

Carlos García Castillero
Extraclausal NPs in Old Irish: formal and functional coherence,
and their relationship with intraclausal components

In this paper I offer an answer to the question put forward in the call for papers: ‘The challenge lies in the fact that they [i.e. performance structures such as vocatives, parentheticals and quotations] deviate from ‘primary syntax’ yet are systematic at the same time. This workshop aims to investigate the shared properties of the multifaceted class of performance structures as an essential part of ‘secondary syntax’.

This paper analyses the Old Irish linguistic evidence and mainly relies on the notion of Interpersonal Level proposed in Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG, see Hengeveld & Mackenzie 2008), which contains ‘(maximally) four basic components: an illocution, a speaker, an addressee and a communicated content’. In this regard, I equate ‘primary’ with intraclausal and ‘secondary syntax’ with extraclausal constituents respectively. Intraclausal constituents consist of the nucleus provided by the verb and its grammatical arguments (subject, object and oblique). Extraclausal NPs do not depend on the verb and their function is mainly pragmatic. On that basis, I would like to elaborate on the following issues.

1. Formal coherence. In Old Irish, there is a consistent distinction in the use of affixal and tonic pronominal forms: the former express only intraclausal functions (including oblique), whereas the latter are employed in the expression of focus, topic (mainly contrastive topic), vocative (on few occasions) and Reported Speaker (RS) constituents. See Author (2013). This strict distribution in the use of the Old Irish pronominal forms represents the formal consequence of the distinction between ‘primary’ and ‘secondary syntax’.

2. Functional coherence. The extraclausal NPs referred to above (topic, focus, vocative and Reported Speaker) are the linguistic expression of the basic components of the Interpersonal Level, as defined in FDG. The OIr. sentence in (1) illustrates three of those extraclausal NPs: *a ingen* (vocative, the person who is being spoken to), *ol Ailill* (Reported Speaker, the person who is speaking), *ind ordnasc ... inuraid* (topic constituent, that what is being spoken about). It must be emphasised that, despite its translation, the RS (*ol Ailill*) is a nominal constituent (see Author forthcoming).

(1) ‘*A ingen*’, *ol Ailill*, ‘*ind ordnasc do ratus-sa duit-siu inuraid, in mair latt?*’ (TBF 242)
“‘Oh my daughter’, said Ailill, ‘the ring that I gave you last year, do you still have it?’”.

3. Systematic relationship between extraclausal and intraclausal elements. Those extraclausal NPs are hierarchically ordered (the RS determines the character of reported speech of every other element, included vocative and topic) and are related to a pronominal reference which *may* appear in the clause (i.e. an intraclausal pronominal reference) or in another extraclausal NP: Reported Speaker with 1st, vocative with 2nd and Topic with 3rd person pronominal references.

Author, 2013. ‘Old Irish tonic pronouns as extraclausal constituents’, *Ériu* 63, 1-39.

Author, forthcoming. ‘Descriptive and diachronic aspects of the Old Irish quotative marker *ol*’, *Journal of Historical Pragmatics*.

Hengeveld, K. & J.L. Mackenzie, 2008. *Functional Discourse Grammar*. Oxford: OUP.