i>.i. ised trede insin as toisechem do duiniu</i>	that is, those are the three things which are foremost for man	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 23 ^d 12	<i>ised didiu ancríde indermait buith cenclain</i>	the injury of oblivion, then, is to be without children	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 26 ^b 1	<i>issí arnires hisin</i>	that is our faith	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 29 ^a 6	<i>.i. ishæ intor [leg. ord] coir quoniam uides</i>	that is, the right order is <i>quoniam uides</i>	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 31 ^b 24	<i>huare didiu asné gnim tengad comlabrae</i>	because, therefore, conversing is the work of the tongue	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 35 ^a 8	<i>.i. ní si accuis insin arinrogab duaid</i>	that is, that is not the reason for which David sang it	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 35 ^d 3	<i>ised inso anaithesc dorat dia dodauid</i>	this is the answer that God gave to David	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 35 ^d 14	<i>acht ised annert foirbthe imgabail cech huilc , denum cech degnima</i>	but avoiding every evil and doing every good work is the perfect virtue	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 36 ^a 33	<i>is he incetnae sians inso</i>	this is the first meaning	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 36 ^a 35	<i>is he insians tanisse inso</i>	this is the second meaning	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$

Ml. 38 ^c 7	<i>.i. issírun són inna fiurae</i> [leg. <i>fiugrae</i>] <i>rongab infaith</i>	that is, that is the mystic sense of the figure that the prophet uttered	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 40 ^d 7	<i>.i. ised tobchetal nime intorainn</i>	that is, the thunders are the trumpet-song of heaven	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^b 10-11	<i>is ed tra inso a(l)athar aill</i>	this then is the other exposition	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^c 9	<i>issi a lobrae inpopuil son isindoiri</i>	it is the infirmity of the people in the Captivity	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^a 19	<i>ishe innmachdad insin robói forsnaib doirsib</i>	that is the wonder that was upon the doors	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^c 8	<i>it hesidi torud bete</i>	these things are the fruits that shall be	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^c 14	<i>is ed insin namma dichanoí[n] forsatrachta á qui fructus usque meleores</i>	it is that alone of the Scripture text on which <i>qui fructus to meliores</i> comments	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^b 11	<i>issí achiall inso síis</i>	this below is its meaning	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^a 11	<i>.i. issí a chiall inso síis</i>	that is, this below is the sense of it	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^c 14	<i>is hæ áthuassulcud incomthod talmaidech asber innadiad</i>	the solution of it is (found in) the sudden turn which he says afterwards	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^c 14	<i>is he áthuasulcud inso</i>	this is the solution of it	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 12	<i>airmdis hé iusti indí nad ocmanatar hothrogaib</i>	that they are <i>iusti</i> who are not touched by miseries	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^a 12	<i>.i. is ed á cétal nuae asbeirsom aní nárbu dilmain dugabail isindoiri</i>	that is, this is the new song that he mentions: that which it was not allowed to sing in the Captivity	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^b 11	<i>air ba he indord etir sagitæ agutæ</i> [leg. <i>acutæ</i>] <i>in cordorde</i> [leg. <i>corde</i>] <i>inimicorum regis</i> ₇ <i>populi sub te cadent iarum</i>	for that would be the order, both <i>sagittæ acutæ in corde inimicorum regis</i> and <i>populi sub te cadent</i> afterwards	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^d 22	<i>ised inso</i> [add. <i>a</i>] <i>ainm</i>	this is [its] name	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^a 15	<i>hísi dano forsonartaesi on</i> ₇ <i>fortacht dé duib</i>	this then is your strength and the help of God to you	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} /[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 70 ^c 6	<i>it hé inso innaedbarta iarmifoig som</i>	these are the offerings He seeks	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 71 ^c 6	<i>.i. ised adbar innacombartae cloine teistiu int síl immefolangar tri chomaccubur</i> ₇ <i>peccad</i>	that is, this is the cause of wicked conception, the emission of the seed which is caused through desire and sin	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 83 ^c 5	<i>ishe dia insin</i>	that is God	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 89 ^a 8	<i>it hae indorgan [leg. orgain] inna hí asber innadiad</i>	the organs are those things that he mentions afterwards	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^c 4	<i>ised an hoc inso</i>	this is the <i>hoc</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^a 12	<i>issi persann fil and amal sodin paupertas</i>	<i>paupertas</i> is the subject which is there in that case	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^a 18	<i>.i. issi inne inso fil and</i>	that is, this is the meaning that is there	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 95 ^a 9	<i>.i. robu sí ácial són</i>	that is, that was their thought	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 98 ^b 8	<i>issi indigal insin</i>	that is the punishment	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 99 ^c 1	<i>.i. ishe in loc terra repromisionis</i>	that is, the place is <i>terra repromissionis</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 110 ^d 18	<i>.i. issi inne fil and inso</i>	that is, this is the sense that is there	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 111 ^b 2	<i>.i. issi indaccuis inso</i>	that is, this is the cause	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^a 1	<i>issi indfresciue inse</i>	this is the expectation	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^c 7	<i>.i. no issi chiall so fil and</i>	that is, or this is the meaning which is there	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^c 1	<i>it hé insé indremersidi</i>	these are before the very old ones	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 121 ^c 8	<i>.i. issi chiall inso fil and</i>	this is the sense that is there	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 122 ^b 1	<i>.i. issi facies terrae animantia diuersi generis</i>	<i>facies terrae</i> is <i>animantia diuersi generis</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 7	<i>issi indfirchetbaid són</i>	that is the true sense	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^c 11	<i>.i. issi induilen doibsom tadchor as indoiri</i>	that is, the return out of the Captivity is their corner	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^c 2	<i>.i. ba hae á ordd coir inso sis</i>	that is, this below would be its proper order	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 202. Copular clauses with a stressed pronoun after the copula.

In Ml. 20^d2, *ed* is a 3rd sing. neut. pronoun, in agreement with *trede* (a neuter nominal form derived from an adjective meaning “threefold”). In Ml. 38^c7, the NP in the genitive (i.e. *inna fiurae* [leg. *fiugrae*] *rongab infaith*, “of the figure that the prophet uttered”) goes with *run* (“mystic sense”) and *són* is in the middle. In Ml. 45^c9, the final IC (*isindoiri*, “out of the Captivity”) goes with *a lobrae* (“the infirmity”). In Ml. 46^c14 S is a headless relative clause (*forsatrachta á qui fructus usque meleores*, “(that) on which *qui fructus* to *meliores* comments”). In Ml. 54^a12, it is not clear whether *hé* agrees with *iusti* or with *indí*. A similar thing happens in Ml. 67^d22, where it is not clear whether *ed* agrees with *inso* or with *ainm*. In Ml. 91^a18, the relative clause *fil and* modifies *inne*. In Ml. 114^c7, note that the relative clause (*fil and*) modifies the SNP (*chiall*) and not the S (*so*); the same thing happens in Ml. 121^c8: the relative clause (*fil and*) modifies the SNP (*chiall*) and not the S (*inso*). On the topical status of

indremerersidi (“before the very old ones”) in Ml. 115^c1, see the Latin: *ut reges terræ per ambitum honoris sui habent qui eos⁽¹⁹⁾ instructi armis accinctique præcedant, ita et hic habet et præcursores, qui gratiarum actionem scilicet uel decorem testantur, opera eius⁽¹⁾*. Ml. 122^b1 is an interesting case: both members of the copular clause, that is, SNP and S, are in Latin. On the argumental status of *són* in Ml. 38^c7, Ml. 45^c9, Ml. 68^a15, Ml. 95^a9 and Ml. 127^d7, then, see previous chapters.

A first general remark concerns the IS of examples in Table 202. Broadly, the IS alignment of V^(COP) PN SNP S clauses with [PN SNP] is two-fold: the unit PN+SNP could be focal, followed by a topical S, or the unit PN+SNP could be topical, followed by a focal S. On the basis of copular sentences with no tonic pronoun analysed above, one may be tempted to conclude that post-copular (PN+)SNPs would tend in Old Irish to constitute the focus of the sentence. On the basis of the data shown above, this is confirmed, although without a sharp gap between the two categories:

- i. V^(COP) [PN SNP]_{FOC} [S]_{TOP}: 27 examples;
- ii. V^(COP) [PN SNP]_{TOP} [S]_{FOC}: 21 examples.

Out of the 21 examples where PN+SNPs are topical, the following sub-categories could be remarked, on the basis of what topicality of SNPs entails:

- a. the topical SNP is definite ([+ def. article]): this happens in 11 out of 21 examples;
- b. the topical SNP is a demonstrative: this happens in 3 out of 21 examples;
- c. the topical SNP contains a possessive pronoun: this happens in 3 out of 21 examples;
- d. the topical SNP is an anaphoric pronoun: this happens in 2 out of 21 examples;
- e. the topical SNP is a Latin quote: this happens in 2 out of 21 examples.

Definiteness, as well as context, seem thus to play a major role in defining the IS alignments of V^(COP) PN SNP S clauses. As a consequence, it would be a big mistake to hypothesise a syntax-based IS behaviour of copular clauses. Supporting evidence comes from the analysis of examples where PN+SNPs are focal: in 12 out of 27 examples the SNP is not definite ([– def. article]), while 7 examples feature the presence of definite article.

48 is not, however, the total number of V^(COP) PN SNP S sentences. There are 24 examples where the post-copular stressed pronoun agrees with the sentence-final S, rather than with the SNP as in (214):

- (214) *issí inso sís a chiall*
 is she this below its meaning
 «this below is its meaning» (Ml. 50^c1).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

In example (214), *sí* (3rd sing. fem. pronoun) agrees with *chiall* (fem. noun), and not with *inso*. On the topical status of *chiall*, see the Latin, where the glossed item is *sensus*. This sentence can also be compared to Ml. 51^b11 in Table 202, where the same elements with the same IS value occur within the clause, but in a different order (*issí achiall inso sí*).

All the other cases of $V^{(COP)}$ PN SNP S sentences occurring in the Milan glosses corpus, where PN agrees with S, are reported in Table 203.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 45 ^b 11	<i>ishe inso indalammod</i>	this is one of the two ways	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 51 ^d 6	<i>issi so sí achiall</i>	its sense is this below	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 53 ^a 18	<i>ishe inso innertad coitche dochach</i>	the common exhortation to all is this	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 62 ^a 17	<i>.i. issí inso achiall</i>	that is, this is the meaning of it	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 65 ^a 3	<i>issi so achiall</i>	this is its meaning	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 73 ^a 17	<i>issi inso in tochoisgem</i>	this is the execution	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 80 ^c 3	<i>issí inso ind insce</i>	this is the speech	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 86 ^c 3	<i>it he inse indfocháinn inso</i>	these are the causes	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 88 ^b 11	<i>issí inso chiall fil and</i>	this is the sense that is there	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 88 ^d 6	<i>issí so sí achiall</i>	this that follows is its meaning	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
Ml. 90 ^b 19	<i>issí ade eregem</i>	this is the compliant	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 90 ^c 23	<i>.i. issí inso canoin fil lasuide</i>	that is, this is the text that he has	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
Ml. 90 ^c 24	<i>.i. issí inso chiall fil and</i>	that is, this is the sense that is there	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

Ml. 97 ^d 10	<i>issi dano insin ind frescissiu co fochuid</i>	that, then, is the expectation with trial	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>issí immurgu inso inchiall hua aliter síis</i>	this, however, is the sense from <i>aliter</i> onwards	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 102 ^b 5	<i>.i. is hé inmacc asbeir som in popul</i>	that is, the people is the son that he speaks of	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 104 ^a 4	<i>ithé inso anman nacoic cathrach</i>	these are the names of the five cities	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^c 1	<i>issí ade accuis</i>	this is the cause	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^d 13	<i>issí inso briathar in popuil</i>	this is the word of the people	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 121 ^d 1	<i>is hé æm inso inrét diant torbach</i>	this indeed is the thing for which it is useful	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 122 ^c 9	<i>ithe inso innacehtardai</i>	these are the two	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 130 ^a 16	<i>it he inso inna anman</i>	these are the names	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^a 8	<i>issé inso infochunn</i>	this is the cause	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 203. Copular clauses with post-copular stressed pronoun agreeing with the subject.

On the sentence-final *inso* in Ml. 86^c3, see GOI §478. In Ml. 102^b5, *hé* could be understood as in agreement with both *inmacc* and *in popul*. In this case, it is the second option which has to be preferred, since the Irish gloss is in on the Latin *populum*. A similar thing happens in Ml. 122^c9.

In general, the majority of Table 202-like examples shows focal SNP (17 cases out of 24) and topical PN+S. This fact seems mostly based on contextual rather than lexical/morphological factors. Consider e.g. Table 11 Ml. 65^a3 (*issi so achiall*) and Ml. 88^b11 (*issí inso chial fil and*). From a morphosyntactic standpoint, the two clauses are rather identical. Nevertheless, in the former case it is the demonstrative SNP to be focal (*so*), while in the latter case it is the sentence-final S (*chial fil and*). What causes this difference is the dissimilar universe of discourse of the two glosses:

- i. Ml. 65^a3, glossed Latin passage: *et est sensus*³;
- ii. Ml. 88^b11, glossed Latin passage: *subauditur*¹¹.

In the first case, the gloss we are dealing with falls within the ‘*sensus*’ analysis already shown in Chapter 2: *chiall* is topical since it is directly glossed from Latin to Irish, and what is

focal is conveyed by the demonstrative, which adds further information to *sensus*. In the second case, it is the demonstrative which refers back to Latin, and *sensus* is what adds new information in that context.

Post-copular tonic pronouns do not play the functional role of sub-predicates only in Old Irish. As briefly anticipated in Chapter 2, what happens in certain cases is that such pronouns have deictic (1st and 2nd persons) or anaphoric (3rd persons) value, and replace NPs as SNPs of copular clauses. Consider example (215):

- (215) *.i.* *it* *háé*
 that is are they
 «that is, they are» (Ml. 24^a11).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$

The Latin glossed passage is the following: *quam^{10b} iustas inter sé motuo bellorum causas diuersi¹¹⁻¹² habeant*. What the Irish gloss is stressing is that *diuersi* are specifically “they”. The 3rd pl. tonic pronoun hence functions not differently from a SNP (*diuersi* are “these”). In these cases, S is in the Latin text (*diuersi*).

All the similar examples attested in the corpus are reported in Table 204.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 27 ^b 5	<i>isme</i>	it is I	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 32 ^a 20	<i>issnisni</i>	it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 38 ^d 19	<i>is messe</i>	it is I	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 44 ^b 10-11	<i>ní ed</i>	it is not it	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 46 ^a 13	<i>issísi</i>	it is you	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 63 ^c 15	<i>issinni</i>	it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 70 ^c 9	<i>.i. ismesse</i>	that is, it is I	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 77 ^c 1	<i>isme</i>	it is I	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 78 ^a 1	<i>issisni</i>	it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 91 ^b 15	<i>issinni</i>	it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 92 ^c 2	<i>.i. issisni</i>	that is, it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 93 ^c 11	<i>issnisni</i>	it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 93 ^d 3	<i>.i. is nínni</i>	that is, it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 100 ^b 23	<i>is he side</i>	it is it	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 100 ^c 4	<i>it háé</i>	it is they	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 100 ^d 11	<i>istú</i>	it is you	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$

Ml. 102 ^b 15	<i>.i. issnisni</i>	that is, it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 106 ^d 2a	<i>.i. is tussu</i>	that is, it is you	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 109 ^c 3	<i>.i. robu issi nammá</i>	that is, either it only	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 125 ^a 15	<i>is snissni</i>	it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 127 ^c 2	<i>issnisni</i>	it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 130 ^a 8	<i>nandat hæ fessin</i>	it is not they themselves	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 137 ^a 3	<i>istú</i>	it is you	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$
Ml. 138 ^c 11a	<i>issinni</i>	it is we	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$

Table 204. Copular clauses with post-copular deictic/anaphoric PN.

A last category of unmarked copular clauses deserving attention is exemplified by cases such as (216):

- (216) *is sí tra brithar* [leg. *briathar*] *intestiminso*
 is this(fem.) then verb of this clause
 «this, then, is the verb of this clause» (Ml. 14^d1).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

In example (216), the pronoun *sí* agrees with the following NP *briathar* (they are both feminine). One may thus believe that *sí* should be considered as belonging to the same constituent of *briathar intestiminso*. This, however, seems not to be the case as far as examples such as (216) are concerned.

A few factors are worth-considering:

- i. adverb *trá* occurs between *sí* and *brithar*;
- ii. *sí* itself is analysed by Griffith and Stifter (2013) as the predicate of the clause, not differently from what happens in Table 204 ($V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}$);
- iii. the proposed translation of the gloss goes in the same direction (“this, then, is the verb of this clause”): *sí* shows anaphoric value, and *brithar intestiminso* is analysed as the topical S.

As a consequence, in cases such as example (216) above, PN should be considered the predicate of the copular clause, and the following NP should be considered the S of the copular

clause. In terms of IS, then, *briathar intestiminso* is topical (note the demonstrative), while *sí* is focal (it corresponds to Lat. *debemus*). The sentence shows therefore the same structure of examples collected e.g. in Table 193 above ($V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP} = V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$).

For a further case, consider example (217):

- (217) *ishé* *ingním*
 is it the action
 «it is the action» (Ml. 15^b1).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

Example (217) glosses the Latin passage: *peccatum {id est} uero in rem actio*^l. In my view, the main aim of the glossator, here, is telling the reader that Old Irish *gním*, “the action”, corresponds to the Latin *peccatum* (*gním = actio*). *Hé* thus has an anaphoric value, replacing *peccatum*, in an hypothetical basic copular clause *ispeccatum ingním*, which lies behind Ml. 15^b1. The clause is purely identificational. Its analysis has hence to be considered $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$.

Example (217) may then also be compared with example (218):

- (218) *issí* *didiu* *introaire*
 is she then the mercy
 «this is, then, the mercy» (Ml. 23^b5).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

In example (218), *sí* agrees with *introaire* (the S of the copular clause). *Sí* is coreferential with the portion of text occurring later in the gloss (.i. *nacharomarbsom dia indigail neich dorigensat friduid*, “to wit, that God did not slay them in punishment for something which they had done to David”), thus showing cataphoric value.

The structures (as well as the ISs) of examples (217) and (218) are very similar: after the copula, a stressed pronoun functions as focal SNP of the clause, and is followed by a topical S. In both cases PN has a phoric value. On the one hand, in cases such as (217) PN is anaphoric and it resumes something occurring earlier in the clause (cfr. examples in Table 204); on the other hand, in cases such as (218) PN is cataphoric and it anticipates something occurring later in the clause. Nevertheless, they both correspond to a sentence type $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$.

All the instances of copular clauses analysable as $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$ attested in the Milan glosses corpus are reported in Table 205.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 19 ^c 14	<i>ishé cainchomrac</i>	that is peace	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 19 ^d 6	<i>.i. ishé didiu ambés adi</i>	that is, this, then, is their custom	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 21 ^b 4	<i>.i. isedinso</i>	that is, it is this	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 21 ^b 10	<i>.i. ithéside cotammeicnighthersa</i>	that is, it is these by which I am compelled	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 22 ^c 3	<i>ishe didiu intærchoiliud</i>	this then is the determination	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^b 5	<i>issí indochraide</i>	this is the shamefulfulness	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^c 4	<i>it hé inso</i>	they are these	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 9	<i>.i. huare issi aimser sin indentae estosc inna fine in damdabchaib</i>	that is, because that is the time in which the squeezing of grapes used to be done in tubs	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 25	<i>asned dechur tabadar [leg. tadbadar] isindísín</i>	that this is the difference that is shown therein	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - IC/Adv
Ml. 30 ^b 3	<i>it hæ insin ata rehti corde</i>	it is those that are <i>recti corde</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^d 23	<i>ishé securus</i>	he is <i>securus</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 33 ^a 1	<i>.i. is ed aerat</i>	that is, that is its duration	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^b 8	<i>is he[d] so sí</i>	it is this below	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^a 8	<i>issí tra inchetbuidsin forthet inlebur archiunn</i>	that, then, is the sense which the book supports below	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^a 1	<i>is sí cétbaid alanaile ant sin</i>	that is the opinion of some there	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - IC/Adv
Ml. 36 ^a 32	<i>is hé incét síans didiu</i>	this is the first meaning then	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^a 32	<i>is hé insians aile</i>	this is the other meaning	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^d 12	<i>ised inso les pro postea adcelerauerunt</i>	he has this for <i>postea adcelerauerunt</i>	V ^(COP) -PN-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>issí inchumtubart , indoidnge nad fetammar ní</i>	this is the doubt and the difficulty that we do not know	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^c 8	<i>.i. it hé torud arabeitfetsom [leg. ardabeithfetsom] isnaib fochaidib imbiat</i>	that is, these things are the fruits that shall feed them in the tribulations in which they shall be	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 47 ^a 9	<i>.i. ised inso</i>	that is, it is this	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>ised scél forraithminedar is indisíu</i>	this is the story that he refers to here	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^b 7	<i>it hæ æm inso</i>	they are these	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^c 13	<i>ba ed afrecrae adi lesom</i>	that was the answer to them that he had	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^d 2	<i>nabad ed amét</i>	let it not be only	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^c 13	<i>it hé dano innategdaissi hisín</i>	these then are those houses	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 67 ^b 18	<i>comtis hé tra indhuli sin forbristeá and</i>	so that these then would be all those who were overpowered there	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^a 10	<i>.i. ised muchumachtae</i>	that is, it is my power	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^d 11	<i>ishe trachtad in [leg. inna] canonese fil rem</i>	this is the commentary on these texts which are foregoing	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 71 ^c 5	<i>ised inso</i>	it is this	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^b 6	<i>.i. isheside athir innammachabdae</i>	that is, he is the father of the Maccabees	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^c 21	<i>issi ciall fil and</i>	this is the meaning that is there	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 7	<i>.i. ised inso</i>	that is, it is this	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^d 9	<i>ithe indærchoilti asbersom</i>	these are the determinations that he speaks of	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^a 8	<i>.i. it háe didiu indaidmi asmbeirsom</i>	that is, these, then, are the instruments that he mentions	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^b 2	<i>.i. ised inso</i>	that is, it is this	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^d 7	<i>it hé innallathar asbeir innandiad</i>	these are the dispensations that he mentions afterwards	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 93 ^b 7	<i>.i. ised ainm forán laezechiál</i>	that is, that is the name of Pharaoh in Ezechiel	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 94 ^b 15	<i>.i. is ed a cornu as beir riam ón</i>	that is, this is the <i>cornu</i> that he mentions before	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^b 17	<i>.i. issi chiall fil ánd</i>	that is, this is the meaning that is there	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^b 20	<i>.i. ithesidi ailiu</i>	that is, these (the <i>quos</i>) are others	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 97 ^d 8	<i>.i. ba ed ánoínbiad isindíthrub</i>	that is, that was their only food in the wilderness	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC-IC}
Ml. 100 ^c 3	<i>.i. is ed andese [leg. andedese] tadbát som híc</i>	that is, these are the two things that he sets forth <i>híc</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>issí ciall gaibes in testimín so corici aliter</i>	this is the sense which this text utters as far as <i>aliter</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 112 ^d 2a	<i>ní ed amét</i>	it is not only [lit. it is not its size]	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^b 1	<i>issí inne fil hi cechtar de</i>	that is the meaning which is in each of them	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^a 2	<i>IS ed anduchur [leg. -dechur] fil is ind alitero</i>	this is the difference which is in this <i>aliter</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^b 17	<i>ised ón nert</i>	that is the strength	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 117 ^d 4	<i>.i. issí abríg liumsa atechtae som huaim</i>	that is, this is the power for me of their going from me	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 18	<i>issí incethar accuis ón</i>	this is the four-fold cause	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}

Ml. 121 ^b 16	<i>.i. ni ed amét</i>	that is, it is not only	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 122 ^b 15	<i>níed amét</i>	it is not only	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 125 ^b 1	<i>ishæ tintud indi asfiat son</i>	this is a rendering of <i>fiat</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 1	<i>.i. issí indinducbal asbeirsom drelad [leg. dorelad] tris infers nisiu</i>	that is, this is the glory that he says is revealed through this verse	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 128 ^a 6	<i>.i. issi chiall fil ánd</i>	that is, this is the sense that is therein	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 128 ^a 8	<i>.i. ⁊ is mese dano cid iarum</i>	that is, and it is I, as well, even afterwards	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[Adv] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^a 1	<i>.i. ised lóg indegnima hisiu</i>	that is, this is the reward of well-doing here	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 129 ^d 6	<i>is ed a frecrae</i>	this is his answer	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 133 ^d 7	<i>issinni carthaig</i>	it is we loving	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 137 ^b 7	<i>is he in ferso rogab chrine octecht imbethil</i>	this is the verse that Jerome sang as he went into Bethlehem	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 205. Copular clauses with post-copular PN and sentence-final S.

The great majority of Table 205 examples share the same IS, that is, focal PN and topical S. Only a few exceptions can be counted. Firstly, there are a few cases (e.g. Ml. 62^c13, Ml. 74^c21, Ml. 97^d8, etc.) in which what is topical is PN and what is focal is S. This is due to contextual factors. Consider, for instance, Ml. 62^c13. PN can be understood as topical on the basis of the previous portion of the gloss: *nanní asbertisom frisom ⁊ dugnítis ba ed afrecrae adi lesom*, “whatever they used to say to him and to do, that was the answer to them that he had”. Totally different, instead, is Ml. 36^d12, where the focal portion of the sentence is conveyed by a sentence-final Latin IC (*pro postea adcaelerauerunt*).

In Ml. 21^b10, S is a headless relative clause (*cotammeicnighthersa*). In Ml. 117^d4, note that *atechtae som huaim* modifies *abrig*. In Ml. 128^a8, note that *mese* is written above the line in the MS. Moreover, this example is different from the other also for the syntactic function of the sentence-final focal item, which is an Adv. In the end, in the case of Ml. 133^d7, the Irish gloss is a translation of Latin (*nos amantes*), where *amantes* is rendered through an adjective (*carthaig*).

In 4 out of 61 examples belonging to Table 205, the structure V^(COP) + *amét* is attested. *Amét* normally serves in Old Irish to focalise a following V (e.g. Ml. 145^d4: *.i. ni [add. ? ed] amét asmbeir som inna aitribthi [leg. aitribthidi] domolad <dæ> dá acht asber cid arindmolatar innime [leg. innanime] fesin*, “that is, not only does he tell the inhabitants to praise God, but he even says that the heavens themselves praise Him”). Morphologically, *amét* is a 3rd sing.

possessive pronoun + nom. sing. noun meaning “size, quantity”, so that literally the meaning of a clause like *níed amét* would be “it is not its size”. *Amét*, however, in Old Irish altogether acquires the meaning of “only” (with focalising value, as seen above). Therefore, the phrase may both be considered as and Adv or as PN+S. $V^{(COP)}$ + *amét* are put within this category giving priority to their pure morphosyntactic structure.

Table 206 summarises quantitative data of copular clauses with unmarked word order attested in the Milan glosses corpus.

Analysis	Instances	% out of UCC ²³⁹	% out of CC ²⁴⁰
$V^{(COP)}$ -[NP] _{FOC}	107	23.47%	18.82%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[IC] _{FOC}	85	18.64%	14.95%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	74	16.23%	13.01%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	56	12.32%	10.08%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	30	6.58%	5.26%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[PN] _{FOC}	25	5.48%	4.39%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	20	4.39%	3.51%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[PN] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	17	3.73%	2.99%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	13	2.85%	2.28%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	10	2.19%	1.76%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[PN] _{FOC} -[SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	7	1.54%	1.23%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	5	1.10%	0.88%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[PN] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	5	1.10%	0.88%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP}	5	1.10%	0.88%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -[S/IC] _{TOP}	2	0.44%	0.35%
$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-[IC] _{FOC}	2	0.44%	0.35%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	2	0.44%	0.35%
$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.22%	0.18%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{FOC} -S-[IC] _{TOP}	1	0.22%	0.18%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP-IC] _{FOC}	1	0.22%	0.18%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[SNP] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.22%	0.18%
[$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	1	0.22%	0.18%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[IC] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}	1	0.22%	0.18%
$V^{(COP)}$ -[PN] _{FOC} -[Adv] _{TOP}	1	0.22%	0.18%
$V^{(COP)}$ -PN-[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.22%	0.18%

Table 206. Quantitative analysis of unmarked copular clauses.

On the basis of Table 206, a few relevant facts can be highlighted:

²³⁹ UCC stands for *Unmarked Copular Clauses*.

²⁴⁰ CC stands for *Copular Clauses*.

1. the two most frequent categories, that is, $V^{(COP)}-[NP]_{FOC}$ and $V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}$, show zero-anaphora (topical) Ss;
2. as far as “complete” copular clauses are concerned, that is, sentences made of copula (+ stressed pronoun) + NP + NP, whether the stressed pronoun is absent, present and behaving as a unit with the first NP, or present and behaving as the SNP of the copular clause, the top-three of most attested sentence-types show sentence-final topical S and focal SNP/PN+SNP/PN;
3. there is a strong correlation between second-position items and focality: 89.25% of copular clauses feature a focal item in second position.

On a more general level, the relative amount of unmarked WO copular clauses out of the total amount of copular clauses attested in the Milan glosses corpus on the one hand and the relative amount of unmarked WO non-copular clauses out of the total amount of non-copular clauses attested in the Milan glosses corpus on the other hand can be compared.²⁴¹ Unmarked non-copular word orders (see Chapter 3) amount to 1,664 examples. The total number of non-copular sentences attested in the corpus is 2,614. This means that out of the total, unmarked orders constitute the 63.61% of sentences in the case of non-copular sentences. On the other hand, unmarked copular word orders amount to 456 examples. The total number of copular sentences attested in the corpus is 569.²⁴² This means that unmarked word order copular clauses are the 80.14% of total copular clauses. The relative amount of unmarked variants of copular clauses is considerably higher than its non-copular equivalent.

7.2 Copular clauses with marked word order

Marked word order copular clauses amount to 42 examples in the corpus. They constitute 8.61% of copular clauses and 1.14% of all sentences analysed.

Marked variants of syntactically standard copular clauses will be included within the category of ‘marked’ word order copular clauses. These are:

- i. V-initial copular clauses, namely copular clauses with all the regular morphosyntactic items occurring in the clause, but showing relocation of constituents (e.g. $V^{(COP)} \text{ SNP IC S}$, with the IC preceding the S);

²⁴¹ Within the category of ‘marked’ non-copular clauses, here, are considered also ECCs (see Chapter 5) and (pseudo)cleft sentences (see Chapter 6), in addition to purely ‘marked’ orders (Chapter 4). The same thing is valid for copular clauses as well.

²⁴² Nominal clauses are here left out.

- ii. Non-V-initial copular clauses, namely copular clauses with a constituent (e.g. S) preceding the copula, but which cannot be considered instances of ECCs due to the lack of a phoric pronoun in the host clause coreferencing the sentence-initial constituent (see Chapters 4 and 5).

This means that I will consider in this section:

- i. copular clauses showing ECCs;
 ii. (pseudo)cleft sentences with predicate nouns;
 iii. non-standard copular clauses (e.g. sentences with *ro·gab* employed as “to be”, orders such as $V^{(COP)} S IC$, etc.).

7.2.1 V-initial marked order copular clauses

V-initial marked copular clauses are 38 in the Milan glosses corpus (90.48% of marked copular clauses). A first subtype of sentences is represented by example (219):

- (219) *.i. it digla erlama lesom doneuch*
 that is are punishments ready to him for anyone
innadualchi do denum
 the bad habits for doing
 «that is, in his opinion doing the vices is ready punishment for anyone» (Ml. 18^c6).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-IC-IC-[S]_{TOP}$

In example (219), subject of the sentence is the argument verbal noun clause *innadualchi do denum* “to do the vices”, featuring the construction NP + *do* + verbal noun of a transitive verb (see GOI §720). What is focal is the SNP (*digla erlama*). The ‘markedness’ of the syntactic order of example (219) is due to the occurrence of two ICs (*lesom* and *doneuch*) between the SNP and the S, instead of in sentence-final position where they usually occur. A deeper look at the IS alignment of this sentence reveals how focal and topical are those constituents that we would expect to behave like this in an unmarked variant of Ml. 18^c6, that is, as seen in the end of Section 7.1, SNP is focal and S is topical. This happens regardless of the position of S. One may thus be led to believe that it is not the IS that influences the syntax of the clause in this and similar cases, but rather a morphophonological factor, such as the clausal nature and the heaviness of the S constituent.

Out of a total of 33 examples attested in the corpus featuring the V^(COP)-SNP-IC-S order, those with focal SNP and topical S are the majority, as shown by the examples given in Table 207.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 31 ^d 2	<i>7 is ainmnid amal sodin iustitia</i>	and in that case <i>iustitia</i> is a nominative	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^a 14	<i>.i. nant ní les in sommae pecthach</i>	that is, that the sinful rich man is nothing to him	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^b 10-11	<i>is tosach iarum uerba</i>	afterwards <i>uerba</i> is the beginning	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^c 14	<i>is canóin dano fosin testimenta eius 7 testimonia</i>	then, in accordance with that, <i>testimenta eius et testimonia</i> is Scripture text	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 49 ^b 7	<i>iss ferc do insin</i>	that that is anger in Him	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 51 ^a 19	<i>bed necen donaib hulib anglanad</i>	it was necessary for all to be purified	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 4	<i>is dlíged leu tabart inna fochaide foraib</i>	they deem the infliction of tribulations on them a law	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^a 5	<i>huare as dlíged leu inna fochaid [leg. fochaid] dothabairt foraib tar æsi apectha</i>	because they deem it a law that the tribulations should be inflicted on them for their sin	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 60 ^c 2	<i>is saintintúid lessom anisiu</i>	he has here a different rendering	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 64 ^a 7	<i>is trachtad lesom anisiu forsanouit archiunn</i>	here he has a commentary on <i>novit</i> that follows	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 65 ^c 16	<i>is bes leusom torand hi tempul delbae innarig</i>	it is a custom with them to represent in a temple the figure of the kings	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^a 4	<i>airis ainm naímsire hisunt amane</i>	for <i>mane</i> is a noun of time here	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^b 19	<i>isbesad leusom innuall infailte [leg. inna failte] holamaib</i>	customary with them is the noise of joy with the hands	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 69 ^d 2	<i>airis dede lesom ón</i>	for he considers them two	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 71 ^b 2	<i>.i. roputhol les adem incloine [leg. adenum innacloine] sin</i>	that is, to commit that iniquity had been a desire for him	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 73 ^a 10	<i>.i. is budech foircimem latsu a dé timthrecht deggnima du edbairt dait</i>	that is, to offer to You (sg) the service of well-doing is best grateful in Your (sg) eyes, O God	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^a 11	<i>.i. combad aicned nindib anolc fochetóir</i>	that is, that the evil is natural in them at once	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP} -IC/Adv

Ml. 78 ^d ₁	<i>is foxlaid amal sodi [leg. sodin] a cura</i>	in that case <i>cura</i> is ablative	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^c ₃	<i>.i. ismebul leu ón</i>	that is, this is a disgrace for them	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 88 ^b ₈	<i>.i. is fir mess latsu ánephícc</i>	that is, their non-salvation is a true judgement by You	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 98 ^a ₄	<i>.i. is béas dunní[...] ní duthabairt do neuch</i>	that is, it is customary for us [...] to give something to someone	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 100 ^a ₃	<i>connarbú huaín doib coiniud anóg</i>	so that they had no leisure to bewail their virgins	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 108 ^b ₁₂	<i>.i. airis ermitiu féid dusudib ditin apopul ade</i>	that is, for the protection of their peoples is an honour to them	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^c ₅	<i>ba lugae leu insin</i>	that was an oath with them	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 124 ^b ₅	<i>.i. nírbu chuman leu andrigni [leg. andurigni] dia friu in ægipt di maith</i>	that is, they had not remembered all the good that God had done to them in Egypt	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 124 ^b ₆	<i>robu frithorcun doib anetarscarad fri ægeptacdu</i>	their parting from the Egyptians had been an offense unto them	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 127 ^c ₁₃	<i>.i. onabu accobur lium biad</i>	that is, so that food was not a desire for me	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 132 ^b ₃	<i>bad n esbae dam du frecur ceillsiu</i>	that is, of my thinking that to worship You (sg) is folly for me	V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}

Table 207. V^(COP)-SNP-IC-S copular clauses with focal SNP and topical S.

As in example (219) seen above, ‘heaviness’ seems to play a major role in causing topical Ss to occur in sentence-final position. Among Table 207’s sentences, this clearly happens in the case of Ml. 46^c₁₄, Ml. 54^a₄, Ml. 54^a₅, Ml. 65^c₁₆, Ml. 71^b₂, Ml. 73^a₁₀, Ml. 98^a₅, Ml. 108^b₁₂, Ml. 124^b₅ (in this gloss, the sentence final topical gloss is an open relative clause: *andrigni* [leg. *andurigni*] *dia friu in ægipt di maith*, “all the good that God had done to them in Egypt”) and Ml. 124^b₆. The morpho-phonological heaviness of constituents seems thus to be a main reason for the displacement of Ss in final position.

Perhaps, rather than talking about ‘heaviness’ in general terms, what is really crucial in causing the syntactic swap between ICs and Ss in similar cases is their ‘relative heaviness’. It is true that sentence-final Ss are always complex constituents (open relative clauses, NP + *do* + verbal noun constructions, etc.). Nevertheless, ICs are on the other hand always inflected

prepositions, that is, PPs of the lighter phonological substance. In addition, some semantic proximity of ICs to SNP – if compared to Ss – can be highlighted. Consider e.g. Ml. 49^b7 and Ml. 51^a19: in these two glosses, ICs do not belong to the same constituent of SNPs. Nevertheless, their meaning is strictly related, so that it is even conceivable to posit a focality of ICs besides that of SNPs. In this way, their close syntactic position seems motivated. These facts, considered together, might have caused the raise and affirmation of V^(COP) SNP IC S order in peculiar cases.

A further fact deserving attention is which preposition occurs (inflected) as pre-S IC in the examples reviewed above. There is a considerable consistency of correlation between sentence-final heavy topical Ss and an inflected form of *la* occurring as IC (e.g. Ml. 54^a4, Ml. 54^a5, Ml. 65^c16, etc.). Not every V^(COP) SNP IC S clause, however, shows inflected *la* as pre-S IC. Consider e.g. Ml. 98^a5, Ml. 108^b12 and Ml. 124^b6: in all these cases the inflected preposition is *do*.

To conclude, two further cases should be examined. Firstly, in Ml. 69^d2 and Ml. 87^c7 the sentence-final S is (*s*)ón. The argumental substance of sentence-final S is thus questionable (see previous chapters). Secondly, careful consideration deserve Ml. 44^b10-11, Ml. 67^a4 and Ml. 78^d1, which apparently show no reason for marked word order. Ml. 44^b10-11 is a particular gloss (see Griffith and Stifter's database Text Notes: «from *intliucht* onwards, the gloss is in the far right margin and is very hard to read»).²⁴³ On the basis of the context of the sentence (see previous portion of the gloss as well as the glossed Latin: *UERBA⁹ DELICTORUM MEORUM⁹⁻¹¹*), it seems clear how topical *uerba* is well-established in the universe of discourse. The same thing happens with *mane* in Ml. 67^a4, the previous context of which is *.i. mane₇ delucolo· airis ainm naimsire hisunt amane ciasu menciu· fudobrethir*, “i.e. *mane* and *diluculo*, for *mane* is a noun of time here, although it is more frequent as an adverb”; Lat. glossed passage: *...ADIUUABIT EAM DEUS UULTU SUO⁸ MANE DELUCOLO*. The same thing also happens with *cura* in Ml. 78^d1 (Lat. glossed passage: *ac sí diceret. manebit donorum eius {dei} cura firma possessione⁸*). These contextual factors, as well as the fact that, in all these three

²⁴³ Whole gloss: *dalathar tra domber intrachtaita forsintestimiso* [leg. *intrachtaire forsintestimiso*] *.i. quare mé dereliquisti .i. deus .i. cair rom leicisse· longe· inchían· a salute· mea· huam íc· intliucht tra cricci sin₇ **is tosach iarum uerba** .i. indat mbrithra* [leg. *mbriathra*]· *delictorum meorum· .i. inned insin furaar* [leg. *fudruar*] *dait nate ní ed ar nisrothechtusa di₇ is ed tra inso a(l)athar aill .i. quare me dereliquisti .i. cair romleicse* [leg. *romleicise*] *á dé· longe· is inchian .i. lase ascian· á salute mea· uerba delictorum meorum .i. air nísfail lium* [leg. *lium*] *innabriathrasin sechis inna torgababala* [leg. *torgabala*] *són· ni fil adi* [leg. *nis fil adi*] *liumsa arcris friathir*, “[it is] two expositions, then, which the commentator gives upon this text, i.e., *quare me dereliquisti*, i.e. *deus*, i.e. why have You (sg) left me, *longe* far, *a salute mea* from my salvation? (That is) then the sense that far, and afterwards *uerba* is the beginning (of a clause), i.e. is it the words *delictorum meorum*, i.e. is it that that caused it to You (sg)? no, it is not, for I did not have them. And this then is the other exposition, i.e., *quare me dereliquisti*, i.e. why have You (sg) left me, O God? *longe* it is at a distance, i.e. when it is far, *a salute mea uerba delictorum meorum*, i.e. for there are not with me those words, that is, the crimes, they are not with me, said Christ to the Father”. The extract of the gloss given in Table 207 is in bold font.

cases, the sentence-final S is in Latin, are probably what lies behind the marked $V^{(COP)}$ SNP IC S order of these three sentences.

$V^{(COP)}$ SNP IC S examples do not feature focal SNPs and topical Ss only. Different IS alignments of clauses with the same syntax attested in the Milan glosses corpus are collected in Table 208.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^d 5	<i>.i. isfuasnad dutmenmainsiu tuisled hoermaissiu firinne trímrechtrad natintathach</i>	it is a disturbance of your mind to fall from reaching the truth on account of the variation of the interpreters	$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 21 ^b 9	<i>isecen dam són</i>	this is necessary to me	[$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 26 ^c 6	<i>is bes tra isindlibursa briathra nasalm anall do erlabrai ánd</i>	it is customary then in this book to say the words of the psalms beforehand there	$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 28 ^d 6	<i>isbes do som tra buith cen chomacomla</i>	it is a custom for him then to be without conjunctions	$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^c 3	<i>.i. isbáes linni epert</i>	that is, the saying is a custom with us	[$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 33 ^b 3	<i>.i. is duthracht leusom atlugud buide dom immedaibse</i>	that is, it is a desire for them to return thanks for my troubles	[$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 40 ^b 1	<i>.i. is argumeint do cid atitul</i>	that is, even its title is an argument for it	$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-[IC] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^b 17	<i>.i. is nomen lesom oriens du [leg. dano] du dudia</i>	that is, he considers <i>Oriens</i> also to be a name of God	$V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-IC-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

Table 208. $V^{(COP)}$ -SNP-IC-S copular clauses with different ISs.

By and large, three categories of clauses are identifiable in Table 208:

- a. sentences with a particular IS alignment due to contextual factors (e.g. Ml. 2^d5, Ml. 85^b17). In Ml. 2^d5, for example, the subject of the gloss is the complex phrase *tuisled hoermaissiu firinne* (“to fall from reaching (i.e. to fail to reach) the truth”). The topical element is the whole phrase *tuisled hoermaissiu firinne trímrechtrad natintathach* (“to fall from reaching (i.e. to fail to reach) the truth on account of the variation of the interpreters”). This seems clear also on the basis of the Latin text (*non ita haberi in Hebreo, ut tu de LXX interpretibus opponebas, studiosissime postulasti ut post Aquilam, post Simmachum, post Teodoti[o]nem, nouam editionem Latino sermone transferem.. Aiebas enim té magis interpretum uarietate turbari, et amore⁽⁵⁾ quo*

laberis⁽⁶⁾, *uel translatione {i. mea} uel iudicio meo esse contentum*⁽⁷⁾..). The gloss looks like a sort of explanation of the Latin passage, where *interpretum varietate* is introduced in the universe of discourse. The prepositional phrase *trímrechtrad natintathach* (“on account of the variation of the interpreters”), then, is part of topic as it depends on the noun phrase *tuisled hoermaissiu firinne* (“to fall from reaching (i.e. to fail to reach) the truth”). More emphasis in the Irish passage seems put on *dutmenmainsiu* (“to your mind”), which comes to be focal;

- b. sentences with a particular IS alignment due to sentence-internal factors (e.g. Ml. 28^d6, Ml. 40^b1). For example, in Ml. 40^b1 the focal status of sentence-final S is emphasised by the focaliser *cid* (similarly functions *cen* in Ml. 28^d6).
- c. sentences with focal V^(COP) + SNP + IC and topical S; the focal status of V^(COP) + SNP + IC is due to the fact that Old Irish employs a periphrasis to render a single focal Latin V (e.g. Ml. 21^b9, where Old Irish *isecen dam* renders Latin *compellor*),²⁴⁴ or a focal Latin expression (e.g. Ml. 30^c3, where Old Irish *isbáes linni* renders Latin *nobis moris est*).

A further category of V-initial marked word order copular clauses is shown in example (220).

(220)	<i>.i.</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>he</i>	<i>aicsenugud les</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>quoniam</i>	<i>so</i>
	that is	is	it	giving a cause for him the	quoniam	this	
	«that is, in his opinion, this <i>quoniam</i> is causal» (Ml. 47 ^a 8).						

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-IC-[S]_{TOP}

This sentence-type, consistently with what highlighted in the case of unmarked word order copular clauses in Section 7.1, although featuring a stressed pronoun between the copula and the SNP, has to be considered in strict comparison to V^(COP)-SNP-IC-S sentences. In example (220), hence, the sentence-final position of *in quoniam so* may be due to the context of the gloss (Latin glossed text: *QUONIAM MISERICORDIA usque EST*⁸..) and to the Latin nature of the NP (see above). *He* and *aicsenugud* should be considered as a unit due to their agreement, as seen in Section 7.1.

All the other V^(COP)-[PN-SNP]-IC-S examples attested in the corpus are given in Table 209.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
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²⁴⁴ On the argumental status of *son* in this gloss see previous chapters.

Ml. 56 ^b 31	<i>issí indalachall</i> [leg. <i>indalachiall</i>] <i>les is indi as emulari insin</i>	that is one of the two meanings in <i>emulari</i> according to him	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{FOC} -IC-IC- [S] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^b 17	<i>is sí ind inducbal lesom in molad</i>	in his opinion the glory is the praise	V ^(COP) -[PN-SNP] _{TOP} -IC- [S] _{FOC}

Table 209. V^(COP)-PN-SNP-IC-S copular clauses.

Out of these 3 examples (including example (220) above), those with focal PN+SNP are 2. In the other case (that is, Ml. 126^b17), it is the sentence-final S to be focal, while the unit PN+SNP is topical (see the Latin: *quæ autem sit ipsa gloria*¹⁹ *sequenti uorsu monstrauit*).

A peculiar example which requires to be counted as an instance of V-initial marked order copular clause is (221).

- (221) *iarsindí· ba mane moch riam*
 after was mane early beforehand
 «after *mane* was “early” beforehand» (Ml. 21^c3).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[S]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}

Ml. 21^c3 is not the first gloss with *mane* discussed in this section (see Ml. 67^a4 in Table 207 above). The characteristic syntax of this clause makes it a *unicum* in the Milan glosses corpus. This is due to the fact that S precedes SNP.

At a first glance, the analysis V^(COP)-S-SNP goes against all the methodological issues concerning copular clauses set as inescapable in Chapter 2 and at the beginning of this Chapter 7: if two NPs occur after a copula, the first should be labelled as SNP, the second as S. Nevertheless, example (221) should be considered an exception to that principle. Consider the whole gloss to which the sentence belongs on the one hand (*.i. adaig tar æsi laíthi .i. intan téte alaithe dichiunn cosnaib gnimaib 7 cosnaib imnedaib gniter and dotét iarum imthanu* [leg. *imthanud*] *aidche tar* [leg. *tara*] *hæsi condermanammarni innaimnedsin imbiam isindlaithiu trichumsanad inna aidche dodiarumorat· 7 isdindfailti bis isinmatin indad* [leg. *indiad*] *inna aidchesin is nomen mane· .i. huare as failith inmenmae isinmatin ocærgiu iarfoscaigiu* [leg. *iarfoscaigiud*] *inna aithche· trimiberar dindaimsir matíndisin ani as mane æperr dindfailti bis indi .i. mane failid iarsindí· ba mane moch riam*, “i.e. night after day, i.e. when the day, with the deeds and the troubles which are done in it, ends, then comes the alternation of night after it so that we may forget those troubles in which we are in the day through the repose of the night that follows it, and it is to the gladness that is in the morning after that night that *mane* is name, i.e. because the mind is glad in the morning upon getting up after the departure of

the night, that which is *mane* is transferred from that morning time, and is given as a name to the gladness that is in it, i.e. *mane* [is] “gladsome” after *mane* was “early” beforehand.”). On the other hand, consider the glossed Latin passage (*MANE ET EXAUDIES UOCER MEAM. mane in Scripturis Diuinis dici tripliciter inuenimus. aut enim ad uelocitatis indicium ponitur, aut ad lætitiã refertur. aut ad tempus certe matutinum.. indicatur autem lætitiã hoc nomine ob hoc quia cum diei tempus in quo curarum fluctus et sollicitudines experimur, noctis uicisitudò {I sus} exciperit⁴, relaxatis otio corporibus et obliuione in locum angoris⁵ admisa ita mane⁶ securi lætique consurgimus, quasi omnis præterita sollicitudo fuerit cum nocte finita..).*

Two issues should be taken into account:

- i. the IS of example (221);
- ii. the syntax of (221).

As far as the IS alignment of example (221) is concerned, the topicality of *mane* can be recognised rather doubtlessly. Even if in the Irish text there are three words in sequence with the same meaning of “early/before”, that is, *mane*, *moch* and *riam*, the *mane* should be set as topic, since it occurs four times in the whole locus *ML. 21^c3* and three times in the glossed Latin passage. In addition, *moch* is focal, given the comparison with the sentence immediately preceding (221) within *ML. 21^c3*: *.i. mane failid*, “*mane* [is] ‘gladsome’”. After TOP *mane*, contrastive focuses are *failid* vs. *moch* in the two sentences, highlighting two different meanings applied to the same word.

If the previous portion of the gloss is taken into account, some light could be shed on the syntax of example (221): *trimiberar dindaimsir matíndisin ani as mane æperr dindfailti bís indi*, “that which is *mane* is transferred from that morning time, and is given as a name to the gladness that is in it”. *Ani as mane* is S of *trimiberar* and is S of *æperr*. The sentence is then followed by the nominal clause *mane failid*, which rather than *ismane failid* should be intended as *mane = failid* (vs. *ba mane moch riam*). Besides a strong topic continuity across these sentences, it seems to me by far more likely to suppose also a S continuity, so that *mane* would be S of both the nominal and the copular clauses which conclude *ML. 21^c3*, rather than a severe change in sentence structure, according to which *mane* would pass from S to SNP in two consecutive clauses. Even more so, the analysis of *mane failid* and *ba mane moch riam* is more solid also in terms of IS, if *mane* is thought to be S and not SNP: as seen in previous sections, S tends to be topical (vs. SNP = focus). Furthermore, if two strictly bound copular identificational clauses show contrastive focus and a long-established common topic, it is no doubt more reasonable that what is compared/contrasted is the SNP, rather than the S,

especially if that topical S is also the topical S of previous sentences with the same universe of discourse.

In the Milan glosses corpus, there are two further cases of $V^{(COP)}-[S]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}$, but they show emphatic Ss. Consider, for example, (222):

- (222) *romsa* *dia*
 I(EMPH) was God
 «I was God» (Ml. 49^b13).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}$

The second example, Ml. 130^d4, is identical to Ml. 49^d13.

These two instances should be considered marked variants of standard $V^{(COP)} SNP S^{EMPH}$, as specified in Section 7.1 (see Example (208) as well as GOI §404).

Quantitative data on V-initial marked word order copular clauses are reported in Table 210.

Analysis	Instances	% out of VMCC ²⁴⁵	% out of CC ²⁴⁶
$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-IC-[S]_{TOP}$	24	63.16%	4.22%
$[V^{(COP)}-SNP-IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$	3	7.89%	0.53%
$V^{(COP)}-SNP-[IC]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$	3	7.89%	0.53%
$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-IC-[S]_{TOP}$	2	5.26%	0.35%
$V^{(COP)}[^{(+EMPH.SUBJ)}]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}$	2	5.26%	0.35%
$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{TOP}-IC-[S]_{FOC}$	1	2.63%	0.18%
$V^{(COP)}-SNP-[IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$	1	2.63%	0.18%
$V^{(COP)}-[S]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}$	1	2.63%	0.18%
$V^{(COP)}-SNP-IC-[S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}$	1	2.63%	0.18%

Table 210. Quantitative analysis of V-initial marked copular clauses.

As is clear from Table 210, $V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-IC-[S]_{TOP}$ sentences are the major category of copular clauses with marked word order attested in the Milan glosses corpus.

7.2.2 Non-V-initial marked order copular clauses

Non-V-initial marked order copular clauses are only 4 in the Milan glosses corpus (10.20% of marked copular clauses). They are all collected in Table 211.

²⁴⁵ VMCC stands for *V-initial Marked Copular Clauses*.

²⁴⁶ CC stands for *Copular Clauses*.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 21 ^c 11	<i>olsodin as gó doib</i>	which, however, is a lie on their part	[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} -[V ^(COP)]-SNP-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 23	<i>olsodin as eres doib</i>	which, however, is a heresy of theirs	[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} -[V ^(COP)]-SNP-IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^b 12	<i>.i. du dia is nomen lesom is indisiu oriens</i>	that is, he considers <i>Oriens</i> here as a name of God	[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-IC-Adv-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 124 ^c 2	<i>.i. dede híroptar bibdaid som</i>	that is, [it was] two things in which they had been guilty	(V ^(COP))-[O] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-[S. ^{EMPH}] _{TOP}

Table 211. Non-V-initial marked copular clauses.

Out of Table 211 sentences, two are S-V^(COP) orders (Ml. 21^c11, Ml. 24^d23), two are IC-V^(COP) orders (Ml. 85^b12, Ml. 124^c2).

As far as S-V^(COP) orders are concerned, both Ml. 21^c11 and Ml. 24^d23 show a construction with *olsodin*.²⁴⁷ Similar constructions were dealt with in the case of marked non-copular clauses (Section 4.2.1). Even though a more straightforward analysis for such clauses sees *olsodin* as the head of a relative clause followed by a relative clause (*as gó doib* in Ml. 21^c11, for example), they are here considered instances of S-initial copular clauses, coherently with the analysis proposed in Section 4.2.1. Also in the case of *olsodin*-copular clauses, the IS of such sentences resembles that of relative constructions, that is, the head of the relative is topical, the whole (copular) relative clause is focal (see Section 4.2.1 and Section 9.1).

In Ml. 85^b12 the IS is the opposite: the sentence-initial relocated IC is focal, while the sentence-final S is topical. This is coherent with what seen in Section 4.2 concerning X-V orders.

Ml. 124^c2 requires deeper attention. The main copular clause is *híroptar* (V^(COP)) *bibdaid* (SNP) *som* (S.^{EMPH}).²⁴⁸ *Dede* is a sentence-initial relocated NP (nominative sg. neut.), recalled by a prepositional relative clause (*híroptar*). *Dede* may well be said to be a clefted item, with non-overt copula (see comparable examples in Section 4.2.3).

Table 20 summarises quantitative data as far as non-V-initial marked copular clauses are concerned.

Analysis	Instances	% out of NVMCC ²⁴⁹	% out of CC ²⁵⁰
[<i>olsodin</i> (S)] _{TOP} -[V ^(COP)]-SNP-IC] _{FOC}	2	50%	0.35%

²⁴⁷ See GOI §477.

²⁴⁸ Note the regular word order of the copular clause in the case of emphatic Ss.

²⁴⁹ NVMCC stands for *Non-V-initial Marked Copular Clauses*.

²⁵⁰ CC stands for *Copular Clauses*.

$[IC]_{\text{FOC}}-V^{(\text{COP})}-\text{SNP}-[S.^{\text{EMPH}}]_{\text{TOP}}$	1	25%	0.18%
$(V^{(\text{COP})})-[O]_{\text{FOC}}-V^{(\text{COP})}-\text{SNP}-[S.^{\text{EMPH}}]_{\text{TOP}}$	1	25%	0.18%

Table 212. Quantitative analysis of V-initial marked copular clauses.

Non-V-initial copular clause are thus very rare in the corpus, even though attested.

7.3 Extra-Clause Constituents in copular clauses

As in Chapter 5, in this section I will deal with instances of left-dislocation at first, instances of right-dislocation at last. The total amount of sentences belonging to this sub-group of copular clauses is 19 (3.34% of copular clauses, 0.42% of total).

7 examples show left-dislocation of S. They are reported in Table 213.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^d 2	<i>.i. air an oen ar fichet</i> [leg. <i>fichit</i>] <i>it trisecht són</i>	that is, for the twenty-one, they are three sevens	$[S]_{\text{TOP}}-V^{(\text{COP})}-[\text{SNP}]_{\text{FOC}}-$ $[S]_{\text{TOP}}$
Ml. 2 ^a 15	<i>.i. astormach hitintud septien</i> <i>istormach són dano hitintud</i> <i>teothis</i>	that is, what is an addition in the translation of the Septuagint, that is an addition in the translation of Theodotio as well	$[S]_{\text{TOP}}-V^{(\text{COP})}-\text{SNP}-[S]_{\text{TOP}}-$ $[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 64 ^d 8	<i>.i. aspeciosus asrubartsom is</i> <i>daresi indí as gloriosus</i>	that is, the <i>speciosus</i> that he mentioned, it is for <i>gloriosus</i>	$[S]_{\text{TOP}}-V^{(\text{COP})}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 90 ^d 17	<i>.i. inna aithissi dombeirtissom</i> <i>fornni batir athissi sidi dano</i> <i>daitsiu adæ</i>	that is, the insults that they used to put upon us, they were also insults to You (sg), O God	$[S]_{\text{TOP}}-V^{(\text{COP})}-\text{SNP}-[S]_{\text{TOP}}-$ $[IC]_{\text{FOC}}$
Ml. 91 ^a 6	<i>cen ar ñ ditin ni daitsiu</i> <i>immurgu. ba aithis daitsiu anisin</i>	however, our being without protection from You (sg); that was a reproach to You (sg)	$[S]_{\text{TOP}}-V^{(\text{COP})}-\text{SNP}-[IC]_{\text{FOC}}-$ $[S]_{\text{TOP}}$
Ml. 91 ^a 20	<i>.i. intí nad tabair digail is nach</i> <i>fitir side</i>	that is, he who does not inflict punishment is (one who) does not know it	$[S]_{\text{TOP}}-V^{(\text{COP})}-[\text{SNP}]_{\text{FOC}}-$ $[S]_{\text{TOP}}$
Ml. 138 ^a 2	<i>.i. cumgabal inna lam hicrosfigill</i> <i>is sí briathar lám insin</i>	that is, the raising of the hands in cross-vigil, that is the word of the hands	$[S]_{\text{TOP}}-V^{(\text{COP})}-[\text{PN-SNP}]_{\text{FOC}}-$ $[S]_{\text{TOP}}$

Table 213. LD Ss copular clauses.

In Ml. 2^a15, the extra-clausal subject is a relative clause. The pronominal subject (*són*), although questionable under argumental terms, retrieves the sentence-initial heavy

constituent [TOP] (.i. *astormach hítintud septien*, “what is an addition in the translation of the Septuagint”), a headless relative clause. As for the IS of the sentence, what is focal is *hítintud teothis*, (this is highlighted by *dano*); concerning the topic, it is the entire clause *astormach hítintud septien* (“what is an addition in the translation of the Septuagint”) which is topical, and this can be understood on the basis of the Latin (*ubi autem stellæ similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebreis uoluminibus additum {ut} nouerit, aequē⁽¹⁵⁾ usque duo puncta iuxta Theodotionis dumtaxat æditionem, qui simplicitate sermonis a lxxta interpretibus non discordat {i. non discrepat}*). In Ml. 64^d8, the predicate following the copula is a PP (*daresi indí as gloriosus*). In Ml. 90^d17 and Ml. 91^a6, what is actually focal is not the SNP but the IC (*daitsiu*) which modifies the SNP. In Ml. 91^a20, in the end, the SNP is a headless relative clause (*nach fitir*).

Regarding the typologies of phoric elements occurring in Table 213’s clauses, coreferential with LD-Ss, they are disciplined as follows:

- i. in 2 out of 7 cases (Ml. 90^d17 and Ml. 91^a20), the phoric element is the anaphoric pronoun *side/sidi/ade*;
- ii. in 2 out of 7 cases (Ml. 91^a6 and Ml. 138^a2), what is coreferent to the LD ECS is a demonstrative;
- iii. in 2 out of 7 cases (Ml. 2^d2 and Ml. 2^a15), the anaphoric element is *són*;
- iv. in 1 out of 7 cases (Ml. 64^d8), zero anaphora of S occurs.

If briefly compared to the nature of phoric items in non-copular LD-S clauses, data from copular clauses display some similarities (*són* was the phoric element in 47.62% of cases, *side/sidi/ade* was the phoric element in 23.81% of cases, a demonstrative was the phoric element in 4.76% of cases).

3 examples in the Milan glosses corpus show left-dislocation of SNP. They are reported in Table 214.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 91 ^c 11	.i. <i>ausús 7 affluentia ithe persain fil iarn a chul</i>	that is, <i>ausus</i> and <i>affluentia</i> , these are the subjects that are behind it	[SNP] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} - [S] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^a 11	.i. <i>inmater sion asmber som issí hierusalem ón</i>	that is, the <i>Mater Sion</i> that he speaks of, it is Jerusalem	[SNP] _{TOP} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} - [S] _{FOC}

Table 214. LD SNPs copular clauses.

A few notes to account for Table 214 should be added. *ML. 91^c11* and *ML. 107^a11* are strictly comparable to examples belonging to Table 205 above, where a focal PN with the value of predicate of the copular clause is coreferential with something occurring earlier in the clause (anaphoric value of PN). Nevertheless, these two glosses are classified as instances of LD, since the NP resumed by PN occurs within the clause, and not outside the clause boundaries as in cases collected in Table 205. This separation is coherent with the methodological criteria followed for non-copular clauses (see Chapter 5). As far as the decision of labelling the LD-NP as SNP, then, this is motivated by the fact that it coreferences a pronominal item functioning as predicate in the copular clause. This may happen because in *ML. 91^c11* and *ML. 107^a11*, both Ss and SNPs are referential (identificational clauses). Phoric elements occurring in sentences collected in Table 214 are in both cases stressed pronouns.

A worth considering example is shown in (223):

- (223) *.i. tairngire flatho diachlaind som* ₇
 that is promise of sovereignty to his posterity and
atindnaccul ade hisión intsainriud
 its giving in Zion in particular
it hæ insin indatairngire
 are they those the two promises
 «that is, the promise of sovereignty to his posterity and the giving of it in Zion in particular, those are the two promises» (*ML. 137^b5*).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{FOC}-V^(COP)-[PN]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}-[SNP]_{TOP}

Example (223) can be compared with Table 213 *ML. 138^a2*. In both cases a sentence-initial NP is followed by a form of the copula + PN + two NPs. In both cases, one of the two NPs belonging to the copular clause is a demonstrative (*insin*). What varies in *ML. 137^b5* with respect to *ML. 138^a2* is the position of this *insin*: in the first case it occurs between the PN and the last NP, in the latter case it occurs in sentence-final position. In *ML. 138^a2*, following the DB analysis, *insin* is the S of the copula and *sí* functions as sub-predicate, analysed together with *briathar*. Accordingly, the sentence-initial NP is resumed by *insin*, thus motivating the label of (LD) S. In *ML. 137^b5*, according to Griffith and Stifter's DB *insin* is again S of the copular clause. As in *ML. 138^a2*, then, it coreferences the sentence-initial NP, so that *tairngire flatho diachlaind som* ₇ *atindnaccul ade hisión intsainriud* ("the promise of sovereignty to his posterity, and the giving of it in Zion in particular") can be analysed as LD S according to the methodological criteria adopted in this thesis. Belonging to the same clause, however, is also the sentence-final NP *indatairngire* ("the two promises"). As it will be seen below, this NP,

which is anticipated by the post-copular PN *hæ*, has to be considered a RD item (SNP in this case) according to the methodological criteria adopted in this thesis. Example (223), hence, is a copular clause showing at the same time a left- and a right-dislocation.

The difference occurring between the instance of RD shown in example (223) and some of the sentences collected in Table 205 above, where PN has cataphoric and not anaphoric value, may not be understood clearly. To better account for this difference, consider in the first place example (224), which constitute a case of RD of S with copular clauses.

- (224) *.i. amal mbés [leg. asmbés] doebraib anisin*
 that is as is habit to Hebrews that
nephthabart innandobriathar isnaasñdisnea
 not putting of the adverbs in the statements
adfiadat
 that (they) make
 «that is, as that is customary to the Hebrews, the not-putting of adverbs into the statements that they make» (Ml. 51^d2).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[S]_{TOP}$

In example (224), the demonstrative *anisin* functions as S of the copular clause (*amal mbés [leg. asmbés] doebraib anisin*, “as that is customary to the Hebrews”). Coreferential with *anisin* is the sentence-final NP *nephthabart innandobriathar isnaasñdisnea adfiadat* (“the not-putting of adverbs into the statements that they make”). As a consequence, example (224) shows a clear case of RD of S with a copular clause.

Things start to be less clear-cut when instances of RD SNP analysed in this way are taken into consideration (Table 215).

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 37 ^c 16	<i>is si íc inna cestae sin les dominus pars rl.</i>	this is the solution to that question for him: <i>dominus pars</i> etc.	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-IC-[SNP]_{FOC}$
Ml. 42 ^b 7	<i>.i. it he caeli lasuide indapstail soscelae asnindedat di</i>	that is, the <i>caeli</i> with him are the apostles of the Gospel, which they set forth	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}$
Ml. 42 ^b 7	<i>is he sonus les fogur soscelai</i>	the <i>sonus</i> with him is the sound of the Gospel	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}$
Ml. 46 ^c 14	<i>it hé intoirthi amal sodin inna hí adfiadatar hitestinnib file is intsalm anuas</i>	these are the fruits in that case, the things that are	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}$

		declared in the texts that are in the psalm above	
Ml. 54 ^a 12	<i>it hé iusti les indí ocubendar hothrogaib innan ingramman 7 innafochaide</i>	for him those who are touched by the miseries of persecutions and tribulations are <i>iusti</i>	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^a 21	<i>.i. is hé forcan duratsom forsnammórchol durigensat anamait fris díltud remdeicsen dá desom</i>	that is, this is the end that he has put to the great wickednesses that his enemies had committed against him: the denial of God's providence for him	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^c 8	<i>ithé tra aprimgeindi lessom hisunt· innaprimiti innatorud</i>	these then are their first-born for him here: the firstlings of the fruits	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC- IC/Adv-[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^d 9	<i>.i. ised inse an ecnae</i>	that is, this is the knowledge	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^d 9	<i>is ed immurgu anecnae híc iarchétbaid alæ [leg. alanalæ] deserc</i>	this, however, the love of God, is the knowledge here according to the opinion of others	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 135 ^c 7	<i>issí inso intfechnige comet timnae ñ dá</i>	this is the felicity, to keep the commandments of God	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC} - [S] _{TOP} -[SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^a 2	<i>issí briathar síle dano a cumgabal suas dochum ñ dá</i>	the word of the eyes, moreover, is the raising of them up to God	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^a 2	<i>issi briathar glunæ 7 chos a filliud fri slechtan</i>	the word of the knees and of the legs is the bending of them in prostration	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [SNP] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^a 2	<i>issí briathar choirp dano intan roichther do dia ocslechtan 7 chrosigill</i>	the word of the body, moreover, is when it is extended to God in prostration and cross-vigil	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} - [SNP] _{FOC}

Table 215. RD SNPs copular clauses.

Post-copular PNs function as predicates of the copular clauses. This analysis is consistent with the one followed in Table 205 above.²⁵¹ In all these cases, then, the first NP

²⁵¹ For example, consider Ml. 123^c8 or Ml. 128^d9: in similar cases, adverbial items such as *tra* or *immurgu* occur between PN and the first NP, supporting the hypothesis that PN and the following NP do not belong to the same constituent. Nevertheless, the position of such adverbial items in the clause does not offer decisive support to clearly understand whether PN belongs to the same constituent of the first or rather of the second NP. Consider e.g. Ml. 138^a2 in Table 215 (first clause): *dano* here occurs after the first NP, but *sí* and *briathar síle* do not belong

occurring after PN has to be considered S of the copular clause. Sentence-final SNPs are anticipated by PNs, thus causing the interpretation of Table 215's examples as instances of RD-SNP clauses.

As seen in the cases of LDs, the only difference occurring between sentences collected in Table 215 and sentences reported in Table 205 where PN has a cataphoric value is that in the case of the former the NP coreferential with PN occurs within the clause boundaries, that is, no clausal separation (such as e.g. *.i.*) separates the copular clauses from the sentence-final NP. Therefore, according to the methodology followed in this work, Table 215 examples have to be considered instances of RD, while Table 205 examples with the same cataphoric value of PN have not to be considered instances of RD.

It may be argued that a similar differentiation is rather artificial – at least as far as copular clauses are concerned. In fact, there is no difference in either morphological or IS terms in Old Irish if the two sentence types are compared. What is more, ECCs with copular clauses are not coherent as for their IS with ECCs with non copular clauses. Chapter 5, regarding the IS of RDs, was concluded with the following words: «the fact that RDs should be intended as topicalising strategies in Old Irish is no doubt confirmed by data. Different cases are indeed either not clear-cut in their analysis, or due to extremely idiosyncratic contexts». Data offered by Table 215 would cause a partial retraction of that statement on the basis of copular clauses data. We saw above how SNPs tend to correlate with the focus of the sentence in unmarked/marked WO copular clauses, while Ss tend to be topical. This IS behaviour collides with the fact that RDs were identified as a topicalising strategy in Chapter 5. On the basis of Table 215 data, in the case of RD-SNP copular clauses, in terms of IS it seems that the inherent focalising value of SNPs prevails on the topicalising one of RDs. All the sentences seen with this syntactic order show focal RD SNPs, with no exceptions. Taking all this into account, talking about ECCs in all cases considered above with copular clauses risks to cause serious bias in the interpretation of examples analysed in Section 7.3. And most examples analysed above as instances of e.g. RDs of SNP (Table 215) or LDs of SNP (Table 214) should be studied together with Table 205 cases instead.

7.4 Cleft and Pseudo-cleft sentences (copular clauses)

The total number of sentences belonging to this sub-group of copular clauses is 28 (4.92% of copular clauses, 0.65% of total). Out of this global amount, cleft sentences are 22 (78.57%), while pseudo-cleft sentences are 6 (21.43%).

As seen in Chapter 6, (pseudo)cleft sentences can be grouped according to the syntactic function played by the clefted item in the pseudo-relative clause. Consider e.g. example (225) below:

to the same constituent (*s'* has cataphoric value). Even more so, in most cases no adverbial item occurs (e.g. Ml. 138^a2 in Table 215, second clause).

- (225) *issi indfortacht diadæ hisuidi as lorc 7 as flesc*
 is she the help of God in that that is staff and that is rod
 «it is the Divine help in it that is staff and rod» (Ml. 45^c9).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-IC-[S]_{TOP}$

In example (225) the pseudo-relative clauses following *issi indfortacht diadæ hisuidi* are copular. *Lorc* and *flesc* in the two copular clauses may either be analysed as SNPs or as Ss of *as*. In this case, they were considered Ss given what occurs in clefted position, that is, *si indfortacht*. We saw in previous sections that, after the copula, a stressed PN may occur, also followed by both a SNP and a S. PN has to be analysed a sub-predicate when it has not phoric value but belongs to the same constituent of SNP. On the basis of one of the major tests on constituency, that is, the permutation test (Van Valin 2001: 112), *si* and *indfortacht* can be said to belong to the same syntactic unit. This behaviour as well as the agreement between *si* and *fortacht* lead to analyse this constituent as SNP of the pseudo-relative clause, and not as S.

Unfortunately, this is the only clear case of clefted SNP attested in the corpus. In a considerable amount of examples, there are no solid reasons to analyse the clefted item as SNP rather than as S. Similar examples attested in the corpus are reported in Table 216.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 24 ^d 30	<i>7 ised insin asinferius amal</i> [<i>sodin</i>]	and it is that which is <i>inferius</i> in that case	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-NP]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-$ [NP] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 27 ^a 9	<i>ithé sidi etinbéso</i>	it is these things which are the custom	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-$ [NP] _{TOP}
Ml. 37 ^c 19	<i>airis he side asfortachtaid damsa</i>	because it is He who is a helper to me	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-$ [NP] _{TOP-IC}
Ml. 44 ^c 26	<i>cenid ed as chetnae náis in</i> <i>homine</i>	although it is not that that is the first age <i>in homine</i>	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-$ [NP] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^d 1	<i>it hesidi at inbésa</i>	it is these things which are the customs	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-$ [NP] _{TOP}
Ml. 146 ^a 1	<i>ithesom ata briathra dé</i>	these are the words of God	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-$ [NP] _{TOP}

Table 216. Cleft sentences with focal clefted NP (unclear if S or SNP).

As far as Ml. 24^d30 is concerned, an hypothetical second analysis is also possible, that is, *asinferius* could modify *insin* with no cleft structure. This however seems not to be the case, given the Latin context of the gloss: *a Iudéis²⁹ quoque psalmus iste in Deum et hominem cui*

{*.i. homini*} *conueniant illa quæ inferius*³⁰ *dicuntur indubitanter accipitur*. Ml. 44^c26 is also interesting: *ed* should here be considered anaphoric (see Section 7.1) and playing the syntactic function of SNP. In Ml. 45^d1, note that *inbésa* is in the genitive, according to the database. This is perhaps due to a Latin influence (*est moris*).²⁵² Another interpretation of the gloss could be to consider *inbésa* a nominative plural, in agreement also with *at*. The two interpretations lead to different analyses: in the first case, genitive singular *inbésa* may be considered SNP of the copular clause, so that *hesidi* would be the S (plain copular clause: *it inbésa sidi*); in the second case, it would be uncertain whether *hesidi* is the SNP, with nom. pl. *inbésa* analysed as S, or vice versa. Among the two options, I followed the second, analysing *inbésa* as a nominative plural.

Differently from what just seen, in certain cleft sentences the fact that the clefted item is the S of the copular clause is clear. Consider example (226):

- (226) *airit* *hesidi ata* *eclais*
 for are they that are Church
 «for it is they who are the Church» (Ml. 65^d19).

Word order and information structure: $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{TOP}$

In example (226), the above-proposed analysis ($V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{TOP}$) was preferred to $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[S]_{TOP}$. This choice was made due to the agreement occurring between *ata* and *hesidi*, which leads to posit a ‘plain’ copular clause underlying the cleft sentence where *eclais* is SNP and (*he*)*sidi* S. This seems reasonable also given the Latin glossed term, that is, (*in*) *quibus*.

All the other instances of clefted Ss are reported in Table 217.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 45 ^b 15	<i>it inna nime ata forcitlaidi</i>	it is the heavens that are teachers	$V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{TOP}$
Ml. 85 ^b 16	<i>.i. isdia astosach duthuistin cech dulo</i>	that is, it is God who is the beginning for the creation of every element	$V^{(COP)}-[S]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{TOP}$
Ml. 100 ^c 10	<i>isheside robu ri</i>	it is he who was king	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{TOP}$

²⁵² Similarly behaves Ml. 27^a9: *inbéso* (gen. sing.); Lat. *moris*.

Table 217. Cleft sentences with focal clefted S.

In Ml. 45^b15, the fact that *inna nime* (“the heavens”) should be analysed as S and not as SNP is clear on the basis of the context (see Old Irish: .i. *inna nime fadesin* †. *it* <ind> *inna nime ata forcitlaidi*, “that is, the heavens themselves, or it is the heavens that are teachers”; see Latin: *ADNUNTIABUNT CÆLI⁵ IUSTITIAM*). In Ml. 85^b16, two analyses are possible for the gloss: V^(COP)-[S]_{FOC}-V^(COP)-[SNP]_{TOP}, which is the one preferred in Table 217, and V^(COP)-[SNP]_{FOC}-V^(COP)-[S]_{TOP}. The former was chosen due to Ml. 44^b10-11. This gloss offers a direct non-cleft case comparable to Ml. 85^b16: *istosach iarum uerba* (“and afterwards *uerba* is the beginning”). *Tosach* is the SNP of the clause, *uerba* is the S. This requires the V^(COP)-[S]_{FOC}-V^(COP)-[SNP]_{TOP} analysis as for Ml. 85^b16, reconstructing a non-cleft version of the gloss as *istosach* [...] *dia*. In the end, in Ml. 100^c10, *heside* is more likely to be intended as S rather than SNP of the corresponding non-cleft clause, since it glosses *Antiocho*.

On the basis of the fact that only one SNP in clefted position is attested in the corpus (if compared to the few but more consistent in quantitative terms examples of clefted S), in the case of Table 216 dubious examples, perhaps the clefted-S analysis can be preferred to the clefted-SNP analysis. Moreover, it is in general more difficult, from a theoretical standpoint, that a SNP could occur in clefted position, rather than an S, in a copular clause. This could happen only in very idiosyncratic contexts, such in the case of (226) above. As a consequence, in the quantitative analysis of cleft sentences with copular clauses performed at the end of this section, Table 216 examples will be counted as instances of clefted S.

To conclude, 8 cleft sentences are attested in the corpus with predicate noun and clefted ICs/Adv. They are collected in Table 218.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 17 ^b 8	.i. <i>airis dodoinacht maic is nomen iesus</i>	that is, for it is to the humanity of the Son that Jesus is the name	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 21 ^c 3	<i>isdindfáilti bis isinmatin indad</i> [leg. <i>indiad</i>] <i>inna aidchesin is nomen mane</i>	it is to the gladness that is in the morning after that night that <i>mane</i> is name	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^a 11	<i>is and is ainm do fructus</i>	it is then that its name is <i>fructus</i>	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 49 ^a 27	.i. <i>is du óirét</i> [leg. <i>óinrét</i>] <i>is ainm les infernum</i> ₇ <i>lacus</i>	that is, it is of one thing that he considers <i>infernum</i> and <i>lacus</i> a name	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^b 1	<i>is dund salm fessin isainm lessom titulus fursundud</i>	it is to the psalm itself that he considers the <i>titulus</i> ‘illumination’ to be the name	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-IC-[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 92 ^d 12	<i>.i. ní do is ainm dугrés pullutum</i>	that is, it is not for that that <i>pollutum</i> is always a name	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 100 ^b 12	<i>robu duthabernacuil robu ainm son arthuus</i>	it was for the Tabernacle that it was a name at first	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-[S] _{TOP} -IC/Adv
Ml. 130 ^c 18	<i>.i. airis suídiu robuthir tairígeri som</i>	that is, for it is herein that it was the Land of Promise	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-[S ^{EMPH}] _{TOP}

Table 218. Cleft sentences with focal clefted IC.

In Ml. 17^b8, the SNP and S of the sentence are in Latin (*nomen iesus*). On the argumental status of (*s*)ón in Ml. 100^b12 see previous chapters. In Ml. 130^c18, what is tagged as IC is a NP in the dative (*suidiu*). On a more general level, what is worth noting in Table 218 is the fact that in every sentence what is topical is the S.

Quantitative data as far as cleft sentences with copular clauses are concerned are summarised in Table 219 below.

Analysis	Instances	% out of CCC ²⁵³	% out of CC ²⁵⁴
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{TOP}	10	52.63%	1.76%
V ^(COP) -[IC/Adv] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-[S] _{TOP}	8	42.11%	1.58%
V ^(COP) -[SNP] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[S] _{TOP}	1	5.26%	0.18%

Table 219. Quantitative analysis of cleft copular clauses.

What seems particularly interesting, out of these results, is that cleft sentences with clefted Ss (but also the only cleft sentence attested in the corpus with clefted SNP) present a few subtypes which retrace those highlighted for non-cleft copular clauses. Out of 10 examples of clefted Ss, in 2 cases Ss are NPs, in 7 cases Ss are PNs, while in one case the S is a PN-S.

To conclude, pseudo-cleft sentences with copular clauses must be taken into consideration. In Table 220 are all the 6 examples of pseudo-cleft sentences (copular clauses) attested in the Milan glosses corpus.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 35 ^d 26	<i>.i. issamlid is insce firinne labrad firian hi cridiu· doaccomul₇ gnim foirbthe</i>	that is, it is in this way that the speech of truth is: to unite righteous speaking in the heart and perfect deed	V ^(COP) -[<i>samlid</i>] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP-[S] _{TOP} -[FOC]

²⁵³ CCC stands for *Cleft Copular Clauses*.

²⁵⁴ CC stands for *Copular Clauses*.

Ml. 92 ^c 5	<i>.i. amal asned as moam serc linnai adchotadsam triar saithar saindiles</i>	is it that which we have most love for: that which we have obtained through our own labor	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) - [SNP] _{TOP} -IC-[FOC]
Ml. 92 ^c 5	<i>ised as moam serc ladia maicc israhél frissarusaithraigestar oc a tuididen [leg. tuididin] di cech imniud</i>	God has most love for it: the Children of Israel, for whom He had labored in leading them from every trouble	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) - [SNP] _{TOP} -IC-[FOC]
Ml. 93 ^b 4	<i>.i. airbaed baicned dusudib soirthe retha</i>	that is, for it was this that was their nature: swiftness of running	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) - [SNP] _{TOP} -[FOC]
Ml. 99 ^b 5	<i>.i. ised asmaamserc latuistuidi [leg. tuistidi] , choimdeda primiti aclainde , primiti atorud</i>	that is, it is that that parents and masters most love: the first-fruits of their children and the first-fruits of their fruits	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) - [SNP] _{TOP} -[FOC]
Ml. 103 ^d 27	<i>is do is ainm aní as arcanum dund lathar fil ladia ocar ñ ditin ni</i>	it is to this that <i>arcanum</i> is a name, to the purpose which is with God in protecting us	V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -SNP- [S] _{TOP} -[FOC]

Table 220. Pseudo-cleft sentences (copular clauses).

In Ml. 35^d26, coreferential with *samlid* is *doaccomul , gnim foirbthe* (“to unite righteous speaking in the heart and perfect deed”). In Ml. 92^c5 (first clause), coreferential with *ed* is the S of the pseudo-relative clause, which is itself a headless relative clause (*adchotadsam triar saithar saindiles*, “that which we have obtained through our own labor”). In Ml. 92^c5 (second clause), coreferential with *ed* is *maicc israhél frissarusaithraigestar oc a tuididen di cech imniud* (“the Children of Israel, for whom He had labored in leading them from every trouble”). In Ml. 93^b4, coreferential with *ed* is the S of the copular clause (*soirthe retha*, “swiftness of running”). *Soirthe retha* is analysed as S of the copular clause given that after the form of the (second) copula (*ba*) occurs *aicned* (“nature”). *Aicned* after the copula has always predicative value in Old Irish. In Ml. 99^b5, coreferential with *ed* is *primiti aclainde , primiti atorud* (“the first-fruits of their children and the first-fruits of their fruits”). In Ml. 103^d27, coreferential with *do* is *dund lathar fil ladia ocar ñ ditin ni* (“to the purpose which is with God in protecting us”).

In 4 out of 6 cases, the cataphoric item is the 3rd singular stressed neuter pronoun *ed*. In 2 cases, the cataphoric item is an oblique pronoun, i.e. an inflected preposition (*do* and *samlid*).

7.5 Further cases of copular clauses

A first relevant group of sentences deserving attention is that of clauses where the suppletive form *ro·gab* (“has taken”), perfect of *gaibid* (“takes”), acquires the meaning of “is”, by the insertion of the 3rd sing. neut. pronoun *-d-* (see GOI §424 and §781). This happens in nasalising relative clauses.

All examples of this attested in the Milan glosses corpus are collected in Table 221.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 30 ^b 11	<i>.i. rondgab coimdiu comacus les diafortacht</i>	that is, that the Lord is near to him in order to help him	<i>ro·gab</i> -[S] _{TOP} -Adj-IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>huare rundgab són and</i>	because it is there	<i>ro·gab</i> -[S] _{TOP} -[IC/Adv] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^d 18	<i>amal rongab hi tosuch aaisndísen</i>	as there is in the beginning of his exposition	<i>ro·gab</i> -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>ciaindas rundgabsat</i>	how they are	[<i>ciá</i>] _{FOC} - <i>ro·gab</i>
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>amal rungab is indi as emulari</i>	as there is in <i>emulari</i>	<i>ro·gab</i> -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^c 5	<i>amal rundgabsat is ind eclais</i>	as they are in the Church	<i>ro·gab</i> -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^a 2	<i>.i. lassaní rundgab lat andeso</i> [leg. <i>andedeso</i>]	that is, when you have these two things	<i>ro·gab</i> -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^d 14	<i>.i. amal rundgab sliab sion andes</i> <i>7 antuaid duchath</i> [leg. <i>dunchathraig</i>] <i>diaditin</i>	that is, as Mount Sion is on the south and the north of the city to protect it	<i>ro·gab</i> -[S] _{FOC} -Adv-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 67 ^d 14	<i>síc rundgabsat aríndathoib du ditin ar n inmedonachni</i>	so are our two sides to protect our inward parts	<i>ro·gab</i> -[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 7	<i>rundgabsat terchoiltisiu indiumsa</i>	(that) your determinations are in me	<i>ro·gab</i> -[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^b 9	<i>.i. amal rundgab inbeuidbart sin</i>	that is, as that live-offering is	[<i>ro·gab</i>] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^c 5	<i>amal rondgab inpopul truagsasa</i> [leg. <i>truagsa</i>]	like is this wretched people	[<i>ro·gab</i>] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^c 12	<i>.i. huare rongab in uilin</i>	that is, because it is in a corner	<i>ro·gab</i> -[IC] _{FOC}

Table 221. Sentences with V *ro·gab* employed as “to be”.

Even at a first glance, from Table 221 it appears that in most of cases in which *ro·gab* is employed as “to be”, it occurs in the place of *at·tá*, rather than *is* (see e.g. Ml. 40^d18, where *ro·gab* has *at·tá*'s locative value; or e.g. Ml. 65^a2, where *ro·gab* occurs instead of *at·tá* in a possessive construction). Nevertheless, in two cases *ro·gab* meaning “to be” seems to replace the copula, and not the substantive verb. Consider, for example, Ml. 30^b11. In this gloss, *ro·gab*

+ adjective *comacus* together form an adjective predicate.²⁵⁵ In Ml. 55^c1, on the other hand, *ro·gab* follows the interrogative *cía*, as normally done by the copula (see Section 3.6).

To summarise these points, consider Table 222.

Use of <i>at·tá</i>	Glosses	Use of <i>is</i>	Glosses
Locative	Ml. 30 ^b 11; Ml. 40 ^d 18; Ml. 56 ^b 33; Ml. 64 ^c 5; Ml. 67 ^d 14; Ml. 67d14; Ml. 74 ^d 7; Ml. 131 ^c 12	Adjective predicate	Ml. 30 ^b 11
Presentative	Ml. 87 ^b 9; Ml. 118 ^c 5	With interrogative <i>cía</i>	Ml. 55 ^c 1
Possessive	Ml. 65 ^a 2		
Total	11	Total	2

Table 222. Analysis of sentences with V *ro·gab* employed as “to be”.

As it is clear on the basis of Table 222, in most cases *ro·gab* replaces intransitive *at·tá*. This tends to happen in locative contexts. Nonetheless, *ro·gab* in presentative as well as possessive clauses also occurs. In two examples, then, *ro·gab* replaces *is*. This is certainly worth-considering, given the different syntactic behaviour of *is* involved in each of the three glosses.

Ro·gab is not the only case in which the syntactic (and semantic) functions of *at·tá* and *is* merge and confuse with each other in the Milan glosses. Consider the sentences collected in Table 223.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 22 ^c 12	<i>.i. xroib mesar forsindigail</i>	that is, so that there may be measure on the punishment	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^d 6	<i>.i. connachonroib nech dimchlaind friaformet [leg. friaforcomet] dimáes</i>	that is, so that there may not be any of my children after me to preserve it	V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 36 ^d 18	<i>.i. comtis cat[h]ra[g] frisellar</i>	that is, so that [the] cities would be turned to the ground	V ^(COP) -[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 14	<i>maip badeacht [leg. manipbadeacht] duatrub indi</i>	if the Godhead were not dwelling in it	V ^(COP) -[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}

²⁵⁵ Note, however, the word order of the clause, where *comacus* does not follow immediately *ro·gab*. This, in addition to the locative semantics of *comacus*, may lead to conclude that the adjective has here an adverbial use, as it happens in other cases in Old Irish.

Table 223. Sentences with unclear behaviour of *is*.

In both *Ml.* 22^c12 and *Ml.* 23^d6, according to Griffith and Stifter's (2013) database, *oroib* is considered a form of the copula (morphologically), even if it functions as if it was a form of *at-tá* (see Chapter 3). In *Ml.* 36^d18, the Text as well as the Translation Notes reported in the database are also worth considering. The Text Notes read: «Ascoli and Thes Pal read *catrai*, with Ascoli suggesting the emendation *cathraig*. The gloss appears to be corrupt, however». The Translation Notes read: «Ascoli suggests the textual emendation, but Thes Pal correctly notes that an adjective would be better for giving a meaning “level to the ground” and would license the copula. In addition, the *e* in *frisellar* is quite unexpected. The entire gloss is problematic». As a matter of fact, *comtis* is recognised as a form of the copula, even though syntactically, in a similar context, we would instead expect a form of the substantive verb. In *Ml.* 127^d14, in the end, the copula [*n*] *ipbad* functions once more as a form of *at-tá*. These four examples, although a minority, clearly confirm what was highlighted in previous chapters: at some point in the evolution of the language, the boundaries between *is* and *at-tá* got blurred, and one verb happened to be employed instead of the other under certain circumstances.

For a further example, consider sentence (227):

- (227) *.i* *atá* *dia* *atach* *ni dúinni* *ais* *dethrebo*
 that is is God refuge for us folk of two tribes
 honaib *comfulidib* *echtrannaib*
 from the kinsmen alien
 «that is, God is a refuge for us of the Two Tribes from alien kinsmen» (*Ml.* 66^d1).

Word order and information structure: V-[SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}

Example (227) seems to adhere to a copular clause type, with a S and a SNP.²⁵⁶ Sustaining this hypothesis is also the Latin glossed passage, which looks like a nominal yet copular clause: *DEUS NOSTER REFUGIUM*. What occurs in the Irish text instead of the copula is however a form of the substantive verb (*atá*). Therefore, it would not be only *is* which occurs in context where we would expect *at-tá*, as seen in Table 223, but the contrary would be attested as well. Unfortunately, no other similar example is attested in the Milan glosses corpus. Perhaps a specific analysis of similar mixtures of both semantics and syntax of *is* and

²⁵⁶ *Atach* may also be analysed as an apposition of *dia*. The meaning of this sentence would accordingly be “that is, there is God as a refuge for us of the Two Tribes from alien kinsmen”, so that *at-tá* would maintain its standard sense.

at·tá carried out in a wider corpus of Old Irish may result helpful to improve the understanding of this phenomenon.

8. Nominal Clauses

Nominal clauses result, in most cases, from the omission of the copula in copular clauses. This fact was noted also by Thurneysen:

«The copula is often omitted, especially when it would have been a form of the 3rd person indicative. This occurs regularly in singular interrogative clauses [...]; other forms are omitted only in a principal clause. Such clauses do not, however, constitute a separate class but are constructed exactly like those in which the copula is expressed» (GOI §818).

To understand immediately what is described in this chapter, consider example (228):

- (228) *.i. cenelae ciuil inso*
 that is kind of musical instrument this
 «that is, this a kind of musical instrument» (Ml. 2^b14).

Example (228) can be reduced to a copular clause (*iscenelae ciuil inso*), even if the copula (3rd sing. pres. ind.) is omitted. This, however, does not affect the sentence structure. The NP *cenelae ciuil* functions as predicate of the clause (focal SNP), while sentence-final *inso* functions as topical S of the clause. In fact, this behaviour is the one we would expect from a standard copular clause, with no difference.

Similar nominal clauses are frequent in the Milan glosses corpus. Table 224 collects all the examples attested.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^b 16	<i>.i. tob dihumu fochosmailius nadarcae side</i>	that is, it (is) a trumpet of bronze in the shape of a horn	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 2 ^b 17	<i>cenelae ciuil inso</i>	this a kind of musical instrument	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 2 ^d 2	<i>.i. secht nen nadman[leg. nernadman] són file isindsaltair</i>	that is, those are the seven bonds that are in the Psalter	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 16 ^d 3	<i>trop inso</i>	this (is) a figure of speech	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 18 ^b 1	<i>trop les inso</i>	this (is) a figure of speech for him	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 19 ^d 11	<i>iarrestimin inso</i>	this (is) the conclusion of the period	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

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Ml. 22 ^c 1	<i>.i. intamail inso frinech tarsatochuirther sciath</i>	that is, this (is) a comparison to one over whom is placed a shield	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 22 ^d 20	<i>medon testimin inso</i>	this (is) the middle of the period	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 23 ^c 10	<i>trop inso</i>	this (is) a figure of speech	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 24 ^d 28	<i>.i. indeacht s3n araroiat indoinacht</i>	that is, namely, the divinity which assumed the humanity	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 29 ^a 14	<i>inna toracht s3n</i>	that is, this (is) the progresses	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^a 9	<i>.i. ainim tr3n son</i>	that is, this (is) a substantive	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^c 16	<i>briathar d3e inso</i>	this is the Word of God	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 30 ^d 19	<i>lechosmailius</i> [leg. <i>lethchosmailius</i>] <i>lesom inso trischotarsnae</i> [leg. <i>triachotarsnae</i>]	he (has) a half-comparison through its opposite	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC- [S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 31 ^b 7	<i>.i. acht inn(e) (i)nso (ad)f3t</i>	that is, but this, which he says, (is) the sense	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 33 ^d 10	<i>.i. nem insin nad chonricthar</i>	that is, that is a venom that cannot be healed	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 34 ^b 19	<i>.i. hiroin son</i>	that is, this (is) irony	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^c 7	<i>iarrestimin inso</i>	this (is) the conclusion of a period	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^d 25	<i>iarrestimin inso</i>	this (is) the conclusion of a period	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 40 ^a 14	<i>sain tintud les som anisiu</i>	he has here a different translation	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 42 ^d 1	<i>iarrestimin inso</i>	this is the conclusion of a period	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 44 ^c 9	<i>hiroin s3n· immurgu</i>	that is irony however	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^c 9	<i>trop tra lesom inso</i>	he has then here a metaphor	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 45 ^d 2	<i>debe tint3da anisiu lesom</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 46 ^c 5	<i>debe tintuda anisiu</i>	this is a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 47 ^a 14	<i>debe tintuda les inso· frisan3 as odiui eclesiam malignantium</i>	he has here a difference of rendering from <i>odivi eclesiam malignantium</i>	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 47 ^c 16	<i>debe tintuda inso lesom</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 50 ^b 10	<i>trachtad lesem anisiu</i>	he has a commentary here	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 50 ^c 20	<i>cosmailius lesom inso</i>	he has a comparison here	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 50 ^d 3	<i>trachtad lessom inso forsan· ideo fil in psalmo ideo</i>	he has here a commentary on the <i>ideo</i> which is in the psalm	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 51 ^b 10	<i>aithesc tra lesom insin apersin d3e</i>	he has then here a reply in the person of God	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 53 ^c 6	<i>.i. debe tintuda inso</i>	that is, this [is] a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 53 ^c 14	<i>.i. imchomarc insin huile</i>	that is, all that [is] a question	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 54 ^c 3	<i>debe tintuda inso lessom</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 54 ^c 35	<i>.i. trop ebraide inso lesom intsainriud</i>	that is, he has here a Hebrew figure in particular	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC

Ml. 54 ^d 19	<i>debe tintuda inso</i>	this [is] a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 55 ^a 14	<i>interiacht ebraide inso</i>	this is a Hebrew interjection	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^a 13	<i>freacrae la duaíd anísiu</i>	this here is an answer by David	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 56 ^a 24	<i>pes comthururas les tra fonindasa isindisiu</i>	in his view, <i>pes</i> , then, [is] an incursion in this way here	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC-IC
Ml. 56 ^b 6	<i>aicme insin difilistinib romarbsat saul</i>	that [is] a tribe of the Philistines that slew Saul	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 56 ^b 32	<i>trachtad lesom anisiu forsaní a [leg. as] zelaueris</i>	he has here a commentary on <i>zelaueris</i>	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>ét són inmí nad techtai féin, bís lannach naile</i>	[it is] jealousy about a thing that you (sg) do not possess and that some other has	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>ét són inmí notechtai féin</i>	that is jealousy about a thing that you yourself (sg) possess	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 56 ^b 37	<i>aith beim forsindib ciallaib fil isindemulari. lesom inso</i>	he has here a recapitulation of the two meanings that are in <i>emulari</i>	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 57 ^a 9	<i>debe tindhuda inso lesom</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 60 ^c 5	<i>debe canone lesom anisiu</i>	he has here a difference of text	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 61 ^c 7	<i>debe tintuda anísiu</i>	this [is] a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^a 22	<i>oin dinaib aicsenaib inso</i>	this [is] one of the causes	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 62 ^b 24	<i>debe tintuda inso lesom</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 62 ^c 3	<i>sechis inonn óin lesom an dede nisiu</i>	for these two things are one and the same for him	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 65 ^c 8	<i>debe tintuda inso beus</i>	this too is a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 66 ^b 9	<i>debe tintuda inso lesom</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 66 ^d 19	<i>debe tinda [leg. tintuda] inso lesom</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 67 ^d 3	<i>debe tintuda inso</i>	this [is] a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^b 5	<i>trachtad lesom anisiu síis</i>	he has here below a commentary	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^c 14	<i>insin ciall ainsedo illdai duerbirt as ingerint fil fordeil [leg. fordeilb] ainsedo</i>	the sense of the accusative plural is to be taken from the gerund which is in the form of an accusative	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 68 ^d 9	<i>dichanoin anisiu immelle centrachtad foraib</i>	this is two texts together without a commentary upon them	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 69 ^b 6	<i>.i. briathar inso dofulled issinsalm</i>	that is, this [is] a verb to be added to the psalm	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 73 ^d 8	<i>debe tintuda lessom anisiu</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}

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Ml. 74 ^c 9	<i>trachtad lesom anisiu forsa expectantes fil riam</i>	he has here a commentary on the <i>expectantes</i> which is preceding	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 75 ^d 4	<i>.i. dabraithir iudas , ionathan</i>	that is, Judas and Jonathan (were) two brothers	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 76 ^d 12	<i>coimchlud canone lesom anisiu</i>	he has here an exchange of Scripture text	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 80 ^d 1	<i>debe tintuda inso</i>	this [is] a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 82 ^a 4	<i>debe tintuda lesom anisiu</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 84 ^c 18	<i>debe tintuda inso</i>	this [is] a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^a 1	<i>sainchanoni [leg. -chanoín] lesom anisiu</i>	he [has] a different text	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 85 ^b 13	<i>trachtad lesom anisiu forsan ad orientem</i>	he has here a commentary on <i>ad orientem</i>	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 85 ^c 1	<i>trop són</i>	this [is] a figure of speech	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^b 2	<i>saintintud inso</i>	this [is] a peculiar rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^c 5	<i>.i. imned leu buith hisoinmigi donaib hí ingreintis duaid</i>	that is, that those who used to persecute David should be in prosperity was grievous to them	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 87 ^d 7	<i>debe tintuda inso</i>	this [is] a difference of reading	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^d 8	<i>.i. epert asingaib fir inso</i>	that is, this [is] an expression that exceeds truth	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 93 ^a 19	<i>.i. trop lesom anisiu</i>	that is, he has here a figure of speech	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^b 2	<i>trachtad inbeus [leg. inso beus] forsan iustitias iudicabo remiærbar</i>	this is still a commentary on the (phrase) <i>iustitias iudicabo</i> which he has used above	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 94 ^c 13	<i>aithbeim forais lesom anisiu forauini meri· remiærbart</i>	he has here a recapitulation of the <i>vini meri</i> that he has spoken of before	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 98 ^b 5	<i>aithiirech cheitbada lesom anisiu</i>	he has here a correction of sense	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 103 ^d 22	<i>.i. debe tintuda anisiu</i>	that is, this here [is] a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 104 ^b 3	<i>remuar inso intestimín archiunn</i>	this [is] a preparation for the following text	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 107 ^d 7	<i>trop lesom anisiu chíroin imchomairc</i>	he has here a figure, with irony of interrogation	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 112 ^a 6	<i>trop aile inso</i>	this [is] another figure	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 113 ^c 3	<i>trachtad lesom anisiu foratitul</i>	he has here a commentary on its title	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 113 ^c 10	<i>trop lesom beus anisiu</i>	he still has a figure here	[SNP] _{FOC-IC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 114 ^a 10	<i>.i. hiroín ón</i>	that is, this [is] irony	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 115 ^b 5	<i>debe tintuda inso lesom</i>	he has here a difference of rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC

Ml. 117 ^a 4	<i>canoin inso</i>	this [is] text	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^b 13	<i>saintintúd anísiu</i>	this [is] a different rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 7	<i>saintintud inso</i>	this [is] a different rendering	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 12	<i>cetane accuis inso</i>	this [is] the first cause	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 14	<i>accuis aile ón</i>	this [is] the second cause	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 118 ^d 16	<i>trisaccuis anísiu</i>	this [is] the third cause	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 119 ^a 15	<i>canóin anísiu</i>	this [is] text	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 120 ^d 8	<i>medontestimin anísiu</i>	this [is] the middle of a period	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 124 ^d 5	<i>tintúd chírini anísiu</i>	this [is] Jerome's version	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 125 ^d 8	<i>epert asingaib fir anísiu</i>	this [is] an expression that exceeds truth	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 126 ^c 20	<i>canoin són</i>	this [is] text	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 131 ^c 14	<i>beim foirais lessom anísiu foraremeperthe asrubart riam</i>	he has here a fundamental doctrine of the aforesaid, which he has said before	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 132 ^c 6	<i>canóin centrachtad inso lessom</i>	he has here text without commentary	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 135 ^b 5	<i>canoin anísiu</i>	this [is] text	[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^b 4	<i>etarrogu canone lesom anísiu</i>	he has here an alternative text	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}

Table 224. Nominal clauses with focal SNP and topical S.

Ml. 2^d2 is worth considering because it has a relative clause (*file isindsaltair*) not immediately following its head NP (*secht nen nadman*[leg. *neradman*]). This brings us to focus on the case of argumental (*s*)ón in the context of nominal clauses. Instances of argumental (*s*)ón are quite widespread in the case of nominal clauses (see Ml. 24^d28, Ml. 29^a14, Ml. 30^a9, Ml. 34^b19, Ml. 44^c9, Ml. 56^b33, Ml. 85^c1, Ml. 114^a10, Ml. 118^d12, Ml. 126^c20). Differently from other cases, given the demonstrative force conveyed by (*s*)ón, its argumental status results less questionable. This seems supported by the great amount of nominal clauses showing a structure close to that of *són*-nominal clauses listed above, but with a demonstrative pronoun occurring instead of *són*: Ml. 16^d3, Ml. 19^d11, Ml. 35^c7, Ml. 35^d25, etc.

A syntactic feature of nominal clauses occurring frequently in Table 224 examples is that exemplified by Ml. 22^c1. In this gloss, the sentence-final IC (*frinech tarsatochuirther sciath*) modifies the SNP *intamail*, and not the S (*inso*), which occurs immediately before it. The same thing happens in Ml. 30^d19 (the IC *trischotarnsnae* modifies the SNP *lechosmailius*), in Ml. 56^b6 (the partitive IC *difilistinib romarbsat saul* depends on *aicme*, and not on *insin*, which is the constituent it follows), in both clauses listed in Table 224 from Ml. 56^b33 (the IC *inní nad techtai féin* / *bís lannach naile* modifies the SNP *éit*; the IC *inní notechtai fein* modifies the SNP *éit*), in Ml. 68^d9 (the IC *immelle centrachtad forabi* modifies the SNP *dichanoin*), in Ml. 69^b6 (*do* + verbal noun modifies the SNP *briathar*), in Ml. 74^c9 (the IC *forsa*

expectantes fil riam modifies the SNP *trachtad*), in Ml. 85^b13 (the IC *forsan ad orientem* modifies the SNP *trachtad*), in Ml. 94^b2 (the IC *forsan iustitias iudicabo remiærbart* modifies the SNP *trachtad*), in Ml. 94^c13 (the IC *forauini meri· remiærbart* modifies the SNP *aithbeim forais*), in Ml. 107^d7 (the IC *ohiroin imchomairc* modifies the SNP *trop*) and in Ml. 113^c3 (the IC *foratitul* modifies the SNP *trachtad*). Analogously, a whole relative clause can occur in the place of an IC but in an identical syntactic structure. This happens in Ml. 24^d28 (the relative clause *araroiat indoinacht* modifies the SNP *indeacht*) and in Ml. 33^d10 (the relative clause *nad chonricthar* modifies the SNP *nem*). In the end, a sentence-final modifier dependent on a SNP may also happen to be a NP in the genitive case (see Ml. 104^b3, where the NP in the genitive *intestimin archiunn* modifies the SNP *remuar*).

A further point to consider concerns the position of ICs occurring in Table 224 clauses. What we would expect in such cases is that ICs would occur in sentence-final position. In the slight majority of cases (18 vs. 17), ICs are not sentence-final instead, but they occur between the SNP and the S. There seems to be no relevant differences at any linguistic level between the two categories. The type of IC which mostly occurs in similar cases is the inflected preposition *la*. 11 cases show both pre-S and post-S IC occurring at the same time. Note that in 7 out of 11 cases, the sentence-final IC is in Latin.

There are only three cases in the Milan glosses database where a topical SNP is followed by a focal S. For an example, see (229):

- (229) *indrún* ₇ *indetercert·* *fil* *hisuidib*
the mystery and the interpretation that are in them
ní *bed* *mmaircide*[leg. *immaircide*] *frisannuiadnise*
something was appropriate to the New Testament
«the mystery and the interpretation which are in them (are) something that
would have been suited to the New Testament» (Ml. 2^d2).

Word order and information structure: [SNP]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}

The topical status of the SNP is triggered by the relative clause which modifies *indrún* ₇ *indetercert*, that is, *fil hisuidib*. As a matter of fact, the actual topic of the clause is the 3rd plural pronoun occurring in *hisuidib*.

The two other examples attested in the corpus both belong to Ml. 120^c5: *.i* [*benedic*]_{TOP} [*a tosach*]_{FOC} [*benedic*]_{TOP} [*adiad*]_{FOC} (“that is, *benedic* is its beginning, *benedic* is its end”).

A frequent nominal clause sentence type is exemplified by (230):

- (230) *.i. cluasa dá diarneitsecht*
 that is ears of God for our hearing
 «that is, God's ears (are) for hearing us» (Ml. 24^a18).

Word order and information structure: [S]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

In this sentence, a NP in the nominative is placed at the beginning of the clause as topic. It is then followed by an IC conveying focal information. The alignment of the clause is thus theme-rheme.

All similar examples attested in the corpus are reported in Table 225.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 28 ^c 12	<i>7 gau 7 fomraith fusuidiu calléic</i>	and, however, falsehood and treachery [being] under it	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^c 23	<i>sancitís [leg. sanctís] linni tar áesi incethardai seo</i>	we (have) <i>sanctís</i> for these four things	[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 16	<i>.i. cachla fers and diadhuath 7 gráin</i>	that is, every second verse in it [is] of terror and horror	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 16	<i>infers aile dí huaisletu</i>	the other verse [is] of elevation	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^b 4	<i>meas frisodain</i>	<i>meas</i> [goes] with it	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 10-11	<i>intliucht tra 7ricci sin</i>	(that is) then the sense that far	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^a 7	<i>.i. petra les ar intrediusa síis</i>	that is, according to him, <i>petra</i> [is] for these three things below	[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^a 12	<i>insalmso ar inpopopul [leg. inpopul] duchoid láioniam for longais res ingrainmim [leg. resind ingrainmim]</i>	this psalm [is] for the people that went with Onias into exile before the persecution	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^b 7	<i>sic facitur fosodin</i>	<i>sic facitur</i> [is] in accordance with that	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^b 4	<i>moltaí nui ingainti nadrocheta riam dogabail doib dano</i>	new remarkable praises that had not been sung before [are] to be sung by them then	[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 144 ^c 3	<i>.i. in loc lesom híc arnaib aitrebthidib</i>	that is, here he (has) the place for the inhabitants	[S] _{TOP} -IC-[IC] _{FOC}

Table 225. Nominal clauses with topical S and focal IC.

There are also a few cases of S IC nominal clauses in which the IS of the sentence is different from that seen in Table 225. They are all reported in Table 226.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 44 ^b 10-11	<i>intliucht tra aricci sin</i>	(that is) then the sense that far	[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 46 ^c 3	<i>trachtad les immelle forsinda thestimin remepthi</i> [leg. <i>remeperthi</i>]	he has a commentary on the two aforesaid texts together	[S] _{FOC} -IC-[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 74 ^a 6	<i>.i. briathra abelaichthi leu</i>	that is, they have flattering words	[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}
Ml. 88 ^d 5	<i>.i. mencigiud indi s6n</i>	that is, iteration [is] in it	[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}

Table 226. Nominal clauses with focal S and topical IC.

Note, in Ml. 44^b10-11, the use of *aricci*, which originally was a verb but then developed a prepositional meaning in certain constructions, as this one.

In all these four cases, the sentence-final IC is topical, and what is focal is the S. This is perhaps due to the fact that the syntax underlying that of sentences in Table 226 is the same as with cases of leftward rhematisation of S, except for the fact that the copula is omitted (see Section 4.2).

What is interesting of the S-IC sentence-type is that it overturns the sentence syntax we would expect on the basis of what seen in Chapter 7, that is, (V^(COP))-IC-S. It would however be false claiming that no IC S nominal clauses are attested in the Milan glosses. They are all reported in Table 227 below.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 24 ^d 30	<i>7 <diade> diadeacht anail</i>	and the other (is) of his divinity	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 27 ^d 24	<i>.i. cenfornaidm metarde s6n</i>	that is, that (is) without metrical bond	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^d 27	<i>imbriathraib inso</i>	this (is) in words	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 35 ^d 28	<i>ingn6m inso immurgu</i>	this, however, (is) in deed	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 47 ^c 17	<i>duthracha</i> [leg. <i>duthrachtad</i>] <i>lesom anisiu forsauissitam f6l in psalterio</i>	he has this in order to comment on the <i>uisitem</i> which is in the psalter	[IC] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 55 ^e 8	<i>.i. fodiltud inso</i>	that is, this [is] in negation	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^b 4	<i>fumoysi doibsom andeso</i> [leg. <i>andedeso</i>]	these two things [happened] to them under Moses	[IC] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 63 ^c 11	<i>fors6 non egridieris lesom 6nisiu</i>	he has here (a commentary) on <i>non egridieris</i>	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 99 ^b 7	<i>.i. dichlaind cham indegiptacdai</i>	that is, the Egyptians (are) of the race of Ham	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 117 ^c 6	<i>dugnimaib an6 tu6s</i>	that above (is) of actions	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 117 ^c 6	<i>dupersannaib anisiu s6s</i>	this below (is) of persons	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Ml. 121 ^c 12	<i>.i. Iadáini claindab</i> [leg. <i>clandad</i>] <i>lugbart</i>	that is, to men [belongs] the planting of gardens	[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 138 ^c 10	<i>.i. arathis leusom anintamail fria</i> <i>ndeú</i>	that is, comparing them to their gods [is] as a reproach for them	[SNP] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP}

Table 227. Nominal clauses with focal IC and topical S.

On the argumental status of *són* in Ml. 27^d24 see previous chapters.

One case of [IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP} deserves greater consideration, namely (231):

- (231) *.i. arici se canoín ind ebraidi*
 that is until it text of the Hebrew
 «that is, until here (is) the text of the Hebrew (version)» (Ml. 136^a13).

Word order and information structure: [IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}

The IC in (231) is actually the constituent *arici se*. The IS of the gloss can be understood if a metalinguistic perspective is adopted. The “here” the Irish is referring to emerges on the basis of the Latin context: *Hebreus dicit: quia tecum est propitiatio, cum terribilis sis*¹², *sustenui Dominum, sustenuit anima mea, et uerbum eius exspectauit*¹³. *Canoín ind ebraidi* can then be said to be topical given the same Latin passage (bold font).

Example (232) is then worth considering:

- (232) *sanctis cosíndóinchchel* [leg. *cosíndóinchel*] *nammá asreil*
 sanctis with the one sense only that is clear
₇ *as adblom as*
 and that is ready from it
 «*sanctis* with the one sense only, which is clear and ready from it» (Ml. 37^a10).

Word order and information structure: [SNP]_{TOP}-[IC]_{FOC}

The syntax of example (232) is superficially similar to that of the sentences reported in Table 225: after a (topical) NP (*sanctis*), a (focal) IC occurs (*cosíndóinchel nammá asreil* ₇ *as adblom as*). Nevertheless, the theme-rheme (that is, non-copular) structure of the examples in Table 225 is different from the structure of (232). In this last case, the NP *sanctis* plays the syntactic function of SNP of a copular clause with anaphoric (zero anaphora) S. The S of the clause, translated with English “it”, can be inferred by the context of the sentence within the same gloss. Compare example (232) with the copular clause analysed in Chapter 7 Table 197,

which comes from the same locus: *.i. huare is sanctis conoincheill and*, “that is, because it is *sanctis* with one sense in it”. The analysis proposed for this sentence in Chapter 7 was $V^{(COP)}-[SNP-IC]_{FOC}$. In example (232), the clause we are dealing with is the same, with no copula.

All the other sentences with a SNP-IC structure attested in the Milan glosses are collected in Table 228.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 31 ^a 24	<i>.i. briathra aildi lacechtar de frialaile</i>	that is, each of them has pleasant words for the other	$[SNP]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP-IC}$
Ml. 31 ^a 24	<i>7 menmae togaise calleic lacechta[r] de</i>	and nonetheless each of them has a mind of deceit	$[SNP]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 39 ^b 2	<i>.i. gude hi cechtar de</i>	that is, (it is) prayer in each of the two	$[SNP]_{FOC-IC}$
Ml. 50 ^b 12	<i>debe tintuda les</i>	he has a difference of rendering	$[SNP]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}$
Ml. 50 ^d 6	<i>dluthad lesom forculu ind· ideo fil isindsalm</i>	he has a reference back to the <i>ideo</i> which is in the psalm	$[SNP]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP-Adv}$
Ml. 59 ^b 10	<i>.i. accobur lesom arthruimmai innafochoda hirobae</i>	that is, [it was] a desire for him on account of the heaviness of the affliction in which he was	$SNP-IC-[IC]_{FOC}$

Table 228. Nominal clauses with SNP + IC.

In Ml. 50^d6, the NP in the genitive (*ind· ideo fil isindsalm*) is governed by the SNP (*dluthad*).

Nominal clauses with SNP + IC show different possibilities in terms of IS. In 4 out of 7 cases a focal SNP is followed by a topical IC (Ml. 31^a24, Ml. 50^b12, Ml. 50^d6); in one case it is the SNP that is topical and the IC is focal (Ml. 37^a10); in one case the focal element is the SNP with an anaphoric (zero anaphora) topical S (Ml. 39^b2); in one case the focal element is the IC with an anaphoric (zero anaphora) topical S (59^b10).²⁵⁷

A last major category of nominal clauses is represented by example (233):

- (233) *inunn· óin a confidet 7 á sperabo*
 same one the confidet and the sperabo
 «*confidet* and *sperabo* [are] one and the same» (Ml. 75^a7).

Word order and information structure: $[Adj]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

²⁵⁷ In this case, the element to which zero anaphora refers is Lat. *mortis* (*post mortalitatis commemorationem sub occasione desideratae mortis*³⁰ *inlatam consequenter de uiuentium uanitate deseruit* [leg. *disseruit*] *{narrauit} quæ oratio et laboranti {iusto} et uim facienti {persequutori} competeret {conueniret}*).

Example (233) is considered a nominal clause since we would expect a copula preceding *inunn óin*.²⁵⁸ This is not, however, a case that can be assimilated to copular clauses according to the principles set out in this thesis, since the adjectival predicate would constitute a V according to the guidelines followed in this work (see Chapter 2).

Other similar sentences attested in the Milan glosses are collected in Table 229.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 71 ^c 1	<i>.i. trummu á peccad archách nachmod formberat</i>	that is, their sin is heavier and heavier as they increase	[Adj] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC-IC
Ml. 80 ^b 4	<i>.i. sechis morson ánandach durigensat fris</i>	that is, namely, great is the iniquity that they have wrought against him	[Adj] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 84 ^a 3a	<i>.i. indaas toirthech són</i>	that is, than it is fruitful	[Adj] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 89 ^d 18	<i>dlúth side didiu cenmuir dia etscarad [leg. etarscarad] fochosmailius n inse</i>	it [is] compact, then, because there is no sea to separate it like islands	Adj-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^d 16	<i>.i. reil foram brethir on ánandach immerodaisset [leg. immerordaisset]</i>	that is, the iniquity which they have meditated is clear in their word	[Adj] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^b 12	<i>.i. trén , mór inchairdine dorigni [leg. dorignis] friu hitossuch</i>	that is, strong and great (was) the covenant which You (sg) had made with them at first	[Adj] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 91 ^c 19	<i>.i. ingnad lesom cutuim doib lammeit inna soinnmige hirobatar</i>	that is, with the greatness of the prosperity in which they had been, that they should fall is a marvel to him	[Adj] _{FOC} -IC-[S] _{TOP} -IC
Ml. 102 ^a 10-11	<i>.i. erlam doib a erchellad , afordiucclaimm [leg. afordiucclimm] duchách</i>	that is, its plundering and its devouring by everyone [is] prepared for them	[Adj]-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
Ml. 119 ^d 8	<i>.i. lugu inpianad indaas asindroillisseinni</i>	that is, the punishment [is] less than we have deserved	Adj-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^c 15	<i>.i. sainredach dodia inpopul sin sech na huli doini olchena</i>	that is, that people [is] peculiar to God beyond all other men	[Adj]-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP} -IC

Table 229. Predicate adjective clauses with no copula.

In Ml. 80^b4, coherently with the choice made in all other cases, *sechis* is not analysed as a form containing the copula. On the argumental status of *són* in Ml. 84^a3a, see previous

²⁵⁸ On the origin of *inonn* see GOI §825.

chapters. In *ML. 90^d16*, the adjective *reil* and the IC *foram brethir* are considered belonging to the same constituent (Adj). In the end, in *ML. 119^d8*, what is tagged as IC is a clause itself (*indaas asindroillissemní*).

In terms of IS, Table 229 sentences show different alignments:

- i. in 6 out of 10 cases, after a focal Adj there is a topical S. This IS type is comparable to V-S clauses, with focal V and topical S (see Section 3.1.3);
- ii. in 2 out of 10 cases, what is topical is the S and what is focal is the IC. This IS type is comparable to V S IC clauses with topical S and focal IC (see Section 3.2.1);
- iii. in 2 out of 10 cases, after a focal Adj+IC, a topical S occurs. This IS type is comparable to V IC S clauses with focal V+IC and topical S (see Section 4.1.1).

Further cases of nominal clauses attested in the Milan glosses corpus are reported in Table 230.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
<i>ML. 34^c18</i>	<i>cisí chomairle éim</i>	what indeed (is) the counsel?	<i>cía</i> -[PN-SNP] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 35^c33</i>	<i>.i. ciadune indinniseo</i>	that is, who is the man of this sort?	[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}
<i>ML. 51^c28</i>	<i>.i. hóssi insin sonartae nime</i>	that is, even that [is] the strength of heaven	[PN] _{FOC} -[SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 54^c30</i>	<i>osmese octaircitul cech maith doibsom</i>	though I [was] prophesying every good to them	[PN] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}
<i>ML. 131^b10</i>	<i>.i. osnÍ fáilti</i>	that is, and we [are] glad	[PN] _{TOP} -[Adj] _{FOC}

Table 230. Further cases of nominal clauses.

In *ML. 34^c18*, after interrogative *cía*, the focal unit PN-SNP occurs. This sentence can be considered doubtlessly similar to a copular clause $V^{(COP)}\text{-}[PN\text{-}SNP]$ (see Section 7.1). This is the reason why (see Section 3.6) *cía* is not included in the focus. *ML. 35^c33* is once more a question introduced by *cía* (see Section 3.6), but with a predicate noun. *ML. 51^c28* can be compared to copular clauses with PN, SNP and S, where PN and S agree (see Section 7.1). *ML. 54^c30* can be compared to nominal clauses listed in Table 225 above, in which the theme-rheme organisation of the clause is recognisable. The only difference, in the case of this gloss, is that the sentence-initial topical referent is not a NP (S), but an emphasised tonic pronoun introduced by the topical marker *ós*. In *ML. 131^b10*, lastly, a similar sentence structure is attested. After a sentence-initial topical emphasised tonic pronoun, a focal adjective occurs.

Table 231 summarises quantitative data concerning nominal clauses.

Analysis	Instances	% out of NC ²⁵⁹
[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	100	62.52%
[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	14	8.75%
[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	11	6.88%
[Adj] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	8	5%
[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	4	2.50%
[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	4	2.50%
[SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	3	1.86%
Adj-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	2	1.25%
[SNP] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.62%
[SNP] _{FOC} -IC	1	0.62%
SNP-[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.62%
[Adj-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	1	0.62%
<i>cía</i> -[PN-SNP] _{FOC}	1	0.62%
[<i>cía</i>] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	1	0.62%
[PN] _{FOC} -[SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	1	0.62%
[PN] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.62%
[PN] _{TOP} -[Adj] _{FOC}	1	0.62%

Table 231. Quantitative analysis of nominal clauses.

On the basis of Table 231, copular [SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP} clauses are by far the most frequently attested nominal clause type in the Milan glosses. Rather than representing data as in Table 231, however, what should be performed is a clear separation of nominal clauses which are assimilable to copular clauses and nominal clauses which are assimilable to non-copular clauses. The two sub-types of nominal clauses are reported and analysed quantitatively in Tables 232 and 233 respectively.

Analysis	Instances	% out of NC ²⁶⁰
[SNP] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	100	62.52%
[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	14	8.75%
[SNP] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	4	2.50%
[SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	3	1.86%
[SNP] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.62%
[SNP] _{FOC} -IC	1	0.62%
SNP-[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.62%
<i>cía</i> -[PN-SNP] _{FOC}	1	0.62%

²⁵⁹ NC stands for *Nominal Clauses*.

²⁶⁰ NC stands for *Nominal Clauses*.

Nominal Clauses

[PN] _{FOC} -[SNP] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}	1	0.62%
[PN] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	1	0.62%
[PN] _{TOP} -[Adj] _{FOC}	1	0.62%

Table 232. Quantitative analysis of copular nominal clauses.

Analysis	Instances	% out of NC ²⁶¹
[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	11	6.88%
[Adj] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	8	5%
[S] _{FOC} -[IC] _{TOP}	4	2.50%
Adj-[S] _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC}	2	1.25%
[Adj-IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	1	0.62%
[c'á] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}	1	0.62%

Table 233. Quantitative analysis of non-copular nominal clauses.

In total, 81.25% of nominal clauses attested in the Milan glosses has a copular structure. What is remarkable, however, is that roughly 1 nominal clause out of 5 has a non-copular structure.

²⁶¹ NC stands for *Nominal Clauses*.

9. Other Worth-examining Categories

In this chapter two major sentence types will be considered:

- a. Constituents (NPs or PPs) modified by a relative clause;
- b. Verbal clauses (or, rather, VP) made of copula + verbal of necessity.

In quantitative terms, the whole amount of clauses accounted for in this chapter is more than considerable. In total, 895 clauses belong to sub-group a. (20.90% of total of sentences considered), and 47 clauses belong to sub-group b. (1.10% of total of sentences considered). In this chapter it will be seen that these sentences show a clear IS articulation, which made them worth-considering according to the parameters of this thesis: a specific IS alignment corresponds to a specific syntax.

Nevertheless, in later sections it will also be shown how the great number of such examples is perhaps due to the nature of the textual genre of glosses themselves. This fact, in addition to a possible analysis of copula + verbal of necessity constructions, will lead to an exclusion of the clauses collected in this chapter in general terms, when evaluating trends and tendencies occurring between word order and IS in Old Irish (see Chapter 10).

9.1 Constituents modified by a relative clause

Sentences made of a constituent modified by a relative clause are 895. Out of these, in 602 cases it is a NP which is modified by a relative clause (67.26%), while in 293 cases the NP which is modified by a relative clause is within a PP (32.74%).

9.1.1 NPs+RelC

A clear example of syntax-IS correspondence in sentences where a NP is modified by a relative clause is shown in (234):

- (234) *.i. innesamni nad lugimem*
 that is the confidence that is not smallest
 «that is, the confidence which is not smallest» (Ml. 14^b10).

Word order and information structure: [NP]_{TOP}-[V^(REL)]_{FOC}

In example (234), a topical NP is set at the beginning of the clause (*innesamni*). After this NP there is a relative clause (*nad lugimem*). In IS terms, the function of this relative clause is adding extra-information to the given *innesamni*. As a consequence, the articulation of NP+RelC,²⁶² is theme-rheme.

All the NP+RelC constructions attested in the Milan glosses are reported in Table 234. As displayed in the table, their IS is always the same.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 15 ^c 1	<i>intí cidnarraig</i>	he who constrains himself	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 16 ^a 17	<i>.i. indí nodberat duđuaid</i>	that is, those who refer it to David	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 16 ^a 18	<i>.i. indí no berat [leg. nod berat] dosorbabel</i>	that is, those who refer it to Zorobabel	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 16 ^b 1	<i>.i. innahí ata chosmailiu</i>	that is, the things that are more likely	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 16 ^b 7	<i>.i. indimarslaide 7 inchoidech bis foraib oc imthuarcaín</i>	that is, the mutual striking and the fighting which is on them as they pound one another	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 17 ^a 8	<i>.i. doínachtæ crist araroét indeacht</i>	that is, of the Manhood of Christ which the Godhead has assumed	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 17 ^c 12	<i>.i. inna dlígeda dudchoisgetar</i>	that is, the sayings that follow it	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 18 ^c 9	<i>7 intol arachelfea</i>	and the desire that will snatch away	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 18 ^b 4	<i>.i. roth cruind forsandenat nacerda inlestrai nú</i>	that is, a round wheel on which the potters make the new vessels	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 18 ^b 4	<i>l. cran cruín immuambiat ocuan denum</i>	or a round piece of wood around which they (the potters) are while making them (the vessels)	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 18 ^d 2	<i>innaní asidgrennat</i>	of those that persecute him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 19 ^c 19	<i>.i. innafortacte dorigni dia dosom</i>	that is, of the help that God wrought for him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 19 ^d 3	<i>.i. intí dofich</i>	that is, he who avenges	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 19 ^d 5	<i>acht intí bed tressa</i>	but whoever is stronger	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 19 ^d 8	<i>.i. inti ásemiu</i>	that is, he who is thinner	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 19 ^d 8	<i>.i. inti asmindchichthiu</i>	that is, he who is slighter	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 19 ^d 16	<i>.i. infirinne rondfirianaigestar som dia</i>	that is, the justice by which God has justified him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 20 ^b 2	<i>innaní asrubartatar nadrobae remdeicsiu na lather ndæ diadulib</i>	of those who have said that there is no providence or dispensation of God for His creatures	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

²⁶² RelC stands for 'Relative Clause'.

Ml. 21 ^b 07- o8	<i>innahí noguidim daitsiu</i>	those things I ask you for	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 21 ^c 3	<i>innaimnedsin imbiam isindlaithiu</i>	those troubles in which we are in the day	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 21 ^d 4	<i>alai</i> [leg. <i>alailí</i>] <i>feidligte ho aimsir</i>	some who remain for a time	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 22 ^a 4	<i>.i. inloc diambuthabarthi ermitiu feid , imbu choir frecur céil dáé</i>	that is, the place to which honor should have been given and in which the worship of God was fitting	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 22 ^b 1	<i>eilled cech oín bís innacobfodlus</i>	the corruption of everyone who is in their company	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^a 2	<i>foraithmet bedtorbach</i>	recollection which is profitable	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^a 5	<i>aconguin bís foraib tantum iniffiurn</i>	the contrition that is upon them in hell only	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^a 18	<i>.i. intimrecht</i> [leg. <i>intimthrecht</i>] <i>naicnedti frissarusuidiged cech sens</i>	that is, the natural service for which every sense was established	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^b 5	<i>neich dorigensat friduid</i>	of something which they had done to David	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^c 24	<i>innahui</i> [leg. <i>huilí</i>] <i>remiærburt</i>	everything that I have said previously	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^c 25	<i>indegnimo són as ail lim</i>	the good work that I desire	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 23 ^d 17	<i>aaínmsom bes foir</i>	his name which he has	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^a 19	<i>intí lasmbí indencae</i>	he who has the innocence	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^a 19	<i>intí bís isindencae</i>	he who is in the innocence	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^c 2	<i>pectha bias leu</i>	of sin that they have	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^c 13	<i>inpeccad dorigeni agitofél</i>	the sin that Achitophel had committed	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 14	<i>indaimser hi rogabthar insalm</i>	the time at which the psalm might be sung	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 14	<i>.i. indaimser ineperr cetal indsailm</i>	that is, the time at which the singing of the psalm is done [lit. said]	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 30	<i>.i. magen hitait for aisndis do deacht , doinacht maic</i>	that is, the place where he mentions the explanation of the divinity and the humanity of the Son	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 25 ^a 6	<i>.i. ní nad dír dotrachtad int sailm</i>	that is, something that is not pertinent for a commentary on the psalm	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 25 ^b 6	<i>.i. indfaissine rochet tall</i>	that is, the prophecy that was uttered at that time	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ms. 25 ^d 10	<i>.i. induine aráróet deacht</i>	that is, the Man who assumed divinity	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 25 ^d 11	<i>anuile araroet</i>	all that it has received	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 25 ^d 12	<i>anisin nant comrorcon dunini</i>	that the thing is not an error for us	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 26 ^b 6	<i>.i. intomus inchumachtai fil linni</i>	that is, the measure of the power that we have	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 26 ^b 6	<i>.i. serúitúis hirobatar</i>	that is, the servitude in which they were	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 26 ^c 2	<i>atobae namma fil and</i>	the incision only that is there	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 26 ^c 2	<i>innacialla mrechnighthi fil ánd</i>	the varied senses that are in it	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 26 ^d 12	<i>innani ingrennat innafirianu</i>	of those who persecute the righteous	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 27 ^a 6	<i>.i. innadegmaini rongeni dia isintsechmadachtu arinpopul</i>	that is, the benefits that God wrought in the past for the people	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 27 ^b 9	<i>ani asbeir aquil</i>	that which Aquila says	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 27 ^b 15	<i>.i. inna ancride innafochaide dobertar forsinnaís noib</i>	that is, the cruelties of the afflictions that are wrought on the saints	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 27 ^b 19	<i>.i. uerba asbertar sunt</i>	that is, <i>uerba</i> that are said here	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 27 ^c 1	<i>fírbrithem beres digail cech ancridi</i>	a just judge who inflicts punishment for every wrong	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 27 ^c 10	<i>.i. nach magen inimfogni inbriatharso friainsid isnaib salmaib</i>	that is, each spot in which this verb is construed with the accusative in the psalms	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 27 ^c 10	<i>nach dú immurgu inimfogni frifoxlid l. fritobarthid</i>	each place, however, in which it is construed with the ablative or dative	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 27 ^d 2	<i>tosach indalasailm dognither dunt salmsó laebreo</i>	the beginning of the second psalm which is made from this psalm among the Hebrews	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 27 ^d 4	<i>indí inmechomairc</i>	of him who asks	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 28 ^b 9	<i>.i. ilardatu inna aimsire mbite som isind fognam</i>	that is, the multiplicity of the time they are in the service	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 28 ^c 19	<i>.i. indfithis tete inpeccad</i>	that is, the circuit by which the sin goes	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 28 ^d 5	<i>.i. línmaire innaaimsire rombóí inbocht hifoummamugud do</i>	that is, the amount of time that the poor man had been in subjection to him	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 28 ^d 7	<i>iura quae praediximus dorigensat intsommai frisnabochtu</i>	<i>iura quae praediximus</i> that the rich did towards the poor	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ms. 29 ^a 3	<i>.i. insciám arafoimsom 7 dungní indoíndid</i>	that is, the figure that he adopts and applies once	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 29 ^a 8	<i>.i. aní ba buthi arthuus</i>	that is, that which should have been first	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 29 ^b 4	<i>innaní choínte</i>	of those who lament	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 29 ^b 8	<i>ingnín gnís indoe</i>	the action which the arm does	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 29 ^c 15	<i>.i. án imbai [leg. ámmbai] forlongais amal duaid</i>	that is, [the] band which was in exile like David	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 29 ^c 16	<i>.i. nechbed chare do</i>	that is, anyone that was a friend to him	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 29 ^d 8	<i>.i. ind ingrainmae dorigensat</i>	that is, of the persecution that they caused	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^b 3	<i>insin ata rehti corde</i>	those that are <i>recti corde</i>	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^c 3	<i>intícharas nech</i>	he whom anyone loves	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^c 3	<i>indfirsin foridtet</i>	of that man who helps him	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^c 9	<i>nach ngnim forammestar som</i>	any work on which He will not pass judgment	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^d 12	<i>.i. indforcitlada fordacain</i>	that is, of the teacher who teaches them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 30 ^d 14	<i>.i. pectha trisambí apaltu</i>	that is, of sin through which is death	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 7	<i>(i)nso (ad)fét</i>	this, which he says	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 16	<i>nachaili labraimme</i>	of some other one that we should speak	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 19	<i>innaais n disen adfét som</i>	of the statement that he sets forth	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 24	<i>.i. aní rognéni [leg. rogéní] hognimaib</i>	that is, that which he had done in deeds	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 24	<i>á epert asrobradsón hobriathraib</i>	his saying that it had been said in words	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^d 6	<i>ní frestai á mes ón</i>	nothing which opposes its valuation	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^d 9	<i>aní asbera insce</i>	that which the word of God may say	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^d 10	<i>ní arachoat anargat nglan</i>	something that harms pure silver	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^a 1	<i>inna huli remiærbartmar</i>	all the things that we mentioned above	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^a 5	<i>ní nogabad díbsom tabart fochaide foir</i>	anything that could have prevented them from inflicting tribulations on him	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^a 18	<i>nanní robuthol do· dofrithoircnib frimsa</i>	whatever of injuries was a desire for him (to do) to me	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^a 19	<i>indí fodamsegatsa</i>	they who trouble me	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 33 ^a 23-24	<i>indí foraitnmenatar assaru hicomdenum pectha friu</i>	those who call to mind the Assyrians in doing sin equally with them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 34 ^a 23-24	<i>in pian doratad for asru</i>	the punishment that was inflicted on the Assyrians are suitable to them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^b 19	<i>in firinni forochet</i>	the truth concerning which it had been sung	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^b 24	<i>ind fochuinn diaragbtha</i>	of the cause for which they were sung	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^b 25	<i>toimtiu nad rancatar les denma maith iarna soirad</i>	the thought that they had no need to do good after their deliverance	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^d 1	<i>.i. fortachtan dá tanaic talmaidiu doib</i>	that is, of the help of God that came suddenly to them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^d 3	<i>anaithesc dorat dia dodauid</i>	the answer that God gave to David	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^d 7	<i>.i. documenta forchain in forcitlaid</i>	that is, <i>documenta</i> that the teacher teaches	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^d 22	<i>nanní labrathar</i>	whatever he says	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^d 29	<i>intí imme ingaib</i>	he who avoids	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 1	<i>gním trissa tabarthe athis foir hochomnesam</i>	deed through which reproach should be put upon him by his neighbour	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 8	<i>indí foscoichet</i>	they who depart	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 18b	<i>.i. innabochtae imbiat som</i>	that is, of the poverty in which they are	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 20	<i>áfirlugae nothongad cach frialaile hirecht</i>	the true-oath that each one used to swear to another in law	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 21	<i>intí dodfongad</i>	he who used to swear it	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 29	<i>.i. ní asriad dofeichemain</i>	that is, anything which he might have paid to a creditor	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 29	<i>ní doromlad fadesin</i>	anything that he himself could have enjoyed	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^c 21	<i>in síans remiærbartmar</i>	the meaning which we mentioned above	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^d 16	<i>indoini adordais innaidlu</i>	the men who were worshipping the idols	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>inchumtubart , indoidnge nad fetammar ní</i>	the doubt and the difficulty that we do not know	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>in suin ebraidi sluindes ilsésu , ilintliuchtú laebreu</i>	of the Hebrew word that signifies many senses and many meanings for the Hebrews	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>in son diandid tintud linnai a sanctis</i>	the word for which <i>sanctis</i> is the rendering with us	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>a sanctis fil sunt</i>	the <i>sanctis</i> that is here	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 12	<i>neich sluinde inna anman</i>	of anything that the names signify	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 18	<i>in son file iarcul indi as sanctis</i>	the word that is behind <i>sanctis</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 37 ^b 8	<i>.i. asainred techtas sech cách</i>	that is, the peculiar property that it has beyond others	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 16	<i>inna noibe techtae</i>	of the holiness that they have	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^d 14	<i>infótas airechdu són</i>	the sod that is superior	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 4	<i>in dligid rogabad</i>	the saying that was uttered	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 7	<i>inna fiurae [leg. fiugrae] rongab infaith</i>	of the figure that the prophet uttered	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 9	<i>innatestimni taircheta de som</i>	the texts that were prophesied of Him	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^d 1	<i>inchoim [leg. inchoimded] diafogni</i>	of the lord whom he serves	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^d 14	<i>int hí fodaim</i>	he who suffers	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^b 2	<i>.i. aní durigni hitosuch int sailm</i>	that is, what he did in the beginning of the psalm	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^b 6	<i>inní aspena</i>	him who swears	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^d 10	<i>.i. indí nodamfindbadaigetarsa</i>	that is, they who beatify me	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^d 26	<i>.i. indí domuinetar</i>	that is, they who think	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^d 30	<i>indi fris orgat dondi oirdnes dia</i>	they who injure him whom God ordains	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 13	<i>indí bis indi</i>	of him who is in it	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 15	<i>int soilse bis innamedónsi</i>	and that the light which is in its midst shines to him	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 17	<i>fersu hitadbadar inducbál dé 7 a huaisletu</i>	verses in which the glory of God and his elevation are shown	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 19	<i>.i. intruip fil isnaib fersaib</i>	that is, of the figure of speech which is in the verses	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 22	<i>fersu hitadbadar inducbal dé</i>	the verses in which the glory of God is shown	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^d 3	<i>ind uisci fuasnaidi fil isindaier</i>	of the troubled water that is in the air	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^d 16	<i>indusci robatar hifudumnaib talman</i>	the waters which were in the depths of the earths	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 41 ^a 4	<i>ré inradad són 7 nombeth cen olc huadibsom</i>	a time that he might think and that he might be without evil from them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 41 ^d 10	<i>inní duseinned</i>	him who used to pursue	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 41 ^d 11-12	<i>an as accobur liúm</i>	that which is a desire for me	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 41 ^d 16	<i>neich fritcurethar cheill</i>	of anyone who worships him	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^b 4	<i>.i. asalutes fil tal</i>	that is, the <i>salutes</i> which is there	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^b 7	<i>soscelae asnindedat di.</i>	of the Gospel, which they set forth	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^b 10	<i>.i. anem hitat aingil iinuachtar [leg. inuachtar]</i>	that is, the heaven in which the angels are on top	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 42 ^b 13	<i>.i. atorbae aratorsata</i>	that is, the use for which they were created	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^b 22	<i>.i. annem adchiamni</i>	that is, the heaven that we see	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^b 27	<i>inroithiud roithes alaith [leg. alaith] alaill riam</i>	the impulse by which the day impels another before it	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 2	<i>indas fograigte inna duli₇ dunaibdet etarcnae ndá· trisinnopred ndogniat₇ innimthanud fil foraib</i>	the way in which the elements sound and show forth the knowledge of God through the work that they do and the alternation that is on them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 2	<i>innimthanud fil foraib</i>	the alternation that is on them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 4	<i>.i. innatimthrehta ind labrada innid eula nech</i>	that is, the services of the speech in which someone may be skilled	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 4	<i>innabriathra radas</i>	the words which he speaks	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 4	<i>inni frissarater</i>	the one to whom it is said	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^d 9	<i>intómun fil lasuidib</i>	the fear which they have	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^a 7	<i>.i. pecthi bite immenmain₇ in imradud</i>	that is, sins which are in mind and in thought	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^a 9	<i>fallunt fil archiúinn</i>	<i>fallunt</i> which is below	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^a 15	<i>.i. nephthoimtiu bed peccad són</i>	that is, the non-imagining that it is sin	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^d 18	<i>innammai [leg. innammaini] dorataissiu damsa</i>	the treasures You (sg) have given to	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^d 18	<i>innanguide rongadsa daitsiu adé</i>	of the prayers which I have prayed to You (sg), O God	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^d 20	<i>aní rogaisdom</i>	that which he prayed for	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^d 27	<i>.i. innacoic brottu deac docoid ingrain foraculu</i>	that is, the fifteen moments that the sun went back	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^a 14	<i>inna arma dorataissiu doibsom</i>	the arms that You (sg) gave them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^a 23	<i>.i. ingnimae [leg. ingnima] dongnisiu</i>	that is, of the deed which you do	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 12	<i>.i. indí fris brudí</i>	that is, of him who refuses	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^c 4	<i>.i. innasoínmige hirobasa</i>	that is, of the prosperity in which I was	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^c 9	<i>.i. innanamát són asberat</i>	that is, of the enemies who say	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^c 9	<i>india [add. dia] forgeni₇ hirufrescachae</i>	the God whom he served and in whom he hoped	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^c 10	<i>.i. innsin rothecht</i>	that is, that which he had	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^c 12	<i>.i. inmactad [leg. inmacthad] in dentar cech semplae₇ cech báis</i>	that is, of the boyhood in which every silliness and every foolishness is done	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^c 19	<i>áchoimdiu inrufrescachae· intí duaid</i>	that his Lord, in whom David hoped	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 44 ^d 4	<i>.i. innaninned ro chesom</i>	that is, of the afflictions that he suffered	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^d 8	<i>cach síg bís isnaib ballaib</i>	every juice that is in the members	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^a 3	<i>indfiugor fuandrogab infaith</i>	the figure in accordance with which the prophet uttered it	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^a 3	<i>indrín fuantaibret insuiscelaichthi [leg. insuiscelaichthi]</i>	the mystic sense in accordance with which the evangelists apply it	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^a 14	<i>.i. innasoinmech dombirsiu damsa</i>	that is, of the prosperous things which You (sg) give to me	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^b 16	<i>.i. bestatu forchanat</i>	that is, morality which they teach	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 8	<i>inbithiata hirobaid riam</i>	of the perpetual closure in which you (pl) were before	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 11	<i>.i. anibaep Perth [leg. eperthi] dosuidib</i>	that is, that which should have been said to them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 6	<i>indrig dodechuid són</i>	of the king who came	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 12	<i>airnaní nogigius</i>	for whatever I shall pray for	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 23	<i>inna hí immeruimdetar</i>	those who sin	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 26	<i>int soirtha , in[na] fuairrige. dorignis frissin pul [leg. popul] in egept</i>	of the deliverance and the clemency which You (sg) have worked for the people in Egypt	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 28	<i>in pecthi diarogaid inpopul fuairrigi ndæ , ad(il)gadchi</i>	the sins for which the people sought the clemency of God and His forgiveness	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 28	<i>inna hí diarogad(a)tar in popul robo [leg. roboi] in(ege)pt</i>	those for which the people that was in Egypt prayed	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 28	<i>in popul robo [leg. roboi] in(ege)pt</i>	the people that was in Egypt	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 8	<i>torud bete</i>	the fruits that shall be	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 14	<i>inna hí adfiadatar hitestimnib file is intsalm anuas</i>	the things that are declared in the texts that are in the psalm above	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 20	<i>.i. inti huainni adaichfedar incoimdid</i>	that is, he of us who shall fear the Lord	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 20	<i>anuile dorairngert dia trisinrecht sin duneuch nud comálnabadar</i>	the whole that God promised through that Law to anyone who will fulfill it	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^c 14	<i>.i. locorum imbiat edbarta</i>	that is, <i>locorum</i> in which offerings usually are	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^d 7	<i>neich as tacair doib</i>	anything that is fitting for them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^d 7	<i>neich as tacair doib</i>	anything that is fitting for them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^a 7	<i>neich sdegar cuccu</i>	of anything which is asked of them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^a 9	<i>.i. ní asscith leu dudenum</i>	that is, something that they are loath to do	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 48 ^b 18	<i>.i. indéndaig dorigensat assair dodia</i>	that is, of the blasphemy which the Assyrians said [lit. did] against God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^c 8	<i>.i. indéni assafoiter guth</i>	that is, with the swiftness with which voice is emitted	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^c 14-15	<i>.i. indneirt robói la assaru</i>	that is, of the strength that the Assyrians had	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^c 33	<i>indi ardibdai</i>	of him who extinguishes	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^c 34	<i>.i. ilanman domber doib du(a)id</i>	that is, many names which David gives to them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 1-2	<i>cech rét frissacomraic</i>	everything that it encounters	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 12	<i>.i. innammaige robtar lana diassaraib</i>	that is, the plains that were full of Assyrians	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 27	<i>innacathrach {arcs síón} conrotacht laduaid hi síón { .i. arcs síón} · fri ebustu</i>	of the city that was built by David on Zion against the Jebusites	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 28	<i>dingalar hirobae</i>	of the sickness in which he lays	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^a 10	<i>aní fuandrogab infaith , fuanrogab crist</i>	that with reference to which the prophet uttered it and that with reference to which Christ uttered it	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^b 8	<i>.i. an dixi asrubart duaid</i>	that is, the <i>dixi</i> that David said	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^c 13	<i>aní robói inclidiu lat adé</i>	what was secretly with You (sg), O God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 2	<i>.i. nech lasnabi ciall , immandaister</i>	that is, one who has no sense and is mad	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 5	<i>indi remisaid</i>	of him who presides	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 7	<i>inna briathra asruburt</i>	the words that I uttered	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 10	<i>innahí tairngir hisatodochide</i>	what he promises in the future	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 15	<i>innuaill dorigní</i>	the pride of which he had been guilty	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^a 2	<i>ni bedmo</i>	anything that could be greater	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^a 15	<i>indi dulugai</i>	of him who forgives	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 10	<i>ardi son dombera dia doneuch nodneirbea ind , genas triit</i>	sign which God will give to everyone that shall trust in Him, and work through Him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 12	<i>nanní dogní</i>	whatever he does	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 18	<i>.i. neich bís foraib</i>	that is, of someone which is upon them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 27	<i>na chomairle dong [leg. dongní] duine sech dia</i>	every counsel that a man makes apart from God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c 2	<i>ani as chithara as beir</i>	the <i>cithara</i> which he mentions	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c 2	<i>chithara as beir</i>	<i>cithara</i> which he mentions	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 51 ^d 5	<i>intamlai 7 chosmailsea dober dodemnigiud dliged n aile</i>	the similes and comparisons which he puts to confirm other sayings	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^d 10	<i>.i. anuile dobeir som</i>	that is, all that he puts	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^d 11	<i>ind huili doini s6n· file isintalam</i>	all the men who are on the earth	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^d 12	<i>inni asroilli</i>	one who deserves	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^d 22	<i>an6 asæculae [leg. assæculae] sæculorum</i>	that that is <i>saecula saeculorum</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^d 25	<i>.i. anuile asbersom do dia</i>	that is, all that he says of God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 52 ^x 00	<i>in senchas canone dunaithmenadar isintitul so</i>	the story of Scripture that he calls to mind in this heading	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^a 19	<i>.i. an· oculi file is intsalm</i>	that is, the <i>oculi</i> which is in the psalm	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^b 1	<i>fochaid imbé nech s6n</i>	affliction in which someone may be	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^b 11	<i>nach n6 d6gnim dorigensat</i>	every good deed which they had done	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^c 14	<i>.i. inti adagadar in coimdid</i>	that is, he who fears the Lord	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^c 14	<i>incomthod talmaidech asber innadiad</i>	the sudden turn which he says afterwards	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^c 14	<i>.i. inti dogena anuilese s6s</i>	that is, he who will do all this below	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^c 16	<i>.i. inti lasinnaccubur s6n in bethu hothuil</i>	that is, he who desires life with his will	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 9	<i>.i. nan n6 robu accubu [leg. accubur] leu</i>	that is, whatever was a desire for them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 12	<i>ind6 nad ocmanatar hothrogaib</i>	those who are not touched by miseries	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 12	<i>ind6 ocubendar hothrogaib innan ingramman 7 innafochaide</i>	those who are touched by the miseries of persecutions and tribulations	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 20	<i>bas coitchen [...] dianaisndet duaid</i>	a common death [...] of which David speaks	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 34	<i>inna naccubur dorigensat</i>	of the desires that they formed	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 36	<i>innah6 dorogabsat</i>	those which they committed	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^b 28	<i>neich forodamair som leu</i>	of that that he had suffered at their hands	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^b 29	<i>an6 arru6ig</i>	that which he complained about	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^b 30	<i>.i. airn6 comtacht som nibed uilliu duthabairt foraib som difochaid</i>	that is, for he did not ask that any more suffering should be inflicted on them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^c 4	<i>.i. asalutari fil issinsalm</i>	that is, the <i>salutari</i> that is in the psalm	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^a 10	<i>an6 nolabraif6tis</i>	that which they would have said	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>scél foraihtminedar is indisiu</i>	the story that he refers to here	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 3	<i>andixit asrubart intí duaid</i>	the <i>dixit</i> that David uttered	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 13	<i>ní dugáitha adi</i> [leg. <i>dudngáitha adi</i>]	nothing that can deceive him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^d 4	<i>innanolc dorigeniside fris</i>	of the evils which he had done to him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^d 21	<i>dliged remdeicsen arandenisiu anuile se frisna doini</i>	a law of providence on account of which You (sg) do all this towards men	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^a 13	<i>son inchoissised longud l. ithi rl.</i>	this [i.e. something] which indicated devouring or eating etc.	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^a 18	<i>.i. indroisc dunecommachtsu dún adá</i>	that is, of the eye that you have given to us, o God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^a 20	<i>.i. inmét beta firén indoini</i>	that is, in the amount that men are righteous	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^a 20	<i>indí dluget tricecha óina</i>	they who are forgiving concerning all individuals	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^a 21	<i>.i. immeit mbias firinne neich</i>	that is, the amount that someone's righteousness will be	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 15	<i>innasoinmech imbiat ind ingoir</i>	of the prosperities in which the impious are	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 24	<i>.i. nanní adrochobursam firianaib</i>	that is, whatever we, the just, have desired	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 26	<i>innahí míerbamar</i> [leg. <i>remíerbartmar</i>]	those whom we have mentioned above	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 31	<i>ní adchobraisiu , nitechtaisiu ón</i>	that which you (sg) desire and you (sg) do not possess	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^c 8	<i>ní dot gnímaib nad ecail</i>	nothing of your (sg) deeds that He does not examine	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^d 5	<i>.i. ingnima dungena inpecthach</i>	that is, of the deed that the sinner will do	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^d 11	<i>inna frithorcun dungniat</i>	of the injuries that they do	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^a 3	<i>nach accuis trissanétatsat som inna anu hisin</i>	every cause through which they obtained those riches	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^d 8	<i>.i. med brithemnachtae dæ huandamnither int ingor</i>	that is, the balance of the judgment of God whereby the impious is condemned	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^d 16	<i>mod aschoir dothabairt diglae</i>	measure which is proper for the infliction of vengeance	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^a 20	<i>innatinnæ</i> [leg. <i>innatinnæ</i>] <i>ídiade ata deinti</i>	of the Divine commandments that are to be carried out	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^a 20	<i>innan dualche ata imgabthi</i>	of the vices that are to be avoided	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^b 5	<i>.i. árugebam asbeirsom ón</i>	that is, the <i>rugebam</i> that he uses	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^b 12	<i>innahisiu adrochomul</i>	these that it joined	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 58 ^d ₅	<i>nachtan ronecat ales</i>	every time in which they need it	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^a ₇	<i>aní inchoissig aní asrubbart som</i>	that which what he says indicates	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^a ₇	<i>aní asrubbart som</i>	that which he says	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^a ₂₂	<i>.i. airet nombeinn isnaib imnedaib</i>	that is, the time that I should be in the afflictions	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^b ₁₀	<i>innafochoda hirobae</i>	of the affliction in which he was	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^a ₁₂	<i>á cétal nuae asbeirsom</i>	the new song that he mentions	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^a ₁₂	<i>aní nárbu dilmain dugabail isindoiri</i>	that which it was not allowed to sing in the Captivity	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^b ₂	<i>ní bed ærdasachtchu</i>	nothing that could be madder	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^b ₁₆	<i>ind huli doini rochreitset inchollugud crist</i>	all the men who believed the incarnation of Christ	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 60 ^b ₁₇	<i>.i. innaedbart són adobartar dodia</i>	that is, of the offerings that are offered to God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^a ₁	<i>.i. indhuall rodngabsom</i>	that is, the pride that had seized him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^a ₈	<i>folud techtas</i>	the substance that he has	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^a ₂₆	<i>.i. in dæni immesoither dærgud</i>	that is, the swiftness wherewith a bed is turned	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^b ₁₇	<i>.i. indí assidroilisset</i>	that is, those who deserved it	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^b ₁₇	<i>.i. indí adidroillisset commór inclóini nisin dutairciud doib</i>	that is, they who greatly deserved that that iniquity should be caused to them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^b ₁₇	<i>.i. indí assaguisset</i>	that is, those who wish	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^b ₁₇	<i>inti asagusi etarthothaim· ácharat</i>	he who wishes the ruin of his friend	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^d ₂	<i>.i. intoimtiu huallach dorumenairsom</i>	that is, the proud opinion that he thought	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^a ₂	<i>inná imlainne robói dosom imdía</i>	of the strong craving that he had after God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^b ₁₀	<i>.i. cid inna hí ata beca andsom</i>	that is, even the things that are small there	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^b ₁₃	<i>.i. cáldái , assair· dugairet arbar innannamat cochríthae impu dicecleith [leg. dicechleith] duthabairt diglae forsin popul</i>	that is, Chaldeans and Assyrians, who call the host of the bordering enemies about them from every side to inflict vengeance on the people	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^b ₂₀	<i>.i. animbed són indsloig dolega naní tete fochosmailius dilenn</i>	that is, the abundance of the army which destroys whatever it comes to, like a deluge	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^b ₂₀	<i>naní tete</i>	whatever it comes to	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c ₅	<i>indéni as comallaidi aforgaire</i>	the speed with which his command must be fulfilled	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 62 ^c ₅	<i>.i. indéni as mbuidigthi do indfortacht immetrenaigedar₇ dumbeir</i>	that is, the speed with which the help which He assures and gives must be thanked to him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c ₅	<i>indfortacht immetrenaigedar₇ dumbeir</i>	the help which He assures and gives	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c _{6b}	<i>.i. allaithe nundamsoira</i>	that is, the day that He delivers me	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c ₁₃	<i>nanní asbertisom frisom₇ dugnítis</i>	whatever they used to say to him and to do	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c ₁₉	<i>.i. innafírbrithemnachtae dudrignisom inraicc</i>	that is, of the righteous judgement that made him worthy	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^a ₆	<i>nanní bes chossecarthae latsu</i>	whatever is consecrated in Your (sg) eyes	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^b ₁	<i>.i. forcitlaidi lasarobae atredese</i>	that is, the teachers who had these three things	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^b ₉	<i>ní clantar</i>	that which is planted	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^b ₁₇	<i>.i. nanní frisoirc doib</i>	that is, anything which offends them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^c ₈	<i>.i. innafochaide₇ innaningramman doecmungat dumni</i>	that is, of the tribulations and persecutions that befall us	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^b ₄	<i>indí soas</i>	of him who turns	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^b ₅	<i>indi londaigedar</i>	of him who is angry	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^c ₃	<i>innahi ata adamraigthi</i>	that things that are to be admired	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^c ₁₉	<i>inna hí adamrigedar</i>	the things at which he marvels	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^d ₈	<i>.i. aspeciosus asrubartsom</i>	that is, the <i>speciosus</i> that he mentioned	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^c ₁₁	<i>.i. eburneis ón asrubart som</i>	that is, <i>eburneis</i> that he spoke of	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^c ₁₀	<i>.i. triub iuda₇ triub beneamín fil im hirusalem</i>	that is, the tribe of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin that are around Jerusalem	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^c ₁₉	<i>.i. inmóirindrid ararobert deichthriub₇ áis siriaë</i>	that is, of the great incursion that the Ten Tribes and Syrians devised	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^d ₁	<i>.i. ais deichthribo roechtrannaigtho [leg. roechtrannaigthea] huainn huamenmain naimtidu</i>	that is, the Ten Tribes who were alienated from us by hostile mind	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^a ₈	<i>.i. asusceptor tuic som</i>	that is, the (word) <i>susceptor</i> that he has put	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^b ₁₀	<i>nanni adrochobairset</i>	whatever they had desired	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^b _{17a}	<i>a huili chenela ata forbristi hunaib [leg. huanaib]</i>	O all you (pl) nations that are crushed by the Maccabees and by the Children of Israel generally	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

	<i>machabdib</i> , <i>h(o)maccaib</i> <i>israhel olchene</i>		
Ml. 67 ^b 20	<i>.i. indí fristuidchetar contra machabeos</i>	that is, those who opposed the Maccabees	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^b 22	<i>populous fristuidchetar fris nammachabdu rl.</i>	the peoples who opposed the Maccabees etc.	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^b 24	<i>innachenel for rorbris</i>	the peoples whom He had routed	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^c 2	<i>infoummamugud</i> [leg. <i>infoammamugud</i>] <i>asbeirsom dia chomfulidil</i> [leg. <i>chomfulidib</i>] <i>fessin</i>	the subjugation that he speaks of concerning his own kinsmen	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^d 1	<i>.i. cid nech nad fitir dia</i>	that is, even one who does not know God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^a 1	<i>.i. indaimser dundicfitis assair</i>	that is, the time that the Assyrians were thus to come	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^a 8	<i>.i. ni frisaiccai</i> , <i>arafoimi iarum</i>	that is, something that you hope for and that you receive afterwards	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^a 15	<i>aní immefolngi sonartnugud forcathrach</i>	this which cause the strengthening of your city	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^d 11	<i>in</i> [leg. <i>inna</i>] <i>canonese fil rem</i>	of these texts which are foregoing	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^a 2	<i>.i. neich adgustis</i>	that is, of whatever they desired	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^a 10	<i>.i. innandoine robarat isnaib talmanib sin</i>	that is, of the men who were in those lands	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^a 19	<i>innasástu frisacomrac</i> [leg. <i>frisacomracat</i>]	the foods that they meet with	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^d 7	<i>.i. inna hí etuailngigedar</i>	that is, the things at which He is indignant	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 70 ^a 9	<i>indí beta messi</i>	those that are to be judged	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 70 ^c 6	<i>innaedbarta iarmifoig som</i>	the offerings He seeks	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 70 ^d 7	<i>.i. sechis aforcital són durum</i> [leg. <i>durimí</i>] <i>is intsalm</i>	that is, the teaching that he enumerates in the psalm	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 71 ^c 1	<i>nachmod formberat</i>	every way in which they increase	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 71 ^c 6	<i>int síl immefolangar trí chomaccubur</i> , <i>peccad</i>	of the seed which is caused through desire and sin	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 71 ^c 7	<i>aní inrualaid</i>	that which had entered	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 72 ^b 6	<i>israhel</i> [leg. <i>israheldae</i>] <i>robarat is inchathraig</i>	of Israelites that were in the city	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 72 ^d 9	<i>nanni immeairc duduaíd</i>	everything that is suitable to David	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 73 ^b 17	<i>aní ba immaircide duthabair</i> [leg. <i>-thabairt</i>] <i>forru fesin</i>	that which was fitting to be inflicted upon themselves	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 73 ^d 4	<i>.i. uerbis asrubart in psalmo</i>	that is, <i>verbis</i> that he has said <i>in psalmo</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 74 ^a 11	<i>.i. áanaís [leg. anais] rudelbad doib octuistin acoirp</i>	that is, their age that was ordained for them at the generation of their body	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^b 1	<i>.i. intituil robói huas ciun crist isin chroich</i>	that is, of the title that was over Christ on the Cross	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^b 11	<i>.i. incois₇ incaingin ararogbad insalm</i>	that is, the cause and the matter for which the psalm was sung	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^c 3	<i>innambriathar ñ diut nuradinse</i>	of the simple words that I used to speak	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^c 21	<i>ciall fil and</i>	meaning that is there	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 4	<i>.i. inunn folud techmae</i>	that is, the substance that we have is the same [lit. (the) same substance that we have]	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 7	<i>inne fil indib diblinaib</i>	the sense that is in both	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 9	<i>indærchoilti asbersom</i>	the determinations that he speaks of	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>intitule roscribais huas inchroich</i>	the title that you (sg) have written over the Cross	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>anim [leg. derlegasiu ainm] duaid as intitule</i>	the name of David that is in the title	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^d 13	<i>nanní immairc du duaid</i>	everything that is suitable to David	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^a 2-3	<i>.i. innaní dufurgat [leg. dufurgabat]</i>	that is, of those who raise	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^a 2-3	<i>.i. sechis innaní soirdae són alailiu</i>	that is, namely, of those who deliver others	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^a 4	<i>.i. innaní soirtar and</i>	that is, of those who are delivered here	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^b 2	<i>.i. inna leon mór son lasambiat inchuluiin</i>	that is, of the great lions with whom are the whelps	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^b 3	<i>aní adchobrat</i>	that which they desire	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 75 ^b 7	<i>inni bis fuammam</i>	that that is under their yoke	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 76 ^a 5	<i>.i. cid indaimser indat slain ennaic som</i>	that is, even the time in which they are sound innocent	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 76 ^a 13	<i>ciall fil is indligud sa₇ indligud remeperthiu</i>	the sense that is in the present saying and in the aforesaid saying	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 76 ^d 14	<i>innalige imbiat</i>	the lairs in which they are	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^b 1	<i>chiall fil is indligud so₇ is indremeperthiu</i>	the sense that is in this expression and in the aforesaid	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^c 5	<i>.i. insoinmigi duécommacht dun hitosuch</i>	that is, the prosperity which He had given us at first	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^d 2	<i>innaninned₇ innatrogae fodai [leg. fodaimet]</i>	the troubles and the miseries that they endure	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^d 3	<i>ní bes áfín</i>	what is from wine	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 77 ^d 6	<i>innafochodo- indaroncomarlecis</i>	of the tribulation into which You (sg) have let us	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^d 7	<i>inplaig indancomairléeni</i>	the affliction into which You (sg) leave us	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 78 ^a 4	<i>ní bed sruithiu</i>	nothing that was nobler	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 78 ^a 4	<i>ní bed sruithiu daradochtaised</i>	nothing nobler by which He could have sworn	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 78 ^b 18	<i>nach naile dumdísedsa in idumeam , duindainsed da [leg. dam] innahulise</i>	no other who could lead me into Edom and who could give me all these things	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^b 4	<i>ánandach durigensat fris</i>	the iniquity that they have wrought against him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^b 10	<i>ingním dorigensat</i>	that the deed which they had done	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^b 11	<i>ingníngensat som [leg. rogensat som]</i>	the deed that they had done	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^c 9	<i>ní roscrutais</i>	nothing that they might examine	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 81 ^a 6	<i>.i. inchumachtai duígnísom</i>	that is, of the power which He exercises	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 82 ^d 4	<i>innaní sétaigte</i>	of those that wend their way	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 82 ^d 11	<i>innmolad so rongab duaid octabairt inna arcae dochum hirusalem</i>	this praise that David sang bringing the Ark to Jerusalem	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 82 ^d 11	<i>innmolad rongab in pop [leg. popul]</i>	the praise that the people sang	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 83 ^a 4	<i>innél nobith immunnaírc</i>	the cloud that used to be about the Ark	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 83 ^c 7	<i>.i. indí dulinat ón</i>	that is, those who abound	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 84 ^a 11	<i>.i. indí lassandenatar inna cumtach</i>	that is, those by whom the ornamentations are made	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^b 11	<i>.i. dungenim rongenairsom hua athir recech duil</i>	that is, of the birth whereby He was born of the Father before every element	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^c 12	<i>.i. inna aimsire hirobatar sidi</i>	that is, of the time in which they were	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^d 2	<i>.i. indegbésgnai hirobae</i>	that is, of the good behaviour in which he had been	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^d 5	<i>ní nadtardatis do</i>	something that they had not given to him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^d 7	<i>.i. innaní nubitis fomaam innarig craibdech</i>	that is, of those who used to be subject to the believing kings	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^d 10	<i>ind rig fuarobatar mam</i>	the kings to whom they were subject	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 86 ^d ₁₀	<i>.i. nech dudamdonad</i>	that is, anyone who used to console me	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^a ₇	<i>.i. ind frithorcun dumbirsiu forunni diar forcitul indegbæsgnu</i>	that is, the offense that You (sg) put upon us for our instruction in morality	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^b ₁₂	<i>innabenna duacarat</i>	the horns that roughen	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^b ₁₈	<i>.i. innafochaide hirobasa</i>	that is, of the tribulations in which I had been	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^c ₃	<i>aní adchobrat</i>	that which they desire	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^c _{3a}	<i>aní adchobrat</i>	that which they desire	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^d ₁₅	<i>nech suidighther loc daingen do inna agathar ní</i>	anyone to whom is established a strong place in which he fears nothing	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^d ₁₅	<i>loc daingen do inna agathar ní</i>	strong place in which he fears nothing	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^a ₄	<i>indigal dumber forní dég arpectha</i>	the punishment which You (sg) inflict on us because of our sin	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^a ₁₇	<i>.i. nach molad rundammoladsa adé</i>	that is, every praise by which I have been praised, O God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^b ₄	<i>delb deroil adchoburthar du deicsin ara dochraidi</i>	wretched form, which is desired to be seen for its ugliness	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^b ₁₁	<i>chial fil and</i>	the sense that is there	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^b ₁₅	<i>aní immefolangar treæ</i>	that which is caused through it (i.e. the counsel)	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^a ₂	<i>du cháingnímae siu adé atam mathi</i>	your benefits, o God, that are good	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^a ₆	<i>derchoiniud dorochóinsem ní arníc</i>	the despair wherewith we had despaired of our salvation	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^a ₈	<i>indaídmi asmbeirsom</i>	the instruments that he mentions	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^a ₈	<i>inna hí asber innadiad</i>	those things that he mentions afterwards	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^b ₅	<i>neich adchobrat</i>	anything which they desire	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^d ₆	<i>anemfases asbeir som</i>	the <i>emphasis</i> that he uses	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^d ₆	<i>aní adfet som</i>	the thing that he speaks of	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^d ₈	<i>epert asingaib fir</i>	expression that exceeds truth	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^a ₁₁	<i>in bochtae bis triairchellad donaib sommaib ananae airnaib bochtaib</i>	the poverty, which is a result of the rich taking their riches from the poor	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^a ₁₂	<i>persann fil and amal sodin</i>	the subject which is there in that case	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^b ₁₃	<i>anní as inducbal dia muntair</i>	that which is glory to His folk	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^b ₁₄	<i>neich immeforlaing dudia</i>	something that has effected to God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 90 ^c 6	<i>inna hícce nadtormenatar</i>	of the salvation which they had not expected	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^c 23	<i>canoin fil lasuide</i>	that is, this is the text that he has	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^c 24	<i>chiall fil ánd</i>	the sense that is there	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^c 25	<i>innaplaga dorata foraib</i>	the plagues that had been inflicted on them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^d 14	<i>.i. indrochgnimae</i> [leg. <i>innandroch-</i>] <i>imraid</i> [leg. <i>immeraid</i>] <i>trirei ciana</i>	that is, of the evil deeds that he has meditated for long intervals	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^d 16	<i>ánandach immerodaisset</i> [leg. <i>immerordaisset</i>]	the iniquity which they have meditated	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^d 17	<i>inna aithissi dombeirtissom fornni</i>	the insults that they used to put upon us	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^a 18	<i>inne [...] fil and</i>	the meaning [...] that is there	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^a 20	<i>.i. inti nad tabair digail</i>	that is, he who does not inflict punishment	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^a 21	<i>forcan duratsom forsnammórchol durigensat anamait fris</i>	the end that he has put to the great wickednesses that his enemies had committed against him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^b 10	<i>aní asberinn cosse</i>	that which I used to say until now	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^b 12	<i>inchairdine dorigni</i> [leg. <i>dorignis</i>] <i>friu hitossuch</i>	the covenant which You (sg) had made with them at first	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^c 9	<i>acairde durigni frinnai fanaic</i>	the covenant that He had made with us or not	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^c 11	<i>persain fil iarn a chul</i>	the subjects that are behind it	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^d 1	<i>.i. delb nad bí iarfir</i>	that is, a form that is not wont to be according truly	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^d 7	<i>innallathar asbeir innandiad</i>	the dispensations that he mentions afterwards	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^a 9	<i>ní bed huilliu oldaas attrab ladia</i>	anything which would be greater than dwelling with God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^a 12	<i>an deus asrubart</i>	the <i>Deus</i> that he has spoken of	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^c 5	<i>maicc israhél frissarusaithraigestar oc a tuididen di cech inniud</i>	the Children of Israel, for whom He had labored in leading them from every trouble	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^d 6	<i>cranna doiscairi dufubaitis</i>	common trees which they had been cutting down	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^a 5	<i>.i. aní imradam ní impu som di ulc</i>	that is, that which we are contemplating of evil concerning them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^d 14	<i>innahi adfidam</i> [leg. <i>adfiadam</i>] <i>dichrist</i>	the things that we declare of Christ	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 94 ^a 13	<i>.i. áliquefacta est asber inna diad</i>	that is, the <i>liquefacta est</i> that he mentions afterwards	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 1	<i>ní prichessom huabriaraib</i>	that which he preaches in words	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 10	<i>aní forchongair dia do</i>	that which God commands him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 15	<i>a cornu as beir riam</i>	the <i>cornu</i> that he mentions before	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 16	<i>.i. ní bes chotarsnae fritimnae dáé</i>	that is, anything that is contrary to the commandments of God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 17	<i>chiall fil ánd</i>	the meaning that is there	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 18	<i>.i. áis fil octuircbail grene</i>	that is, people who are at the rising of the sun	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^c 3	<i>aní as uinum pro seueritate ultionis</i>	that that is <i>uinum pro seueritate ultionis</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^d 4	<i>intliucht so [leg. int intliucht so]· domberae as</i>	the sense that you (sg) get from	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^a 12	<i>arrig foragabsat dianés</i>	their king whom they had left behind them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^c 2	<i>aní asrochoilset</i>	that which they had determined	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^c 3	<i>aní asrochoilsid duchomallad</i>	that which you (pl) have determined to fulfill	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^d 13	<i>inna n inned forodamar</i>	of the afflictions that I have suffered	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^d 14	<i>innanim nimned [leg. inna nimned] forodamar</i>	of the afflictions that I have suffered	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 97 ^a 3	<i>.i. innaingnimaie rongnitha fri amathra ní</i>	that is, of the deeds that were done to our fathers	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 97 ^d 7	<i>.i. biad nad roithechtsat riam 7 nadrancatar les</i>	that is, food which they had not had before and which they did not need	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 98 ^a 3	<i>.i. trop aschosmail fi [leg. fri] armbaesuni</i>	that is, a figure that is like our customs	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 98 ^c 6	<i>introcaire dorigeni dia</i>	the mercy that God has exercised	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 98 ^c 10	<i>ammemoratus est fil hi sunt</i>	the <i>memoratus est</i> that is here	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 98 ^c 10	<i>ciall sechmadacht as erbirthi as cechtodochid [leg. a cechthodochidiu]</i>	sense of a past which must be expressed by every future	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 99 ^a 4	<i>.i. bolca finda són astoitis forcorpaib innan doine rl.</i>	that is, the white blisters that used to glisten on the bodies of human beings etc.	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 99 ^a 8	<i>afolud hitorsata</i>	the substance in which they had been created	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 99 ^d 9	<i>.i. ingnímai adrimter hilibur iudicum</i>	that is, the deeds which are recounted in the Book of Judges	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^b 15	<i>indí bis ocnaib mliuchtaib</i>	of him that is with the milch	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 100 ^c 3	<i>andese</i> [leg. <i>andedese</i>] <i>tadbat som híc</i>	the two things that he sets forth <i>híc</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^c 7	<i>inna debthi nobetis la israheldu iartain</i>	the dissensions that would be among the Israelites afterwards	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^c 11	<i>olca betis mou</i>	evils which would have been greater	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^c 13	<i>.i. anheritatem</i> [leg. <i>hereditatem</i>] <i>as rubart som</i>	that is, the <i>hereditatem</i> which he mentioned	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^c 21	<i>.i. both bec imbither ocomét ubúll</i>	that is, a little hut in which men are wont to be guarding apples	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 100 ^c 23	<i>nech adchotatæ dianadnacul</i>	anyone who could be obtained to bury them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^a 5	<i>nach quod fil sunt síis</i>	every <i>quod</i> which is here below	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^c 4	<i>an· israheal asrubart</i>	the <i>Israel</i> that he has used	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>ciall gaibes in testimin so coríci aliter</i>	sense which this text utters as far as <i>aliter</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>ámanifestare fil is ind salm</i>	the <i>manifestare</i> which is in the psalm	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^c 6-7	<i>ám manifestare fil is indsalm</i>	the <i>manifestare</i> which is in the psalm	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^c 13	<i>.i. afaciem asbersom</i>	that is, the <i>faciem</i> which he speaks of	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^a 13	<i>.i. án imbe bis immunfini ón</i>	that is, the fence which is wont to be about the vine	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^a 15	<i>int ais sechmaill asmbeir som</i>	the passers-by of whom he speaks	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^b 5	<i>innacc asbeir som</i>	the son that he speaks of	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^d 4	<i>indí dimaccaib israhel lasinrubu chumtubart</i>	those of the Children of Israel with whom there was doubt	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^d 13	<i>intsaitir dognitis</i>	of the labor which they used to do	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^b 10	<i>in seculo fil issindsalm</i>	<i>in seculo</i> which is in the psalm	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^c 12	<i>.i. sechis indigail són· dobeir dia forru som tarcenn a pectha</i>	that is, the punishment which God inflicts upon them for their sin	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^d 27	<i>aní as arcanum</i>	that that is <i>arcanum</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^d 27	<i>aní as arcanum</i>	that that is <i>arcanum</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^a 1	<i>inna loc són innimruimdetar riam</i>	of the places in which they had sinned before	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^a 2	<i>.i. innacairde ón son durigensat fri dia</i>	that is, of the compacts which they had made with God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^a 2	<i>innan immarmossae durigensat</i>	of the sins which they had committed	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^b 1	<i>.i. innafoumamaigthe bite fumáam innan drochríg</i>	that is, of the subjected, who are under the yoke of bad king	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 106 ^a 2	<i>aní duarígir</i>	that which He promises	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 106 ^b 6	<i>ní bed duliú líúm</i>	anything which would be more desirable to me	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^a 11	<i>innate sion asmber som</i>	the <i>Mater Sion</i> that he speaks of	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^a 15	<i>nachóin adidtrefea</i>	every one who will dwell it	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^b 8	<i>frithorcain nachamthised sa , nadfordamainn</i>	an affliction that has not come to me and that I have not endured	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^c 12	<i>degnímai [...] trissanetis [leg. - etaitis (?)] bethaid afrithissi</i>	good works [...] through which they would obtain life again	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^d 4	<i>nech runíccae siu</i>	anyone whom You (sg) can save	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^d 8	<i>á eret is gessi dia</i>	the length of time that God is to be supplicated	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^a 13	<i>.i. imthimchell neich bís indib</i>	that is, the surrounding of anything that is in them	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^b 8	<i>innatairígere durairngert dia do duaid dusoirad in popuil</i>	the promises which God had made to David for the deliverance of the people	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^c 14	<i>cechrann neirt duchoissin</i>	every part of virtue (<i>uirtutis</i>) that there is	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 109 ^a 2	<i>.i. nachdú imbí is naib salmaib iustitia</i>	that is, any place in which <i>iustitia</i> occurs in the psalms	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 110 ^d 16	<i>.i. nachdú hitadbardar beus ání as deus</i>	that is, every place in which the word <i>Deus</i> is shown moreover	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 110 ^d 16	<i>ání as deus</i>	that that is <i>deus</i>	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 110 ^d 18	<i>inne fil and</i>	the sense that is there	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^b 11	<i>ní duceltar erut</i>	nothing which is hidden from you	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^c 9	<i>acedardae asrubartmar</i>	the four things that we have mentioned	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^c 13	<i>innadiglæ dombiur siu [leg. dombir siu] hualondas</i>	of the punishment which You (sg) inflict in wrath	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^c 13	<i>intí duécicigi [leg. duécigi]</i>	he that will see	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^c 13	<i>innahi fodaimem retecht innúnn</i>	those things which we suffer before going there	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^c 17	<i>n dlíged fir bís inarim doneuch</i>	true principle that is in counting to one	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^d 3	<i>nachgním dungenam ní</i>	every deed that we will do	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^d 4	<i>aní duerchanar and</i>	that which is prophesied there	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^b 1	<i>.i. aimser són im immaircide leu denum huilc fri cách</i>	that is, of the times at which they may deem the doing of evil to all to be suitable	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^d 2	<i>intliucht , chiall fil is indí asrubart</i>	the meaning and the sense which are in what he has said	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^d 2	<i>aní asrubart riam</i>	that which he has said before	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^d 2	<i>intliucht fil is dí as ueritatem rl.</i>	the meaning which is in <i>ueritatem</i> etc.	[NP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 114 ^b 1	<i>chiall fil is indi ascit ⁊ as nóuit</i>	the sense in <i>scit</i> and in <i>nóuit</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^b 1	<i>inne fil hi cechtar de</i>	the meaning which is in each of them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^b 7	<i>indi chomallaite timnae n dae triaforcital doib ⁊ ní arpianaib duthabairt forru</i>	the ones who fulfill the commandment of God through its being taught to them and not on account of the infliction of punishments upon them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^b 11	<i>.i. inpopul forcechnaesiu</i>	that is, the people that You (sg) will instruct	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^c 7	<i>chiall [...] fil and</i>	the meaning [...] which is there	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^d 6	<i>dede file lesom</i>	two things which He has	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^a 2	<i>anduchur [leg. -dechur] fil is ind alitero</i>	the difference which is in this <i>aliter</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^b 4	<i>gnímai nui nadrognatha riam</i>	new deeds, which had not been done before that	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^b 4	<i>moltai nui ingainti nadrocheta riam</i>	new remarkable praises that had not been sung before	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^b 8	<i>.i. indigal doratsat babilondai furib tri farpecthu fridia</i>	that is, the punishment which the Babylonians had inflicted on you (pl) through your (pl) sins against God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^d 12	<i>arintí forsmaid [leg. forsamaid]</i>	for he who is defeated	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^d 14	<i>.i. armgnethidi bite oc ditin ríg talmandai</i>	that is, warriors, who are wont to be protecting an earthly king	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 116 ^d 5	<i>.i. ingnima dorigni dia erriu som inægipt</i>	that is, the works which God had done for them in Egypt	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^a 1	<i>.i. inti frisorcad dialailib</i>	that is, he who used to do hurt to others	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^a 7	<i>áes drochbæsgnai [...] diangabthar drochdesmrecht</i>	people of evil ways [...], from whom a bad example may be taken	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^d 10	<i>cetheoira [...] araneirmestar d(o)ibsom</i>	four cases [...] because of which it should succeed for them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^d 10	<i>cetheoira [...] araco::estar [leg. aracoimestar] doat(h)chumtuch atíre</i>	four cases [...] because of which it is possible to rebuild their land	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^d 20	<i>innamúr doforsailced hilluaithred</i>	of the walls which had been resolved into ashes	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 120 ^b 1	<i>.i. nanní bis on in uita hominis</i>	that is, whatever is <i>in uita hominis</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 120 ^b 2	<i>innalloc sech a retham</i>	of the places past which we run	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 120 ^d 1	<i>.i. innaní rendæ</i>	that is, of those who sell	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

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Ml. 120 ^d 15	<i>ásuper pennas asbersom</i>	the <i>super pennas</i> that he mentions	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 121 ^c 8	<i>chiall [...]</i> <i>fil and</i>	the sense [...] that is there	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 121 ^d 1	<i>inrét diant torbach</i>	the thing for which it is useful	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^a 4	<i>.i. intseuit bite hí cach crích</i>	that is, the treasures that are in every country	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^b 16	<i>.i. neich robói is int sechmadachtu ón di degmoinib</i>	that is, of anything of benefits that there had been in the past	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^c 2	<i>dede huangaibter in discipuil oc eitsecht innapreceptorae</i>	two things whereby the disciples are taken in listening to teachers	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^b 15	<i>innaretu dachoisgítis</i> [leg. <i>duchoisgítis</i>] <i>gnimai iarum dano</i>	the things which deeds then used to follow afterwards	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^c 1	<i>aní durairígert</i>	that which He had promised	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^d 3	<i>nanní do uisciu doda·ic</i>	whatever water comes to them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^d 4	<i>aní adchuaid</i> [leg. <i>adchuaid</i>] <i>hítosuch int sailm</i>	that which he has related in the beginning of the psalm	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^a 8	<i>degnímu [...]</i> <i>trinsnansoirthae</i>	good works [...] through which we might be delivered	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^c 23	<i>.i. innanadegmaine</i> [leg. <i>innandegmaine</i>] <i>dorigni dia</i>	that is, of the benefits which God had wrought	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^a 4	<i>aní nogestais</i>	that which they prayed for	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^b 1	<i>indi asfiat</i>	of it that is <i>fiat</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^b 7	<i>ran di rannaib indomain innaructais indori</i> [leg. <i>indoiri</i>] <i>as nachatucad dia</i>	part of the parts of the world into which they had not been carried into captivity, and out of which God had not brought them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^d 8	<i>epert asingaib fir</i>	an expression that exceeds truth	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^b 16	<i>innmolad rommolastar dia</i>	the praise wherewith he has praised God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^b 19	<i>.i. innmolad trissánetar inducbal h(o)dia</i>	that is, the praise through which glory is obtained from God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 1	<i>indinducbal asbeirsom</i>	the glory that he says	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 1	<i>á ceul</i> <i>, in molad trissanetar inducbál a deo</i>	the song and the praise through which glory is obtained <i>a Deo</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 10	<i>aní rolabrastar dia</i> <i>, durairígert</i>	that that which God had spoken and promised	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 17	<i>findchoire innindmatar cossa</i>	a water-pot in which feet are washed	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^d 11	<i>inna fechnige trisindamrobae molad cose</i>	of the prosperity through which I have had praise until now	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^a 5	<i>.i. écoir dungni som ón</i>	that is, the wrong which he does	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^a 9	<i>neich gudes</i>	of anything that he prays for	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 127 ^a 15	<i>.i. intí dianairlicther ní són</i>	that is, he to whom something is lent	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^a 18	<i>ní aráleicthar do</i>	anything that is lent him	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^a 20	<i>.i. nanní bes les</i>	that is, whatever he has	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^b 2	<i>.i. nach namae robói lia nathir</i>	that is, any enemy that their father had had	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 3	<i>.i. mug luide huaabracham dothochmurc rebicæ doísác</i>	that is, a servant who went from Abraham to woo Rebecca for Isaac	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^a 6	<i>chiall fil ánd</i>	the sense that is therein	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^d 18	<i>neich adchotar trít</i>	of that which is obtained through it	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^a 2a	<i>intí nad agathar incoimdid , follaigedar atimnae</i>	he who does not fear the Lord and who neglects His commandments	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^b 2	<i>intí ardatuáissi</i>	he who hears them	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^b 3	<i>.i. intí lasinformat maith dodegdoinib</i>	that is, he who is envious of good to good men	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^b 4	<i>nach dualaig dungena</i>	every vice that he will do	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^b 5	<i>nanni assagusea</i>	whatever he desires	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^c 1	<i>.i. inna hí araberat biuth</i>	that is, those that live	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^c 2	<i>mindchecht bed huilliu quam buith forochtrach</i>	poverty which is greater than to be on a dunghill	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^d 4	<i>arriuth n aicnetae noreithis [leg. noreitis] dogres</i>	their natural course which they used to run continually	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 129 ^d 5	<i>innangnimae dorigeni som hitosuch</i>	of the deeds which He had done at first	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^c 3	<i>.i. messe· assidbeir libera</i>	that is, I, who say <i>libera</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^d 4	<i>.i. toimtin armbenn duine</i>	that is, the thought that I could be a man	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^b 11	<i>.i. indi prithchas</i>	that is, of him who preaches	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 5	<i>.i. indairechsa , innasoire rotecht inpopul</i>	that is, of the preeminence and of the freedom which the people had possessed	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 9	<i>intairsem [leg. intairissem] hirobatar riam</i>	the state in which they had been before	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 12	<i>.i. epert as lie uilnech</i>	that is, the saying that it is a corner-stone	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 14	<i>ánisiu foraremepertthe asrubart riam</i>	this of the aforesaid, which he has said before	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 17	<i>ammet innasoimmige hirobatar</i>	the greatness of the prosperity in which they had been	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^d 11	<i>.i. indí són nad rochretset taidchor doib as indoiri , las inrubu maith ananad is indoiri</i>	that is, those that had not believed in their return out of the Captivity, and to whom	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

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		remaining in the Captivity was good	
Ml. 132 ^a 2	<i>foisitiu ata pecthaig</i>	the confession that they are sinners	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 132 ^a 8	<i>ání doberar ho dia sanctis</i>	that which is given by God <i>sanctis</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 132 ^d 4	<i>.i. cidangair romba· hifochaid</i>	that is, even the short time that I had been in tribulation	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 133 ^a 6	<i>.i. innafochaide forodamairsom</i>	that is, of the tribulations that he has endured	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 133 ^a 12	<i>ondí nosechaiged</i> [leg. <i>nosechtaiged</i>]	of him who used to simulate	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 133 ^b 5	<i>.i. acheim</i> [leg. <i>aceim</i>] <i>són ingaibthe cechsalm</i>	that is, the step on which each psalm used to be sung	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 133 ^b 7	<i>indróí doglennar dosuidiu</i>	the plain which is selected for this	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 133 ^b 7	<i>indré ingaibthe cech salm</i>	the space in which each psalm used to be sung	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 133 ^b 12	<i>aní as ecce</i>	that that is <i>ecce</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^a 8	<i>inmoltai dogniín se tribindius , chlais</i>	the praises which I used to make in melody and choir	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^b 7	<i>ní bed uilliu indaas rondbói mingnae</i>	anything that was greater than my understanding	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^c 13	<i>.i. indusin asrubartmar</i>	that is, that place that we have mentioned	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 137 ^b 7	<i>in ferso rogab chrine octecht imbethil</i>	the verse that Jerome sang as he went into Bethlehem	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 137 ^d 4	<i>.i. aní as illic</i>	that is, that that is <i>illic</i>	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^a 4	<i>.i. intabras dungní in corp do dia</i>	that is, the gesture which the body makes to God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 139 ^a 4	<i>.i. inna aisndísen fil is int salm</i>	that is, of the exposition which is in the psalm	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 139 ^a 6	<i>in sailm fil isint saltair</i>	the psalms which are in the psalter	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 139 ^a 6	<i>argumenta sluinde as ñ du doiri babilone rogabtha int sailm sin</i>	<i>argumenta</i> which declare that it is of the Babylonian captivity that those psalms have been sung	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 140 ^b 3	<i>innahi ata fidumnu huamingnusa</i>	the things that are deeper than my understanding	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 141 ^b 2	<i>.i. inní forsateismetar</i>	that is, him on whom they are poured	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 144 ^d 3	<i>nachtorbatu coitchenn robói indib fridenum nuilc</i>	every common advantage that had been in them for doing evil	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 145 ^b 6	<i>.i. ind folang</i> [leg. <i>ind imfolang</i>] <i>dogní cech dú(il) Hoc (?) do molad dé</i>	that is, the effect which each element works to praise God	[NP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 146^a1 | *nanní forcongair dia doib* | whatever God orders them | $[\text{NP}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{-}[\text{V}^{(\text{REL})}(-\text{X})]_{\text{FOC}}$

Table 234. $[\text{NP}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{+}[\text{RelC}]_{\text{FOC}}$ constructions.

On the structure shown in Ml. 19^d5 see GOI §720. On the adverbial use of NPs in the accusative as in Ml. 43^d27 see GOI §249. Ml. 56^a13 is particularly interesting as far as the pronoun *són* is concerned. It was matter for debate in previous chapters whether *són* should be attributed with pronominal or rather expletive value. Perhaps, the evolution from the former to the latter syntactic behaviour of *són* was ongoing at the phase of the language photographed by the Milan glosses. Nevertheless, what is peculiar here is that *són* occurs as a head of a relative (*inchoissised longud l. ithi rl.*, “which indicated devouring or eating etc.”), thus reinforcing the thesis that this element could occur with referential value at this stage of the language as well. In Ml. 103^b10, *in saeculo* is considered a NP, although it is an IC in Latin, as it is a citation form. In Ml. 122^b16, note that the partitive *di degmoinib*, which modifies *neich*, occurs after the relative clause modifying *neich* as well.

In Ml. 14^b10 (but also e.g. Ml. 17^c12) it is clearly shown why a $[\text{NP}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{+}[\text{RelC}]_{\text{FOC}}$ construction can be considered typical of the textual genre of glosses. The head NP (*innesamni*, “the confidence”), is in the accusative case, as the glossed corresponding *confidentiam non minimam*. The same thing happens elsewhere with other cases as well. For example, in Ml. 17^a8 (but also e.g. Ml. 18^d2) the genitive form *doinachtæ* (“of the manhood”) renders Latin into Irish faithfully (*hoc ex persona suscepti⁽⁸⁾ hominis*).

Although NP +RelC sentences, as claimed at the beginning of the section, feature a clear alignment in terms of IS, they should perhaps be neglected in a general analysis of the syntax of the language:

- i. firstly, from a pure syntactic standpoint, all Table 234 sentences are not actual sentences but single constituents, made of a head + a modifier;
- ii. secondly, as mentioned above, the (large) amount of $[\text{NP}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{+}[\text{RelC}]_{\text{FOC}}$ constructions seems to be more a peculiarity of the glosses, than a feature of Old Irish *per se* (at least, a so-pervasive attestation of the structure);
- iii. thirdly, including Table 234 clauses in a quantitative review of data collected in this thesis would cause some serious discrepancies in data. In certain cases, the same sentence-portion is counted more than once.

Consider, for an example, Ml. 46^b28. In this gloss, three $[\text{NP}]_{\text{TOP}}\text{+}[\text{RelC}]_{\text{FOC}}$ constructions occur:

- a. *in pecthi diarogaid inpopul fuairrigi ndæ 7 ad(il)gadchi*, “the sins for which the people sought the clemency of God and His forgiveness”;
- b. *inna hí diarogad(a)tar in popul robo* [leg. *roboi*] *in(ege)pt*, “those for which the people that was in Egypt prayed”;
- c. *in popul robo* [leg. *roboi*] *in(ege)pt*, “the people that were in Egypt”.

Nonetheless, *ML. 46^b28* was considered also in Chapter 3 (Table 18), analysed as V S O construction:²⁶³ *.i. du arbuid infaith ata ninunn in pecthi diarogaid inpopul fuairrigi ndæ 7 ad(il)gadchi 7 inna hí diarogad(a)tar in popul robo* [leg. *roboi*] *in(ege)pt*, “that is, the prophet showed that the sins for which the people sought the clemency of God and His forgiveness, and those for which the people that was in Egypt prayed, are the same”. In this gloss, the three examples listed above (a.-c.) of NP + RelC constructions occur (bold font). If a.-c. constituents above were included in the general analysis of data, the same portion of the text would have been counted more than once, this way biasing the results.

A further point deserving careful attention raised by Table 234 concerns the type of NP + RelC constituents listed. As a matter of fact, in Table 234 there are both NP + RelC constituents occurring in isolation (that is, constructions where the whole gloss presents this structure, e.g. *ML. 107^d8*, or constructions which do not constitute the whole gloss but are introduced by *.i.*, e.g. *ML. 141^b2*), and NP + RelC constituents occurring within a wider clause (see *ML. 46^b28* above). If in the case of NP + RelC constituents occurring in isolation there is no doubt about their IS alignment, in the case of similar constituents occurring within wider clauses, in certain contexts, there may be some issues. Consider and compare *ML. 63^b9* and *ML. 70^c6* on the one hand, *ML. 69^a19* on the other:

- i. *ML. 63^b9: airis sonairt atreba ní clantar*, “for it is firmly that that which is planted dwells” (V^(COP)-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}), where the sentence-final topical S is: *ní clantar*, “that which is planted” ([NP]_{TOP}-[V^(REL)(-X)]_{FOC});
- ii. *ML. 70^c6: it hé inso innaedbarta iarmifoig som*, “these are the offerings He seeks” (V^(COP)-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}), where the sentence-final topical S is: *innaedbarta iarmifoig som*, “the offerings He seeks” ([NP]_{TOP}-[V^(REL)(-X)]_{FOC});
- iii. *ML. 69^a19: .i. amal aramberat biuth ina cethrai cendechur innasástu frisacomrac* [leg. *frisacomracat*], “that is, as the cattle enjoy without distinction the foods that they meet with” (V-[S]_{TOP}-IC-[O]_{FOC}), where the sentence-final focal O is: *innasástu frisacomrac* [leg. *frisacomracat*], “the foods that they meet with” ([NP]_{TOP}-[V^(REL)(-X)]_{FOC}).

²⁶³ O is an argumental clause and not a NP.

Ml. 63^b9 shows a cleft structure, where the topical S is a NP + RelC constituent. At a higher level of analysis (V^(COP)-[Adv]_{FOC}-V-[S]_{TOP}), the NP + RelC nature of S is not rendered, and the whole constituent appears topical. At a lower level of analysis, however, the constituent *ní clantar* shows an internal IS articulation, where to a given head (*ní*) is added extra information (*clantar*). What is focal, hence, is in this case only to be intended in reference to *ní*, and not to the higher sentence. The same happens in Ml. 70^c6, where the topical S of a copular clause features the internal structure NP + RelC, but the ‘focal’ RelC has to be intended only in reference to *innaedbartá*, and not to the higher sentence. Rather different is Ml. 69^a19: in this case, the NP occurring within the V S IC O sentence showing the NP + RelC internal articulation is focal in the higher sentence (*innasástu frisacomrac*). Nevertheless, if the lower constituent level is taken into account, *frisacomracat* is added in IS terms to its head *innasástu*; this justifies the TOP-FOC alignment, which has nothing to do with the whole sentence *.i. amal aramberat biuth ina cethrai cendechur innasástu frisacomrac* [leg. *frisacomracat*]. This methodological note, as it will be seen below, is valid also for examples belonging to Section 9.1.2. Note, then, that if the topicality of the antecedent of appositive RelCs can be accepted rather doubtlessly, it is not so obvious to consider topical, according to Lambrecht’s definition of TOP discussed in Chapter 2, the NP head of a restrictive RelC, which is non-referential without the RelC itself. In my analysis of data, I left out the appositive vs. restrictive nature of RelCs. I focused on the theme-rheme articulation occurring between NPs and RelCs only. Nevertheless, also the non-referential (and thus inherently non-topical) status of NPs in restrictive RelCs goes in the direction of an exclusion of examples collected in Sections 9.1.1 and 9.1.2 from the general analysis of data that will be conducted in Chapter 10.

In the end, it may be noted that constructions such as e.g. Ml. 138^a4 (*.i. intabras dungní in corp do dia*, ‘that is, the gesture which the body makes to God’), that is, NP + RelC occurring in isolation, are morphosyntactically identical to sentences collected in Table 128 (Section 4.2.1) (e.g. Ml. 112^b20: *.i. aingil dæ bete occomet indfir firioin*, ‘that is, [it is] the angels of God who will be engaged in guarding the righteous man’). Nevertheless, cases such as the latter were considered cleft sentences without the sentence-initial copula (see e.g. Section 4.2.1), while cases as the former were considered NPs modified by a relative clause. This different analysis entails some serious variation in terms of IS alignment, even if it is not motivated by anything explicitly different under the morphosyntactic perspective: if the construction is considered cleft, the preverbal constituent is focal; if the construction is considered a single constituent, the head NP is topical. From a methodological standpoint, I selected the one or the other analysis of such cases on the basis of Griffith and Stifter’s database analysis. This is the same principle coherently followed e.g. with *acht* (analysed as focalising particle and not

as IC, see Section 2.2), with *són* (analysed as expletive and non-argumental pronominal item, see Section 3.1.1), or even with those sentences where a focal constituent preceded a V, in certain cases analysed as cleft constructions without the sentence-initial copula, in other cases analysed as instances of leftward rhematisation of Ss/Os/ICs (see Section 4.2.1 and following).

9.1.2 PPs+RelC

Exactly the same remarks just considered in Section 9.1.2 are valid for $[PP]_{TOP+}[RelC]_{FOC}$ structures. Consider example (235):

- (235) *frinnech dogní olc frit*
 to anyone that does something bad to you
 «to anyone who does evil to you» (Ml. 23^c20).

Word order and information structure: $[PP]_{TOP-}[V^{(REL)}-O-IC]_{FOC}$

A PP (*frinnech*) constitutes the head of a relative clause (*dogní*). In terms of IS, extra information is added to a given referent (see Section 9.1.1).

$[PP]_{TOP+}[RelC]_{FOC}$ structures, although less numerous than NP + RelCs, are however rather consistent in quantitative terms in the Milan glosses corpus. All the attested examples are collected in Table 235.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
Ml. 2 ^b 11	<i>fonmám nuu .i. isindfeni nuí fuarabatar indibai</i>	under the new yoke, that is, in the new wagon under which there were the two cows	$[PP]_{TOP-}[V^{(REL)}(-X)]_{FOC}$
Ml. 17 ^b 7	<i>.i. hoaitribthid .i. hondeacht adrothreb and</i>	that is, from its inhabitant, that is, from the Godhead which dwelled there	$[PP]_{TOP-}[V^{(REL)}(-X)]_{FOC}$
Ml. 20 ^d 6	<i>.i. donaib hí immafresnat</i>	that is, to those who dispute	$[PP]_{TOP-}[V^{(REL)}(-X)]_{FOC}$
Ml. 22 ^c 1	<i>frínech tarsatochuirther sciath</i>	to one over whom is placed a shield	$[PP]_{TOP-}[V^{(REL)}(-X)]_{FOC}$
Ml. 23 ^a 13	<i>.i. cosind epirt asingaib méit</i>	that is, with the saying that exceeds quantity	$[PP]_{TOP-}[V^{(REL)}(-X)]_{FOC}$
Ml. 23 ^c 7	<i>trisindrochomairli dorat achitofel</i>	through the bad counsel that Achitophel gave	$[PP]_{TOP-}[V^{(REL)}(-X)]_{FOC}$
Ml. 23 ^c 20	<i>frínech nadeni olc fríut</i>	to anyone who does not do evil to you	$[PP]_{TOP-}[V^{(REL)}(-X)]_{FOC}$
Ml. 23 ^d 23	<i>híloc bes ardu</i>	into a place which is higher	$[PP]_{TOP-}[V^{(REL)}(-X)]_{FOC}$

Ml. 24 ^a 17	<i>dinaib fochaidib hirobae</i>	from the tribulations in which he was	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^b 12	<i>.i. frisnafirianu bite hifochaidib 7 innedaibsiu</i>	that is, to the righteous who are in tribulations and afflictions here	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 5	<i>dundfaithsini duaircet and</i>	to the prophecy that was prophesied there	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 12	<i>.i. indfirinne innastoir fuarogbad insalmso</i>	that is, the truth of the history according to which this psalm was sung	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 24 ^d 20	<i>.i. frisintitul relas aimsir</i>	that is, with respect to the title that declares a time	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 25 ^a 21	<i>dondí inolaid</i>	to him who entered	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 25 ^b 8	<i>ardemngud innafaithsinese asnduchrist rocét</i>	for the confirmation of this prophecy that it was said of Christ	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^a 8	<i>cosnaib hulib dulib fomamaigter [leg. foamamaigter] dosuidi</i>	with all the creatures which are subjected to it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^b 20	<i>.i. dinaib cumachtgaib echtrannaib roadbartaisget donpopul</i>	that is, of the foreign powers that were opposed to the people	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 26 ^d 12	<i>dinaib fochaidib fodaimet</i>	from the tribulations which they endure	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 27 ^a 7-8	<i>dinaib innadaib imbia</i>	from the afflictions in which it will be	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 27 ^d 7	<i>doneuch naichidfitir</i>	to one who does not know it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 29 ^b 1	<i>honderbeirt biuth dochuirethar</i>	from the use that invites	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 29 ^b 11	<i>.i. arinní gnís inpeccad</i>	that is, on account of him who does the sin	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 31 ^b 23	<i>is indhuliu labramarni</i>	in all that we say	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 32 ^d 5	<i>hipein nadful</i>	into punishment which he may not endure	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^a 27	<i>dundi contuarcar</i>	to that which is pounded	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^a 9	<i>.i. foní fuantuic póil</i>	that is, in accordance with that [application] to which Paul had put it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^b 16	<i>foní fuatabarr isindnuiadnisiu</i>	of that to which it is applied in the New Testament	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 35 ^b 18	<i>foní fotabarr isindnufiadnisiu</i>	concerning that to which it is applied in the New Testament	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 29	<i>dofeichemain rodligestar ní do</i>	to a creditor who had a right to something from him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 36 ^a 30	<i>fuaní ara reilced do</i>	on that which was lent to him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>cosnaib ilchiallaib techtas</i>	with the many meanings that it has	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 37 ^a 10	<i>cosíndóinchche</i> [leg. <i>cosíndóinche</i>] <i>nammá asreil</i> , <i>as adblom as</i>	with the one sense only, which is clear and ready from it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 14	<i>fon na inni fordi</i> [<i>n</i>] <i>grat</i>	in accordance with the qualities that they signify	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 16	<i>donaib che</i> [<i>né</i>] <i>laib immerabtar iudeu</i>	to the nations that were about the Jews	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 18	<i>iarcul indi as sanctis</i>	behind that that is <i>sanctis</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^a 18	<i>ducec</i> [leg. <i>ducech</i>] <i>sainredach</i> , <i>rubrigach techtas nech</i>	to everything particular and preeminent that anyone has	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 4	<i>dintsainr</i> < <i>a</i> > <i>iud ingnima inna noibe techtae</i>	from the peculiarity of the deed of the holiness that they have	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 12	<i>is indan frisgniát</i>	in the craft that they practice	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 12	<i>sech cach fodglein olchene</i>	beyond every other who learns it in addition	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 17	<i>.i. hondí indixnigedar</i>	that is, from that which is in	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 19	<i>dundrubrigach techtas nech</i>	of the preeminent thing that anyone has	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 37 ^b 27	<i>.i. huan inni ind nert rothecht</i>	that is, from the quality of the strength that he had	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 3	<i>foncheill fuandrogab in fáith</i>	according to the sense in which the prophet uttered it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 4	<i>fris innaicsin forarobae</i>	to the cause on which he was engaged	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 10	<i>.i. inní immeforlaing guasacht dia íc sòn</i> , <i>diabethaid</i>	that is, into something which caused danger to his salvation and to his life	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 13	<i>.i. honaib ingramm</i> [<i>an</i>] <i>aib hirabae</i>	that is, from the persecutions in which he was	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^c 19	<i>.i. honengraic uil</i> [<i>c</i>] <i>tarési induilc dognither frím</i>	that is, by the interchange of evil for the evil that is done to me	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^d 7	<i>hondfeuchrai fiachaigthi arruthroith</i>	by the due severity that checked	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 38 ^d 20	<i>tar ési indancridi dognithe friunn</i>	for the wrong that used to be done towards us	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^a 3	<i>is innuaim im bóí</i>	into the cave in which he was	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^a 20	<i>donaib hí frissidnoirctis</i>	to those who used to injure him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^d 30	<i>dondi oirdnes dia</i>	to him whom God ordains	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^b 8	<i>dind fortacht durat dia do</i>	of the help that God gave him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 15	<i>donaib naimtib bite frie anechtair</i>	to the enemies who are outside it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 40 ^c 17	<i>inarrad innafersae hitadbadar cosmailius do frisnariga talmandi</i>	beside the verses in which is set forth His likeness to the earthly kings	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 40 ^c 22	<i>indiad inna fersae hitadbadar agraín fochosmailius innaríg talmандаe</i>	after the verses in which is shown the horror of them after the manner of earthly kings	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^b 28	<i>.i. amal nech nad chomainsea achoidid</i>	that is, like one who does not trample on his lord	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 2	<i>trisinnopred ndogniat</i>	through the work that they do	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 10	<i>frínech nachidetargéuin</i>	to one who does not know it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 23	<i>trissanínnaide aranetersi isindaichí</i>	through the expectation with which it is expected in the night	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 42 ^c 33	<i>fricechninfinit fil sunt síis</i>	with every infinitive which is here below	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^c 15	<i>.i. hondí as potentas</i>	that is, from it that is <i>potentas</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^c 15	<i>hondí as potento</i>	from it that is <i>potento</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 43 ^d 1	<i>diainachdaib leu robeth fordib milib ech</i>	of riders among them for two thousand horses	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^a 20	<i>forsandered duruarid dib</i>	on the remainder which remains of them	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 1	<i>.i. dintuidecht dundechuid crist hítech innasacard</i>	that is, of the coming by which Christ came to the house of the priests	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 1	<i>dinchesad roces iarsin intí crist</i>	of the passion that Christ suffered after that	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^b 29	<i>is inninsce sea fris cissen in diut su híthorbatar maithir</i>	at this expression of hope in You (sg), at which my fathers arrived	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 44 ^d 2	<i>as inchobás hirobae</i>	from the juncture in which it was	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^a 16	<i>honaib hí atangrennat</i>	by those who persecute us	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 45 ^c 9	<i>lasinconair immetiagat</i>	along the way on which they go	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 7	<i>archiunn forríg dothét apopul adoiri</i>	before your (pl) King, who comes out of captivity with his people!	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 11	<i>honaibhí ardaosailcet</i>	by those that open them	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 12	<i>archenn arríg dothet a]popul adoiri</i>	before their King who comes with his people out of captivity	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 26	<i>didoiri babelon [leg. babelone] dorataid fornn</i>	from the captivity of Babylon that was inflicted on us	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 26	<i>dinaib pecthaib , donaib adradaib idal dorigensam</i>	from the sins and from the worship of idols that we have committed	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^b 29	<i>don popul robo [leg. roboi] inegept</i>	to the people that was in Egypt	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 7	<i>donahi diandrerchoil intí dia</i>	to those to whom God has decreed it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 8	<i>isnaib fochaidib imbiat</i>	in the tribulations in which they shall be	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 46 ^c 14	<i>hítestinnib file is intsalm anuas</i>	in the texts that are in the psalm above	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 20	<i>duneuch nud comálnabadar</i>	to anyone who will fulfill it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^c 24	<i>toneuch rudfinnadar</i>	to him that finds it out	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^a 14	<i>frisaní as odiuí eclesiam malignantium</i>	he has here a difference of rendering from <i>odivi eclesiam malignantium</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^b 7	<i>.i. arnapecthu immefolngat guasacht do anmin</i>	that is, on account of the sins that cause peril to the soul	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^b 13	<i>frisaní noradim</i>	from that which I say	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^c 17	<i>forsauissitam fel in psalterio</i>	on the <i>uisitem</i> which is in the psalter	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 47 ^d 8	<i>frinech frisambi ferc do</i>	from one against whom He is angry [lit. anger exists for Him]	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^a 6	<i>forsaní as né silias 7 as né taceas trachtid anisiu síis</i>	it is on <i>ne sileas</i> and <i>ne taceas</i> that this below comments	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^b 2	<i>dingalar hirobae</i>	from the sickness in which he was	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 27	<i>á hirusalem aranachatoirsitis</i> [leg. <i>arnachatoirsitis</i>] <i>aithirriuch</i>	from Jerusalem, that they might not take again	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 28	<i>dindathlugud buide dorigni ezechias dodia dia· íc dingalar hirobae</i>	of the thanksgiving that Hezekiah made to God for healing him of the sickness in which he lays	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 48 ^d 28	<i>dia· íc dingalar hirobae</i>	for healing him of the sickness in which he lays	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^a 3	<i>.i. huanduail rodgab són</i>	that is, by the pride that seized him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^a 18a	<i>frinech bes tresa</i>	towards anyone that is stronger	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^b 4	<i>.i. dingalar hirobae</i>	that is, from the sickness in which he had been	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 49 ^c 13	<i>isnaib hí mmodi</i> [leg. <i>immoidi</i>]	in the things in which he boasts	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^c 14	<i>.i. dungiim robu accubur lat duforbu</i>	that is, to the work that You (sg) were desirous to complete	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 1	<i>la nech disluindi dliged remdeicsen</i>	in anyone who denies the rule of Providence	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 3	<i>forsan· ideo fil in psalmo ideo</i>	on the <i>ideo</i> which is in the psalm	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 6	<i>forcolu ind· ideo fil isindsalm</i>	back to the <i>ideo</i> which is in the psalm	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 50 ^d 17	<i>frisinprecept roprihach</i>	to the preaching which he preached	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^a 16	<i>frissinní dorigni ezechias</i>	to that of which Hezekiah was guilty	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 51 ^b 8	<i>do retaib ata chosmaili fri fir- la doini</i> ₇ <i>bes ni bat fira ladia</i>	of things that are like truth in the eyes of men, and perhaps they are not true in the eyes of God	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^b 10	<i>doneuch nodneirbea ind</i> ₇ <i>genas triit</i>	that is to say, it a sign which God will give to everyone that shall trust in Him, and work through Him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c 2	<i>aircech ceneliu ciuil honid techtae molad dáé</i>	for every kind of musical instrument with which the praise of God is fitting	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^c 12	<i>triadegmaini dombeir dodoib</i> ₇ <i>doiudeib sethach</i> [leg. <i>sehcách</i>]	on account of His benefits which He confers on men, and on the Jews above all	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^d 2	<i>isnaasidisnea adfiadat</i>	into the statements that they make	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^d 8	<i>fochosmailius donem</i> [leg. <i>donemar</i>] ₇ <i>daingnigther immetsad ninfolgide</i>	in the manner that around a hidden treasury it is protected and fortified	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 51 ^d 22	<i>tar æsi indí aspenitus</i>	instead of that that is <i>penitus</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^a 1	<i>.i. forsani as- corda</i>	that is, on it that is <i>corda</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^a 17	<i>donpopul assardu roboi oc indriud macc n israhel</i>	that does not apply to any other in his opinion but to the Assyrian people that was harrying the Children of Israel	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^a 25	<i>.i. hondi immeradat</i> ₇ <i>bis innammenmain</i>	that is, from that which they think and which is in their mind	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^b 13	<i>as ingrad imbiat són</i>	from the rank in which they are	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^c 13	<i>.i. imchomarc conaithisib triit dognitissom damsa</i>	that is, a question with reproaches throughout it that they used to put to me	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^b 6	<i>donaib hí assidroillet</i>	to those that deserve it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 54 ^d 16	<i>frinech dudrigni</i>	towards anyone who did it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^a 8	<i>.i. on chamdeicsin dongniat</i>	that is, by the crooked look that they give	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>co port imbói inrí indsainriud</i>	to the place in which the king was in particular	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>hitelaig banessam dindslog</i>	to the hill that was next the army	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 1	<i>intindnaculsin</i> [leg. <i>intindnaculsin</i>] <i>didiu dunecommacht dia inní- saúl innalamasom</i>	of that giving, then, whereby God delivered Saul into his hands	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 2	<i>.i. as in magin imbatar</i>	that is, from the place in which they were	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 6	<i>forsani as dilinquat</i>	on it that is <i>dilinquat</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 55 ^c 10	<i>is indí as non</i>	in that that is in <i>non</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 14	<i>forsaní as iniquitas</i> , <i>odium</i>	on it that is <i>iniquitas</i> and <i>odium</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^d 11	<i>andu imnedaib</i> , <i>frithoircnib</i> <i>fodaimi</i>	what of afflictions and injuries you (sg) suffer	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^d 25	<i>doneuch asber nadmbed dliged</i> <i>remdeicsen dé dudoinib</i>	to anyone who says that there is not a law of the providence of God for men	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 2	<i>forsna doini fil isindús</i> [leg. <i>isindúsin</i>].	over the men who are in that place	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 3	<i>arnaib gnimaib són dungniat</i> <i>som honaib ballaib hisin</i>	for the deeds that they do with those members	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 6	<i>difilistinib romarbsat saul</i>	of the Philistines that slew Saul	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 22	<i>.i. huaneuch as aircendam</i> , <i>as</i> <i>erríndem cechasoimige</i>	that is, from what is first and highest of every prosperity	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 26	<i>.i. amal nech bis in ælscud</i> , <i>ingalar mór tribuith indomataid</i> <i>cen sommataid</i>	that is, as one who is in longing and great distress through being in poverty without wealth	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 26	<i>imna imbed a techtae sidi</i>	after the abundance that they possess	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 31	<i>is indí as emulari</i>	in it that is <i>emulari</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 32	<i>forsaní a</i> [leg. <i>as</i>] <i>zelaueris</i>	on it that is <i>zelaueris</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>etir aní as emulari</i> , <i>aní as</i> <i>zelaueris</i>	between that that is <i>emulari</i> and that that is <i>zelaueris</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>imní nad techtai féin</i> , <i>bís</i> <i>lannach naile</i>	about a thing that you (sg) do not possess and that some other has	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>imní notechtaí fein</i>	about a thing that you yourself (sg) possess	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>is indí a</i> [leg. <i>as</i>] <i>zelaueris</i>	in it that is <i>zelaveris</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 33	<i>is indí as emulari</i>	in it that is <i>emulari</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 37	<i>forsindib ciallaib fil</i> <i>isindemulari</i>	of the two meanings that are in <i>emulari</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 56 ^b 40	<i>forsaní as iniquitatem</i>	on it that is <i>iniquitatem</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 57 ^b 4	<i>imcechrét runecat les</i>	in respect of everything that they need	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^a 11	<i>etir inna cethri fersu fil</i> <i>isintsalm tall iar duaid</i>	between the four verses that are in the psalm yonder according to David	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^c 6	<i>díndaithuch labar fil oc du</i> <i>dibirciud su</i> , <i>oc du chaned</i>	off the arrogant vassal who is pelting you (sg) and reviling you (sg)	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 58 ^d 13	<i>.i. arnaib hi forodamarsa</i>	that is, for the things that I have endured	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^a 12	<i>doneuch bes amlabar</i>	to one who is dumb	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 59 ^a 15	<i>doneuch bís hifochaidib</i> ₇ <i>imnedaib</i>	to one who is in tribulations and afflictions	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 59 ^d 7	<i>lasnacumachtgu foambiat accai</i> ₇ <i>mám</i>	to the mighty ones under whose bond and yoke they are	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^a 34	<i>dungalar hi robae</i>	of the illness in which he had been	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^a 37	<i>dingalar hi robae</i>	from the illness in which he had been	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^b 22	<i>.i. sechtar indegdais imbíth ezechias</i>	that is, outside the house in which Hezekiah used to be	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^b 28	<i>duneuch bís hílobrai</i>	to one who is in sickness	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 61 ^c 12	<i>frissa ní immeraidtis huabriathrib</i>	to what they used to say in words	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c 6b	<i>is indaidchi dudchoisgedar</i>	on the night that follows it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c 7	<i>asnaib imnedaib hiroba(sa)</i>	from the troubles in which I was	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 62 ^c 21	<i>frisnahi fritammorcat sa</i>	against those that afflict me	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^c 5	<i>.i. dineuch durignisiu</i>	that is, of all that you did	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^c 18	<i>dinaib brataib berate hodie</i>	of the spoils that they carry off today	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^a 12	<i>fris incoais forarobae som</i>	to the cause that occupied him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 64 ^c 22	<i>indaas cechterchital dunaircechainnsom</i> [leg. <i>dunairchechainnsom</i>] <i>fesin</i> ₇ <i>indaas dunarcechainn nach faith aile</i>	to every prophecy that he had prophesied himself, and to what any other prophet had prophesied	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^a 1	<i>dineuch immethecrathar críst dianechtair</i>	of what covers Christ externally	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^c 6	<i>.i. trissa uestimentís asrubart som</i>	that is, through the (word) <i>vestmentis</i> that he uttered	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^c 16	<i>isintorund imbiat</i>	in the representation in which they are	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 65 ^d 5	<i>frisinseirc rocar críst innæcláis</i>	to the love wherewith Christ loved the Church	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 66 ^d 2	<i>l. honaib comfulid</i> [leg. <i>comfulidib</i>] <i>echtrannaib roechtrannaigsetar</i>	or from the alien kinsmen who became estranged	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 67 ^b 17b	<i>dindamru durigeni dia erib</i>	because of the wonder that God did for you	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^c 14	<i>.i. dialailibetis foircthib</i>	that is, for others who were to be taught	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 68 ^c 14	<i>as ingerint fil fordeil</i> [leg. <i>fordeilb</i>] <i>ainsedo</i>	from the gerund which is in the form of an accusative	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^a 18	<i>hua cechrét frissacomraic</i>	from every thing that he meets with	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 69 ^a 23	<i>huacechasad frisa comrucat</i>	from every food that they meet with	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 71 ^b 12	<i>.i. dunaib hí nubitis fuamá am</i>	that is, to those who used to be subject to him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 72 ^d 12	<i>dundí as iudica</i>	with that that is <i>iudica</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 72 ^d 18	<i>huagnimaib inna diglae dubérthar foraib</i>	by the deeds of the vengeance that will be inflicted on them	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 73 ^d 7	<i>huan bás coitchen huanepil cach</i>	that is, let them not die by the common death whereby every one dies	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^a 12	<i>ar inpopopul</i> [leg. <i>inpopul</i>] <i>duchoid láioniam for longais res ingraimmim</i> [leg. <i>resind ingraimmim</i>]	for the people that went with Onias into exile before the persecution	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^a 13	<i>.i. huanaib aidmib noibaib robatar hitempul</i>	that is, from the sacred instruments which were in the Temple	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^a 14	<i>l. huanaibæsgnaib noibaib hirobatar</i>	or from the holy customs in which they had been	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^b 1	<i>dund eregim , dund imniud coinedar duaid</i>	of the complaint and of the trouble that David laments	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^c 9	<i>forsa expectantes fil riam</i>	on the <i>expectantes</i> which is preceding	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 74 ^c 20	<i>forsnaib cotarsnaib durairngirtsiu</i>	upon the adversities that You had prophesied	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 76 ^a 16	<i>dunchach ngaibde</i>	to all whom they seize	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 76 ^d 4	<i>damsa bed gabthi</i>	for me who is to be captured	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^a 15	<i>dúinn imchumurc fil is inchanoin</i>	to the question that is in the Scripture-text	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 77 ^d 3	<i>dunplaig duber</i> [leg. <i>duberr</i>] <i>fornech , nad fulaing</i>	to the affliction that is brought upon a man, and which he does not endure	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 78 ^b 5	<i>huanaib hí dufonget</i>	by those who wash	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^b 7	<i>(ar) aarat diatochuirther</i>	(for) the distance from which it is shot	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 80 ^d 4	<i>amal aceliu forsataradad indigal</i>	like their fellows on whom the punishment had been inflicted	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 82 ^d 9	<i>.i. huanduaire nundabertatar filistindi <tindai></i>	that is, from the time that the Philistines carried it off	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 82 ^d 10	<i>farsintochull fotu forsarobæ</i>	on the long journeying on which it had been	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 83 ^b 1	<i>is indi as fluit</i>	in it that is <i>fluit</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 84 ^c 12	<i>áfognama hirobatar</i>	for the servitude in which they had been	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 84 ^c 13	<i>duneuch nachid áirilli</i>	to one who does not deserve it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 85 ^b 7	<i>.i. amal slaidred n argait dinaconbi móin</i>	that is, like litharge of silver, from which no treasure is wont to be	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 86 ^d 8	<i>huanaib hi frisraisiur dum donad</i>	from those whom I had expected to console me	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 86 ^d 11	<i>is indaimsir imbi failed nech</i>	at the time in which one is joyous	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 86 ^d 19	<i>.i. donaib hí robatar oc crochad Christ</i>	that is, to those who were crucifying Christ	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 87 ^c 5	<i>donaib hí ingreintis duaid</i>	by those who used to persecute David	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^f 15	<i>amal bróin nailgen sniges hicnai</i>	as the gentle rain that drops into a fleece	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 89 ^d 18	<i>las innuile talmuín· ón file im na insi immacuairdd</i>	with the whole earth which is round about the islands	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 90 ^c 7	<i>.i. huantoracht as ecguístiu</i>	that is, by the succession that is more desired	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^a 21	<i>forsnammórchol durigensat anamait fris</i>	to the great wickednesses that his enemies had committed against him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^a 21	<i>forsnahí durigensat inhísín [leg. innahísín] frissium</i>	on those who had done those things to him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 91 ^c 19	<i>lammeit inna soinnmige hírobatar</i>	with the greatness of the prosperity in which they had been	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^b 8	<i>asnaib imnedaib hitó</i>	from the troubles in which I am	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^b 9	<i>trisinnedbair [leg. edbairt] dugnither in hierusalem quam in aliis locis</i>	that is, it is more quickly that the help of God is obtained through the offering which is made in Jerusalem than in other places	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^b 12	<i>dunelled asslentar huanaib salaib corptaib [leg. corpthaib]</i>	for the pollution whereby a man is defiled by bodily stains	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^b 2	<i>forsan iustitias iudicabo remiærbar</i>	on the (phrase) <i>iustitias iudicabo</i> which he has used above	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^c 3	<i>triasnaimneda [leg. trisna-] 7 nafochaidi imbiat</i>	through the troubles and afflictions in which they are	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 94 ^c 13	<i>forauini meri· remiærbart</i>	of the <i>vini meri</i> that he has spoken of before	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 95 ^c 8	<i>foraní as intendit</i>	on it that is <i>intendit</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^a 10	<i>isnaib fochaidib 7 isnaib imnedaib hirobamar</i>	in the tribulations and afflictions in which we were	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^b 5	<i>du fochaidib inotgam</i>	of the tribulations into which we enter	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^b 5	<i>du degmainib 7 sainemla [leg. sainemlaib] dunecommacht dia doib</i>	of the benefits and of the excellent things which God gave them	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 97 ^a 7	<i>etir achethardae remiærbartmar</i>	among the four things that we have previously mentioned	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 98 ^c 6	<i>indate inpecthai dorogabsat som</i>	than the sins that they had committed	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 99 ^a 4	<i>.i. arnaib bolcaib astoitis</i>	that is, for the blisters that used to glisten	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 99 ^b 1	<i>.i. arindulc fodaim nech ánd</i>	that is, on account of the evil that anyone endures therein	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 101 ^b 3	<i>isíndainsir hirobatar inmachabdi</i>	at the time at which the Machabees lived	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^b 7	<i>.i. huandlud bis occosrad [leg. occosrad] mur</i>	that is, by the battering ram which is used in demolishing walls	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 102 ^d 17	<i>dinaib imnedaib hirobatar</i>	from the troubles in which they had been	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^b 7	<i>duneuch dirogbad [leg. diarogbad] insalm</i>	to anything about which the psalm has been sung	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^b 8	<i>.i. dum popul roboí is indoiri</i>	that is, to the people that had been in captivity	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^b 9	<i>.i. dund imniud roboí forsín popul són is indoiri</i>	that is, to the affliction that had been on the people in captivity	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^b 15	<i>.i. etir innahí nodebtaigtis [leg. nodebthaigtis]</i>	that is, among those who used to quarrel	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^b 16	<i>etir innáis dutiagat innareir</i>	between the people who submit to them	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^d 14	<i>.i. huanchomchétbaid són roboí etir inna chenela du ulc frit</i>	that is, by the agreement that had been among the nations for evil to You	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 103 ^d 27	<i>dund lather fil ladía ocar ñ ditin ní</i>	to the purpose which is with God in protecting us	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^b 2	<i>forsna hí robatar in endor</i>	on those that were in Endor	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^b 2	<i>fors na hí frisorcát dunaib machabdíb</i>	on those who do hurt to the Machabees	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^c 4	<i>trisna digla dombeir</i>	through the punishments which He inflicts	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^c 5	<i>inna loc hirobatar riam</i>	in the places in which they had been before	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^b 7	<i>inneuch asdoiscairem hí tír israhel</i>	in something that is meanest in the land of Israel	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^b 16	<i>as indfognam hirobammar</i>	from the servitude in which we had been	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^c 1	<i>.i. frisinsalm fil riam</i>	that is, to the psalm which is before it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 105 ^d 4	<i>la cachmaith dubir dúinni</i>	with every good thing that You (sg) give us	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 106 ^a 4	<i>.i. donaib hí durigat adoiri</i>	that is, to those that shall come out of captivity	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^a 10	<i>.i. dunchlaind bed fodeinti</i>	that is, for the child which should be sufficient	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^c 8	<i>donaib galaraib im biam</i>	of the diseases in which we are	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 107 ^e 16	<i>duthabairt inchosmailseo dombeirsom híc</i>	through the giving of the comparison that he gives here	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^a 11	<i>doneuch bís imbrón</i>	to one who is in sorrow	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 108 ^c 12	<i>forsaní as eclesia sanctorum</i>	on it that is <i>eclesia sanctorum</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 109 ^d 5	<i>fotairngere conidchumscaiged</i>	under a promise that He should alter it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 110 ^c 2	<i>dundí naderbæra biuth</i>	to him who will not live	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^b 26	<i>.i. honaib coscaib innangalar dubertar iarsind ochtmugdaigi</i>	that is, by the corrections of the diseases which are inflicted after the age of eighty	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 111 ^b 28	<i>.i. fubithin innapecthae duogab isindochtmugait bliadnae</i>	because of the sins which he had committed in the eighty years	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^b 20	<i>as ind noibi imbí</i>	from the sanctity in which he is	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^d 2	<i>is indí asrubart</i>	in what he has said	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 112 ^d 2	<i>is dí as ueritatem rl.</i>	in it that is <i>ueritatem</i> etc.	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 113 ^a 4	<i>.i. asindónoir imbiat són</i>	that is, from the honour in which they are	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 113 ^c 8	<i>forsna cenela echtranna robatar fuammám</i>	for the foreign nations that were subject to them	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 113 ^d 3	<i>dingnim forchomnaccuir is ind laithiu sin</i>	to the deed which happened on that day	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^b 1	<i>is indí ascit , as nóuit</i>	in it that is <i>scit</i> and that is <i>nouit</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^d 3	<i>huandaisúdis astoidí</i>	by the narration that shines	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^b 6	<i>dundsasad diant ainm panis</i>	to the food which is called <i>panis</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 118 ^c 6	<i>forsaní as quia cinirem</i>	on it that is <i>quia cinirem</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 121 ^d 10	<i>.i. huand atuch imbiat</i>	that is, from the refuge in which they are wont to be	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^a 12	<i>dondí chluchigedar</i>	to him that sports	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^c 2	<i>trisinmbindius trissacantar ingnimai hisin</i>	through the harmony with which those works are sung	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^d 7	<i>cosinnuair rondchomallastar</i>	till the time that he had fulfilled it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 122 ^d 7	<i>.i. cid cen innaimsir nisin inrochomallad atairige [leg. atairngere]</i>	that is, even without that time at which the promise had been fulfilled	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^c 3	<i>duntedmaim dudaánaic innaríga</i>	of the plague which had come to them, (i.e.) to the kings	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 123 ^c 4	<i>du neuch dia cuinchetar frepthi dia ícc</i>	to any one for whom remedies are sought to heal him	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^c 8	<i>forsaní as primogenitum</i>	on it that is <i>primogenitum</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 123 ^c 16	<i>forsaní asaturauit</i> [leg. <i>assaturauit</i>] <i>eos</i>	on it that is <i>saturauit eos</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^b 9	<i>donaib hí inseitaigtis</i>	to those who used to travel	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^c 15	<i>doneuch lassata sians , intliucht</i>	that is, by any one who had sense and understanding	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 124 ^c 16	<i>doneuch ardamunethar feid</i>	to any one who worships them	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^a 5	<i>amal in popul robói· in ægipt</i>	As the people that had been in Egypt	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^b 4a	<i>.i. indaas indigal tober taræsi</i> [leg. <i>taraesi</i>]	that is, than the punishment which he inflicts for it	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 4	<i>.i. donaib hí beta cheti</i>	that is, to the things which are to be sung	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^c 8	<i>.i. donaib hí atamgrennat</i>	that is, to those who persecute me	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 6	<i>forsna coíc riga bertar loth asodaim</i>	on the five kings who carried Lot from Sodom	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^d 14	<i>tris in loc innaisndísen asber híc</i>	through the passage of the narration that he speaks of here	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^c 5	<i>forsam· memor fil in psalmo</i>	on the (word) <i>memor</i> which is in <i>psalmo</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 8	<i>.i. onaib tollaidib bite ocumtuch són</i>	that is, by the stoncutters who are engaged in building	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 9	<i>.i. fochosmailius liac ærasaighthær a fabrís</i>	that is, after the fashion of a stone which is rejected <i>a fabrís</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^c 17	<i>aralín duchenelaib robói etarru</i>	for the number of nations that had been between them	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 131 ^d 11	<i>.i. donaib déedib betis chloithib</i>	that is, for the idle ones who should be conquered	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 132 ^c 8	<i>.i. amal senbolc bís hireud</i>	that is, like an old skin-bag which is in frost	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 133 ^a 13	<i>forsani as gratis</i>	on it that is <i>gratis</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 133 ^b 4	<i>.i. trisnacemmen inandais beus</i>	that is, through the steps on which they still used to halt	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 133 ^d 9	<i>forsaní asuí(r)tute</i>	on it that is <i>uirtute</i>	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 135 ^d 1	<i>cenmitha inni imbi féin</i>	besides that in which you (sg) are yourself	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 136 ^d 9	<i>ar duaid diarufoilsiged issind lucsin</i>	for David, to whom it had been revealed in that place	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 137 ^a 1	<i>duntír hita bethil</i>	of the land in which Bethlehem is	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 138 ^c 1	<i>itir dóini , idlu cruthaigter foacosmailius</i>	between men and idols that are shaped after their likeness	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 139 ^a 6	<i>fubithin neich asbeir hisunt</i>	because of what he says here	[PP] _{TOP} -[V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Ml. 140 ^c 2	<i>dundí adgreinn</i>	to him who pursues	[PP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 142 ^c 1	<i>frisani fil riam</i>	as that which is before	[PP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 142 ^d 1	<i>do neuch forsanimber</i>	to him on whom it is used	[PP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}
Ml. 145 ^d 7	<i>inneuch forruchongart dia doib</i>	wherever God had ordered them	[PP] _{TOP-} [V ^(REL) (-X)] _{FOC}

Table 235. [PP]_{TOP+}[RelC]_{FOC} constructions.

Examples such as 43^c15 show an interesting structure, used to cite from Latin, and equivalent in function to the construction neuter determiner + Latin word (Breatnach 1990).

Data collected in Table 235 largely confirm what stated above for [NP]_{TOP+}[RelC]_{FOC} constructions: although relevant in both quantitative and IS terms, [PP]_{TOP+}[RelC]_{FOC} constructions can be neglected in a general analysis of Old Irish syntax as performed in this work.

9.2 Copula + verbal of necessity

According to Thurneysen (1946, §§717-719), the verbal of necessity in Old Irish occurs in predicative constructions after the copula with a meaning comparable to that of the Latin gerundive (e.g. *buiithi*, “it has to be”).

Old Irish verbal of necessity features the suffix *-ti*, *-thi*, *-di*, which tends to be uninflected, with a few exceptions especially in the Milan glosses (e.g. Ml. 131^d11: *donaib déedib betis chloithib*, “for the idle ones who should be conquered,” which glosses Lat. *ad conuincendos desides*), however analysed as artificial by Thurneysen (GOI §717).

In this section, I have collected sentences made of the sequence copula + verbal of necessity only (236):

- (236) *betis* *esngarthib*
 (they) were to be announced
 «they were to be announced» (Ml. 104^d7).

Word order and information structure: V^(COP)-[V]_{FOC}

Similar examples were considered worth-examining due to a clear IS articulation, where the verbal of necessity itself adds focal information to a non-over topic (3rd pl. “they” in example (236) above).

All V^(COP) + V (of necessity) instances attested in the Milan glosses are reported in Table 236.

Locus	Gloss	Translation	Analysis
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Other Worth-examining Categories

Ml. 33 ^d 7	<i>betis fustib</i>	they were to be stored	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 34 ^b 7	<i>is aisndissi</i>	it is to be set forth	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 39 ^d 24	<i>bed taircidi</i>	it should be brought about	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 46 ^a 27	<i>bed cuimrechta</i>	that it should be bound	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 53 ^b 2	<i>bed taircidi</i>	it should be caused	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 55 ^c 15	<i>bed airdbidi</i>	it should be destroyed	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^a 9	<i>is ingnaidi</i>	it is to be recognised	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 63 ^b 13	<i>betis fortachtaighib</i>	they were to be helped	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 69 ^c 1	<i>.i. sechis as nadamraigthi</i>	that is, that he is to be admired	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 72 ^b 13	<i>.i. amtis coirthi tarceann</i>	that is, when they were to be overthrown	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 79 ^c 1	<i>bed n intamaltai</i>	that it should be imitated	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 86 ^d 4	<i>betis étrummaighthi</i>	which were to be alleviated	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^a 14	<i>.i. bedolaighthi</i>	that is, which would be to be amplified	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 88 ^a 14	<i>bed tormachtai</i>	which would be to be increased	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^a 17	<i>.i. bed indbadighthi</i>	that is, to be enriched	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 92 ^a 17	<i>.i. bed chuinti [leg. chuintechtí]</i>	that is, to be sought	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^a 8	<i>.i. bed tudrachtí</i>	that is, it is to be enticed	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 93 ^a 8	<i>.i. bed chuintechtí són</i>	that is, it is to be sought	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 96 ^b 16	<i>betis imratib</i>	they should be to be considered	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 104 ^a 5	<i>as aighthi</i>	that is to be feared	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^b 3	<i>.i. is remderscaighthi</i>	that is, it is to be pre-distinguished	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^b 13	<i>bed fodlaidi</i>	it should be distributed	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 105 ^c 10	<i>it ingnaidi</i>	they are to be known	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^a 12	<i>is aisndissi</i>	it is to be declared	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 114 ^a 12	<i>ambat bethi</i>	when they will have to be struck	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^a 15	<i>bed diuscartai</i>	it should be removed	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 115 ^c 6	<i>.i. is oissi menmain</i>	that is, it is to be heeded	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 116 ^d 5	<i>atacomforaitmiti [leg. - foraitmiti]</i>	that they are to be commemorated	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 125 ^a 8	<i>bed impaithi</i>	it should be turned	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^c 18	<i>bes tuarti</i>	who will be to be crushed	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 126 ^d 3	<i>.i. bid tedbarthi</i>	that is, it would be to be offered	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^b 11	<i>as tremedti</i>	which is to be penetrated	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 127 ^b 15	<i>.i. atan indrissi</i>	that is, that they are to be invaded	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^d 1	<i>nit derachtai</i>	they are not to be abandoned	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 128 ^d 6	<i>isaichthi</i>	it is to be feared	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^b 10	<i>betis erdachtaib</i>	which were to be restored	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 130 ^c 2	<i>bed ailti</i>	which should be entreated	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 132 ^a 4	<i>bed foircthi</i>	which is to be taught	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 134 ^b 2	<i>bed estoiscthi</i>	which is to be compressed	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}

Ml. 137 ^c 12	<i>bed cuimrechi</i>	that it would be to be bound	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 144 ^a 3	<i>nantorasnigthi</i>	that it is not to be trusted	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}
Ml. 145 ^c 9	<i>atanditi</i>	that they are to be covered	V ^(COP) -[V] _{FOC}

Table 236. V^(COP)-[V (of necessity)]_{FOC} constructions.

Ml. 115^c6, is analysed in this section even if there is a NP in the accusative (*menmain*) following V. This is because *oissi menmain* has to be analysed all together to signify “to be heeded” (cfr. Lat. *intimanda*).

To understand the reason why V^(COP)-[V (of necessity)]_{FOC} constructions collected in Table 236 have to be neglected in a general quantitative analysis of Old Irish data consider Table 234 NP+RelC construction *innahi ata adamraigthi* (“that things that are to be admired”) and Table 235 PP+RelC construction *.i. dunchlaind bed fodeinti* (“that is, for the child which should be sufficient”). In both cases, what is labelled as V^(REL) is actually more precisely analysable as V^{(COP)(REL)} + verbal of necessity. Nevertheless, copula and verbal of necessity are considered as a single V. The same thing happened also in other sentence macro-types. For instance, in Chapter 3, Ml. 112^d1 was analysed as V [S]_{TOP} [IC]_{FOC}, even though V was made of V^(COP) + verbal of necessity (*is tabarthe*).

At the beginning of this section it was highlighted how Old Irish verbal of necessity can be compared to Latin gerundive. Latin gerundive is a verbal adjective of obligation (see e.g. Haspelmath 1987). The same thing happened in Ancient Greek (see e.g. Duhoux 2013). Accordingly, the attributive nature of Old Irish verbal of necessity may suggest an assimilation of V^(COP) + V of necessity constructions to V^(COP) + Adj constructions, that is to say predicative adjectives, that is to say Vs according to the methodology followed in this work.

This would also be coherent with the analysis performed in other chapters, where V^(COP)+verbal of necessity was glossed as V in wider constructions. In fact, V^(COP)s and Vs (of necessity) are part of a single constituent. Thus, as seen in the case of NPs+RelC and PPs+RelC, although relevantly attested and in spite of a clear IS articulation, also V^(COP)-[V (of necessity)]_{FOC} constructions collected in Table 236 have to be left out in a general analysis of Old Irish syntax from a quantitative standpoint, given that they are not relevant in terms of sentence word order: V^(COP) + verbal of necessity, when occurring with no other constituents in the same clause, has to be considered a single constituent (= V). If other constituents occur in the same gloss, beside a V^(COP) + verbal of necessity construction, the whole sentence is analysed elsewhere in this thesis (on that note, see e.g. footnote 117).

10. Synchronic Trends in the Relationship between Word Order and Information Structure

In the previous chapters, the syntactic macro-types attested in the Milan glosses corpus have been deeply examined. On the basis of these data, some trends emerging on the relationship between different word orders and how Old Irish sentences behave in terms of IS may be highlighted.

A first obligatory step concerns a quantitative breakdown on the sentence types taken into account. Table 237 reports the amount of examples attested per each category of word order. Chapter 9 NPs/PPs + RelC and V^(COP) + verbal of necessity examples are not included in the analysis.

Sentence macro-type	Amount	% out of total
Unmarked WO	1,664	49.69%
Marked WO	342	10.21%
ECCs	60	1.79%
(Pseudo)cleft sentences	554	16.54%
Copular clauses	571	17.05%
Nominal clauses	158	4.72%
Total	3,349	(100%)

Table 237. Breakdown of word order categories.

On the basis of Table 237, unmarked word orders (UWO) are confirmed to be ‘unmarked’ also quantitatively: they occur in one sentence out of two and they are the most widely attested sentence macro-type. What clearly emerges also on the basis of Table 237 is the substantiality of (pseudo)cleft sentences and copular clauses, which together amount to more than 33% of sentences in the corpus.

Table 237 calculations can be refined on the basis of some observations made in previous chapters. More specifically,

- i. in Section 4.2.1., [*olsodin* (S)]_{TOP}-[V^(REL)(-X)]_{FOC} sentences were classified as SV, even though they should be assimilated to NP/PP+RelC sentences;

- ii. in Section 4.2.4., S V sentences with topical S were classified as marked orders, even though they should be assimilated to instances of left-dislocation of S with zero anaphora;
- iii. in Chapter 8, nominal clauses were taken into account. They should be assimilated to the non-nominal corresponding sentence type, that is, in 128 cases nominal clauses should be assimilated to copular clauses (see Table 232), in 27 cases to non-copular clauses (see Table 233).

10.1 Unmarked word orders

According to Table 237, unmarked word orders amount to 1,664 examples in the Milan glosses corpus. Among UWO, 4 major sentence sub-categories can be identified:

- i. VS (O (IC)) orders: 468 examples (28.14% out of UWO);
- ii. VS IC orders: 459 examples (27.60% out of UWO);
- iii. VO (IC) orders: 333 examples (20.02% out of UWO);
- iv. VIC orders: 305 examples (18.34% out of UWO).

In addition to these, 4 minor sentence sub-categories complete UWO, that is, impersonal constructions (28 examples, 1.68% out of UWO), sentences with interrogative *cía* (46 examples, 2.77% out of UWO), sentences with indefinite *sechi/cía* (10 examples, 0.60% out of UWO), and polar questions with *in* (15 examples, 0.90% out of UWO).

Figure 2 represents the just described categories quantitatively. Sentence sub-categories from i. to iv. above are largely predominant.

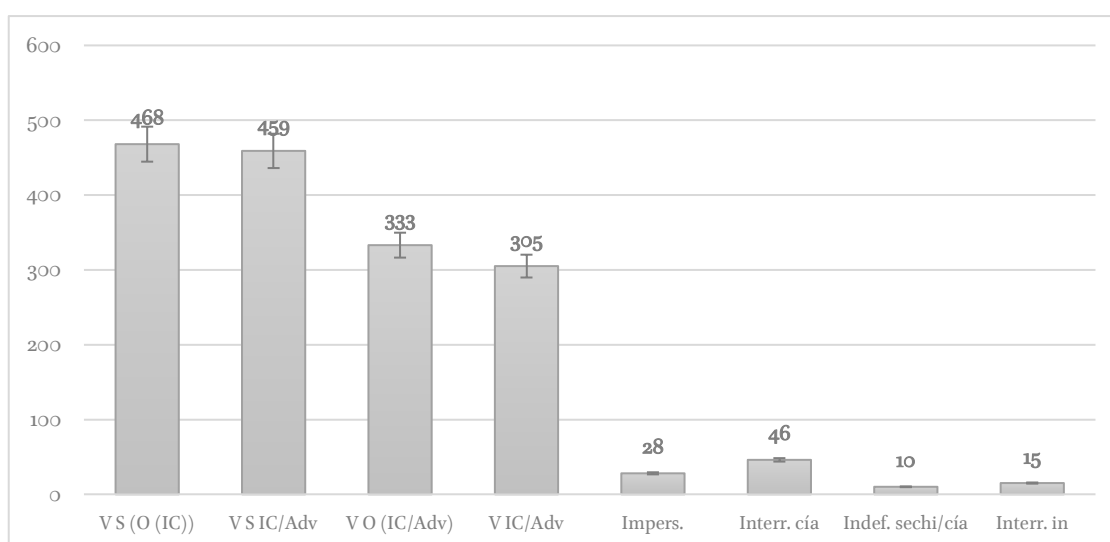


Figure 2. Quantitative representation of UWO.

To describe data of UWO in greater detail, the four most numerous categories represented in Figure 2 will be specifically accounted for.

468 examples display V S (O (IC)) orders. V S O IC sentences, V S O sentences and V S sentences fall into this syntactic category. As seen in Chapter 3 (see e.g. Section 3.1.1, Table 17), each of these sentence types features a considerable number of possible syntax-IS pairings. For example, V S O IC sentences may show topical O + focal IC, topical S + focal IC, topical O + focal IC, focal V+S+O and topical IC, and so forth. I will not consider all the sub-categories for each syntactic type here: the aim of this chapter is to identify the general synchronic trends behind syntax-IS pairings in Old Irish. Minor sub-categories, although surely crucial, can thus be neglected. As an arbitrary threshold, in this and the following sections I will focus on the five most frequent sub-categories for each syntactic type. To give an example, consider Table 238.

Instances	% out of VS (O (IC))	% out of this category	V	S	O	IC
51	11.72%	100.00%				
21	4.83%	41.18%			TOP	FOC
11	2.53%	21.57%		TOP		FOC
9	2.07%	17.65%		TOP	FOC	
7	1.61%	13.73%			FOC	TOP
3	0.69%	5.88%	FOC		FOC	TOP

Table 238. Syntax-IS pairings of V S O IC sentences.

The five most frequent syntax-IS pairings of V S O IC sentences are reported in Table 238. In 21 cases, V S O IC sentences feature topical O and focal IC, in 11 cases they feature topical S and focal IC, and so on. In total, the number of sentences considered in the sample representative of V S O IC orders is 51.

Table 239 reports the position of TOP and FOC in V S O IC clauses.²⁶⁴

²⁶⁴ Note that the sum of FOC pct. exceeds 100(%) (105.88%). This fact can be understood with a quick look at Table 238, which presents the most frequently attested TOP/FOC items in V S O IC clauses. If the last row of the table is considered, it can be noticed how both V and O are marked as focal. This happens because, in that specific sentence type, the focus of the clause is not an argument-focus (that is, a single argument of the clause is focal), but a predicate-focus (that is, the whole predication is focal). On focus, therefore, is V+O, so that two constituents behave as a unit from the IS perspective. Exceeding the limit of 100% in the case of FOC distribution may result incorrect, but allows data on FOC position to be compared at the end of the section. Remarkably, only one argument is topical in each case. As a consequence, TOP pct. will never exceed 100%.

	V	S	O	IC
TOP	0	20	21	10
Pct.	0.00%	39.22%	41.18%	19.61%
FOC	3	0	19	32
Pct.	5.88%	0.00%	37.25%	62.75%

Table 239. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V S O IC clauses.

In quantitative terms, either Ss or Os tend to be topical. In Chapter 3, it was pointed out how the non-topicality of Ss can be ascribed to the peculiar typology of referents playing the role of S, that is, *duaid* (“David”) 4 occurrences, *dia* (“God”) 4 occurrences, *nech* (“someone”) 3 occurrences, *cách* (everyone”) 1 occurrence, *inspiurt noib* (“the Holy Spirit”) 1 occurrence, *side* (“he”) 1 occurrence and *sacaird* (“priests”) 1 occurrence. With the exception of *side* and *sacaird*, all these Ss are backgrounded or indefinite. This, of course, happens when S is a NP (15 examples out of 21). In 6 out of 21 cases, S is a *nota augens*. Therefore, I would conclude that Ss are topical in less marked V S O IC sentences. This is due to the fact that in all cases in which topical is O, Ss are not topical since they are backgrounded referents, indefinite referents or *notae augentes*. As far as the position of FOC is concerned, in the majority of cases it is the sentence-final IC that is focal.

Table 240 presents the case of V S O sentences.

Instances	% out of VS (O (IC))	% out of this category	V	S	O
94	21.61%	100.00%			
43	9.89%	45.74%		TOP	FOC
34	7.82%	36.17%	FOC	FOC	TOP
8	1.84%	8.51%	FOC	TOP	FOC
7	1.61%	7.45%		FOC	TOP
2	0.46%	2.13%	FOC		TOP

Table 240. Syntax-IS pairings of V S O sentences.

The five most frequent syntax-IS pairings of V S O sentences are reported in the table above. As seen in Chapter 3, note that in those cases in which focal V+S occur besides topical O, Vs tend to be passive or negative, Os tend to contain demonstratives, while Ss tend to be backgrounded or indefinite. This may lead to suppose that V S O sentences with focal V+S and topical O are rather similar to V O sentences with predicate focus and topical O. The

considerable number of V S O (focal V+S, topical O) with *notae augentes* as Ss, namely 21 out of 34, goes in this direction.

Table 241 traces a general trend concerning the position of TOP and FOC in V S O sentences.

	V	S	O
TOP	0	51	43
Pct.	0.00%	54.26%	45.74%
FOC	44	41	51
Pct.	46.81%	43.62%	54.26%

Table 241. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V S O clauses.

In the case of Ss which are not indefinite nor backgrounded, V S O sentences tend to show topical S and focal O. When, conversely, Ss are indefinite or backgrounded, V S O sentences show topical O and focal V+S.

Table 242 presents the case of V S sentences.²⁶⁵

Instances	% out of VS (O (IC))	% out of this category	V	S	(S)
290	66.67%	100.00%			
253	58.16%	87.24%	FOC	TOP	
27	6.21%	9.31%		TOP/FOC	
4	0.92%	1.38%		TOP	FOC
3	0.69%	1.03%		FOC	
3	1.03%	1.03%	FOC	FOC	

Table 242. Syntax-IS pairings of V S sentences.

V S alignment with focal V (predicate focus) and topical S is by far the most frequently attested out of V S examples in the Milan glosses. As for TOP/FOC Ss, it occurs with the substantive verb employed in presentative contexts. As far as sentences with topical S and focal (S) are concerned, in the end, they are cases of *acht*-constructions, described in Chapter 2.

Table 243 traces a general trend concerning the position of TOP and FOC in V S sentences.

²⁶⁵ [V^(REL)-S]_{FOC} clauses were excluded from the analysis.

	V	S
TOP	0	284
Pct.	0.00%	97.93%
FOC	256	37
Pct.	88.28%	12.76%

Table 243. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V S clauses.

The second sub-category of UWO I will now focus on is the group of V S IC sentences. As seen in Section 3.2, V S IC orders may feature no infix or infix. The infix may either be an infixed object or not (Section 3.2.2).

Table 244 presents the case of V S IC sentences with no infix.

Instances	% out of V S IC	% out of this category	V	S	IC
294	75.77%	100.00%			
146	37.63%	49.66%		TOP	FOC
45	11.60%	15.31%		FOC	TOP
42	10.82%	14.29%	FOC	FOC	TOP
39	10.05%	13.27%	FOC	TOP	FOC
22	5.67%	7.48%		TOP/FOC	

Table 244. Syntax-IS pairings of V S IC sentences with no infix.

In the vast majority of cases, V S IC sentences with no infix show topical S and focal IC. This is supported by data displayed by Table 245, which highlights the general trend concerning the position of TOP and FOC in V S IC sentences with no infix.

	V	S	IC
TOP	0	207	87
Pct.	0.00%	70.41%	29.59%
FOC	81	109	185
Pct.	27.55%	37.07%	62.93%

Table 245. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V S IC clauses with no infix.

When V S IC sentences show an infixed pronoun, in most cases the infix is a direct object of V (79.31% of cases). As examined in Section 3.2.2, when the infix is not a direct O, only infixes occurring with *at-tá* to express possessor demonstrated to be significant in terms

of IS. The IS value of such infixes tends to be topical or focal (together with the verb), according to the polarity of sentences: if the clause is negative, the scope of the negation includes V_+ ^{POSS.INFIX}, and they are focal; if the clause is positive, the possessive infix is topical.

Table 246 summarises the most frequent sentence types as far as V S IC clauses with infix are concerned.

Instances	% out of VS IC	% out of this category	V	infix(O)	S	IC
94	24.23%	100.00%				
48	12.37%	51.06%	FOC	TOP	FOC	FOC
18	4.64%	19.15%		TOP	FOC	
14	3.61%	14.89%		TOP		FOC
7	1.80%	7.45%	FOC	FOC	TOP	
7	1.80%	7.45%		TOP	FOC	

Table 246. Syntax-IS pairings of V S IC sentences with infix.

Out of the five most frequent categories reported in Table 246, only the last two categories show non-O infixes: in the sentence sub-type reported in the penultimate row of the table, the infix should be considered together with the V of the sentence (see Table 52 in Chapter 3); in the sentence subtype reported in the last row of the table, the infix expresses the possessor and is relevant in terms of IS (see Table 53 in Chapter 3).

Table 247 summarises the general trend concerning the position of TOP and FOC in V S IC sentences with infix.

	V	infix(O)	S	IC
TOP	0	87	7	0
Pct.	0.00%	92.55%	7.45%	0.00%
FOC	55	7	73	62
Pct.	58.51%	7.45%	77.66%	65.96%

Table 247. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V S IC clauses with infix.

What is shown by Table 247 is a consistent topicality of infixed Os, besides a more balanced distribution in terms of positions of focus: when V S IC sentences with infix feature argument focus, this tends to coincide with the sentence-final IC; nevertheless, Table 246 above shows that with topical infixed O, the most frequently attested focus type is sentence-focus.

The third major category of UWO I will now examine is that of V O IC sentences. Out of V O IC sentences, we may have V O IC sentences where O is a NP, V O sentences, or V O IC sentences where O is an infix (see Section 3.3).

The five most frequently attested syntax-IS pairings in the case of V O IC sentences where O is a NP are reported in Table 248.

Instances	% out of V O IC	% out of this category	V	O	IC	*S (zero anaphora)
95	32.87%	100.00%				
33	11.42%	34.74%		TOP	FOC	
24	8.30%	25.26%	FOC	FOC	TOP	
13	4.50%	13.68%	FOC	FOC	FOC	TOP
13	4.50%	13.68%		FOC	TOP	
12	4.15%	12.63%			FOC	TOP

Table 248. Syntax-IS pairings of V O IC sentences with O.^{NP}.

In a considerable number of cases, O is topical and the sentence-final IC is focal. The fact that, in a considerable amount of cases (25 out of 95 cases), topical is a S expressed by the verbal ending is worth noting.

The general distribution of TOP/FOC in V O IC sentences where O is a NP is represented in Table 249.

	V	O	IC	*S (zero anaphora)
TOP	0	33	37	25
Pct.	0.00%	34.74%	38.95%	26.32%
FOC	37	50	58	0
Pct.	38.95%	52.63%	61.05%	0.00%

Table 249. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V O IC sentences with O.^{NP}.

In the cases of V O IC sentences where O is a NP, there is not a clear predominance of one syntax-IS pairing over the others. However, the behaviour of the V O IC sentences just described is remarkable, in comparison to that of the V S O IC sentences analysed above: with V S O IC sentences, O was topical and IC was focal with indefinite/backgrounded Ss, or with emphatic Ss. This distribution is consistent with the most widespread syntactic type as far as V O IC sentences are concerned, where S is expressed by the verbal ending only.

As seen in Section 3.3.1.2, V O sentences well represent the three-fold IS alignment system seen in previous sections, that is, argument focus, predicate focus and sentences focus (Table 250).²⁶⁶

Instances	% out of V O IC	% out of this category	V	O	*S (zero anaphora)
138	47.75%	100.00%			
58	20.07%	42.03%		FOC	TOP
43	14.88%	31.16%	FOC	TOP	
37	12.80%	26.81%	FOC	FOC	TOP

Table 250. Syntax-IS pairings of V O sentences with O.^{NP}.

In the case of focal V + topical O sentences, Os tend to be definite. This definiteness may be referential or ‘inherent’ (e.g. Ml. 23^d4: *innaremeperthi*, “the aforementioned things”; but also Ml. 50^c13: *dia*, “God”; or Ml. 53^c16: [Lat.] *qui vult*), or marked via demonstrative or definite article (e.g. Ml. 28^d11: *inninsciso*, “this speech”; Ml. 49^c9: *inpeccad*, “the sin”; but also Ml. 69^a21: *insin*, “that”). The syntax-IS match in V O sentences is consistent with that highlighted above for V S O sentences. The three most frequently attested IS alignments presented topical S and focal O, focal V+S and topical O, and focal V+O and topical S. These are the same orders presented in Table 250, with zero anaphora S.

Table 251 presents the general distribution of TOP/FOC in V O sentences where O is a NP.

	V	O	*S (zero anaphora)
TOP	0	43	95
Pct.	0.00%	31.16%	68.84%
FOC	80	95	0
Pct.	57.97%	68.84%	0.00%

Table 251. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V O sentences with O.^{NP}.

Table 252 presents data concerning V O IC sentences where O is an infixed pronoun.

Instances	% out of V O IC	% out of this category	V	infix.O	IC	*S (zero anaphora)
56	19.38%	100.00%				

²⁶⁶ [V^(REL)-O]_{FOC} sentences were excluded from the analysis.

35	12.11%	62.50%	FOC	TOP	FOC	
14	4.84%	25.00%		TOP	FOC	
3	1.04%	5.36%	FOC	FOC	TOP	
3	1.04%	5.36%	FOC	FOC	FOC	TOP
1	0.35%	1.79%			FOC	TOP

Table 252. Syntax-IS pairings of V O IC sentences with infix O.

As seen in Section 3.3.2, the infix object tends to be topical, since it coreferences a given item outside the clause. The most typical IS type sees both V and IC on focus, but also cases of argument focus (IC) are consistently attested.

In Table 253, the general distribution of TOP/FOC in V O IC sentences where O is an infix pronoun is reported.

	V	infix.O	IC	*S (zero anaphora)
TOP	0	49	3	4
Pct.	0.00%	87.50%	5.36%	7.14%
FOC	41	6	53	0
Pct.	73.21%	10.71%	94.64%	0.00%

Table 253. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V O sentences with O.^{NP}.

Data in Table 253 confirm the general pattern already noticed in Table 247 above where infix Os occur, that is, the O is topical and the rest of the sentence is focal.

The last major category of UWO to be taken into account is V IC orders. The most widely attested V IC syntactic types are collected in Table 254.²⁶⁷

Instances	% out of VIC	% out of this category	V	IC	*S (zero anaphora)
208	96.30%	100.00%			
112	51.85%	53.85%		FOC	TOP
58	26.85%	27.88%	FOC	FOC	TOP
27	12.50%	12.98%	FOC	TOP	
8	3.70%	3.85%	FOC		TOP
3	1.39%	1.44%	FOC	FOC/TOP ²⁶⁸	

²⁶⁷ [V^(REL)-IC]_{FOC} sentences were excluded from the analysis.

²⁶⁸ Topical is a second IC occurring in the clause.

Table 254. Syntax-IS pairings of V IC sentences with no infix.

As clear on the basis of data, the great majority of V IC sentences with no infix adheres to the framework described above when V S IC sentences were analysed: focal is the IC, and topical is the zero anaphora S. With topical S, focal V+IC cases are strongly attested as well.

The TOP/FOC distribution with V IC sentences with no infix is reported in Table 255.

	V	IC	*S (zero anaphora)
TOP	0	30	178
Pct.	0.00%	14.42%	85.58%
FOC	96	173	0
Pct.	46.15%	83.17%	0.00%

Table 255. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V IC sentences with no infix.

Drawing general trends from data reported above is not straightforward. Different sentence types in different contexts make the various categories identified hard to be compared.

A first operation which could be performed consists in a general evaluation of which constituent tends to be topical and which tends to be focal with unmarked word orders (Table 256).

TOPIC			V	IFX(O)	S	O	IC	S ZERO-AN.
			OVERALL	1328	0.00%	10.32%	42.85%	10.54%
	V S (O (IC))	435	0		355	64	10	
	V S IC/Adv	388	0	87	214		87	
	V O (IC/Adv)	289	0	49		76	40	124
	V IC/Adv	216	0	1			30	184
FOCUS			V	IFX(O)	S	O	IC	
			OVERALL	1328	52.18%	0.98%	19.58%	16.19%
	V S (O (IC))	435	303		78	70	32	
	V S IC/Adv	388	136	7	182		247	
	V O (IC/Adv)	289	158	6		145	111	
	V IC/Adv	216	96	0			181	

Table 256. Complete quantitative analysis of TOP/FOC items in UWO.

In Table 256 all data described in Section 10.1 above were combined. This results in a rather coarse-grained quantitative analysis (e.g. sentences with infixes are considered together with sentences without infixes, sentences with 2 constituents such as V IC are considered together with sentences with e.g. 4 constituents such as V S O IC, and so forth), but it offers a starting point to describe where topic and focus tend to occur in UWO sentences.

Ss of UWO sentences are topical in 42.85% of cases. This fact appears even more relevant if zero anaphora Ss are added (topical in 23.19% of UWO), to reach a comprehensive amount of 66.04% of UWO showing topical S.

As far as focus is concerned, it mostly involves either Vs (52.18% of UWO) or sentence-final ICs (43.00% of UWO), considering that, differently from the topic, more than one constituent may be focal according to the IS model followed in this work.

Data in Table 256 may be refined in the first place excluding sentences with infixes from the 'equation'. As seen above, UWO sentences with infixes behave rather consistently in terms of IS (the infix tends to be topical, with predicate/sentence focus). Considering such examples together with clauses with no infix would bias our view on trends significantly. Secondly, V S sentences can be excluded as well. V S orders are more than relevant in quantitative terms (66.67% of V S (O (IC)) sentences). As noticed in Section 3.1.3, however, they include several examples made of V *ol* + S, which are only partially relevant to the main aim of this work, that is, understanding whether a correlation between Old Irish word orders and IS exists.

In Table 257 below, the quantitative analysis of TOP/FOC items in UWO is sketched once more after data refinement as per the adjustments described above.

TOPIC	OVERALL	880	V	S/zero an.	O	IC
			0.00%	65.45%	15.91%	18.64%
	V S (O (IC))	145	0	71	64	10
	V S IC/Adv	294	0	207		87
	V O (IC/Adv)	233	0	120	76	37
	V IC/Adv	208	0	178		30
FOCUS	OVERALL	880	V	S	O	IC
			38.75%	17.05%	24.43%	50.91%
	V S (O (IC))	145	47	41	70	32
	V S IC/Adv	294	81	109		185
	V O (IC/Adv)	233	117		145	58
	V IC/Adv	208	96			173

Table 257. Refined quantitative analysis of TOP/FOC items in UWO (absolute values).

As clear on the basis of Table 257, the item prototypically topical in UWO is again the S. In quantitative terms, Ss were merged with zero anaphora Ss. As far as the focus is concerned, it is noticeable how much the overall percentages varied from Table 256. On the basis of Table 257, in more than the half of cases, the sentence-final IC is focal. Focal predicates decreased from 52.18% to 38.75%.

Figure 3 summarises which constituents tend to be selected by topic and focus in UWO on the basis of the data reported in Table 257.

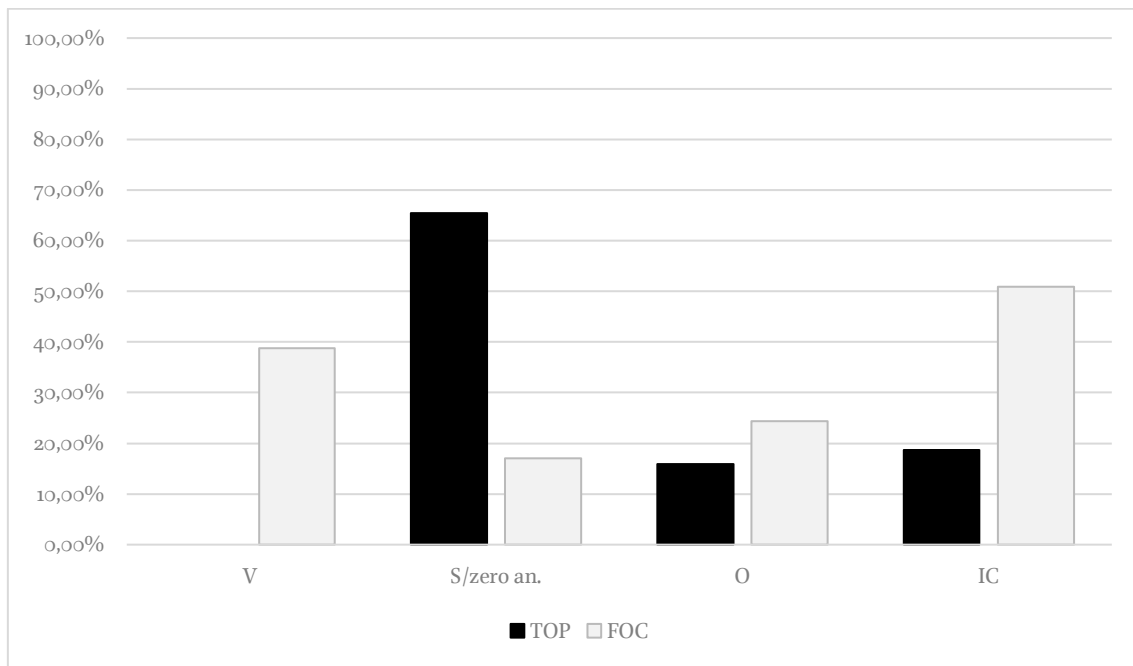


Figure 3. TOP/FOC items in UWO (absolute frequencies).

In Figure 3 (and in the rest of the chapter), under the label of ‘absolute frequency’, I will not represent the raw number of times each category appears, but this value transformed into a percentage value. This choice is carried on to more easily compare synchronic trends resulting from ‘absolute’ values of different categories, regardless of their quantitative weight.

A second analysis on the same data which could be performed involves the relative frequencies of topical and focal items instead of their absolute frequencies. Consider Table 258.

TOPIC		V	S/zero an.	O	IC
	OVERALL		0.00%	64.11%	19.19%
VS (O (IC))		0.00%	48.97%	44.14%	6.90%
VS IC/Adv		0.00%	70.41%		29.59%
VO (IC/Adv)		0.00%	51.50%	32.62%	15.88%

	VIC/Adv	0.00%	85.58%		14.42%
FOCUS		V	S	O	IC
	OVERALL	39.08%	16.34%	27.63%	48.26%
	VS (O (IC))	32.41%	28.28%	48.28%	22.07%
	VS IC/Adv	27.55%	37.07%		62.93%
	VO (IC/Adv)	50.21%		62.23%	24.89%
	VIC/Adv	46.15%			83.17%

Table 258. Refined quantitative analysis of TOP/FOC items in UWO (relative frequencies).

In Table 258, the overall percentage of the occurrence of a given constituent as the topic or focus of the sentence is calculated as the average of the percentages of the occurrence of that item as topic or focus in VS (O (IC)), VS IC/Adv, VO (IC/Adv) and VIC/Adv sentences. This procedure applies to data a normalisation which takes out of the equation differences due to eventual different weights in quantitative terms of different categories. To put it another way, in Table 257 the fact that e.g. VS (O (IC)) sentences amount to 145 instances and e.g. VS IC/Adv sentences amount to 294 instances has an impact on the overall values, in the sense that VS IC/Adv data have a greater impact on overall values than VS (O (IC)) data. In Table 258, data were relativised, so that VS (O (IC)) data and VS IC/Adv data have the same impact on overall values.

Figure 4 summarises which constituents tend to be topical and focal in UWO on the basis of data reported in Table 258.

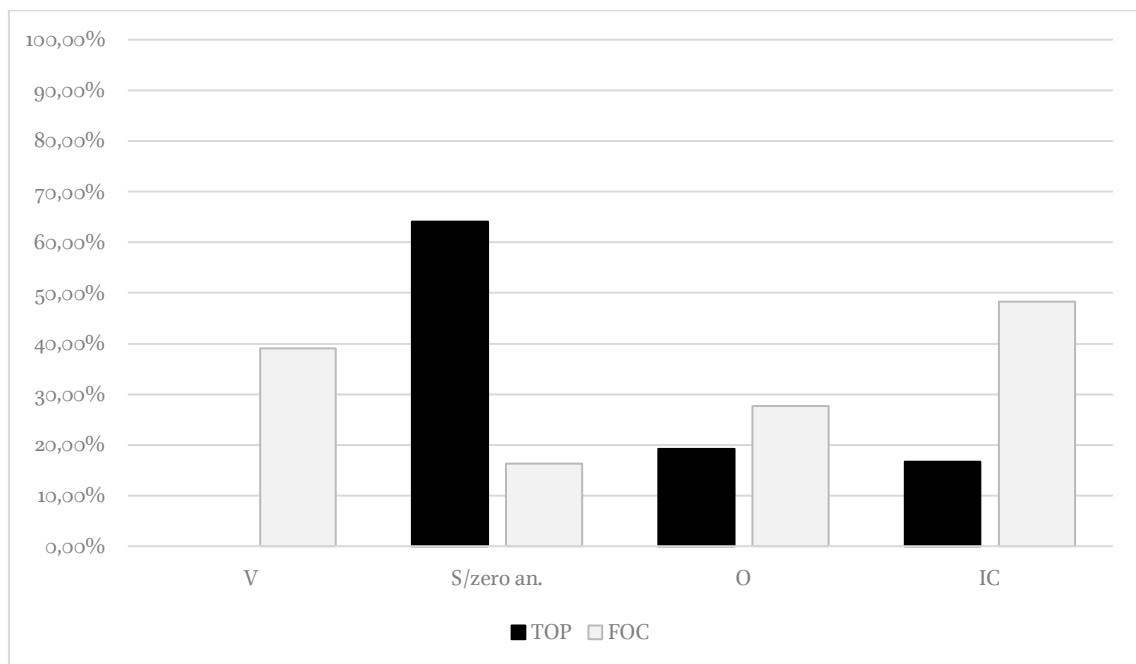


Figure 4. TOP/FOC items in UWO (relative frequencies).

Using relative frequencies instead of absolute frequencies modifies the general framework modestly, as shown in Figure 4. In Figure 5, TOP/FOC items in UWO are quantified with a special emphasis on the difference in values emerging if absolute or relative frequencies are taken into account. Figure 5 should be read as follows: columns in black highlight the distribution of topics in the clauses considered; columns in light grey highlight the distribution of focuses in the clauses considered. For each column, the top limit corresponds to the value of a given constituent to be topical/focal on the basis of its relative frequency (data from Table 258); the lower limit, instead, corresponds to the value of a given constituent to be topical/focal on the basis of its absolute frequency (data from Table 257). To give an example, consider TOP O (black column corresponding to O). According to relative frequency of TOP distribution, O is topical in 19.19% of UWO (top limit of the black column); according to absolute frequency of TOP distribution, O is topical in 15.91% of UWO (lower limit of the black column). In this way, the fluctuation in data between absolute and relative frequencies is accounted for. The thinner a column is, the less difference occurs between the absolute frequency and the relative frequency of a given constituent to be topical/focal. For example, if data concerning focal Vs are considered, the slight difference occurring between absolute frequency and relative frequency (38.75% vs. 39.08%) is shown by a very slender light grey column corresponding to V. In more general terms, the quantitative distribution of occurrence of a given constituent as the topic or focus of the sentence is rendered as in a standard histogram (e.g. S/zero an. is topical in about 65% of cases).

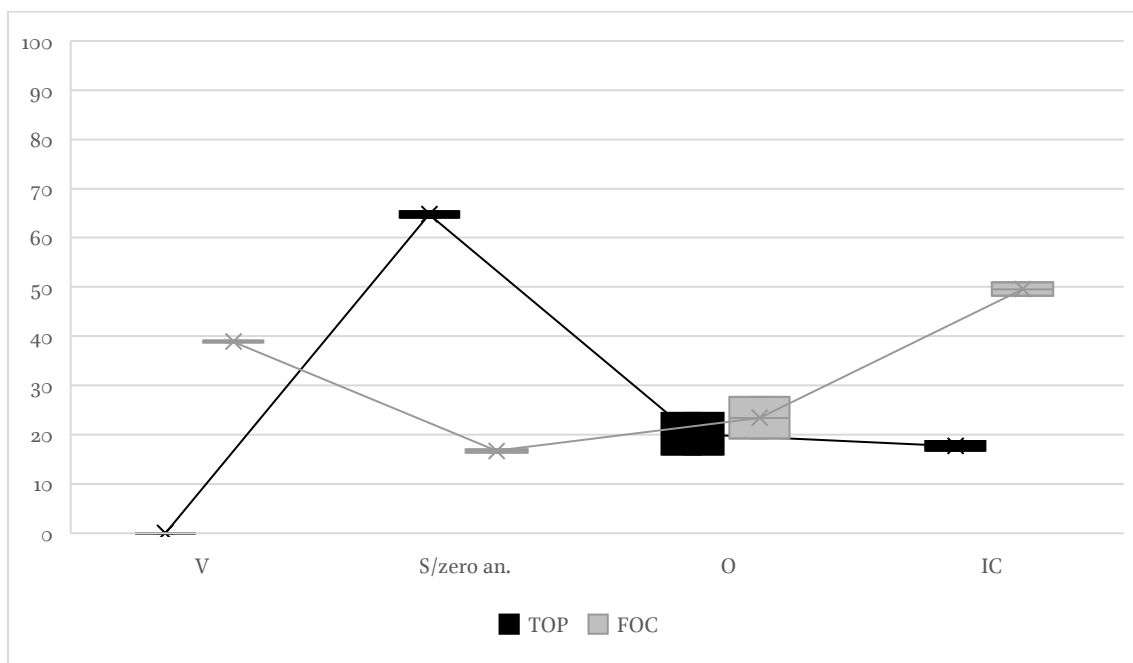


Figure 5. Fluctuations in data between Table 257 and Table 258.

What emerges from Figures 3-5 above is that, in UWO, S is consistently the topic of the sentence, while the focus tends to occur at the end of the clause. A remarkable exception is given by predicate/sentence focus instances, which roughly occur in 40% of cases with UWO.

A last refinement which could be performed in the analysis of UWO data concerns a more abstract investigation in topic and focus positions within the clause. As a matter of fact, e.g. Figure 5 highlights a preponderance of sentence-final ICs on focus. It may be the case that instances of sentence-final focus may even be higher in number, given the fact that e.g. V S O sentences with topical S and focal O do not figure as focus-final on the basis of the just described representations of data.

Consider Table 259.

TOPIC	OVERALL	534	V	zero an.	P2	FP
			0.00%	4.68%	58.24%	33.15%
	V S (O (IC))	145	0	0	71	53
	V S IC/Adv	294	0	0	207	87
	V O (IC/Adv)	95	0	25	33	37
FOCUS	OVERALL	534	V	zero an.	P2	FP
			30.90%	0.00%	37.45%	61.05%
	V S (O (IC))	145	47	0	41	83
	V S IC/Adv	294	81	0	109	185
	V O (IC/Adv)	95	37	0	50	58

Table 259. Quantitative analysis of TOP/FOC positions in UWO (absolute values).

In Table 259, P2 stands for the first position after V and FP stands for sentence-final position. V IC sentences were excluded from the analysis, given the coincidence of P2 and FP. Similarly, out of V O (IC/Adv) orders, only V O IC sentences where O is a NP were taken into consideration.

Data collected in Table 259 tell us that, in Old Irish UWO, the topic is after the verb in 58.24% of cases. Moreover, the topic is conveyed by zero anaphora in 4.68% of cases, which would raise even to 26.32% if sentences without a NP S are exclusively taken into account. As far as focus is concerned, it occurs in sentence-final position in 61.05% of cases.

This scenario stresses a critical point concerning the pairing of syntax and IS in Old Irish UWO: the topical item appears mostly connected to its syntactic function in the clause rather than to its position in the clause (65.45% of topical Ss vs. 38.75% of P2 topics, when data

from V IC and V O orders are considered);²⁶⁹ conversely, the focal item appears largely bound to its position in the clause, rather than to its syntactic function (61.05% of sentence-final focus vs. e.g. 51.50% of focal ICs). The only exception as far as focus is concerned is given by instances of predicate/sentence focus.

Table 259 data may also be considered not in terms of absolute values but rather in terms of relative frequencies. These are reported in Table 260.

TOPIC		V	zero an.	P ₂	FP
	OVERALL		0.00%	8.77%	51.37%
	V S (O (IC))	0.00%	0.00%	48.97%	36.55%
	V S IC/Adv	0.00%	0.00%	70.41%	29.59%
	V O (IC/Adv)	0.00%	26.32%	34.74%	38.95%
FOCUS		V	zero an.	P ₂	FP
	OVERALL	32.97%	0.00%	39.33%	60.41%
	V S (O (IC))	32.41%	0.00%	28.28%	57.24%
	V S IC/Adv	27.55%	0.00%	37.07%	62.93%
	V O (IC/Adv)	38.95%	0.00%	52.63%	61.05%

Table 260. Quantitative analysis of TOP/FOC positions in UWO (relative frequencies).

Results from Table 260 coarsely retrace those highlighted by Table 259. A representation of topic/focus position in the sentence on the basis of the two tables is offered by Figure 6.

²⁶⁹ Absolute frequencies.

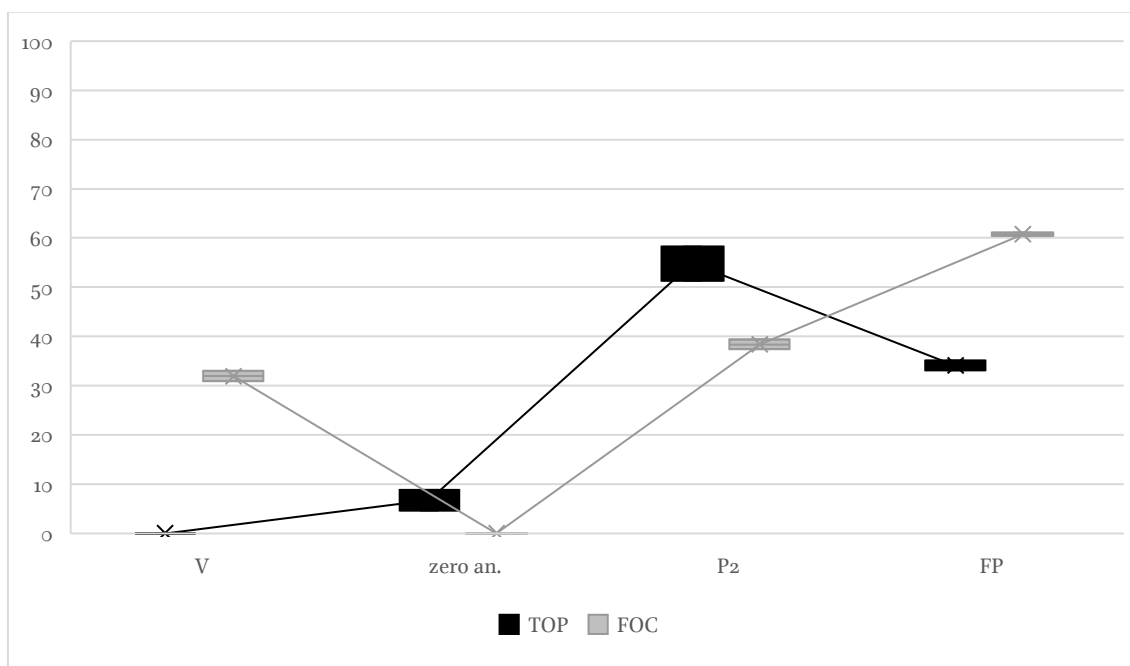


Figure 6. Fluctuations in data between Table 259 and Table 260.

As clear on the basis of the figure above, a strong correlation between clause-final position and focality in UWO appears (rightmost grey column in the graph), given that the focus is clause-final in more than 60% of UWO. Apparently, Figure 6 seems to highlight a correlation between P2 and topicality (third black column from left to right), since topic are represented as occurring in P2 in about 55% of UWO. Nevertheless, as shown above, this result, as well as the low amount of topical zero-anaphora S, are influenced by the exclusion of V IC and V O sentences, in most cases of which topical is the S.

10.2 Marked word orders

In Table 237 above, 342 marked word orders (MWO) are considered. Out of MWO, after the reduction in the number of MWO on the basis of what stated at the beginning of this chapter, two major categories could be highlighted:

- i. verb-initial MWO: 189 examples (60.58% out of MWO);
- ii. non verb-initial MWO: 123 examples (39.42% out of MWO).

V-initial MWO and non V-initial MWO can be further described quantitatively as in Table 261, with their sub-categories detailed.

V-initial

|

Non V-initial

<i>Sentence Type</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>% out of V²⁷⁰ MWO</i>	<i>Sentence Type</i>	<i>Amount</i>	<i>% out of non- V₁ MWO</i>
VICS	113	59.79%	SV	12	9.76%
VICSIC	12	6.35%	OV	17	13.82%
VSICO	27	14.29%	ICV	94	76.42%
VICO	19	10.05%			
VOS	11	5.82%			
VOICS	7	3.70%			
Sub-total	189	(100%)	Sub-total	123	(100%)
Total	312 (60.58% V-IN; 39.42% non V-IN)				

Table 261. Quantitative data of MWO.

A clear visualisation of data reported in Table 261 is offered by Figure 7. Here, the slight predominance of V-initial MWO over non V-initial MWO becomes evident. And what is more, VICS sentences represent the great majority of V-initial MWO, while ICV orders are considerable higher in number with respect to the other non V-initial orders.

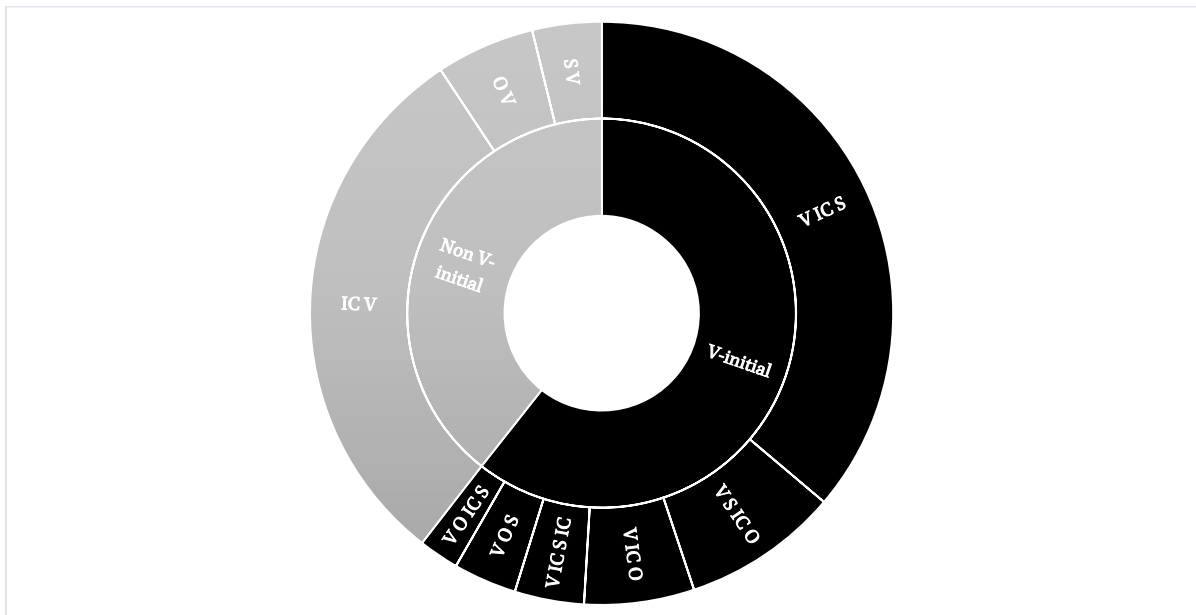


Figure 7. Quantitative representation of MWO.

²⁷⁰ V₁ stands for Verb-initial.

10.2.1 V-initial MWO

The most substantial category of V-initial MWO is that of V IC S sentences. Limiting the analysis to the five most numerous categories in terms of attestation, the syntax-IS pairings of V IC S clauses are listed in Table 262.

Instances	% out of V ₁ MWO	% out of this category	V	IC	S
113	59.79%	100.00%			
59	31.22%	52.21%	FOC	FOC	TOP
36	19.05%	31.86%		FOC	TOP
12	6.35%	10.62%		TOP	FOC
4	2.12%	3.54%	FOC		TOP
2	1.06%	1.77%	FOC	TOP	FOC

Table 262. Syntax-IS pairings of V IC S sentences.

The general trends in topic/focus positions in V IC S sentences are presented in Table 263.

	V	IC	S
TOP	0	14	99
Pct.	0.00%	12.39%	87.61%
FOC	65	95	14
Pct.	57.52%	84.07%	12.39%

Table 263. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V IC S sentences.

The most widely attested V IC S sentence type shows focal V+IC and topical S. Table 263 highlights a strong correlation between post-verbal IC and focus (84.07%). This may lead to associate the leftwards relocation of ICs to its inclusion in predicate-focus. Nevertheless, the great amount of focal Vs (57.52%) suggests that perhaps a different explanation should be sought.

In Section 10.1, it was stressed that usually sentences with V S and IC with an unmarked word order feature a sentence-final focal IC + post-verbal topical S. Analysing Table 263 data on the basis of IS exclusively would raise some serious questions on why Old Irish would have had both V S IC orders with topical S and focal IC, and V IC S orders in others cases if Ss are in any case topical and ICs are in any case focal.

In Section 4.1.1, it was emphasised how in the case of V IC S sentences there is a correspondence between sentence-final focal Ss and morphosyntactic complexity (or heaviness) of Ss' constituents: 'light' post-verbal topical ICs are followed by 'heavy' sentence-final focal Ss in most of cases (more precisely, 72.73% of cases).²⁷¹

This may lead to suppose that in the case of MWO it is not the IS of sentences which mostly motivates variations in word orders, but the reasons are morphosyntactic: heavy constituents tend to occur in sentence-final position, lighter constituents tend to be relocated leftwards.

A second category of V-initial MWO includes V IC S IC sentences. They are described in Table 264 as for their syntax-IS pairings, and in Table 265 as for their trends in topic/focus positions.

Instances	% out of V ₁ MWO	% out of this category	V	IC	S	IC
12	6.35%	100.00%				
9	4.76%	75.00%			TOP	FOC
2	1.06%	16.67%		TOP	FOC	
1	0.53%	8.33%		FOC	TOP	

Table 264. Syntax-IS pairings of V IC S IC sentences.

	V	IC	S	IC
TOP	0	2	10	0
Pct.	0.00%	16.67%	83.33%	0.00%
FOC	0	1	2	9
Pct.	0.00%	8.33%	16.67%	75.00%

Table 265. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V IC S IC sentences.

In V IC S IC sentences, S tends to be topical and the sentence-final IC tends to be focal. This behaviour moves away V IC S IC sentences from a close connection with V IC S sentences. Instead, as noted in Section 4.1.1.1 they should be considered variants of V S IC sentences, to which they are closer in IS terms. In this direction goes also the morphotactic substance of post-verbal IC, which is quite often 'light' (e.g. *Ieu*, Ml. 27^d19; *do*, Ml. 48^c5; etc.).

²⁷¹ Only three examples show topical IC and focal S with no complex sentence-final S: Ml. 64^d2, where an overt focaliser precedes the S (*acht inspiurt noib*), and Ml. 34^d5 and Ml. 119^c1, where the IC is a deictic Adv (*hisuidiu* and *and*).

A third sub-category of V-initial MWO collects V S IC O sentences. Table 266 describes their syntax-IS pairings and Table 267 their trends in topic/focus positions.

Instances	% out of V1 MWO	% out of this category	V	S	IC	O
27	14.29%	100.00%				
10	5.29%	37.04%		TOP		FOC
8	4.23%	29.63%			TOP	FOC
7	3.70%	25.93%			FOC	TOP
2	1.06%	7.41%	FOC	FOC	FOC	TOP

Table 266. Syntax-IS analysis of V S IC O sentences.

	V	S	IC	O
TOP	0	10	8	9
Pct.	0.00%	37.04%	29.63%	33.33%
FOC	2	2	9	18
Pct.	7.41%	7.41%	33.33%	66.67%

Table 267. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V S IC O sentences.

In Section 4.1.2, it was observed that V S IC O sentences have to be considered as a variant of V S O IC sentences with clause-final Os due to morphosyntactic reasons. Interestingly, on the basis of Table 267 above this clause-final O is topical in 9 cases while it is focal in 18 cases (cfr. V IC S above where the clause-final S was topical in 99 cases and focal in 14 cases). This tells us that perhaps in V-initial MWO, heavy constituents occur in sentence-final position regardless of their IS status.

V IC O sentences in the Milan glosses are 19. Tables 268 and 269 below describe respectively their syntax-IS pairings and their trends in topic/focus positions.

Instances	% out of V1 MWO	% out of this category	V	IC	O	*S (zero anaphora)
19	10.05%	100.00%				
8	4.23%	42.11%		FOC	TOP	
6	3.17%	31.58%	FOC	FOC	TOP	
3	1.59%	15.79%			FOC	TOP
1	0.53%	5.26%	FOC	FOC	FOC	TOP
1	0.53%	5.26%	FOC	TOP	FOC	

Table 268. Syntax-IS pairings of V IC O sentences.

	V	IC	O	*S (zero anaphora)
TOP	0	1	14	4
Pct.	0.00%	5.26%	73.68%	21.05%
FOC	8	15	5	0
Pct.	42.11%	78.95%	26.32%	0.00%

Table 269. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V IC O sentences.

According to Table 269, in V IC O sentences the clause-final Os tend to be topical (73.68% of cases), while the post-verbal ICs tend to be focal (78.95% of cases). As noted in Section 4.1.3, sentences adopt the V IC O order due to two concomitant reasons: on the one hand, heavy Os are postponed in clause-final position; on the other, light ICs are relocated in post-verbal position when they constitute an informative unit with Vs ([V-IC]_{FOC}).

V O S sentences amount to 11 examples. Tables 270 and 271 describe respectively their syntax-IS pairings and their trends in topic/focus positions.

Instances	% out of V _i MWO	% out of this category	V	O	S
11	5.82%	100.00%			
7	3.70%	63.64%	FOC	FOC	TOP
3	1.59%	27.27%		FOC	TOP
1	0.53%	9.09%	FOC		TOP

Table 270. Syntax-IS pairings of V O S sentences.

	V	O	S
TOP	0	0	11
Pct.	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
FOC	8	10	0
Pct.	72.73%	90.91%	0.00%

Table 271. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V O S sentences.

In Section 4.1.4 the IS of V O S sentences was compared with that of V S O sentences. The fact that in V O S sentences the S rather than the O is clause-final is due to the fact that Ss are always heavier than Os. Moreover, Os in post-verbal position mostly occur when V and O

belong to the same informative unit (that is, they are both focal). The consistent occurrence of focal Vs in V O S sentences (72.73% of cases) supports this hypothesis.

In the end, V O IC S sentences are the last sub-category of V-initial MWO attested in the Milan glosses corpus. Table 272 describes their syntax-IS pairings, and Table 273 their trends in topic/focus positions.

Instances	% out of V _i MWO	% out of this category	V	O	IC	S
7	3.70%	100.00%				
6	3.17%	85.71%		FOC		TOP
1	0.53%	14.29%	FOC	FOC	FOC	TOP

Table 272. Syntax-IS pairings of V O IC S sentences.

	V	O	IC	S
TOP	0	0	0	7
Pct.	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
FOC	1	7	1	0
Pct.	14.29%	100.00%	14.29%	0.00%

Table 273. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in V O IC S sentences.

The IS-syntax pairings of V O S and V O IC S clauses are identical, and thus assimilable. Beside a clause-final topical item, either post-verbal Os are on focus, or the whole constituent V + argument(s) is.

Before delving into non V-initial MWO, a few general questions concerning the distribution of topic/focus in V-initial MWO should be raised. Consider Table 274.

	V	Zero anaphora	P ₂	FP
TOP (abs. freq.)	0.00%	2.12%	14.29%	74.07%
TOP (rel. freq.)	0.00%	3.51%	11.89%	65.77%
FOC (abs. freq.)	44.44%	0.00%	68.78%	24.34%
FOC (rel. freq.)	32.34%	0.00%	61.61%	30.06%

Table 274. Absolute and relative frequencies of topic/focus positions in V-initial MWO.

Table 274 contains the overall data of V-initial MWO as far as topic/focus positions are concerned. Such data are presented both in terms of absolute frequency (TOP (abs. freq.) for

topic, FOC (abs. freq.) for focus) and in terms of relative frequency (TOP (rel. freq.) for topic, FOC (rel. freq.) for focus). Table 274 data are portrayed in Figure 8, where the differences in percentages between absolute and relative frequencies are accounted for as well.

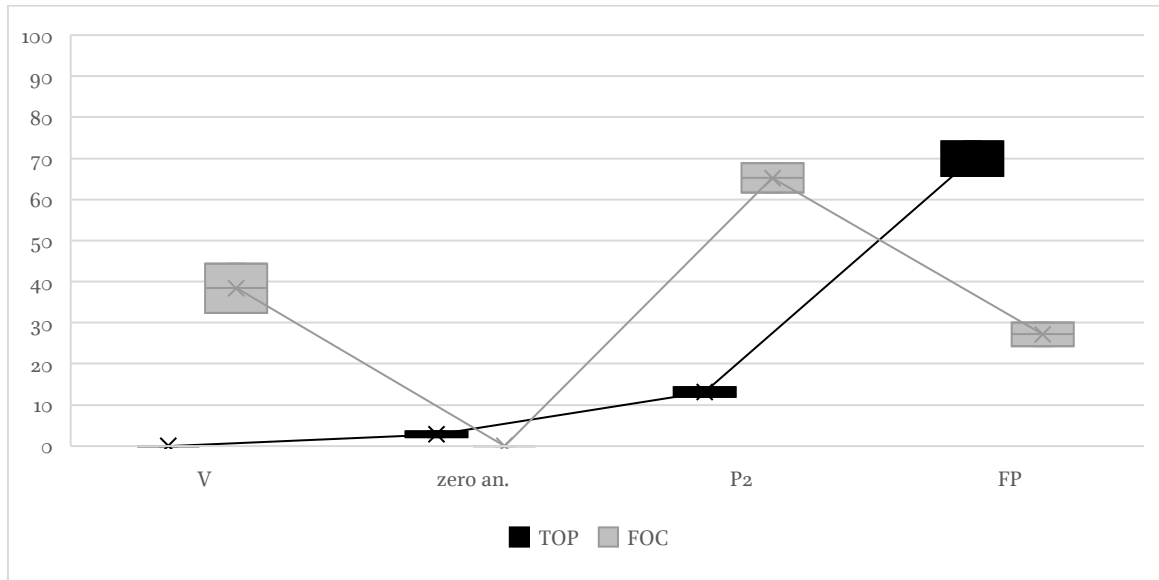


Figure 8. TOP/FOC positions in V-initial MWO and fluctuations in data between absolute and relative frequencies.

Figure 8 shows well that in MWO the topic position tends to be sentence-final. As far as the focus is concerned, instead, the peak of the graph is reached with focus in P2. This marks a sharp difference with what highlighted in Section 10.1 for UWO.

In Figure 9 below, the topic position in the case of UWO and in the case of MWO is compared (absolute frequencies). In Figure 10 below, the focus position in the case of UWO and in the case of MWO is compared (absolute frequencies).

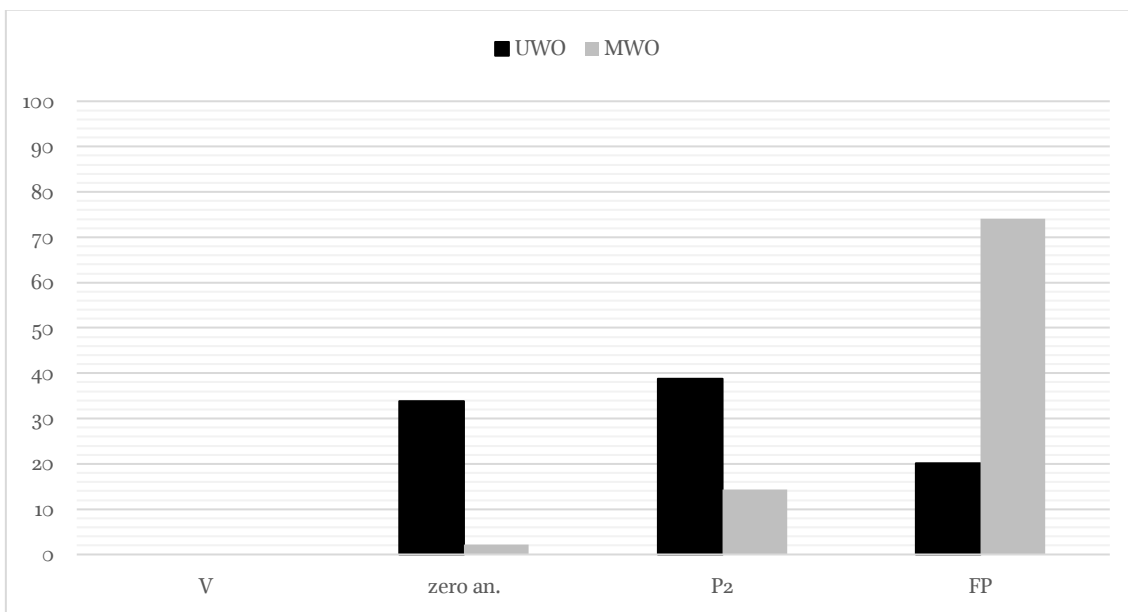


Figure 9. Topic position in the clause (absolute frequencies): UWO vs. V-initial MWO.

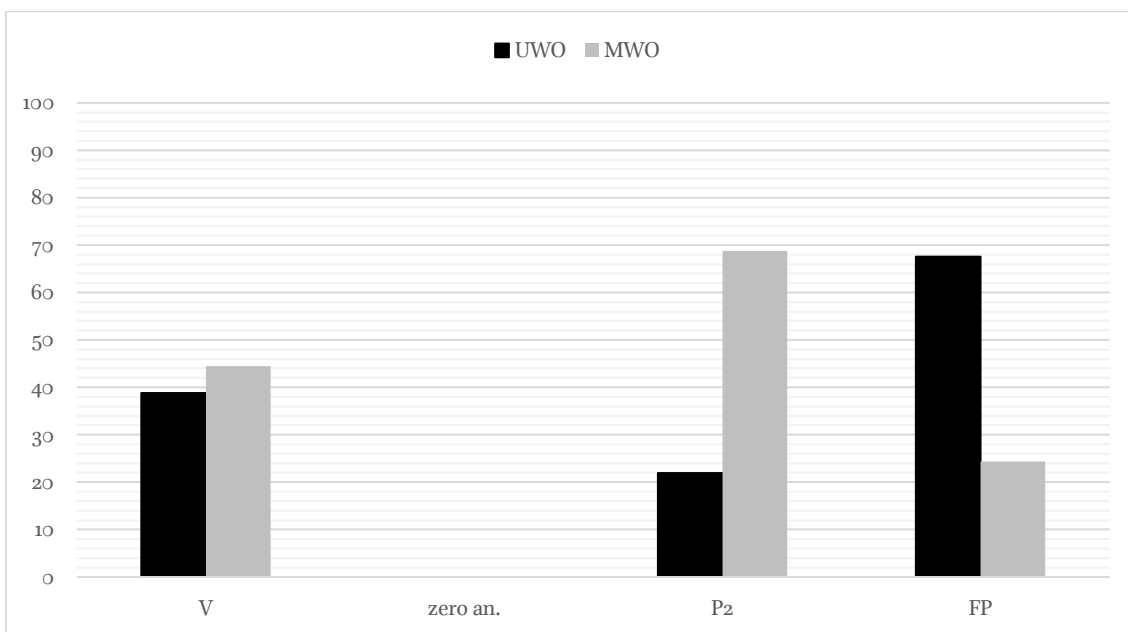


Figure 10. Focus position in the clause (absolute frequencies): UWO vs. V-initial MWO.

As far as topic is concerned, Figure 9 shows that while in the case of UWO the position in the clause seems not strictly bound to topic status (see Section 10.1), this apparently is not true for V1 MWO, where the topic is clause-final in about 75% of cases. Moreover, as noted above, zero anaphora Ss are rarely topical in V1 MWO.

As far as focus is concerned, Figure 10 displays well how a sort of inversion of focus position occurs between UWO and V1 MWO. If in the former category it is the clause-final

position which is associated with focus (about 70% of cases), in the latter category it is the P2 position which is focal in roughly 7 cases out of 10. In addition, the focality of Vs slightly increases in V1 MWO. Focal P2 is consistent with what highlighted in Figure 9, which puts topics predominantly in clause-final position in MWO.

On the basis of the situation just described, one may be led to conclude that in V1 MWO topic is linked to a specific position in the clause (clause-final), precisely as focus in both UWO (clause-final) and V1 MWO (P2). In UWO, we saw how topics were Ss/zero anaphoras in 65.45% of cases, Os in 15.91% of cases, ICs in 18.64% of cases (absolute frequencies). The same exact distribution is confirmed by V1 MWO: topical Ss/zero anaphoras are 69.31% of cases, topical Os are 12.17% of cases, topical ICs are 12.70% of cases (absolute frequencies). What is topical seems thus linked to the syntactic function of constituents also with V1 MWO. This is in contrast with the assumption that the topic of V1 MWO is strongly linked to a given position in the clause: in V1 MWO, Ss occur in sentence-final position in 83.57% of cases and Os in remaining 16.43% of cases.²⁷²

In my view, the analysis conducted in Chapters 3 and 4, in parallel to the general trends just sketched, may lead to conclude that IS alignment variations between UWO and V1 MWO are not the cause but a consequence of the variations in word order between the two categories. V-initial MWO are attested when some modification of basic word order occur due to morphosyntactic reasons, such as a heavier constituent which is moved in sentence-final position, causing a lighter constituent to be relocated leftwards.

The fact that V1 MWO clause-final constituents tend to be topical, then, seems once more due to the syntactic function of such constituents. Consider Table 275.

Types of constituents relocated rightwards			IS value of constituents relocated rightwards		
Total	189	(100%)	Total	189	(100%)
S	143	75.66%	TOP	150	79.37%
O	46	24.34%	FOC	39	20.63%
IC	0	0.00%	NULL	0	0.00%

Table 275. Types and IS of constituents relocated rightwards in V-initial MWO.

According to Table 275, 75.66% of rightward-relocated constituents play the syntactic function of S. Moreover, rightward-relocated constituents happen to be topical in 79.37% of cases. Also given UWO data on the topicality of Ss (65.45% of cases), V1 MWO shows

²⁷² Data are influenced by the fact that V IC S sentences (87.61% of topical clause-final Ss) are about 60% of all V-initial MWO.

consistent sentence-final topic simply because the constituents almost always relocated rightwards due to morphosyntactic reasons are Ss, which are almost always topical in UWO.

As a consequence, also the focus position in V-initial MWO can be read differently. On the basis of Figure 8, FOC in V₁ MWO tends to co-occur consistently with P₂ (about 65% of cases). Nonetheless, I believe that this distribution is simply due to the fact that UWO clause-final focal constituents, after a rightwards relocation of a heavier constituent in V-initial MWO, are no more clause-final but P₂ items. This hypothesis can be easily verified by taking into account V-initial MWO with more than three constituents, that is, those orders where a difference occurs between P₂ and P₃ (\neq FP). Such orders are V IC S IC, V S IC O and V O IC S, occurring in 46 sentences.

Among these sentence types, the focus occurs in P₂ in 10 cases, while it occurs in P₃ in 12 cases. As for P₂ focuses, they mostly belong to V O IC S sentences (7 out of 10). As seen in Section, 4.1.5, V O IC S orders mostly occur with light V constructions. This justifies the relevant amount of post-V focuses which can be counted in this sentence category. To conclude, the fact that, in sentences with four constituents, the focus of the clause tends to be in P₃ rather than in P₂, supports the hypothesis that in the case of MWO with initial V there is not a strong correlation between a given position in the clause (P₂) and focality, as seemed clear on the basis of Figure 8 above. Instead, focal elements are the same sentence-final UWO constituents, which are not sentence-final anymore in MWO with initial V, due to the rightward relocation of other non verbal constituents motivated by their heavier substance under the morphosyntactic standpoint.

10.2.2 Non V-initial MWO

The analysis of non V-initial MWO is much more straightforward than that of V-initial MWO, since the syntactic relocation of a constituent in sentence-initial position has here a clear rhematising force.

In 12 cases (out of 123), the sentence-initial relocated constituent plays the syntactic function of S. Only one IS alignment is attested with S V sentences, that is, Ss are focal and post-verbal arguments are topical.²⁷³

In 94 cases (out of 123), the clause-initial relocated constituent plays the syntactic function of IC. Once more, only one IS alignment is attested with IC V sentences, that is, ICs are focal and post-verbal arguments are topical.

In 17 cases (out of 123), the clause-initial relocated constituent plays the syntactic function of O. In 16 out of 17 cases the O V order shows focal Os and topical post-verbal arguments. In 1 case only, the clause-initial O is topical, and V is focal (this example was

²⁷³ Note that no difference occurs between sentences with initial constituents preceded by (V^(COP)) and sentences with initial constituents not preceded by (V^(COP)) occurs (see Section 4.2).

discussed in Section 4.2.2, and should perhaps be considered an exceptional case of left-dislocated O with zero anaphora).

The overall proportions in both absolute and relative frequency terms are reported in Table 276.

	P1 ²⁷⁴	V	Post-Verbal
TOP (abs. freq.)	0.81%	0.00%	99.19%
TOP (rel. freq.)	1.96%	0.00%	98.04%
FOC (abs. freq.)	99.19%	0.81%	0.00%
FOC (rel. freq.)	98.04%	1.96%	0.00%

Table 276. Percentages of absolute and relative frequencies of topic/focus positions in non V-initial MWO.

As clear from Table 276 and from Figure 11 below, P1-relocated constituents in non V-initial MWO are always focal. In such cases, topical elements are the post-verbal constituents. Thus, the relocation in pre-verbal position of a constituent, without a phoric coreferential element in the second part of the clause (see Chapter 5), is no doubt a focalising strategy in Old Irish.

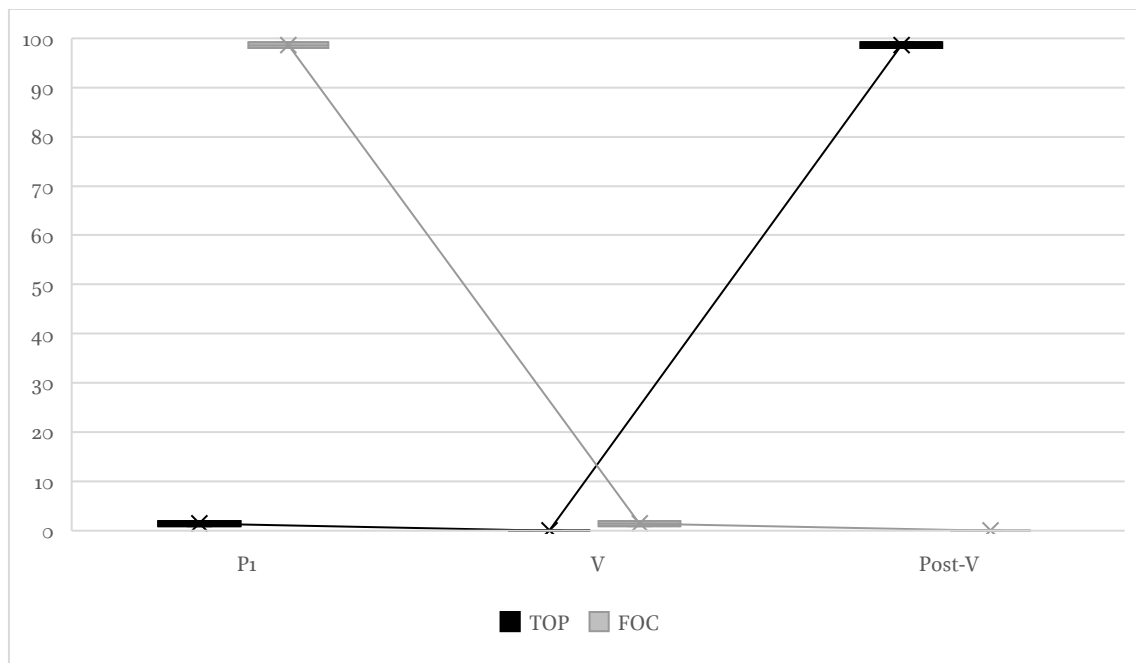


Figure 11. TOP/FOC positions in non V-initial MWO and fluctuations in data between absolute and relative frequencies.

²⁷⁴ P1 stands for clause-initial position.

To conclude this section, it is necessary to spend a few words on the “Post-V” (that is, post-verbal) topic position. As seen in Chapter 6, post-verbal may either be an actual post-verbal position in sentences with more than one constituent occurring after V (on this note, see e.g. Lash and Griffith 2018), or be a post-verbal/sentence final position in sentences with one constituent only occurring after V.

To make Table 276 data comparable to those highlighted e.g. in Section 10.1 (but also Section 10.2.1 above, see e.g. Figures 8, 9 and 10, where P₂ is kept separate from FP), Table 277 below differentiates between actual post-verbal topics in non V-initial MWO (that is, topic occurring in post-verbal position when more than one constituent follows V), actual clause-final topics, non-overt topics (that is, cases in which the topic is conveyed by the verbal ending only/*nota augens*), or infix O topics.

TOP type	S V sentences	O V sentences	IC V sentences
Post-verbal	1	1	6
Sentence-final	1	4	8
Post-V/FP	11	7	63
Non-overt	0	4	13
Infix	0	0	4

Table 277. Non V-initial MWO topic types (absolute values).

In Table 277, the topic types of S V, O V and IC V sentences are summarised. As far as S V sentences are concerned, in the great majority of cases (11 out of 13) the topical element is the constituent occurring after V, even if it is not possible to discern if it occurs in either post-verbal or clause-final position. As far as O V sentences are concerned, in 7 out of 16 cases the topical element is the constituent occurring after V, even if it is not possible to discern if it occurs in either post-verbal or clause-final position. Similarly, in IC V sentences the constituent occurring after V (post-V/FP) is topical in 63 out of 94 sentences. Table 277 data are represented in Figure 12.

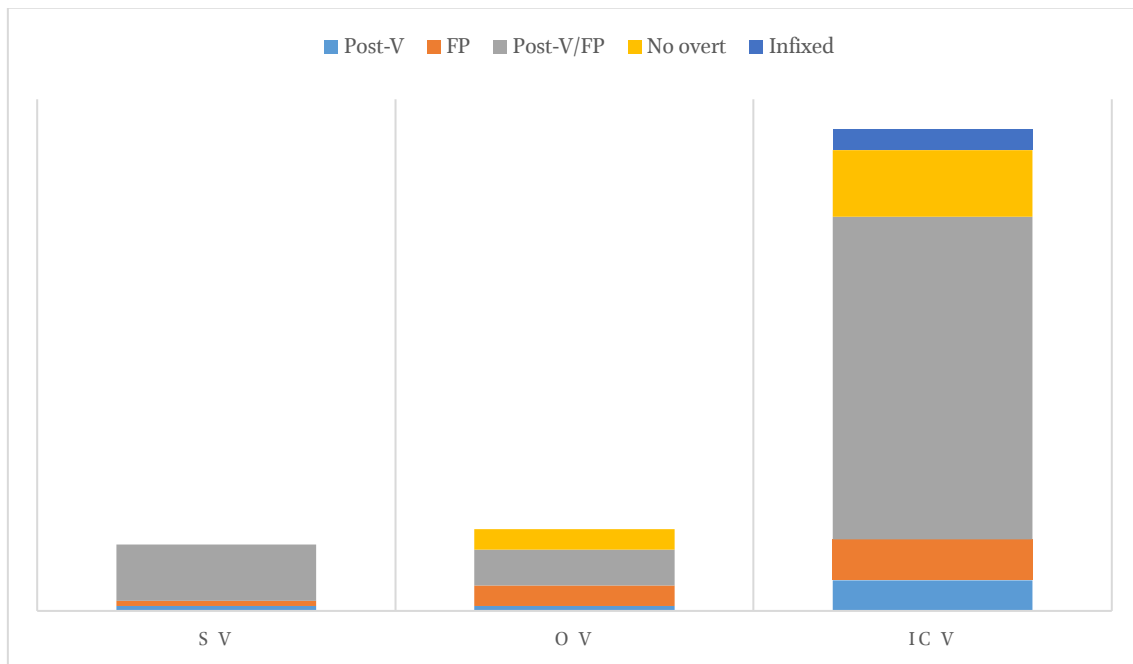


Figure 12. Topic types in non V-initial MWO.

On the basis of the figure above, it can be understood how in the great majority of cases it is not possible to discern whether the topic position is post-V or FP. Table 278 below represents the same data in terms of relative frequencies, so that the fact that IC V sentences are far more attested does not affect the representation of data.

TOP type	S V sentences	O V sentences	IC V sentences
Post-verbal	7.69%	6.25%	6.38%
Sentence-final	7.69%	25.00%	8.51%
Post-V/FP	84.61%	43.75%	67.02%
Non-overt	0%	25.00%	13.83%
Infix	0%	0%	4.26%

Table 278. Non V-initial MWO topic types (relative frequencies).

Given the above-described data, an accurate representation of trends in topic positions as far as non V-initial MWO are concerned is hard to offer. What can be done is to consider actual post-verbal topic sentences and clause-final topic sentences only, in order to obtain data entirely comparable to those highlighted in the end of Sections 10.1 and 10.2.1. This operation is doable given the fact that post-V/FP are significantly more frequently attested topic types than non-overt or infix topics in non -V initial MWO (82.93% vs. 17.07%). Figure 13 represents TOP and FOC positions in non V-initial MWO when only actual post-verbal topic

sentences and clause-final topic sentences are considered. Fluctuations in data between absolute and relative frequencies are represented as well.

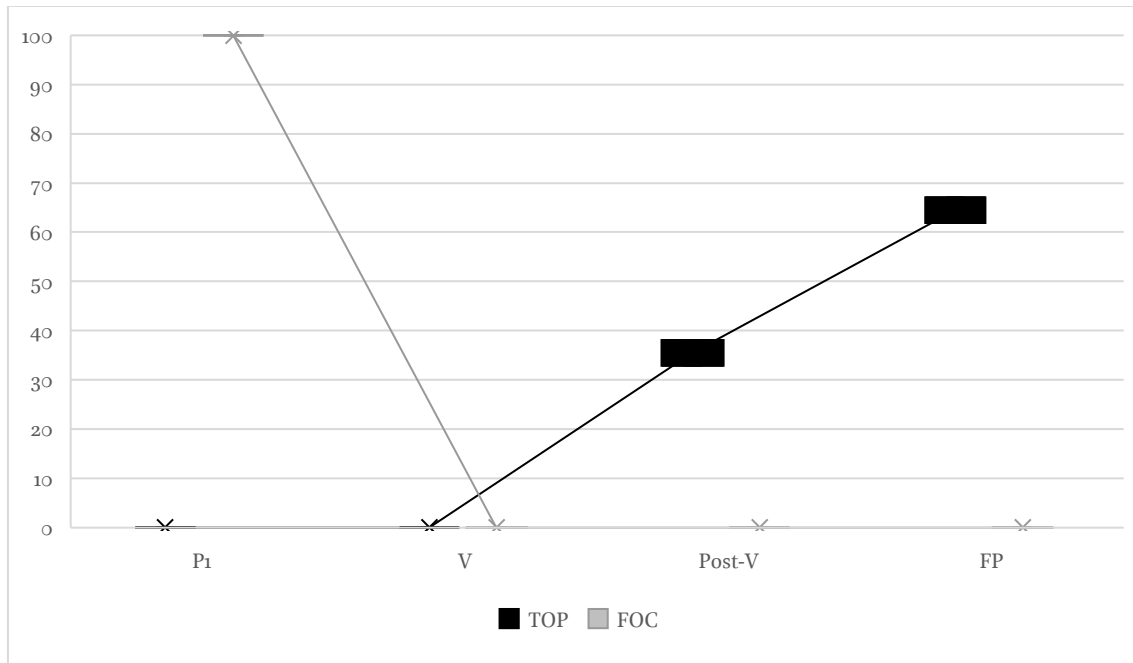


Figure 13. TOP/FOC positions in actual Post-V and FP topic non V-initial MWO sentences and fluctuations in data between absolute and relative frequencies.

10.3 Extra-clausal constituents

The amount of (non-copular) sentences featuring extra-clausal constituents attested in the Milan glosses is 74. ECCs may be left-dislocated (55 examples, 74.32% of ECCs), or right-dislocated (19 examples, 25.68% of ECCs). The various categories of L/RDs attested in the corpus are illustrated by Figure 14.

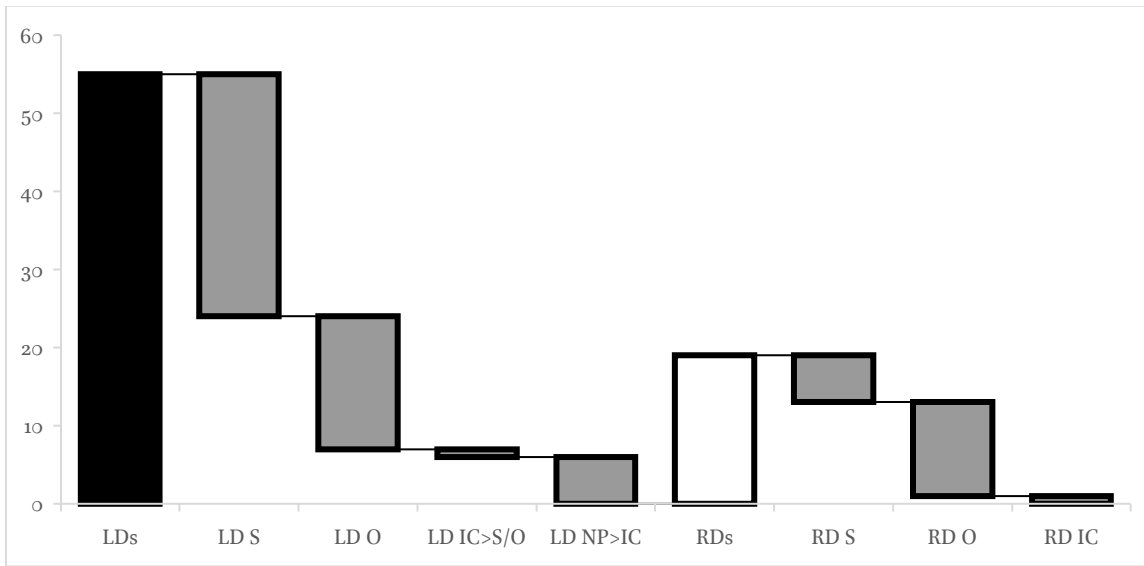


Figure 14. Quantitative representation of ECCs.

As clear on the basis of Figure 14, Ss are the most frequently left-dislocated constituents in the corpus (41.89% of ECCs, 56.36% of LDs), while Os are the most frequently right-dislocated constituents in the corpus (16.22% of ECCs, 63.16% of RDs).

LD Ss amount to, in terms of instances, 31 examples in the Milan glosses corpus (limiting the analysis to the five most numerous categories, as done in previous sections). The syntax-IC pairings of LD-S clauses are listed in Table 279.

Instances	% out of LDs	% out of this category	Syntax-IS
31	56.36%	100.00%	
13	23.64%	41.94%	[S] _{TOP} -V-[PN] _{TOP} -[X] _{FOC}
3	5.45%	9.68%	[S] _{TOP} -[X] _{FOC} -V-[PN] _{TOP}
2	3.64%	6.45%	[S] _{TOP} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -V-[X] _{FOC}
1	1.82%	3.23%	[S] _{TOP} -[V-IC] _{FOC} -[NP] _{TOP}
1	1.82%	3.23%	[S] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}

Table 279. Syntax-IS pairings of LD-S sentences.

Those cases of LD-S with zero anaphora highlighted in Sections 4.2.1 and 10.2.1 must then be added (Table 280).

Instances	% out of LDs	% out of this category	Syntax-IS
31	56.36%	100.00%	

6	10.91%	19.35%	[S] _{TOP} -V-[X] _{FOC}
5	9.09%	16.13%	[S] _{TOP} -[V(-X)] _{FOC}

Table 280. Syntax-IS pairings of LD-S sentences with zero anaphora.

To describe which trends in terms of TOP/FOC position emerge on the basis of LD-S sentences, it is necessary to recall what discussed in Section 4.2.1, that is, that LD-S embedded in cleft sentences may happen to show the sentence-initial ECC on focus, differently from LD-S embedded in non-cleft sentences (see also Table 279). For this reason, trends in TOP/FOC position in LD- (but also RD-) clauses will be analysed in two tables: on the one hand the positions of topic and focus in ECCs not followed by a cleft structure will be taken into account, on the other hand the positions of topic and focus in ECCs followed by a cleft structure will be taken into account. Tables 281 and 282 below collect quantitative data as for LD-S sentences following this bipartition.

	P1	(Pre-V)	V	Post-V
TOP	28	0	0	0
Pct.	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
FOC	0	3	6	19
Pct.	0.00%	10.71%	21.43%	67.86%

Table 281. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in LD-S sentences (non-cleft).

	P1	V(COP)	Cleft	V	Post-V
TOP	2	0	0	0	1
Pct.	66.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%
FOC	1	0	0	0	2
Pct.	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	66.67%

Table 282. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in LD-S sentences (cleft).

Out of 31 LD-S sentences, 28 (90.32%) are not embedded in a cleft structure, while 3 (9.68%) are embedded in a cleft structure. From Table 281 we can gather that, when LD-S sentences are not embedded in cleft structures, the LD item is always topical. In terms of focus position, it is post-verbal in the majority of cases (67.86%). As far as LD-S sentences embedded in cleft structures are concerned, instead, Table 282 tells us that in 2 out of 3 examples the LD S is topical, but in one case the focalising force of the cleft structure prevails on the topicalising force of the LD, and S is focal.

In 17 cases, the syntactic function of the LD item is that of O. Table 283 summarises quantitative data for syntax-IS pairings of LD-O sentences.

Instances	% out of LDs	% out of this category	Syntax-IS
17	30.91%	100.00%	
11	20.00%	64.71%	[O] _{TOP} -([]V([] _{FOC})[^(+INFIX,O)] _{TOP} -[X] _{FOC}
3	5.45%	17.65%	[O] _{FOC} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{FOC}
3	5.45%	17.65%	[O] _{TOP} -V ^(COP) -[PN] _{TOP} -[V] _{FOC}

Table 283. Syntax-IS pairings of LD-O sentences.

In Table 283, two sentence categories out of three show a cleft syntax (second and third row in Table 283). Table 284 analyses the topic/focus position in LD-O sentences not embedded in cleft sentences, while Table 285 analyses the topic/focus position in LD-O sentences embedded in cleft sentences.

	P1	(Pre-V)	V	Post-V
TOP	11	0	0	0
Pct.	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
FOC	0	0	8	11
Pct.	0.00%	0.00%	72.73%	100.00%

Table 284. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in LD-O sentences (non-cleft).

	P1	V(COP)	Cleft	V	Post-V
TOP	3	0	0	0	3
Pct.	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%
FOC	3	0	0	3	3
Pct.	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%

Table 285. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in LD-O sentences (cleft).

Out of 17 LD-O examples attested in the Milan glosses, 11 are not embedded in cleft sentences (64.71%), while 6 are embedded in cleft sentences (35.29%). As seen for LD-S not embedded in cleft sentences above, the LD item is always topical also if its syntactic function is O (Table 284). When LD-O sentences are embedded in cleft sentences (Table 285), instead, the extra-clausal O is topical in 3 cases out of 6, and is focal in the remaining. What changes sharply from LD-S examples seen above is the focus position in the case of topical LD-Os.

While the position after V is occupied by a focal constituent in most cases (as with LD-Ss), the percentage of focal Vs raises from 21.43% of LD-S sentences not embedded in cleft structures to 72.73% of LD-O sentences not embedded in cleft structures. This trend is confirmed also by LD-O cleft examples with topical sentence-initial O, where focal elements are in 100% of cases both V and the post-V item.

As for LD-IC resumed in the host clause with a direct syntactic function, one example only is attested in the corpus. Its syntactic-IS structure is the following: $[IC]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-V-[X]_{TOP}$. Hence, its structure is cleft, the LD-IC is focal, and the topic position is post-verbal.

In the end, 6 examples in the corpus feature LD-NPs resumed by an inflected preposition (IC) in the host clause. Table 286 summarises the syntax-IS pairings of such sentences, while Table 287 and 288 outline the TOP/FOC position trends of LD NP>IC sentences, respectively not embedded and embedded in cleft structures.

Instances	% out of LDs	% out of this category	Syntax-IS
6	10.91%	100.00%	
4	7.27%	66.67%	$[NP]_{TOP}-([]V)_{FOC}[IC]_{TOP}-[X]_{FOC}$
2	3.64%	33.33%	$[NP]_{FOC}-V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[X]_{TOP}$

Table 286. Syntax-IS pairings of LD-NP>IC sentences.

	P1	(Pre-V)	V	Post-V
TOP	4	0	0	0
Pct.	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
FOC	0	0	2	4
Pct.	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	100.00%

Table 287. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in LD-NP>IC sentences (non-cleft).

	P1	V(COP)	Cleft	V	Post-V
TOP	0	0	0	0	2
Pct.	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
FOC	2	0	0	0	0
Pct.	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%

Table 288. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in LD-NP>IC sentences (cleft).

Out of the examples described in Table 286, 4 are not embedded in cleft structures (66.67%) and 2 are embedded in cleft structures (33.33%). In the case of LD-NP>IC sentences not embedded in cleft structures, what is topical is always the clause-initial dislocated constituent, while the constituent on focus tends to occur in the position immediately after V. In both the examples attested in the corpus embedded in a cleft structure, instead, the LD item is focal, and what is topical occurs in the position immediately after V.

Overall, trends in topic/focus positions in LD sentences not embedded in cleft structures are described in Table 289. Trends in topic/focus positions in LD sentences embedded in cleft structures, on the other hand, are described in Table 290.

	P1	(Pre-V)	V	Post-V
TOP	43	0	0	0
Pct.	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
FOC	0	3	16	34
Pct.	0.00%	6.98%	37.21%	79.07%

Table 289. Overall trends in TOP/FOC positions in LD sentences (non-cleft).

	P1	V(COP)	Cleft	V	Post-V
TOP	5	0	0	0	7
Pct.	41.67%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	58.33%
FOC	7	0	0	3	5
Pct.	58.33%	0.00%	0.00%	25.00%	41.67%

Table 290. Overall trends in TOP/FOC positions in LD sentences (cleft).

On the basis of Table 289, LD-constituents in sentences not embedded in cleft structures are always topical in the Milan glosses. In these cases, the focus tends to be conveyed by a constituent occurring immediately after V. Furthermore, Table 290 tells us that LDs in sentences embedded in cleft structures show a different picture, where the focalising value of cleft sentences prevails on the topicalising value of LDs in 7 cases out of 12 (58.33%). It is the topic, in this peculiar sentence structure, which tends to occur in the position immediately after V (100% of focal LD constituents; 58.33% of cleft LD sentences). Figure 15 below represents TOP/FOC positions in LD sentences in terms of relative frequencies.

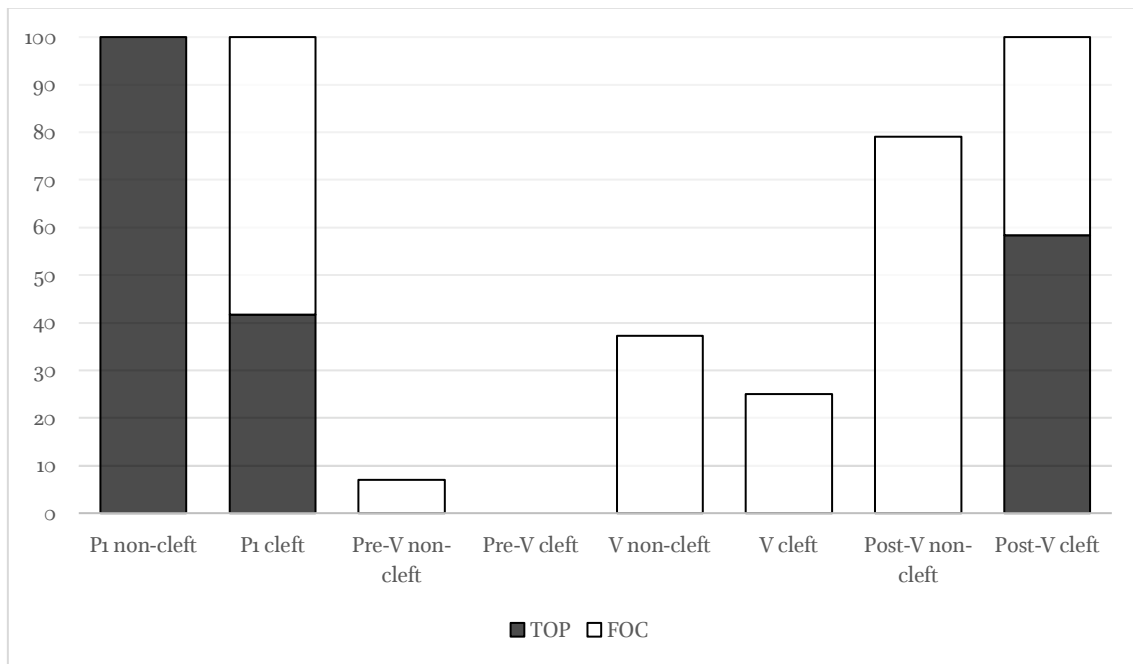


Figure 15. TOP/FOC positions in LD sentences (relative frequencies).

Figure 15 highlights the main differences occurring between LD sentences embedded and not embedded in cleft structures: P1 is entirely topical with LD sentences not embedded in cleft structures, while it is predominantly focal with LD sentences embedded in cleft structures; the constituent occurring immediately after V is focal with LD sentences not embedded in cleft structures, while it is predominantly topical with LD sentences embedded in cleft structures.

The framework depicted by Figure 15 is however not accurate in quantitative terms. Given that relative, and not absolute, frequencies are taken into consideration there, one may be led to conclude that the two LD-structures (that is, not embedded and embedded in cleft structures) have the same impact on the language. What is true, as seen in the tables above, is that LD sentences embedded in cleft structures are rare in the Milan glosses corpus (12 sentences out of 55, that is, 21.82%). If overall absolute frequencies of LD sentences not embedded and embedded in cleft structures are evaluated at the same time, the real distribution of TOP/FOC in Milan glosses LD-sentences can be observed (Figure 16).

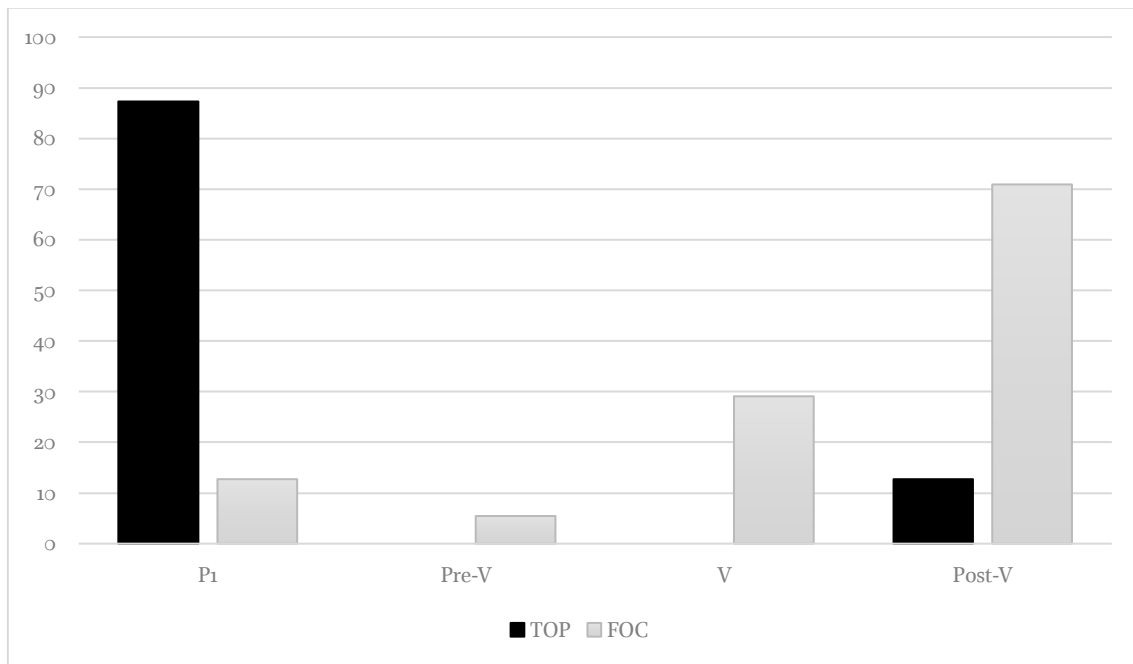


Figure 16. TOP/FOC positions in LD sentences (absolute freq.).

Figure 16 shows how LD-items in Old Irish are topical in almost 90% of cases. The focus tends to occur in the position immediately after V instead.

To conclude, the scarce amount of data raise some serious difficulties in further specifying whether topical or focal constituents occurring immediately after V are actual post-verbal or rather sentence-final items. When the constituent occurring immediately after V is topical (7 cases only), no other constituent occurs after it. When the constituent occurring immediately after V is focal (39 cases), if the analysis is limited to those cases where more than one constituent occurs after V (14 examples), in 10 cases the focus is clause-final (71.43%), while in 4 cases the focus is post-verbal (28.57%). In each of the 4 cases in which the constituent occurring immediately after V is focal (and not clause-final), on focus is always V as well.

As noted above, right-dislocations amount only to 19 examples in the Milan glosses corpus. In 6 out of 19 cases, what is dislocated is the S of the sentence. Table 291 describes the syntax-IS RD-S types attested in the corpus. Table 292 and 293 analyse the topic/focus position in RD-S examples respectively not embedded and embedded in cleft structures.

Instances	% out of RDs	% out of this category	Syntax-IS
6	31.58%	100.00%	
2	10.53%	33.33%	$[V^{(+INFIXO)}]_{FOC}-[PN]_{TOP}-[S]_{TOP}$
1	5.26%	16.67%	$V^{(COP)}-[X]_{FOC}-V-[PN]_{TOP}-[S]_{TOP}$

1	5.26%	16.67%	V ^(COP) -[PN] _{FOC} -V-[O] _{TOP} -[S] _{FOC}
1	5.26%	16.67%	[V] _{FOC} -[ANAPH] _{TOP} -[S] _{TOP}
1	5.26%	16.67%	V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP} -[IC] _{FOC} -[S] _{TOP}

Table 291. Syntax-IS pairings of RD-S sentences.

	V	Post-V	FP
TOP	0	0	4
Pct.	0.00%	0.00%	100.00%
FOC	3	1	0
Pct.	75.00%	25.00%	0.00%

Table 292. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in RD-S sentences (non-cleft).

	V(COP)	Cleft	V	Post-V	FP
TOP	0	0	0	1	1
Pct.	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%
FOC	0	1	0	0	1
Pct.	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%

Table 293. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in RD-S sentences (cleft).

As shown in Table 291, 4 RD-S sentences are not embedded in cleft structures (66.67%), while 2 RD-S sentences are embedded in cleft structures (33.33%). When RD-S sentences are not embedded in cleft structures, the right-dislocated items is always topical, while V is focal in 75% of cases (Table 292). On the other hand, when RD-S sentences are embedded in cleft structures, the right dislocated item is in one case topical and in one case focal. In this last case, the constituent occurring immediately after V is topical.

12 cases of RD-O are attested in the Milan glosses corpus. Table 294 describes the syntax-IS RD-O types attested in the corpus. Table 295 analyses the topic/focus position in RD-O examples not embedded in cleft structures. No RD-O sentence embedded in a cleft structure is attested in the Milan glosses.

Instances	% out of RDs	% out of this category	Syntax-IS
12	63.16%	100.00%	
9	47.37%	75.00%	([]V([]) _{FOC})[^(+INFIX.O)] _{TOP} -[X] _{FOC} -[O] _{TOP}
1	5.26%	8.33%	V ^(+INFIX.O) _{FOC} -[X] _{TOP} -[O] _{FOC}
1	5.26%	8.33%	[V ^(+EMPH.SUBJ)] _{FOC} -[DEM] _{TOP} -[O] _{TOP}

$$1 \mid 5.26\% \mid 8.33\% \mid V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP-}[IC]_{FOC}$$

Table 294. Syntax-IS pairings of RD-O sentences.

	V	Post-V	FP
TOP	0	2	10
Pct.	0.00%	16.67%	83.33%
FOC	5	9	2
Pct.	41.67%	75.00%	16.67%

Table 295. Trends in TOP/FOC positions in RD-O sentences (non-cleft).

In RD-O sentences, the right-dislocated constituent is topical in 83.33% of cases. Out of the two cases where the clause-final item is focal, one (that is, *Ml. 128^c3*) has the RD-O occurring not in clause-final position. As far as focus is concerned, it occurs immediately after V in 3 cases out of 4.

The last typology of right-dislocation attested shows RD-ICs. One example only occurs. Its syntax-IS pairing is the following: V-S.^{EMPH}-[O]_{FOC}-[IC]_{TOP}-[IC]_{TOP}. Thus, the constituent occurring immediately after V is focal and the topic in clause-final position.

Overall, RD sentences amount to 17 examples not embedded in cleft structures (89.47%) and 2 examples embedded in cleft structures (10.53%). Trends in topic/focus positions in RD sentences not embedded in cleft structures are described in Table 296. Trends in topic/focus positions in RD sentences embedded in cleft structures, on the other hand, are described in Table 297.

	V	Post-V	FP
TOP	0	2	15
Pct.	0.00%	11.76%	88.24%
FOC	8	11	2
Pct.	47.06%	64.71%	11.76%

Table 296. Overall trends in TOP/FOC positions in RD sentences (non-cleft).

	V(COP)	Cleft	V	Post-V	FP
TOP	0	0	0	1	1
Pct.	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%	50.00%
FOC	0	1	0	0	1
Pct.	0.00%	50.00%	0.00%	0.00%	50.00%

Table 297. Overall trends in TOP/FOC positions in RD sentences (cleft).

In RD sentences not embedded in cleft structures (Table 296), the clause-final item is topical in 88.24% of cases. Two are the examples where the clause-final item is not focal, and in one case this is due to the fact that the clause-final constituent is not the RD constituent. Thus, RD coincides with topicalisation in 94.11% of cases. As far as focus is concerned, the constituent occurring immediately after V is mostly focal (64.71% of cases). Remarkably, focal V are attested in almost 50% of examples. As far as RD sentences embedded in cleft structures are concerned, as noted above, the RD constituent is in one case topical and in one case focal. In this last case, the topical constituent occurs immediately after V.

Figure 17 shows TOP/FOC positions in LD sentences in terms of relative frequencies. Given the scarce amount of RD sentences embedded in cleft structures attested in the corpus, however, a more accurate representation of data is offered by Figure 18, where absolute frequencies are taken into consideration.

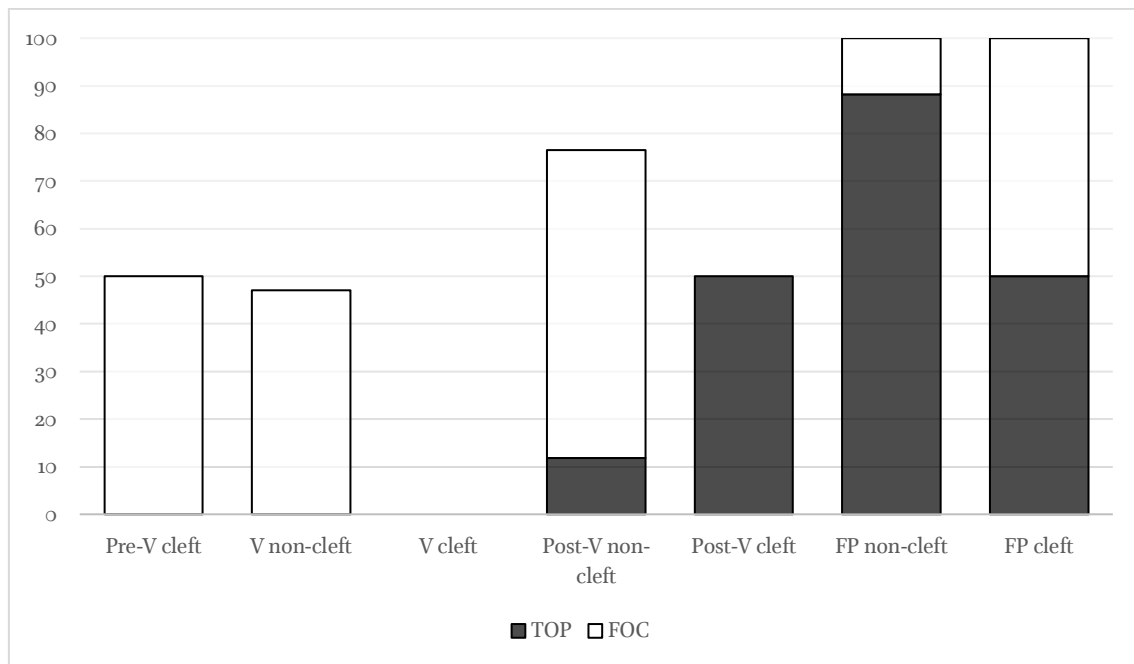


Figure 17. TOP/FOC positions in RD sentences (relative frequencies).

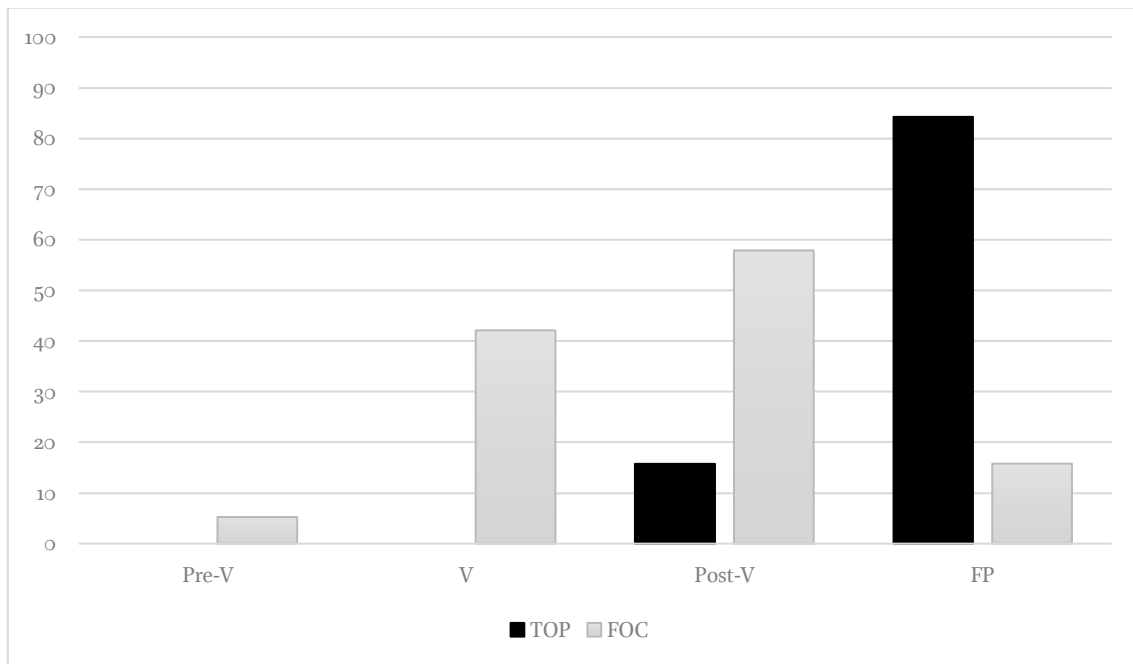


Figure 18. TOP/FOC positions in RD sentences (absolute frequencies).

As clear on the basis of Figure 18, clause-final items, that is, RD items, are topical in about 85% of cases. This makes of right-dislocation a topicalising strategy. Focal mostly is the constituent occurring immediately after V. This marks an obvious difference with LDs, where focal tended to be the clause-final constituent, here occupied in 94.74% of cases by RD items.

10.4 (Pseudo)cleft sentences

(Pseudo)cleft sentences are 553 in the Milan glosses corpus. 505 out of them are cleft sentences (91.32%), 48 out of them are pseudo-cleft sentences (8.68%). As seen in Chapter 6, (pseudo)cleft sentences may dislocate a constituent which can either function in the pseudo-relative clause as S, as O or as IC. On the basis of a refinement of data, quantitative data for cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences attested in the corpus are reported in Table 298.

Clefted constituent	Instances (PCT)	Pseudo-cleft constituent	Instances (PCT)
S	132 (27.52%)	S	7 (14.58%)
O	63 (13.18%)	O	18 (37.50%)
IC	283 (59.21%)	IC	23 (47.92%)

Table 298. Refined quantitative data of (pseudo)cleft sentences attested in the corpus.

Figure 19 represents the distribution of relative frequencies of the syntactic functions of clefted constituents in cleft and pseudo-cleft structures.

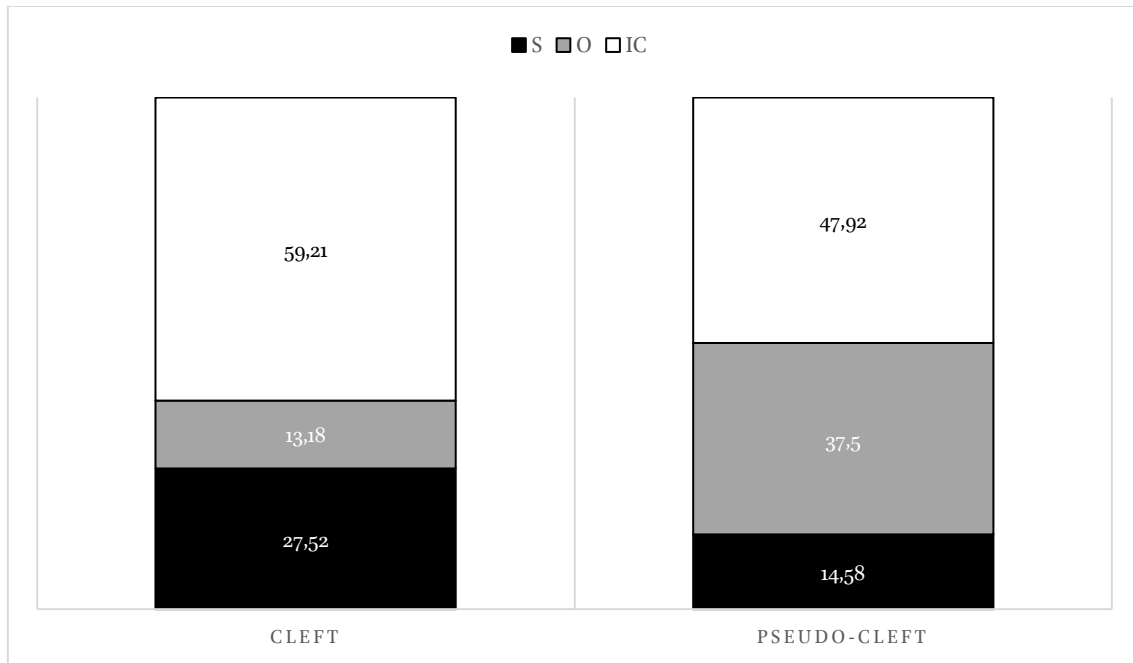


Figure 19. Syntactic functions of clefted item in the Milan glosses (relative frequencies).

As clear on the basis of the figure above, in both cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences the most frequently clefted item has the syntactic function of IC in the pseudo-relative clause. A relevant difference occurring between cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences, then, is the relative amount of clefted O, which in the case of pseudo-cleft sentences is almost three times that of cleft sentences (37.50% vs. 13.18%).

Cleft sentences with clefted S amount to 132 examples in the corpus. The clefted item is always focal (see Chapter 6). As far as the topic of sentences is concerned, it may occur in one of the following sentence positions (always in the pseudo-relative clause):

- i. post-verbal position, that is, immediately after V in pseudo-relative sentences with more than one post-verbal constituent;
- ii. sentence-final position, that is, sentence-final position in pseudo-relative sentences with more than one post-verbal constituent;
- iii. post-verbal/sentence-final position, that is, post-verbal position in pseudo-relative sentences with one constituent only occurring after V;
- iv. infix, that is, topical is an infix O;

- v. non-overt, that is, the topic is not expressed by separate constituent occurring in the clause; non-overt topics are mostly (but not exclusively) topical Ss expressed by verbal endings or *notae augentes*/anaphoric Ss.

Table 299 reports the distribution of topic types in clefted-S sentences.

Syntax-IS	TOP type	Instances	% out of clefted-S
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V/clause-final	71	53.79%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP} -Y	Post-V	17	12.88%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V ^(+INFIX.O) _{TOP}	Infix	24	18.18%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Clause-final	12	9.09%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	8	6.06%

Table 299. TOP distribution in clefted-S sentences.

As shown by Table 299, in clefted-S sentences topics tend to occur in post-verbal/sentence-final position. Unfortunately, in the great majority of cases (71 out of 100), it is impossible to discern whether that post-verbal position is an actual post-V position or rather is clause-final. If we limit the analysis to those contexts where more than one constituent occurs after V (29 examples), the topic is post-verbal in 58.62% of cases, while the topic is clause-final in the remaining 41.38% of cases.

A significantly different scenery in terms of topic types is offered by clefted-O sentences (Table 300). The clefted item is always focal.

Syntax-IS	TOP type	Instances	% out of clefted-O
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V/clause-final	18	28.57%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP} -Y	Post-V	5	7.94%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Clause-final	3	4.76%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	37	58.73%

Table 300. TOP distribution in clefted-O sentences.

What emerges from Table 300 is that in the case of clefted-O sentences, the most widely attested topic category shows non-overt topic (58.73%), that is, topical tend to be Ss. Only 8 sentences out of 26 with post-verbal/clause-final topic show more than one post-verbal constituent. In 5 cases the topic occurs in the actual post-verbal position (62.50%), in 3 cases the topic occurs in clause-final position (37.50%).

In the end, cleft-edIC sentences should be considered. They constitute the widest category of cleft sentences, with 283 examples attested in the Milan glosses corpus. They are described, in terms of topic types, in Table 301. The clefted item is always focal also in this case.

Syntax-IS	TOP type	Instances	% out of clefted-IC
$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[X]_{TOP}$	Post-V/clause-final	109	38.52%
$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-[X]_{TOP}-Y$	Post-V	21	7.42%
$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}$ $V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}$	Infixd	32	11.31%
$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V-X-[Y]_{TOP}$	Clause-final	28	9.89%
$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}-V$	Non-overt	93	32.86%

Table 301. TOP distribution in clefted-IC sentences.

Clefted-IC sentences show a topic distribution similar to that highlighted above in the case of clefted-O sentences: non-overt topics are extremely relevant in quantitative terms (32.86%). As far as post-verbal/clause-final topics are concerned, in 49 cases more than one post-verbal constituent occurs: in 21 examples (42.86%) the topic is post-verbal, in 28 examples (57.14%) the topic is clause-final.

Table 302 reports the topic distribution in cleft sentences according to both absolute and relative frequencies.

	Topic types				
	Non-overt	Infixd	Post-V	Post-V/FP	FP
Abs. freq.	28.87%	11.72%	9.00%	41.42%	9.00%
Rel. freq.	32.55%	9.83%	9.41%	40.29%	7.92%

Table 302. TOP distribution in cleft sentences (absolute vs. relative frequencies).

Table 302 tells us that topics in cleft sentences tend to occur in post-V position. A second widely attested strategy shows non-overt topic, that is, topical S conveyed by the verbal ending or a *nota augens*/anaphoric S.

What should be done to make Table 302 data on topic position consistent with the other data described in this chapter, is separating post-V/FP topics in post-verbal topics on the one hand, clause-final topics on the other. As clarified above, the problem with this category is that post-verbal and clause-final positions coincide in those sentences where a single (topical) constituent follows V. An hypothetical subdivision of topic instances could be

based on the frequency of occurrence of each topic type per each category of cleft sentence, driven on the basis of those examples where we are sure of the post-verbal or clause-final position of topics. Consider Table 303.

Cleft type	Post-V/FP total	Post-V sure	FP sure	Post-V Rel. freq.	FP Rel. freq.	Post-V Abs. freq.	FP Abs. freq.
Clefted S	100	17	12	58.62%	41.38%	59	41
Clefted O	26	5	3	62.50%	37.50%	16	10
Clefted IC	158	21	28	42.86%	57.14%	68	90

Table 303. Esteemed quantitative distribution of post-verbal topics in cleft sentences.

Clefted-S amount to (see Table 299 above) 100 examples of topics occurring either in post-verbal or in clause-final position. Only in 29 of them we are sure of the post-verbal or clause-final position of TOP, given the occurrence of more than one constituent in post-verbal position: in 58.62% of cases the topic is the post-verbal constituent, in 41.38% of cases the topic is in clause-final position. We may consequently assume that the distribution of ‘unclear’ post-V/FO topics could follow the distribution of ‘clear’ post-V or FP topics, and thus divide the remaining 71 examples according to those relative frequencies (42 post-V topics and 29 FP topics). These amounts can then be added to actual post-V and FP topics, to obtain the total reported in the two rightmost columns of Table 303. Of course, this is a speculative procedure, which in certain cases risks to be compromised by the scarce amount of data on which the estimate is based (see e.g. the case of clefted-O sentences). However, it surely offers a framework on post-verbal topics which is more accurate than simply reducing the post-V and FP position to a generic post-verbal position. Even more so, avoiding this procedure would bias data in quantitative terms rather severely.

Table 303 data may be evaluated in terms of both absolute and relative frequencies, to limit the impact of clefted-IC sentences on the total, since this category is far more numerous than the others. Results are reported in Table 304.

	Post-V TOP		FP TOP	
	Abs. freq.	Rel. freq.	Abs. freq.	Rel. freq.
Clefted S	20.77%	58.62%	14.44%	41.38%
Clefted O	5.64%	62.50%	3.52%	37.50%
Clefted IC	23.94%	42.86%	31.69%	57.14%
Total	50.35%	54.66%	49.65%	45.34%

Table 304. Absolute vs. relative frequencies of esteemed post-V/FP topics distribution.

On the basis of Table 304, topic distribution in cleft sentences, as represented in Table 302, may be refined as in Table 305.

	Topic types			
	Non-overt	Infixes	Post-V	FP
Abs. freq.	28.87%	11.72%	29.91%	29.49%
Rel. freq.	32.55%	9.83%	31.50%	26.12%

Table 305. Refined TOP distribution in cleft sentences (absolute vs. relative frequencies).

Given these data, trends in TOP/FOC distribution in cleft sentences can be represented as in Figure 20. Fluctuations between absolute and relative frequencies are reported in the following figure.

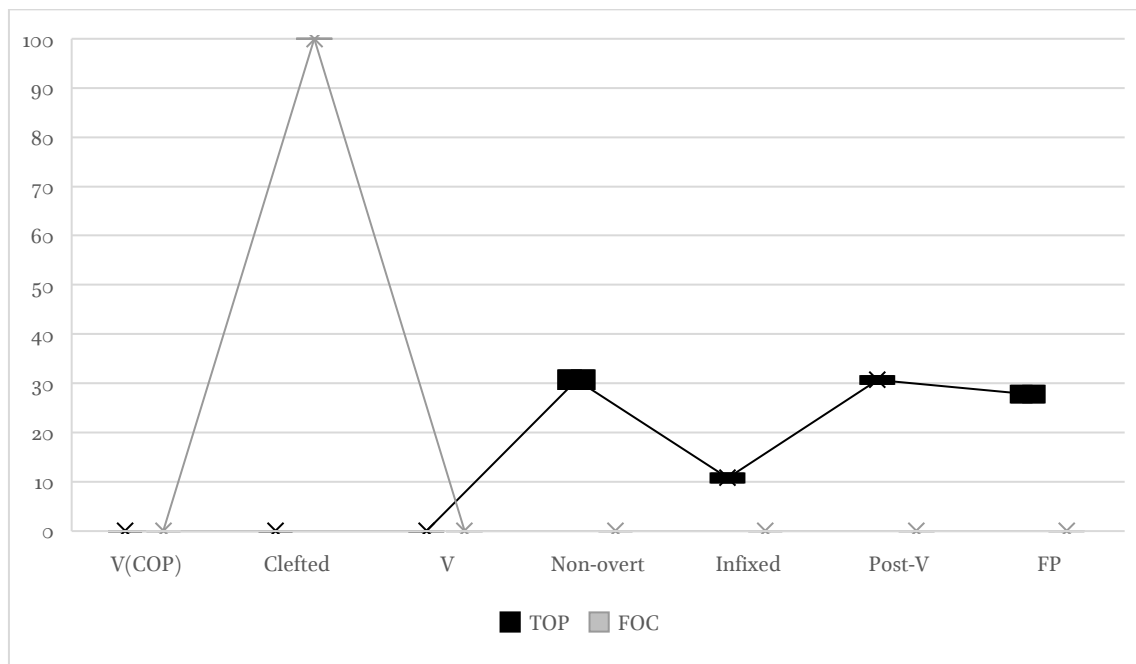


Figure 20. TOP/FOC positions in cleft sentences and fluctuations in data between absolute and relative frequencies.

Figure 20 shows clearly how cleft sentences do not manifest a general trend in terms of topic position, besides a clear indication of focus. Overall distributions of non-overt, post-verbal and clause-final topics are comparable, but they vary consistently if the syntactic

function in the pseudo-relative clause of the clefted item changes. For example, when the clefted item is S, non-overt topics are scarcely attested (around 6% of cases); conversely, when clefted are Os or ICs, non-overt topics reach 58.73% and 32.86% of cases respectively. This distribution is certainly motivated by the fact that, in most cases, non-overt topics play the syntactic function of S.

Data emerging from the analysis of the Milan glosses cleft sentences may be compared with data emerging from the analysis of the Milan glosses pseudo-cleft sentences. Pseudo-cleft sentences with clefted S amount to 7 examples in the corpus. Table 306 reports the distribution of topic types in pseudo-clefted-S sentences. The clefted item is always focal.

Syntax-IS	TOP type	Instances	% out of p-clefted-S
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP} -Y	Post-V	5	71.43%
V ^(COP) -[S] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	2	28.57%

Table 306. TOP distribution in pseudo-clefted-S sentences.

In pseudo-clefted-S sentences, no topical infixed Os nor clause-final topical constituents occur.

The second typology of pseudo-cleft sentences attested in the corpus shows clefted O (18 instances). Table 307 reports the distribution of topic types in pseudo-clefted-O sentences. The clefted item is always focal.

Syntax-IS	TOP type	Instances	% out of p-clefted-O
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP} -Y	Post-V	5	27.78%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V-X-[Y] _{TOP}	Clause-final	3	16.67%
V ^(COP) -[O] _{FOC} -V	Non-overt	10	55.56%

Table 307. TOP distribution in pseudo-clefted-O sentences.

In pseudo-clefted-O sentences, non-overt topics occur in more than the half of cases (55.56%). Post-verbal topics, then, slightly outrank clause-final topics.

The third typology of pseudo-cleft sentences attested in the corpus shows clefted IC (23 instances). Table 308 reports the distribution of topic types in pseudo-clefted-IC sentences. The clefted item is always focal.

Syntax-IS	TOP type	Instances	% out of p-clefted-IC
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP}	Post-V/clause-final	1	4.35%
V ^(COP) -[IC] _{FOC} -V-[X] _{TOP} -Y	Post-V	13	56.52%

$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}$ $V^{(+INFIX.O)}_{TOP}$	Infix	2	8.70%
$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V-X-[Y]_{TOP}}$	Clause-final	3	13.04%
$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC-V}$	Non-overt	4	17.39%

Table 308. TOP distribution in pseudo-clefted-IC sentences.

In the case of pseudo-clefted-IC sentences, Table 308 shows how topics mostly occur in post-verbal position (56.52% of cases). Non-overt topics (17.39%) are also significantly attested. In one case, the post-verbal/clause-final position of the topical constituent is not clear, given the occurrence of a single constituent in post-verbal position. Nevertheless, given that in pseudo-clefted-IC sentences actual post-V topics significantly outrank clause-final topics (13 vs. 3 examples), this dubious example of topic will be counted as post-V when highlighting quantitative trends on TOP/FOC positions (see above).

Table 309 reports the topic distribution in pseudo-cleft sentences according to both absolute and relative frequencies.

	Topic types			
	Non-overt	Infix	Post-V	FP
Abs. freq.	33.33%	4.17%	50.00%	12.50%
Rel. freq.	33.84%	2.90%	53.36%	9.90%

Table 309. TOP distribution in pseudo-cleft sentences (absolute vs. relative frequencies).

Table 309 data allows us to represent trends in TOP/FOC distribution in pseudo-cleft sentences as in Figure 21. Fluctuations between absolute and relative frequencies are reported in the figure.

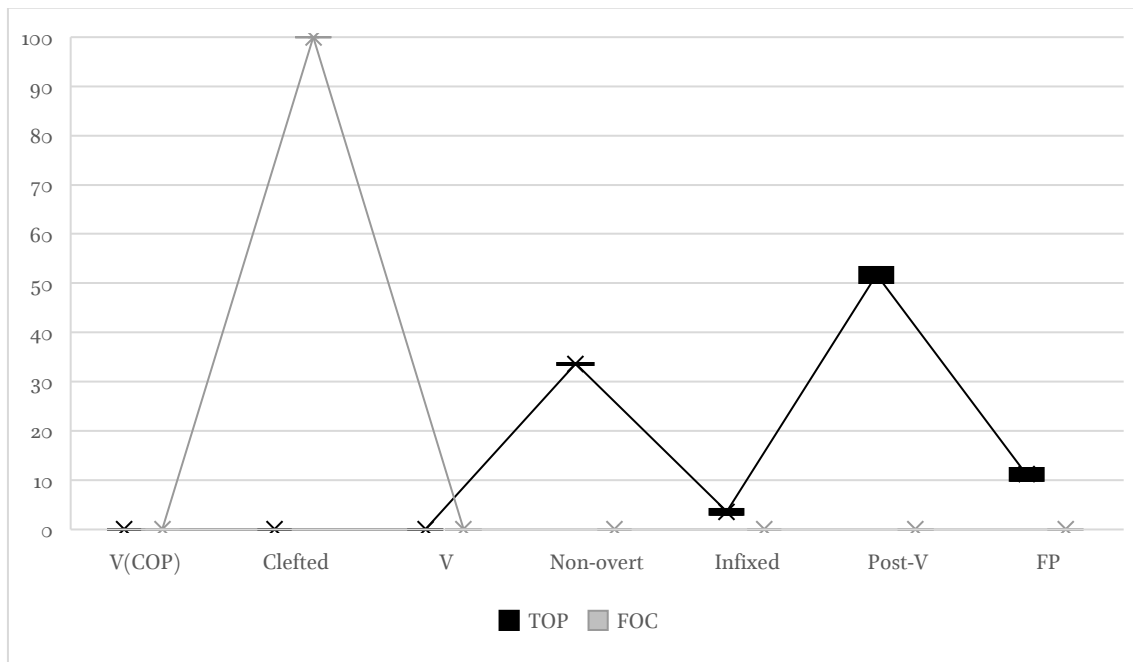


Figure 21. TOP/FOC positions in pseudo-cleft sentences and fluctuations in data between absolute and relative frequencies.

Figure 21 shows, besides an always focal status of the clefted item, that in pseudo-cleft sentences post-verbal topics prevail (more than 50% of topics). Non-overt topics are consistent as well, given that about one topical item out of three is non-overt. As highlighted above for cleft sentences, the distribution of topics seems mostly influenced by the syntactic nature of the clefted item (resulting in different syntactic functions of the constituents occurring in the pseudo-relative clause) more than to a general trend.

Pseudo-cleft sentences show TOP positions comparable to those emerged from the examination of cleft sentences. Consider Figure 22.

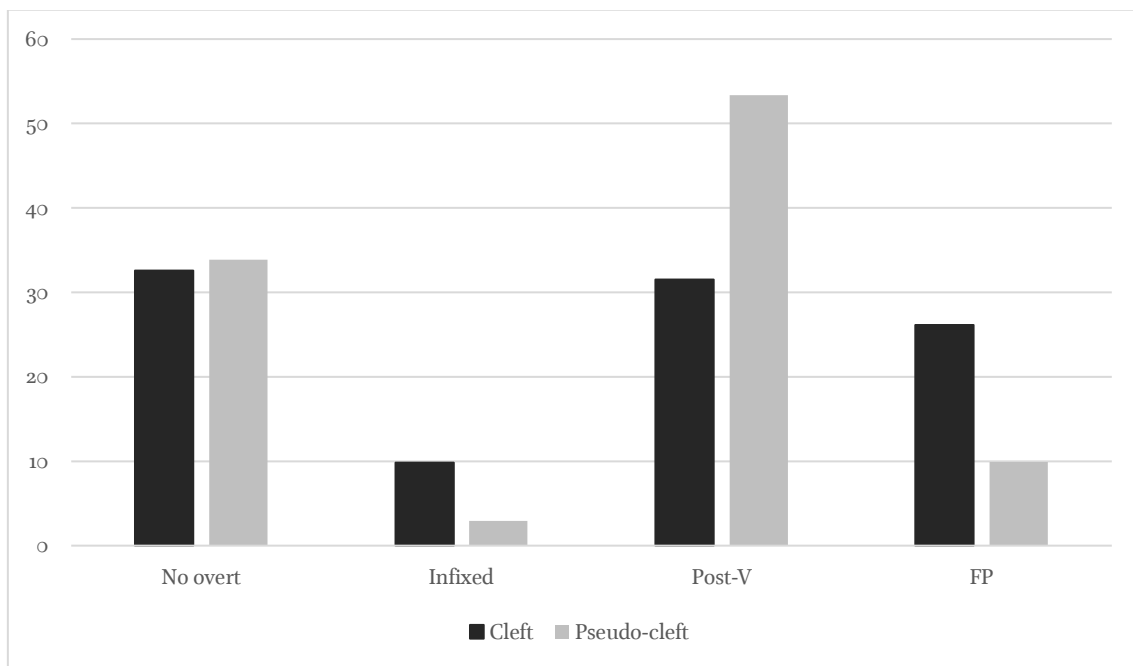


Figure 22. Topic types distribution in cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences (relative frequencies).

Figure 22 shows how the relative amount of non-overt topics is rather identical in cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences (about 33%). Also infix topics are quantitatively comparable, since in both sentence types they amount to less than 10% of cases. The most significant difference pertains to the distribution of post-verbal and clause-final topics. In the case of cleft sentences, post-V topics are slightly more numerous than FP topics (+ 5.38%); in the case of pseudo-cleft sentences, post-V topics are significantly more numerous than FP topic (+43.46%).

This difference in distribution may be due to several reasons (e.g. scarce amount of pseudo-cleft examples, inaccuracy of statistical post-V and FP topic distribution calculated for cleft sentences, etc.), not easy to detect.²⁷⁵ What could be done to highlight TOP/FOC distribution pattern valid for all the (pseudo)cleft sentences, to be later compared with the other trends in TOP/FOC position resulted from the analysis of the other sentence types, is to consider relative, and not absolute, frequencies to define it. To put it another way, given the great predominance in quantitative terms of cleft over pseudo-cleft sentences, if absolute frequencies were taken into consideration to define a general trend valid for both categories, such trend would have resulted rather identical to that emerged from the analysis of cleft sentences only. Taking into account relative frequencies, instead, would mitigate the

²⁷⁵ Note that focal constituents, coreferential with the clefted cataphoric item, are not considered, in the case of pseudo-cleft sentences, in FP position, but occurring outside the clause. Therefore, they do not bias data concerning TOP positions.

difference among the two sub-categories of clefting, this way reducing the impact of the above-described statistical esteem on post-V/FP distribution in cleft sentences. As a matter of fact, all the post-V and FP topics attested in the case of pseudo-cleft sentences are no doubt post-verbal or clause-final except one case. This is a fact which must be considered in highlighting trends in topic distribution for the whole (pseudo)cleft category.

Figure 23 below highlights what are the trends in TOP/FOC distribution in the (pseudo)cleft sentences attested in the corpus (relative frequencies).

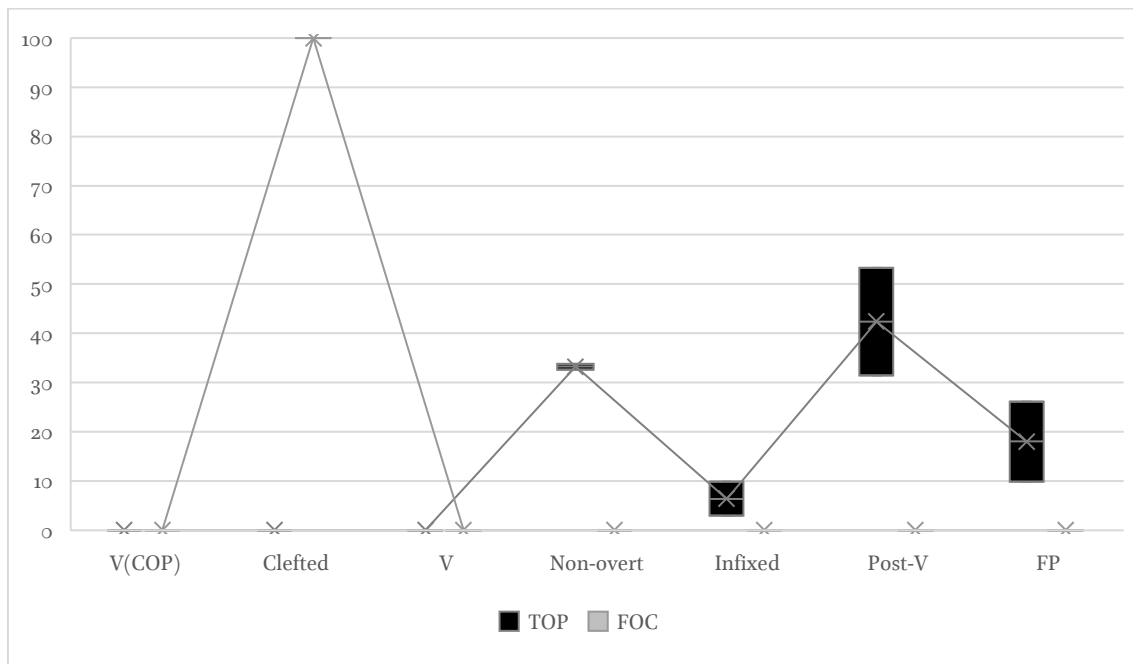


Figure 23. TOP/FOC positions in (pseudo)cleft sentences.

As it is clear on the basis of the figure above, (pseudo)cleft sentences are a clear focalising strategy in Old Irish. As far as topic position is concerned, post-verbal topics are slightly superior in number to the other categories (42.43% vs. e.g. 33.20% of non-overt topics and 18.01% of clause-final topics).

10.5 Copular clauses

In Chapter 7, copular clauses were divided according to syntactic sub-types. Such categories retraced the sentence macro-types identified for non-copular clauses, so that were identified:

- a. unmarked order copular clauses,
- b. marked order copular clauses,
- c. ECC-copular clauses,

d. (pseudo)cleft copular clauses.

Given the peculiar status of copular clauses in Old Irish, it is worth-comparing in quantitative terms the relative amount of each category listed from a. to d. above out of the total of copular clauses. This analysis becomes considerably more important if it is compared to the unmarked, marked, ECCs and (pseudo)cleft relative amount of non-copular clauses out of the total of non-copular clauses. Nevertheless, as underlined in Chapter 7, a few facts should be taken into consideration before proposing a similar comparison. The most prominent issue concerns ECCs with copular clauses. In Section 7.3 it was pointed out how the only methodological reason why certain copular clauses would have fallen under the definition of unmarked WO copular clauses, rather than copular clauses featuring ECCs, was the absence or presence of clause separators (e.g. *.i.*) between the clauses themselves and constituents coreferential with pronominal items occurring in the copular clauses. This methodological guideline, although efficient in the case of non-copular clauses, resulted to be too artificial in the case of copular clauses. As a consequence, certain order types (e.g. $V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$) have to be supplemented with sentences in Chapter 7 labelled as ECCs (LD SNP, RD S, etc.).

This way, data between non-copular and copular clauses can be more accurately compared. Figures 24 and 25 below summarise this comparison.

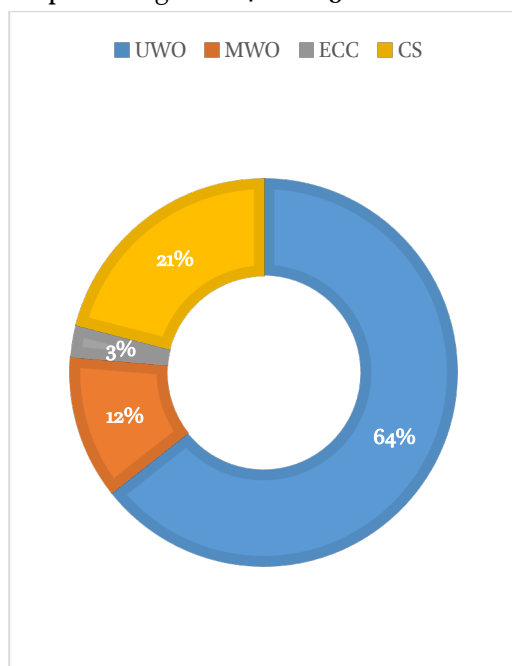


Figure 24. Types of non-copular clauses.²⁷⁶

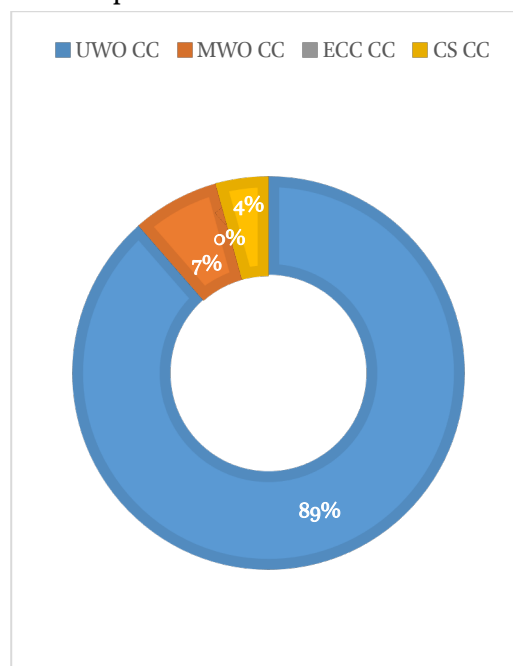


Figure 25. Types of copular clauses.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁶ UWO = Unmarked Word Orders; MWO = Marked Word Orders; ECC = Extra-Clausal Constituents; CS = (Pseudo)Cleft Sentences.

²⁷⁷ UWO CC = Unmarked Word Orders Copular Clauses; MWO CC = Marked Word Orders Copular Clauses; ECC CC = Extra-Clausal Constituents Copular Clauses; CS CC = (Pseudo)Cleft Sentences Copular Clauses.

The total amount of non-copular clauses is 2,644; the total amount of copular clauses is 688. The great majority of sentences belong to unmarked orders in both cases (64% for non-copular and 86% for copular clauses). On the difference occurring between non-copular and copular ECCs see above (3% vs. 0%). The difference between the relative amount of marked orders in the case of non-copular and copular clauses is narrow (12% vs. 7%). What emerges clearly, instead, is how (pseudo)cleft sentences are widely diffused in the case of non-copular clauses (more than 1 sentence out of 5 is cleft), while they are a minority in the case of copular clauses (4%).

A total absence of (pseudo)cleft structures in Figure 25 would be consistent with a ‘copular-like’ view on cleft sentences (see e.g. MacCoisdealbha 1998), according to which the structure $V^{(COP)} + X + [V^{(REL)} Y]$ reproduces the basic structure of a copular clause $V^{(COP)} + SNP + S$. Nevertheless, there is a 4% of copular clauses which shows clefting. Cleft structures occur rather often in the glosses. The fact that clefting is employed also with copular clauses means that, although the origin of the cleft construction may lie in a copular construction, that syntactic device in the Milan glosses became already emancipated, with a synchronic function totally disconnected from its diachronic origin.

A major aspect to stress, as far as copular clauses are considered, concerns a comparison of word order and IS of unmarked order copular clauses on the one hand, marked order copular clauses on the other.

Coherently with what seen in previous sections of this chapters, the 5 most frequent categories per each sentence type were taken into account. Table 310 summarises quantitative data as far as UWO copular clauses are concerned; Table 311 summarises quantitative data as far as MWO copular clauses are concerned. Note how, in this second case, only V-initial sentences are considered.

Instances	% out of CCs	% out of this category	Syntax-IS
371	86.48%	100.00%	
107	24.94%	28.84%	$V^{(COP)}-[NP]_{FOC}$
86	20.05%	23.18%	$V^{(COP)}-[IC]_{FOC}$
77	17.95%	20.75%	$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
70	16.32%	18.87%	$V^{(COP)}-[PN]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
31	7.23%	8.36%	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$

Table 310. Syntax-IS pairings of UWO copular clauses.

Instances	% out of CCs	% out of this category	Syntax-IS
34	7.93%	100.00%	
24	5.59%	70.59%	$V^{(COP)}-[SNP]_{FOC}-IC-[S]_{TOP}$
3	0.70%	8.82%	$[V^{(COP)}-SNP-IC]_{FOC}-[S]_{TOP}$
3	0.70%	8.82%	$V^{(COP)}-SNP-[IC]_{TOP}-[S]_{FOC}$
2	0.47%	5.88%	$V^{(COP)}-[PN-SNP]_{FOC}-IC-[S]_{TOP}$
2	0.47%	5.88%	$V^{(COP)}-[S.^{EMPH}]_{TOP}-[SNP]_{FOC}$

Table 31. Syntax-IS pairings of V₁ MWO copular clauses.

Even though the scarce amount of data offered by V-initial MWO copular clauses risks to bias any quantitative comparison of the two sentence types reported in Tables 310 and 311, some worth-examining facts can be highlighted. In the first place, consider Table 312.

TOP type	Predicate	Zero anaphora (S)	S	Other
UWO CC	0	193	178	0
V ₁ MWO CC	0	0	31	3
Total	0	193	209	3
PCT	0.00%	47.65%	51.60%	0.74%

Table 312. TOP type distribution: UWO copular clauses vs. V₁ MWO copular clauses (absolute values).

On the basis of Table 312, it can be seen how in both UWO and V-initial MWO copular clauses, it is S which tends to be topical. In the case of UWO copular clauses, topical Ss are almost equally divided into zero anaphora Ss and actual Ss. This of course does not happen in the case of V-initial MWO, where in the categories considered in Table 311 it is exactly a clause-final overt S which causes the marked order. If relative instead of absolute frequencies are considered, the framework does not vary significantly, with topical S in 95.59% of cases (100% UWO; 91.18% V₁ MWO).

UWO copular clauses and V-initial MWO copular clauses behave similarly also in terms of focus type. Consider Table 313.

FOC type	$V^{(COP)}$	Predicate	S	Other
UWO CC	0	371	0	0
V ₁ MWO CC	3	31	3	3
Total	3	402	3	0
PCT	0.74%	99.26%	0.74%	0.00%

Table 313. FOC type distribution: UWO copular clauses vs. V₁ MWO copular clauses (absolute frequencies).

Table 313 tells us that, in roughly all the examples belonging to the most widely attested sentence categories in UWO and V-initial MWO copular clauses, the focal element is the predicate. This trend is confirmed if relative rather than absolute frequencies are considered. Predicates are focal in 95.59% of cases (100% UWO; 91.18% V₁ MWO).

Figure 26 below represents the trend in TOP/FOC distribution as far as UWO and V-initial MWO copular clauses are concerned, on the basis of the data presented above.

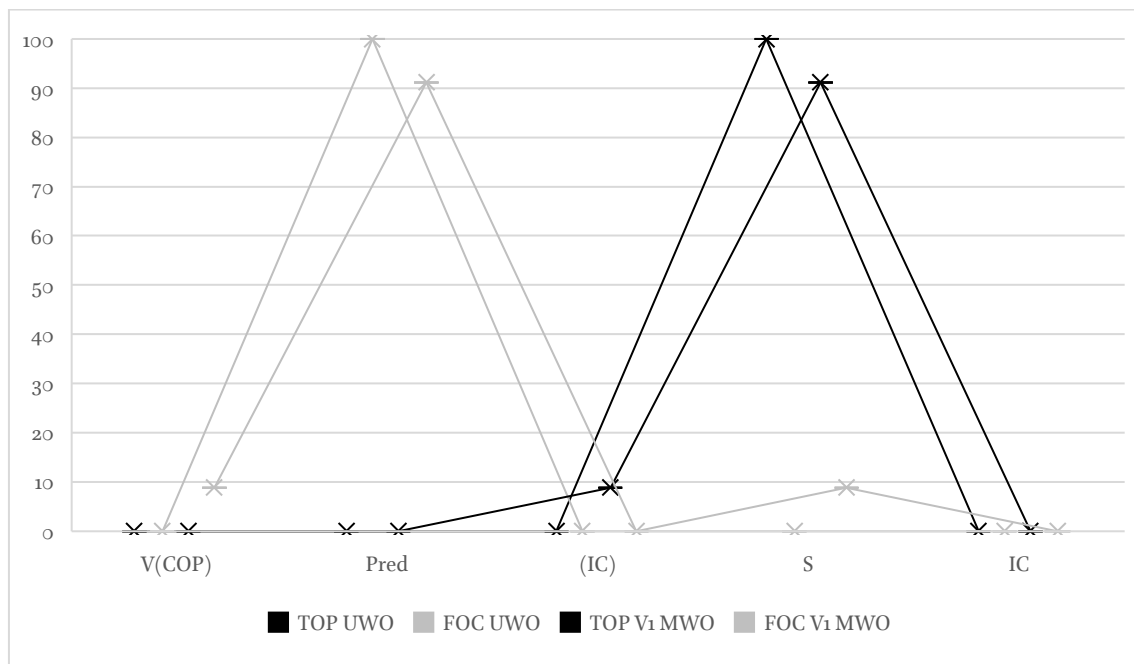
**Figure 26.** TOP/FOC positions in UWO copular clauses and V₁ MWO copular clauses.

Figure 26 highlights a strong consistency in TOP/FOC position between UWO and V-initial MWO copular clauses. In both cases, Ss are almost always topical and predicates almost always focal. This distribution supports what emerged on the basis of the analysis of V-initial (non-copular) MWO above, that is, variations in syntax between unmarked and marked orders in Old Irish are in most cases not influenced by different alignments in IS. Conversely, topical and focal items tend to be the same (Ss and predicates respectively), with variations in word order which are mostly due to morphosyntactic reasons. In the case of V-initial MWO copular clauses, indeed, Ss occurring in clause-final position tend to be heavy constituents (e.g. Ml. 54^a5 *huare as dlige d leu inna fochaid* [leg. *fochaidi*] *dothabairt forairb tar æsi apectha*, “because they deem it a law that the tribulations should be inflicted on them for their sin”; Ml. 71^b2: *.i. roputhol les adem incloine* [leg. *adenum innacloine*] *sin*, “that is, to commit that

iniquity had been a desire for him”), or at least heavier than ICs preceding them (inflected prepositions). In other cases, Ss in clause-final position are in Latin (e.g. ML. 44^b10-11: *is tosach iarum uerba*, “afterwards *uerba* is the beginning”; ML. 46^c14: *is canóin dano fosin testamenta eius 7 testimonia*, “then, in accordance with that, *testamenta eius et testimonia* is Scripture text”).

A last aspect which is interesting to consider is the distribution of different predicate types in UWO vs. V-initial MWO copular clauses. As seen in Chapter 7, in Old Irish copular clauses a predicate in morphological terms could be a NP, a PN, a NP preceded by a sub-predicate (PN-NP), or an IC. Table 314 below reports the absolute values of predicate types in sentence categories considered in Tables 310 and 311 above.

Predicate type		NP	PN	PN-NP	IC
UWO CC	Abs val	184	70	31	86
	Rel freq	49.60%	18.87%	8.36%	23.18%
V1 MWO CC	Abs val	32	0	2	0
	Rel freq	94.12%	0.00%	5.88%	0.00%

Table 314. Predicate types in UWO copular clauses and V1 MWO copular clauses.

Table 314 shows how in V-initial MWO copular clauses one predicate type is strongly predominant over the others (that is, NP), while in UWO copular clauses all the possible predicate types are consistently attested.

To conclude this section, cleft sentences with copular predicates will be considered. The total number of (pseudo)cleft sentences with copular predicates is low (24 examples in total: 18 cleft and 6 pseudo-cleft sentences). Therefore, a comparison between (pseudo)cleft sentences with non-copular and with copular predicates would not give solid indications in terms of variations in syntax due to the scarce amount of the second group. Nevertheless, the distribution of topic positions according to the parameters defined in Section 10.4 may offer some valuable insights, at least as far as cleft sentences are considered. Table 315 compares Table 302 above on TOP distribution in cleft sentences with non-copular predicates with data emerging from cleft sentences with copular predicates.²⁷⁸

Non-copular cleft (abs. freq.)	Topic types				
	Non-overt	Infixd	Post-V	Post-V/FP	FP
<hr/>					

²⁷⁸ On (pseudo)cleft sentences with non-copular clauses, data from Table 302 and not data from Tables 303-305 are considered. This is because a refinement of TOP distribution similar to that performed for (pseudo)cleft sentences with non-copular clauses would result unreliable in the case of (pseudo)cleft sentences with copular clauses given the insufficient amount of data on which the generalisation would be built.

	28.87%	11.72%	9.00%	41.42%	9.00%
Copular cleft (abs. freq.)	0.00%	0.00%	11.11%	44.44%	44.44%

Table 315. TOP distribution in cleft sentences with non-copular vs. copular predicates.

As it is clear on the basis of Table 315, besides a coherent value in terms of post-verbal or post-V/FP topic, what mostly varies in TOP distribution between cleft sentences with non-copular and copular predicates is the absolute amount of actual clause-final topics (9.00% vs. 44.44%). This difference is totally due to (pseudo)cleft sentences with copular predicates and clefted ICs, which constitute a considerable portion of (pseudo)cleft sentences with copular predicates (40%). The structure of the pseudo-relative clause, in those cases, is always the following: $V^{(COP)}$ -SNP(-IC)-S. Clause-final topics are thus always clause-final Ss.

11. Conclusions

This dissertation provides a new approach to Old Irish syntax, by studying the correlations existing between word orders and Information Structures attested in the Milan glosses.

In Chapter 1, the state of the art concerning Old Irish syntax was scrutinised. On the one hand, several works accounted for Old Irish word order in diachronic terms (Section 1.1); on the other hand, a synchronic perspective on Old Irish syntax has been scarcely studied (Section 1.2). The reference work in this perspective on the syntax of Old Irish is Mac Coisdealbha (1998). Mostly, the scholar focuses on copular clauses, cleft sentences and instances of resumption (e.g. so-called *nominativus pendens* construction). Nevertheless, not all the areas of Old Irish syntax have been inquired in Mac Coisdealbha's work. For example, consideration of sequences like S-O/O-S, sequences of clauses or positions of adverbial phrases are neglected (Section 1.2.1). Remarkably, Mac Coisdealbha decides to adhere to the notions of theme and rheme in analysing Old Irish syntax, thus taking into account the contextual dependence or independence of sentence elements as part of a text (that is, given/new items). This strongly contributes to pave the way for subsequent works on Old Irish syntax and Information Structure. Three are the major works revolving around Old Irish syntax and Information Structure, that is, Lash (2014), Schram (2016) and DiGirolamo (2018). Lash (2014) has the great merit of applying to Old Irish a well-established method employed to study the syntax of other Indo-European languages, that is, examining the context in which sentences occur to evaluate the Information Structure of items. Lash's study is mostly based on POMIC texts. Schram (2016), then, matches cleft sentences and *nominativus pendens* constructions taken from the *Táin* to their Information Structure. In the end, DiGirolamo (2018) examines the correspondences between word order and Information Structure in the Würzburg glosses. Although inspiring in different ways, the three works are not totally satisfying in terms of the IS models adopted, corpus selection, and corpus extension.

In Chapter 2 I presented the methodology I followed to carry out the analysis proposed in this thesis. In the first place (Section 2.1), I focussed on the IS model I followed, that is, Lambrecht (1994). For Lambrecht, the IS of a sentence can be defined as “that component of sentence grammar in which propositions as conceptual representations of states of affairs are paired with lexico-grammatical structures in accordance with the mental states of interlocutors who use and interpret these structures as units of information in given discourse contexts” (Lambrecht 1994: 5). The key notions to examine the IS of a language, that is, topic and

focus, have to be intended as “the referent which the proposition expressed by the sentence is about” and “the unpredictable or pragmatically non-recoverable element in an utterance” respectively. As far as the topic-focus articulation is concerned, Lambrecht posits three alternatives as possible: (i.) predicate-focus sentence, (ii.) argument-focus sentence, (iii.) sentence-focus sentence. In the second place (Section 2.2), I defined the syntactic units at the basis of my syntactic analysis of Old Irish sentences. Such units stand halfway between being immediate constituents and functional dependencies. In the same Section 2.2, I reviewed a few possible problematic cases occurring in Old Irish (e.g. verbal nouns, NPs/PPs modified by relative clauses, syntax-morphology mismatches, copulas vs. substantive Vs, predicate adjectives vs. predicate nouns, focalising *acht*, etc.), explaining how they would have been considered in the analysis. This allowed me to define a list of labels usable in the analysis (Table 6). In third place (Section 2.3), I motivated the corpus selection I endorsed, that is, the Milan glosses. The Old Irish glosses are particularly appropriate for the analysis I conducted because (i.) they are old texts (8th-9th century), (ii.) they are the almost only extant Old Irish text from contemporary sources, (iii.) they are prose texts. Out of all the glosses collections, the Milan glosses then add some extra points which motivated the choice, that is, (a.) they are easy to access thanks to Griffith and Stifter’s (2013) database, (b.) they show a large variety of syntactic as well as IS orders. After that, I sketched the pipeline I would have followed in the analysis of the Milan glosses. This was going to be three-fold; (1) exclusion from the corpus of non-relevant glosses (single word glosses, glosses without predication, glosses featuring indefinite *sechi/saichi* + copula + tonic pronoun), (2) classification of relevant clauses according to their syntactic type, (3) annotation of IS of relevant clauses. The first procedure reduced the number of relevant glosses to 2,665 (31.56% of total).

In Chapter 3 I analysed Unmarked Word Orders (UWO). UWO comprehend V S (O (IC)) sentences, V S IC/Adv sentences, V O (^{EMPH.SUBJ}) (IC) sentences, V IC/Adv sentences, impersonal constructions, sentences introduced by interrogative *cía*, sentences introduced by indefinite *sechi/cía* and sentences introduced by the interrogative particle *in*. The V S (O (IC)) order amounts to 468 examples in the Milan glosses corpus (Section 3.1). This sentence category is divided into (i.) V S O IC orders (Section 3.1.1), which mostly feature topical O and focal IC, although even if prototypical in terms of IS alignment, cases with topical S and focal IC appear; (ii.) V S O orders (Section 3.1.2), where the topic tends to be S and the focus O, even if a considerable number of focal V+S and topical O sentences occur with emphatic Ss; (iii.) V S orders (Section 3.1.2), where the order with focal V and topical S is by far the most frequently attested. The V S IC/Adv order amounts to 459 examples in the Milan glosses corpus (Section 3.2). This sentence category is divided into (i.) V S IC/Adv orders with no infix (Section 3.2.1), where S is prototypically topical and IC focal; (ii.) V S IC/Adv orders with infix (Section 3.2.2), where in about 80% of cases the infix is an infixed (topical) O. When the infix is not a direct

O, only infixes occurring with *at-tá* to express possessor demonstrated to be significant in terms of IS (focal if the clause is negative, topical if the clause is positive). The V O (IC/Adv) order amounts to 333 examples (Section 3.3). This sentence category is divided into (i.) V O.^(NP) IC/Adv orders (Section 3.3.1.1), where O tends to be topical and the focus tends to be the sentence-final IC. In a considerable amount of cases (26 out of 95), the topic is S expressed by the verbal ending; (ii.) V O orders (Section 3.3.1.2), where argument focus, predicate focus and sentence focus are rather equally represented. Crucially, in 69.34% of cases what is topical is S, expressed by verbal person inflection; (iii.) V infixed.O IC/Adv orders (Section 3.3.2), where the infixed O is almost always topical and what is focal tends to be the whole sentence. The V IC/Adv order amounts to 297 examples (Section 3.4). This sentence category is divided into (i.) V IC/Adv orders with no infix (Section 3.4.1), where the most widely attested IS type features argument focus and topic outside the clause (zero anaphora S); (ii.) V IC/Adv orders with infix (Section 3.4.2), in which the infix types are mostly neglectable in terms of IS, so that the IS patterns of this sub-category adhere to those of V IC/Adv orders with no infix. Impersonal constructions amount to 28 examples (Section 3.5). The IS of impersonal constructions (characterised by V *fil* + argument in the accusative case) retrace the constructions occurring with *at-tá*: presentative constructions, possessive constructions, spatial constructions. Sentences introduced by interrogative *cía* amount to 46 examples in the corpus (Section 3.6). *Cía* may have either pronominal or adjectival use, with no differences in terms of IS, since *cía* always tends to be on focus. Sentences introduced by indefinite *sechi/cía* amount to 10 examples (Section 3.7). The ISs of interrogative and indefinite *cía* sentences are strongly consistent. In the end, sentences introduced by the interrogative particle *in* amount to 15 examples (Section 3.8). As far as the IS of these sentences is concerned, when *in* behaves as a pure conjunct particle followed by a prototonic verb form the whole sentence is focal, when *in* occurs in cleft-like/copular structures the post copular item is focal, and when *in* occurs followed by *ní* the V is focal.

In Chapter 4 I examined Marked Word Orders (MWO). MWO comprehend V-initial sentences, that is, V IC S sentences, V S IC O sentences, V IC O sentences, V O S (IC) sentences, V IC S IC sentences and V O IC S sentences, and non V-initial sentences, that is S V sentences, O V sentences, IC/Adv V sentences. V-initial MWO amount to 193 examples (Section 4.1). This sentence category is divided into (i.) V IC S orders (Section 4.1.1), where post-verbal IC is focal in about 85% of cases. The sentence-final position of Ss is due to their morphosyntactic complexity; the post-verbal position of ICs is due to their being lighter than Ss in terms of morphosyntax; (ii.) V IC S IC orders (Section 4.1.1.1), where S tends to be topical and the sentence-final IC focal, as if V IC S IC orders should be considered variants of V S IC orders with light post-verbal ICs (inflected prepositions); (iii.) V S IC O orders (Section 4.1.2), which have to be considered as a variant of V S O IC sentences with sentence-final Os due to

morphosyntactic reasons (they mostly occur with topical S and focal O); (iv.) V IC O orders (Section 4.1.3), where ICs (often belonging to the same informative unit of V) tend to be focal and Os, which occur in sentence-final position due to their complexity under the morphosyntactic point of view, tend to be topical; (v.) V O S orders (Section 4.1.4), where the topic tends to be the sentence-final heavy S and the focus tends to be O (or V+O); V O IC S orders (Section 4.1.5), which can be assimilated to V O S orders with a light IC occurring before the sentence-final heavy S. Non V-initial MWO amount to 142 examples in the Milan glosses corpus (Section 4.2). This sentence category is divided into (i.) S V orders (Section 4.2.1); (ii.) O V orders (Section 4.2.2); (iii.) IC/Adv V orders (Section 4.2.3). The pre-verbal constituents in these three sub-categories are always focal. Non V-initial MWO feature no phoric element coreferent to the sentence-initial leftwards rhematised constituent. This marks a difference between the just described MWO and extra-clausal constituents (ECCs). With ECCs, that is, with left- or right-dislocations, an either anaphoric or cataphoric pronominal element always occurs in the clause. One worth-noting exception is given by LD of Ss, where zero anaphora can also occur.

In Chapter 5 I dealt with ECCs. After a short theoretical premise (Section 5.1), I examined instances of left-dislocations (LDs, Section 5.2) and right-dislocations (RDs, Section 5.3) attested in the corpus. What is left-dislocated at the beginning of the clause, and then resumed by a phoric element (with the exception of zero anaphora with S, as seen above), could be Ss (Section 5.2.1.2), Os (Section 5.2.1.3), ICs resumed with the syntactic function of S/O (Section 5.2.1.4), or NP resumed with the syntactic function of IC (Section 5.2.1.5). LDs can also occur embedded in a cleft syntax. In this last case, the anaphoric element which resumes the sentence-initial constituent occurs clefted after a copula. LDs are no doubt a topicalising strategy in Old Irish. When the syntax of the sentence is cleft, however, the focalising force of the cleft sentence in certain cases prevails over the topicalising force of the LD. This behaviour was already illustrated by Schram (2016), even though on the basis of the Milan glosses I would not consider LD-constituents occurring in this construction always focal, but focal only in certain contexts (7 out of 12). What is right-dislocated at the end of the clause, anticipated by a cataphoric pronoun, can be Ss (Section 5.2.2.1), Os (Section 5.2.2.2), or ICs (Section 5.2.2.3). Although less numerous than LDs, RDs are a clear topicalising strategy in Old Irish when not embedded in a cleft structure. As far as RDs embedded in cleft sentences are concerned, the RD constituent is in one case topical and in one case focal.

In Chapter 6, cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences were taken into consideration. Cleft sentences (Section 6.1) amount to 505 examples in the corpus; pseudo-cleft sentences (Section 6.2) amount to 48 examples instead. The syntactic function of clefted items was defined with respect to the relationship occurring between such items and the verbs of pseudo-relative clause. Therefore, Ss (Section 6.1.1 for cleft sentences, Section 6.2 for pseudo-cleft sentences),

Os (Section 6.1.2 for cleft sentences, Section 6.2 for pseudo-cleft sentences), or ICs (Section 6.1.3 for cleft sentences, Section 6.2 for pseudo-cleft sentences) could occur clefted in (pseudo)cleft sentences. In (pseudo)cleft sentences, the clefted constituents are always focal. Thus, the topic position in such clauses was deeply analysed in Chapter 6 (but see also Section 10.4). What emerged on the basis of data is that a correspondence between topic and a given position in (pseudo)cleft sentences was mostly influenced by the syntactic nature of both clefted and non-clefted constituents. For example, with clefted Ss ‘non-overt’ topical items are about 6% of total;²⁷⁹ with clefted Os ‘non-overt’ topical items are about 60% of total. Overall data on topic positions, in any event, tell us that immediately post-verbal topics are slightly higher in number than the other categories (42.43% vs. e.g. 33.20% of non-overt topics and 18.01% of clause-final topics).

In Chapter 7, copular clauses were scrutinised. Copular clauses appear to be divided into the same sub-categories of non-copular clauses, that is, copular clauses with unmarked word order (Section 7.1), copular clauses with marked word order (Section 7.2), extra-clausal constituents (Section 7.3), cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences (Section 7.4), as well as some further worth-considering cases (Section 7.5), such as sentences where *ro-gab* acquires the meaning “is”, or instances in which a morphologically copular form functions as *at-tá*. Unmarked word order copular clauses collect several sentence types, and amount to 456 examples. To this sub-group of copular clauses belong: V^(COP)-SNP-S clauses, where SNP is a NP and is almost always focal, while S tends to be topical; V^(COP)-SNP clauses, where the predicate is almost always focal, and topical is a zero-anaphora S (expressed through the verbal ending); V^(COP)-IC-S clauses, where the focal predicate is a PP and S is topical; V^(COP)-IC clauses, which are identical to V^(COP)-IC-S clauses but S is expressed through the verbal ending only; V^(COP)-PN-SNP-S clauses, where a stressed pronoun functions as sub-predicate and belongs to the same constituent (and informative unit) of SNP (they are focal in most cases); V^(COP)-PN-SNP-S clauses, where a stressed pronoun agrees with S in gender, so that they are considered together in informative terms; V^(COP)-PN clauses, where a stressed pronoun functions as predicate, with topical S expressed through the verbal ending only; V^(COP)-PN-S clauses, where PN has either anaphoric or cataphoric value, and is coreferential with a focal constituent inside or outside the clause. In unmarked word order copular clauses, predicates are almost always focal (90% of cases). Instances of topical predicates are attested as well. Marked word order copular clauses amount to 42 examples in the corpus. Exactly as non-copular marked word orders, to copular marked word orders belong both V-initial and non-V-initial sentences. V-initial marked word orders with copular clauses (Section 7.2.1) amount to 38 examples. To this group of sentences belong almost exclusively V^(COP)-SNP-IC-S clauses, that is, copular clauses with Ss

²⁷⁹ This is motivated by the fact that emphatic topical Ss and anaphoric topical Ss were assimilated to ‘non-overt’ TOP, that is, zero anaphora S, expressed through the verbal ending only.

in sentence-final position preceded by at least one IC. The IS of these sentences follows the same trends of the corresponding unmarked order, that is, SNP is focal and S is topical. Ss are in most cases either heavy constituents, or Latin phrases. Pre-S ICs are always inflected prepositions. Non-V-initial marked word orders with copular clauses (Section 7.2.2) amount only to 4 examples in the Milan glosses corpus. With the exception of *olsodin*-copular clauses, non-V-initial marked word orders with copular clauses follow the IS pattern identified for the corresponding non-copular sentence type, that is, sentence-initial (preverbal) constituents are focal. In Section 7.3 extra-clausal constituents in copular clauses were considered. According to the parameters defined in Chapter 2 (and implemented in Chapter 5) to identify similar constructions in the Milan glosses corpus, extra-clausal constituents in copular clauses are attested in 19 cases (left-dislocations of Ss, SNPs; right-dislocations of Ss, SNPs). Nevertheless, both for syntactic and IS reasons, a strong differentiation between $V^{(COP)}$ -PN-S sentences with a constituent coreferential with PN occurring within or without the clause (be it before or after the copular clause) seemed artificial in the case of copular clauses. For this reasons, Section 7.3 examples were assimilated to Section 7.1 examples. In Section 7.4 (pseudo)cleft sentences with copular clauses were accounted for. In total, 28 examples are attested in the corpus (22 cleft sentences; 6 pseudo-cleft sentences). In the case of cleft sentences, the clefted item – when it is a NP in the nominative – almost always plays the syntactic function of S of the pseudo-relative copular clause (topical SNP). Otherwise, the clefted item may also be an IC (topical sentence-final S). The same distribution, although the amount of data is far lower, is offered by pseudo-cleft sentences with copular clauses.

In Chapter 8 I dealt with nominal clauses. Nominal clauses amount to 181 examples. Roughly speaking, 81% of nominal clauses have a copular structure, that is, such sentences are copular clauses with non-overt copula. The remaining 19% of nominal clauses, instead, have a non-copular structure, that is, such sentences cannot be assimilated to copular clauses according to the methodology adopted in this thesis. In 93.75% of copular nominal clauses, the sentence-initial item is focal (order: predicate – S). On the other hand, non-copular nominal clauses show focal sentence-initial items in only 48.15% of cases (order: Adj – S)²⁸⁰. In a slight majority of cases, it is the topical item that occurs in sentence-initial position (order: theme – rheme).

In Chapter 9 I focused on other worth-examining categories, that is, constituents modified by a relative clause (Section 9.1), and verbal clauses made of copula + verbal of necessity (Section 9.2). The examples collected in this chapter are relevant in quantitative terms (895 instances of NP/PP + relative clause; 47 examples of $V^{(COP)}$ + verbal of necessity clauses), as well as in terms of syntax-IS matching, given that to a specific syntax corresponded

²⁸⁰ Sentences with a predicate adjective, without the copula.

a specific IS alignment. In sentences where a constituent is modified by a relative clause, the sentence initial NP/PP is topical, the relative clause is focal. In sentences where a verbal of necessity occurs after the copula, it is the verbal of necessity which bears the focus of the sentence. This analysis was followed only for those constructions where only $V^{(COP)}$ + verbal of necessity occur, with no other constituents. If other constituents (e.g. S, O, or IC) occurred beside a $V^{(COP)}$ + verbal of necessity construction, $V^{(COP)}$ + verbal of necessity would be analysed as V, and the whole sentence would occur elsewhere in this thesis.

In Chapter 10, I have highlighted some general trends in the relationship between word order and Information Structure. In Sections 10.1 to 10.5, unmarked word orders, marked word orders, extra-clausal constituents, (pseudo)cleft sentences and copular clauses have been considered. In pure quantitative terms, 80% of sentences accounted for in this work are non-copular and 20% are copular. Out of non-copular clauses, in 65% of cases the sentences feature an unmarked word order (about 50% of all examples considered). Remarkable is also the frequency of (pseudo)cleft (non-copular) sentences, which are more than 16% of the examples considered (21% of non-copular clauses). An overall evaluation of trends in the relationship between word order and Information Structure in the case of unmarked word orders (Section 10.1) unravelled how, for sentences belonging to this category, topic and focus selections happen differently. The topical item mostly appears dependent on its syntactic function rather than on its position in the clause (more than 65% of topics are Ss, be they NPs or zero anaphoras). Conversely, the focal item appears bound to its position in the clause and not to a specific syntactic function (more than 67% of focuses are sentence-final). This distribution of TOP/FOC (topic and focus) positions in unmarked word orders is worth comparing with that in V-initial marked word orders. A detailed examination of V-initial marked word orders (Section 10.2.1) data showed how also in the case of sentences belonging to this category the topic is linked to the syntactic function of constituents and not to a specific position in the clause (Ss, which can be NPs or zero anaphoras, are topical in about 70% of cases). Similarly to unmarked word order, then, also in V-initial marked word orders the focus position is bound to a specific position in the clause, which is the post-verbal position (about 70% of cases) (vs. clause-final position in the case of UWO). IS variations between unmarked and V-initial marked word orders are not the cause of the variations in word order between these two sentence types. Rather, they are a consequence of variations in word order. On the basis of data emerging from the corpus, V-initial marked word orders are attested when a heavy constituent (or a constituent in the Latin language) is moved in sentence-final position, causing a lighter constituent to be relocated leftwards. In about 80% of cases the rightward-relocated constituent is topical. In more than 75% of cases, the heavy rightward-relocated constituent in V-initial marked word orders plays the syntactic function of S (consistently topical in UWO). As a consequence, also the post-verbal focal position can be understood

differently. Sentence-final focuses in unmarked word orders become post-verbal (or rather pre-sentence-final) focuses in V-initial marked word orders, after the relocation of heavy constituents in sentence-final position. As far as non-V-initial word orders are concerned (e.g. S-V, O-V, IC-V orders), data highlighted in Section 10.2.2 clearly indicate that they should be considered instances of leftward rhematisations: pre-verbal (sentence-initial) items are focal in 99% of cases. Regarding TOP position, it is in most cases not possible to understand anything more than its post-V nature, given that examples show only one (topical) constituent after V, so that post-verbal and sentence-final positions correspond. Extra-clausal constituents (Section 10.3) have been shown to be a topicalising strategy in Old Irish. In non-copular clauses, LD items are topical in 90% of cases, while RD items are topical in 85% of cases. All the examples attested of L/RD focal constituents occur in cleft environments, that is, in sentences where the extra-clausal constituent is coreferential with a pronominal item occurring clefted in the host clause. In similar cases, the focalising force of cleft structures may happen to prevail on the topicalising force of dislocations. Cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences (Section 10.4) are no doubt focalising structures in Old Irish (100% of cases, with no exceptions). Concerning TOP positions, data seem not to highlight a general trend: overall distributions of non-overt, post-verbal and clause-final topics are comparable in the case of both cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences (even though in this sentence type post-verbal topics are slightly superior in number to the other TOP categories). What seems promising to scrutinise, however, is not the position in the clause of topics, but rather their syntactic function. For example, if cleft sentences are taken into consideration, when the clefted item plays the syntactic function of S in the pseudo-relative clause e.g. non-overt topics are scarcely attested (about 6% of topics), whereas when the clefted item plays the syntactic function of O or IC in the pseudo-relative clause the same category of topic is much more attested (about 59% and 33% of cases respectively). As already noted, this seems due to the fact that non-overt topics tend to play the syntactic function of S. In the end, copular clauses (Section 10.5) have been shown to be a key sentence type to analyse. This is because copular clauses are a valuable benchmark for non-copular clauses, given that this sentence category falls into subtypes identical to those highlighted for non-copular clauses: unmarked word orders, V-initial marked word orders, non-verb-initial marked word orders, ECCs and (pseudo)cleft sentences. Besides a peculiar syntax, unmarked word order and V-initial marked word order copular clauses are rather consistent in terms of IS alignment, with a solid correspondence between focus and predicate on the one hand, topic and S on the other. As seen in the case of non-copular clauses, also in the case of copular clauses the variations in syntax between unmarked and V-initial marked word orders are due to morphosyntactic reasons and not to IS reasons: heavy constituents or constituents in the Latin language are relocated in sentence-final position. This repositioning of constituents causes the different IS alignment, with a

significant amount of sentence-final topical Ss (more than 85%). The last significantly attested sub-category of copular clauses considered is made of cleft and pseudo-cleft sentences. (Pseudo)cleft sentences with copular clauses are, as in the case of non-copular clauses, a focalising structure. As far as topic position is concerned, all the problems stressed above for non-copular (pseudo)cleft sentences are here emphasised by the even smaller amount of contexts attested. What seems however to emerge is a consistent attestation of post-verbal topics as well as of post-verbal/clause-final topics in non-copular and copular (pseudo)cleft sentences.²⁸¹

To conclude this thesis, I must stress how, even if Old Irish sentence types were examined with a good degree of attention, there is still a lot of work to do. More specifically,

- a. syntactic functions of topical items must be more systematically accounted for;
- b. discontinuous items must be specifically considered;
- c. results revealed by the analyses performed in this thesis on the Milan glosses must be verified on the basis of a similar analysis performed on different texts, possibly belonging to different textual genres.

Point a. concerning the syntactic functions of topics was raised e.g. in Sections 10.2.2 and 10.4. As it has been shown, in the Milan glosses what is topical seems to be more influenced by its syntactic function rather than by its position in the clause. To complete the framework, it would be worth performing a cross-check of syntactic functions and positions in sentences of topical constituents. To do this, however, especially in the case of certain sentence types, more data than those considered in this thesis are necessary.

Point b. concerning discontinuous items was mentioned in Chapter 7 in regards to copular clauses (but of course it is valid also for non-copular sentences). Consider, for example:

- i. Ml. 35^d3: *ised inso anaithesc dorat dia dodauid*, “this is the answer that God gave to David”;
- ii. Ml. 46^a19: *ishe inmachdad insin robói forsnaib doirsib*, “that is the wonder that was upon the doors”;

All these examples are copular clauses analysed in Chapter 7 (Section 7.1). In example i., a relative clause (*dorat dia dodauid*, “that God gave to David”) modifies a NP (*anaithesc*, “the answer”) immediately preceding it (S of the copular clause). In example ii., instead, a

²⁸¹ I reiterate here the fact that so-called “post-verbal/sentence-final” topics are post-verbal topical constituents in sentences where the post-verbal and the sentence-final position coincide.

relative clause (*robói forsnaib doirsib*, “that was upon the doors”) modifies a NP (*inmachdad*, “the wonder”) but between this head (SNP of the copular clause) and the relative clause a further NP occurs (*insin*, “this”, S of the copular clause). According to the methodology followed in this work, in terms of constituency, if a relative clause occurs immediately after its head or not, no difference in terms of word order analysis occurs. Examples i. and ii. above both respond to a V^(COP)-PN-SNP-S analysis. Which is the reason why in the second case the relative clause does not occur immediately after its head has to be examined in greater detail.²⁸² At a first glance, what appears is that such discontinuity is somehow linked to the demonstrative nature of NPs occurring between the head and its separate modifier (e.g. ML. 46^a19 *ishe inmachdad insin robói forsnaib doirsib*, “that is the wonder that was upon the doors”; ML. 136^a5 *.i. ba ársce [leg. árosc] insin la aithrea*, “that is, that was a saying with (their) fathers”).²⁸³ Nevertheless, a considerable amount of cases does not follow the same principle (e.g. ML. 54^b30 *.i. airní comtacht som nibed uilliu duthabairt foraib som difochaid*, “that is, for he did not ask that any more suffering should be inflicted on them”; ML. 72^d12 *.i. intan mbís int infognam friainsid dundí as iudica*, “that is, when the construction with *iudica* is with the accusative”; ML. 107^c12 *.i. combetis degnímai leu trissanetis [leg. -etaitis (?)] bethaid afrithissi*, “that is, that they should have good works, through which they would obtain life again”).²⁸⁴ The issue of discontinuity will thus require to be isolated and carefully considered.

Point c. concerning a cross-check of results obtained on the basis of the Milan glosses corpus on a different corpus would be necessary to limit the Milan glosses bias on data, so that more general Old Irish trends could emerge. As seen in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3), the glosses demonstrated to be an appropriate textual genre to study the relationship occurring between word order and information structure. Accordingly, a further corpus of glosses could be studied following the same parameters. Thanks to the recent digital resource edited by Moran and Hofman (2009-2019) of Bauer’s (2014) original database, the St. Gall Priscian glosses could be a worth-exploring option. Nevertheless, as stressed in Chapter 6 on cleft structures, in Chapter 7 on copular clauses, in Chapter 8 on nominal clauses and in Chapter 9 on N/PPs + RelC structures, the frequent occurrence of certain constructions, more than others in the corpus, is surely influenced by glosses as a textual genre. This fact would perhaps be an indication to move away from the idea of accounting for a second collection of glosses, in favour of a narrative text. In Chapter 2 problems raised by Old Irish narrative texts have been illustrated. To alleviate them at least partially, narrative texts involved in the analysis must be as old as possible, with no Middle Irish coat normalising the orthography (as well as the

²⁸² The same discontinuity occurs also with e.g. PPs which modify e.g. a nominative head (see for instance ML. 136^a5: *.i. ba ársce [leg. árosc] insin la aithrea*, “that is, that was a saying with (their) fathers”).

²⁸³ The head and its discontinuous modifier are underlined. Demonstratives are in bold font.

²⁸⁴ The head and its discontinuous modifier are underlined.

morphology) of the language. This would result particularly disrupting in studying verbal endings and pronominal affixes.

A severe examination of points a.-c. above as well as of other aspects of this research which require a deeper analysis will be matter for research and discussion in future work. The fact that similar subjects result – at this stage of the work – not sufficiently scrutinised is due in the first place to my limits as a researcher, in the second place to the strict boundaries in terms of both time and space imposed by a Ph.D. thesis.

Appendix A

List of Milan glosses considered in the analysis

2a3	14b6	15b3	17b8	19c14
2a6	14b10	15c1	17b9	19c15
2a15	14b11	15c7	17b18	19c19
2b1	14b12	15c8	17b23	19d2
2b4	14b13	15c10	17b26	19d3
2b5	14b14	15d2	17c3	19d5
2b6	14c1	15d9	17c4	19d6
2b7	14c3	16a4	17c5	19d8
2b11	14c4	16a7	17c6	19d11
2b14	14c6	16a10	17c7	19d14
2b16	14c10	16a17	17c8	19d16
2b17	14c11	16a18	17c12	19d17
2c2	14c12	16b1	17d4	20a2
2c3	14c15	16b4	17d6	20a14
2d1	14c16	16b6	18a8	20a19
2d2	14c19	16b7	18b1	20a20
2d5	14d1	16b12	18b4	20a23
3a4	14d3	16b20	18b5	20b2
3a5	14d4	16c5	18c5	20b10
3a6	14d5	16c10	18c6	20b11
3a14	14d7	16c11	18c9	20b13
3a15	14d10	16d2	18c10	20b14
14a4	14d12	16d3	18c11	20b17
14a5	14d13	17a8	18d2	20b18
14a6	15a2	17a15	18d19	20c3
14a7	15a4	17b2	18d20	20c5
14a8	15a6	17b5	19a14	20d2
14a9	15a12	17b6	19b11	20d4
14b4	15b1	17b7	19c5	20d6

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20d11	23b5	24c16	26a2	27d10
21a8	23b7	24d4	26a5	27d12
21a11	23b8	24d5	26a8	27d13
21b2	23b10	24d7	26b1	27d19
21b4	23b11	24d9	26b6	27d22
21b07-08	23b12	24d10	26b8	27d23
21b9	23c5	24d11	26b10	27d24
21b10	23c7	24d12	26b19	28a10
21c3	23c9	24d14	26b20	28b9
21c11	23c10	24d17	26b25	28b11
21c12	23c15	24d20	26b26	28c8
21d1	23c16	24d22	26c1	28c12
21d4	23c20	24d23	26c2	28c18
22a4	23c24	24d24	26c4	28c19
22c1	23c25	24d25	26c6	28d3
22c3	23c27	24d26	26d6	28d5
22c5	23d4	24d28	26d12	28d6
22c8	23d6	24d29	27a6	28d7
22c12	23d11	24d30	27a7-8	28d8
22c14	23d12	24d31	27a9	29a3
22d5	23d17	25a1	27b1	29a4
22d7	23d23	25a3	27b9	29a6
22d9	24a4	25a6	27b13	29a8
22d13	24a11	25a8	27b14	29a14
22d19	24a12	25a10	27b15	29b1
22d20	24a13b	25a21	27b16	29b4
22d26	24a17	25b5	27b19	29b8
23a1	24a18	25b6	27c1	29b11
23a2	24a19	25b8	27c4	29b14
23a5	24b12	25c5	27c10	29c1
23a7	24b17	25c11	27c12	29c15
23a11	24c1	25d10	27c20	29c16
23a12	24c2	25d11	27c21	29d5
23a13	24c4	25d12	27d2	29d6
23a18	24c8	25d17	27d4	29d7
23a19	24c12	25d18	27d5	29d8
23b4	24c13	26a1	27d7	30a2

30a3	31b1	32d12	34d5	35d1
30a4	31b6	32d15	34d6	35d3
30a9	31b7	32d27	34d7	35d4-5
30a10	31b9	33a1	34d8	35d7
30b2	31b12	33a5	34d12	35d14
30b3	31b16	33a9	34d17	35d17
30b9	31b17	33a18	34d21	35d22
30b10	31b19	33a19	35a7	35d24
30b11	31b20	33b3	35a8	35d25
30b16	31b22	33b5	35a9	35d26
30b19	31b23	33b9	35a10	35d27
30b21	31b24	33b13	35a17	35d28
30b26	31b25	33b15	35a20	35d29
30b27	31c6	33b21	35a21	36a1
30c3	31c7	33c7	35b1	36a7
30c4	31c8	33c12	35b6	36a8
30c5	31c9	33c13	35b9	36a14
30c9	31c25	33c17	35b10	36a15
30c16	31d6	33c21	35b16	36a18b
30c17	31d9	33d2	35b18	36a19
30c18	31d10	33d7	35b19	36a20
30d12	31d12	33d12	35b21	36a21
30d13	32a5	34a6	35b24	36a23
30d14	32a10	34a9	35b25	36a29
30d19	32a20	34a10	35c01-02	36a30
30d23	32a25	34a16	35c4	36a32
30d24	32b1	34a23-24	35c7	36a33
30d25	32b18	34a25	35c11	36a34
30d27	32c9	34a27	35c18	36a35
31a3	32c10	34b6	35c20	36b1
31a5	32c14	34b7	35c21	36b3
31a6	32c15	34b8	35c23	36b15
31a12	32c17	34b19	35c26a	36b20
31a17	32d4	34c11	35c27	36c6
31a18	32d5	34c14	35c31	36c10
31a23	32d6	34c17	35c32	36c14
31a24	32d10	34c18	35c33	36c20

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36c23	38a5	39c22	40d20	42d1
36d7	38a7	39c26	41a4	42d2
36d9	38a8	39c34	41a5	42d9
36d12	38a9	39d3	41d5	43a2
36d16	38a13	39d10	41d9	43a7
36d18	38b2	39d22	41d10	43a9
37a8	38c1	39d24	41d11-12	43a10
37a9	38c3	39d26	41d16	43a11
37a10	38c4	39d28	41d17	43a14
37a12	38c5	39d30	42a4	43a15
37a14	38c7	40a12	42a6	43a23
37a15	38c9	40a13	42a7	43b13
37a16	38c10	40a14	42a14	43b14
37a18	38c11	40a15	42a15	43b15
37b4	38c13	40a17	42b2	43c6
37b8	38c19	40a20	42b4	43c13
37b12	38c21	40a21	42b7	43c15
37b16	38c28	40b1	42b11-12	43c18
37b17	38d1	40b2	42b13	43d1
37b19	38d4	40b8	42b18	43d5
37b22	38d7	40b9	42b22	43d18
37b23	38d8	40c1	42b24	43d19
37b24	38d14	40c2	42b27	43d20
37b26	38d15-16	40c13	42b28	43d27
37b27	38d19	40c15	42c2	44a10
37b28	38d20	40c16	42c4	44a11
37c2	39a3	40c17	42c7	44a14
37c3	39a6	40c19	42c8	44a15
37c5	39a13	40c20	42c10	44a16
37c15	39a15	40c21	42c12	44a19
37c16	39a20	40c22	42c13	44a20
37c19	39a21	40d3	42c14	44a23
37c20	39b2	40d6	42c17	44b1
37d3	39b6	40d7	42c19	44b2
37d10	39c7	40d16	42c23	44b4
37d14	39c12	40d17	42c24	44b8
37d19	39c15	40d18	42c33	44b9

44b10-11	45a16	46b28	47c14	49a18a
44b12	45b3-4	46b29	47c16	49a19
44b17	45b9	46b30	47c17	49a27
44b19	45b10	46b31	47d2	49b4
44b23	45b11	46c1	47d7	49b7
44b24	45b14	46c2	47d8	49b13
44b29	45b15	46c3	48a6	49c8
44b30	45b16	46c5	48a7	49c9
44c1	45b20	46c7	48a8	49d3
44c2	45c7	46c8	48a9	49d4
44c4	45c9	46c14	48a11	49d11
44c6	45d1	46c17	48a20	50a5
44c9	45d2	46c18	48a21	50a8
44c10	45d7	46c19	48b2	50a10
44c11	45d8	46c20	48b3	50b6
44c12	45d9	46c24	48b9	50b8
44c19	45d12	46d3	48b18	50b10
44c20	45d15	46d6	48c5	50b12
44c26	45d20	46d8	48c8	50c1
44d1	46a7	46d9	48c10	50c5
44d2	46a8	46d10	48c14-15	50c7
44d3	46a11	46d15	48c19	50c8
44d4	46a12	47a2	48c29	50c13
44d5	46a13	47a5	48c33	50c14
44d6	46a14	47a8	48c34	50c20
44d8	46a19	47a9	48d1-2	50d1
44d14	46a21	47a14	48d5	50d2
44d16	46a27	47a17	48d8	50d3
44d17	46b1	47a18	48d12	50d4
44d19	46b5	47a20	48d27	50d5
44d21	46b6	47b6	48d28	50d6
45a1	46b10	47b7	49a2	50d7
45a3	46b12	47b13	49a3	50d8
45a4	46b23	47c3	49a10	50d10
45a8	46b24	47c4	49a11	50d15
45a9	46b26	47c5	49a16	50d16
45a14	46b27	47c11	49a17	50d17

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50d18	51d10	53c16	54b30	55c7
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51a2	51d12	53d2	54c3	55c9
51a14	51d13	53d3	54c4	55c10
51a15	51d14-15	53d6	54c7	55c13
51a16	51d22	53d9	54c12	55c14
51a18	51d25	53d11	54c13	55c15
51a19	51d28	53d14	54c15	55c17
51b7	52x00	53d16	54c16	55c19
51b8	53a1	53d17	54c17	55c20
51b10	53a5	54a1	54c18	55d2
51b11	53a8	54a2	54c21	55d4
51b12	53a10	54a3	54c23	55d8
51b15	53a11	54a4	54c26	55d10
51b18	53a17	54a5	54c30	55d11
51b23	53a18	54a7	54c31	55d13
51b27	53a19	54a9	54c34	55d15
51b28	53a23	54a10	54c35	55d19
51b30	53b1	54a11	54d3	55d21
51c2	53b2	54a12	54d4	55d23
51c9	53b6	54a18	54d5	55d25
51c11	53b8	54a19	54d6	56a1
51c12	53b11	54a20	54d16	56a13
51c14	53b12	54a21	54d17	56a15
51c22	53b15	54a22	54d19	56a18
51c24	53b17	54a25	55a4	56a20
51c25	53b18	54a29	55a7	56a21
51c26	53b19	54a32	55a8	56a22
51c28	53b20	54a33	55a10	56a24
51c29	53b23	54a34	55a13	56b1
51c30	53b26	54a35	55a14	56b2
51d1	53b27	54a36	55b13	56b3
51d2	53c2	54b12	55c1	56b6
51d3	53c3	54b13	55c2	56b9
51d5	53c6	54b19	55c3	56b11
51d6	53c13	54b28	55c4	56b15
51d8	53c14	54b29	55c6	56b16

56b22	57c14	59d6	61b16	62d1
56b24	57d2a	59d7	61b17	62d2
56b26	57d3	60a4	61b22	62d5
56b31	57d8	60a7	61b28	62d6
56b32	57d11	60a10	61b29	62d8
56b33	57d13	60a12	61c1	63a2
56b36	57d16	60a14	61c7	63a4
56b37	57d17	60b1	61c8	63a6
56b40	58a9	60b2	61c12	63a9
56c7	58a11	60b6	61d2	63b1
56c8	58a20	60b10	61d10	63b4
56c9	58b5	60b11	62a2	63b5
56c11	58b9	60b14	62a3	63b7
56c14	58b12	60b16	62a6	63b9
56c15	58c1	60b17	62a13	63b12
56c17	58c4	60b19	62a17	63b13
56c22	58c6	60c2	62a22	63b17
56d2	58c17	60c4	62b2	63c5
56d5	58c18	60c5	62b5	63c8
56d6	58d5	60d1	62b6	63c9
56d7	58d7	60d3	62b9	63c10
56d11	58d9	61a1	62b10	63c11
56d15	58d13	61a5	62b13	63c13
57a2	58d16	61a8	62b20	63c14
57a3	59a7	61a9	62b21	63c15
57a7	59a12	61a13	62b22	63c18
57a9	59a15	61a16	62b24	63c19
57a10	59a18	61a23	62c3	63c20
57a12	59a21	61a26	62c5	63d1
57a13	59a22	61a33	62c6b	63d2
57a14	59a23	61a34	62c7	63d4
57b4	59b1	61a37	62c8	63d5
57c4	59b2	61b4	62c10	63d6
57c5	59b10	61b7	62c13	63d7
57c7	59c3	61b8	62c19	64a2
57c12	59c5	61b12	62c21	64a4
57c13	59c11	61b15	62c25	64a7

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64a10	65d6	67b17a	68d5	71a2
64a12	65d12	67b17b	68d9	71b2
64a13	65d13	67b18	68d11	71b8
64b2	65d15	67b19	68d14	71b10
64b4	65d16	67b20	68d16	71b12
64b5	65d19	67b22	69a2	71b14
64b6	66a2	67b24	69a8	71b19
64c3	66b3	67b25	69a10	71c1
64c5	66b4	67c2	69a11	71c5
64c10	66b5	67c7	69a13	71c6
64c11	66b6	67c9	69a16	71c7
64c12	66b9	67c12	69a17	71c9
64c16	66c1	67c14	69a18	71c12
64c19	66c10	67c18	69a19	71c14
64c22	66c12	67d1	69a20	71c15
64d2	66c14	67d2	69a21	71c17
64d8	66c16	67d3	69a23	71c19
64d13	66c17	67d8	69b1	72b4
65a1	66c19	67d9	69b3	72b6
65a2	66d1	67d14	69b6	72b9
65a3	66d2	67d24	69c1	72b13
65a10	66d4	68a1	69c7	72b17
65a14	66d6	68a8	69d2	72b18
65b5	66d8	68a10	69d3	72b21
65b10	66d14	68a13	69d7	72c2
65b11	66d15	68a15	69d14	72c9
65b12	66d18	68b2	70a1	72c13
65b13	66d19	68b3	70a5	72d1
65b14	66d25	68b4	70a6	72d4
65c3	67a3	68b7	70a9	72d9
65c6	67a4	68b9	70c6	72d11
65c8	67a8	68d11	70c9	72d12
65c9	67b2	68c4	70c12	72d15
65c11	67b3	68c9	70c13	72d18
65c13	67b7	68c10	70d5	73a4
65c16	67b8	68c14	70d7	73a10
65d5	67b10	68c17	70d10	73a17

73a19	75a4	77a15	80b2	83b15
73b17	75a7	77b1	80b4	83c3
73c2	75a9	77b6	80b6	83c5
73c5	75a10	77b11	80b7	83c7
73c9	75b1	77c1	80b10	83d4
73c11	75b2	77c5	80b11	83d6
73d1	75b3	77d2	80b13	83d9
73d4	75b7	77d3	80c3	84a1
73d7	75c4	77d4	80c7	84a3a
73d8	75c9	77d5	80c9	84a4
73d12	75d2	77d6	80d1	84a11
74a1	75d3	77d7	80d4	84b1
74a2	75d4	77d11	80d10	84b2
74a6	75d5	78a1	81a5	84c1
74a11	75d6	78a4	81a6	84c5
74a12	75d10	78a7	81c3	84c9
74a13	76a5	78a8	81c4-6	84c12
74a14	76a6	78a9	81c7	84c13
74b1	76a7	78b5	81c12	84c18
74b6	76a11	78b11	81c14	84c19
74b7	76a13	78b12	81d5	84c20
74b11	76a16	78b14	82a4	84c24
74b12	76a19	78b18	82a5	84d4
74b13	76b3	78d1	82a7	85a1
74b14	76b5	78d3	82a8	85a3
74c3	76b7	78d8	82b6	85a4
74c9	76d1	79a2-3	82c8	85b7
74c12	76d2	79a10	82d4	85b8
74c19	76d4	79b2	82d7	85b11
74c20	76d6	79b5	82d9	85b12
74c21	76d12	79b7	82d10	85b13
74d4	76d14	79b11	82d11	85b16
74d5	77a1	79c1	83a4	85b17
74d7	77a2	79d1	83b1	85c1
74d9	77a7	80a2	83b11	85c9
74d13	77a12	80a9	83b13	85c12
75a2-3	77a14	80a10	83b14	85c14

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85d1	87b18	89b7	90c14	91c11
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85d4	87c3	89b11	90c17	91d1
85d5	87c3a	89b15	90c18	91d4
85d7	87c4	89c4	90c19	91d7
85d8	87c5	89c5	90c22	91d8
85d9	87d1	89c8	90c23	92a7
85d10	87d4	89c10	90c24	92a8
86a9	87d7	89c11	90c25	92a9
86a10	87d12	89c15	90c27	92a12
86b5	87d13	89d6	90d1	92a15
86c3	87d14	89d8	90d3	92a16
86c9	87d15	89d13	90d11	92a17
86c12	88a4	89d14	90d12	92a19
86d4	88a10	89d15	90d14	92a20
86d5	88a11	89d18	90d16	92b8
86d6	88a14	90a7	90d17	92b9
86d8	88a17	90a9	90d19	92b10
86d9	88b4	90a10	90d20	92c2
86d10	88b5a	90a11	91a6	92c4
86d11	88b7	90a12	91a7	92c5
86d12	88b8	90a14	91a10	92c8
86d13	88b11	90b8	91a14	92c14
86d16	88b14	90b10	91a16	92d1
86d19	88b15	90b11	91a17	92d6
86d19a	88b16	90b12	91a18	92d11
87a3	88c12	90b13	91a19	92d12
87a7	88d5	90b14	91a20	93a1
87a8	88d6	90b15	91a21	93a3
87a13	88d13	90b16	91b7	93a4
87b2	89a2	90b17	91b10	93a5
87b5	89a6	90c6	91b12	93a7
87b8	89a8	90c7	91b15	93a8
87b9	89a11	90c9	91b16	93a9
87b10	89b2	90c11	91b17	93a13
87b12	89b5	90c12	91c1	93a19
87b17	89b6	90c13	91c9	93a20

93a21	94b20	96b17	99a4	101b3
93a23	94b23	96b18	99a8	101b5
93a25	94c3	96c1	99b1	101c4
93b4	94c4	96c4	99b5	101c6-7
93b5	94c5	96c10	99b7	101c8
93b7	94c8	96c11	99b10	101c11
93b12-13	94c10	96c13	99c1	101c13
93c3	94c12	96d1	99d1	101d6
93c7	94c13	96d3	99d7	101d9
93c10	94c17	96d4	99d9	101d12
93c11	94d4	97a1	100a3	102a7
93c15	94d6	97a3	100a10	102a8
93c16	95a1	97a4	100b2	102a9
93d3	95a3	97a5	100b4	102a10-11
93d6	95a5	97a7	100b8	102a13
93d8	95a9	97b2	100b9	102a15
93d12	95a12	97b4	100b12	102a20
93d14	95a13	97d4	100b15	102b1
94a1	95b6	97d5	100b16	102b5
94a3	95b7	97d7	100b17	102b7
94a4	95c2	97d8	100b21	102b15
94a6	95c3	97d10	100b22	102b16
94a8	95c8	97d15	100c2	102c5
94a11	95d7	97d17	100c3	102c6
94a13	95d9	98a2	100c4	102c7
94a15	95d13	98a3	100c7	102c9
94b1	95d14	98a4	100c10	102d1
94b2	96a3	98a7	100c11	102d3
94b3	96a6	98b5	100c13	102d4
94b4	96a7	98b8	100c16-17	102d5
94b7	96a8	98c5	100c21	102d7
94b10	96a10	98c6	100c23	102d13
94b11	96b1	98c8	100d4	102d17
94b15	96b5	98c10	100d5	103a2
94b16	96b9	98c11	100d11	103a3
94b17	96b14	98d2a	101a3	103a6
94b18	96b16	99a2	101a5	103a9

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103a10	104d2	107a7	108d3	111c8
103b2	104d3	107a10	108d5	111c9
103b4	104d4	107a11	109a1	111c13
103b5	104d7	107a15	109a2	111c14
103b7	105a1	107a16	109b2	111c17
103b8	105a2	107b1	109c3	111d1
103b9	105a3	107b5	109c4	111d3
103b10	105a4	107b8	109c12	111d4
103b12	105a8	107c1	109c14	112a5
103b13	105b1	107c8	109d5	112a6
103b14	105b3	107c12	109d9	112b1
103b15	105b6	107c16	110c1	112b12
103b16	105b7	107d4	110c2	112b13
103c3	105b8	107d7	110c5	112b16
103c12	105b11	107d8	110d6	112b20
103c15	105b13	107d11	110d7	112c5
103d7	105b14	107d12	110d8	112c11
103d9	105b16	108a5	110d9	112d1
103d12	105b18	108a9	110d10	112d2
103d14	105c1	108a11	110d12	112d2a
103d16	105c9	108a13	110d13	112d7
103d22	105c10	108b1	110d15	112d8
103d26	105d4	108b4	110d16	112d9
103d27	105d6	108b6	110d18	113a4
104a3	106a2	108b7	111a5	113a8
104a4	106a4	108b8	111a9	113b4
104a5	106a5	108b12	111b2	113b11
104a6	106c1	108b16	111b4	113c2
104a8	106c3	108b17	111b5	113c3
104b2	106c11	108c2	111b11	113c7
104b3	106c12	108c4	111b15	113c8
104b4	106c13	108c5	111b17	113c10
104b5	106c15	108c9	111b25	113d3
104c1	106d2a	108c10	111b26	113d5
104c4	106d3	108c12	111b28	113d7
104c5	106d11	108c14	111c3	113d11
104c7	107a6	108c16	111c4	114a1

114a2-3	115b10	118b13	120d9a-b	123b2
114a7	115b11	118c3	120d11	123b5
114a9	115b13	118c5	120d15	123b7
114a10	115b17	118c6	121a1	123b8
114a12	115c1	118c12	121a8	123b9
114a14	115c2	118d6	121a12	123b13
114a15	115c6	118d7	121a17	123b15
114a17	115d3	118d8	121b1	123c1
114b1	115d5	118d10	121b8	123c3
114b2	115d7	118d12	121b12	123c4
114b5	115d8	118d14	121b16	123c8
114b7	115d9	118d15	121c5	123c10
114b11	115d12	118d16	121c8	123c11
114b12	115d14	118d17	121c12	123c16
114b16	116a1	118d18	121c16	123d3
114b18	116a10	118d19	121c17	123d4
114c7	116a11	118d20	121d1	123d6
114c9	116b5	118d21	121d8	123d8
114c12	116d9	118d22	121d10	124a2
114c15	116c2	119a15	121d16	124a8
114d4	116d3	119b6	122a4	124b3
114d6	116d5	119c1	122a11	124b4
114d11	116d6	119d3	122a12	124b5
114d12	117a4	119d6	112a15	124b6
114d13	117b5	119d8	122a17	124b7
115a2	117b7	119d10	122b1	124b9
115a14	117c3	120b1	122b15	124c6
115a15	117c6	120b2	122b16	124c10
115a17	117d2	120c1	122c2	124c15
115b1	117d3	120c4	122c3	124c16
115b2	117d4	120c5	122c5	124c19
115b3	118a1	120c6	122c6	124c22
115b4	118a5	120c7	122c9	124c23
115b5	118a7	120d1	122d7	124c25
116b6	118b1	120d2	123a1	124c26
115b8	118b6	120d5	123a8	124d4
115b9	118b10	120d8	123a10	124d5

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124d9	126c20	128a5	129c12	131b10
125a2	126d3	128a6	129c13	131b11
125a3	126d4	128a8	129c15	131b12
125a4	126d7	128a12	129c20	131c3
125a5	126d9	128a15	129d3	131c5
125a6	126d11	128c1	129d4	131c8
125a8	127a5	128c3	129d5	131c9
125a9	127a7	128c5	129d6	131c10
125a11	129a9	128c7	129d8	131c11
125a12	127a12	128d1	129d13-14	131c12
125a15	127a13	128d3	129d19	131c13
125b1	127a14	128d5	129d20	131c14
125b7	127a15	128d6	129d22	131c17
125b9	127a18	128d9	130a6	131d1
125c2	127a20	128d11	130a8	131d11
125d3	127b2	128d12	130a10	131d12
125d8	127b6	128d14	130a12	131d13
125d13	127b11	128d15	130a16	131d14
126a4-5	127b15	128d18	130b6	131d16
126a7	127b19	129a1	130b8	131d19
126b1	127c2	129a2a	130b10	132a1
126b2	127c8	129a8	130b11	132a2
126b4a	127c12	129a9	130c2	132a4
126b6	127c13	129a12	130c3	132a8
126b10	127c25	129b1	130c10	132a10
126b15	127d2	129b2	130c18	132b3
126b16	127d3	129b3	130d4	132c4
126b17	127d4	129b4	130d5	132c6
126b19	127d5	129b5	130d7	132c8
126c1	127d6	129b7	130d15	132c15
126c4	127d7	129b8	131a2	132d1
126c9	127d8	129b12	131a4	132d4
126c10	127d9	129c1	131a6	133a4
126c11	127d10-11	129c2	131a8	133a6
126c16	127d14	129c5	131b2	133a10
126c17	127d15	129c8	131b4	133a12
126c18	128a4	129c10	131b8	133a13

133b1	136a5	137c12	138c12	142c3
133b2	136a6	137c13	138c13	142d1
133b4	136a8	137d4	138d1	144a3
133b5	136a13	137d5	138d6	144c3
133b7	136b4	138a2	138d8	144c5
133b12	136b7	138a3	139a4	144c7
133b16	136c1	138a4	139a6	144d3
133d2	136c2	138a5	139a8	145b6
133d7	136c3	138a6	139a9	145c3
133d9	136c4	138a8	139a10	145c4
134b2	136c11	138a12	139a11	145c5
134b3	136c12	138b1	139c3	145c9
134c6	136c13	138b4	139c5	145d3
134d2	136d1	138b7	140b3	145d4
134d3	136d2	138b8	140b6	145d7
135a13	136d9	138c1	140b7	145d8
135b4	137a1	138c2	140c2	146a1
135b5	137a3	138c3	140c3	146a2-3
135c7	137b5	138c4	140c5	146c2
135d1	137b7	138c8	140c10	
135d4	137c2	138c9	141b2	
135d8	137c3	138c10	142b3	
136a1	137c8	138c11a	142c1	

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