

**The distribution of the *notae augentes* in the Old Irish Glosses:
a case of the animacy hierarchy**

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0. Scope of presentation:

In this talk I will examine the synchronic distribution of the *notae augentes*, pointing out some previously unnoticed restrictions on their range, and I will compare their distribution to that of *-side*.

1. Description of *notae augentes*' distribution (Thurneysen 1946: 252-3)

- after a noun, agreeing with a preceding possessive pronoun
- after a personal pronoun (though see McCone 2006: 214-24)
- after a copula + noun sequence, serving as the subject
- after a conjugated preposition
- after a verb, agreeing with either the subject or the infixed object

Examples of *notae augentes* with verbs (subject agreement in odd numbers, object agreement in even numbers):

- (1) Wb 27^d19 *amal ro-t-gád-sa* “as I have besought you (sg)”
- (2) MI 44^b10-11 *ro-m-leicis-se* “you (sg) have left me”
- (3) Wb 32^a25 *do-n-genae-siu* “that you (sg) will do it”
- (4) MI 43^b11 *for-tat-tet-siu* “it helps you (sg)”
- (5) MI 29^a3 *for-ta-comai-som* “he preserves it (*sciam* ‘figure’ f.)”
- (6) MI 61^a1 *indhuall ro-d-n-gab-som* “the pride (fem) which had seized him”

The question: for verbs with infixed pronouns, can we determine a basis for whether the *nota augens* that is found will agree with the subject or with the object?

2. The Data

On the following pages are all the forms in the Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus with *notae augentes* attached to a verb with infixed pronoun, excluding passive verbs and cases of the dummy 3sg nt *-d-* after *ma* and *cía* + indicative (see Thurneysen 1946: 268-9). If a footnote does not appear after an example, it means that the example is the only one in that category. Categories not listed below are not found in the Thesaurus.

Subj	Obj	Gloss
1sg	1sg	MI 130 ^d 5 <i>to-m-mén[ar]-sa dia</i> “I thought myself God” ¹
1sg	2sg	Wb 27 ^d 19 <i>amal ro-t-gád-sa</i> “as I have besought you (sg)” ²
1sg	2pl	Wb 23 ^c 12 <i>amal no-ndub-cairim-se</i> “as I love you (pl)” ³
1sg	3sg n	Wb 3 ^a 30 <i>n-a-gnú-sa</i> “I do it” ⁴
1sg	3sg m	Wb 9 ^b 7 <i>do-nd-n-indinsin-se</i> “that I should deliver him” ⁵
1sg	3sg f	MI 75 ^a 9 <i>ní-s-denaim-se</i> “I do not do it”
1sg	3pl	Wb 5 ^c 7 <i>no-s-carim-se</i> “I love them” ⁶
2sg	1sg	MI 110 ^d 9 <i>du-m-em-se</i> “protect me!” ⁷
2pl	1sg	Wb 7 ^b 12 <i>co far-dum-théid-se</i> “so you (pl) may help me”
3sg n	1sg	MI 74 ^b 13 <i>nu-m-soirad-sa</i> “it would deliver me” ⁸
3sg m	1sg	MI 28 ^a 12 <i>ro-m-icc-sa</i> “He has saved me” ⁹
3sg f	1sg	Wb 3 ^d 20 <i>ro-m-soír-sa rect spirto</i> “the Law of the Spirit delivered me” ¹⁰
3pl	1sg	MI 130 ^b 12 <i>immu-m-t[h]immerchellsat-sa</i> “they surrounded me” ¹¹
1pl	1pl	Wb 15 ^a 4 <i>ru-n-sluinfem-ni</i> “we will be able to name ourselves” ¹²
1pl	2pl	Wb 24 ^d 20 <i>ro-b-gadammar-ni</i> “we have entreated you (pl)” ¹³
1pl	3sg n	Wb 13 ^b 10 <i>amal ro-n-bridchissem-ni</i> “as we have preached it” ¹⁴
1pl	3sg m	MI 53 ^b 19 <i>amal nu-nd-guidem-ni</i> “as we pray to him”
1pl	3sg f	MI 24 ^d 24 <i>amal ru-nda-legsam-ni</i> “as we have read it (<i>canóin</i>)” ¹⁵
1pl	3pl	MI 93 ^d 14 <i>as-nda-fiadam-ni</i> “that we declare them”
2sg	1pl	MI 22 ^c 3 <i>for-tan-roichan-ni</i> “you (sg) have instructed us” ¹⁶
2pl	1pl	Wb 15 ^c 28 <i>ro-n-fítid-ni</i> “you (pl) know us” ¹⁷
3sg n	1pl	Wb 21 ^b 8 <i>ro-nn-icc-ni</i> “which has saved us” ¹⁸
3sg m	1pl	Wb 2 ^d 14 <i>hóre ro-n-soír-ni</i> “because He has saved us” ¹⁹
3pl	1pl	MI 135 ^d 4 <i>for-tan-bristis-ni</i> “that they could crush us” ²⁰

¹ MI 29^a3, 31^c14, 38^a21, 130^d5; Thes Pal ii 248.11 (St. Gall incantations)

² Wb 27^d19, 31^b1; MI 46^b20, ^d14, 62^a16, 63^a3, 72^a4

³ Wb 8^a1, 14^a8, 23^c12, 25^a29; MI 103^c15

⁴ Wb 3^a2, ^a22, 30, 8^a5, 13^a25, 29, 14^a40, ^a24, 26, 30^a21; MI 36^a32, 48^a14, 131^b13

⁵ Wb 9^b7, 16^d4, 19^b6; MI 126^a17

⁶ Wb 5^c7, 26^d10; MI 39^a13, 44^b10-11, 57^d3, 109^a9

⁷ MI 21^b6, 24^a15, 32^a5, 38^a18, 42^a8, 44^b10-11, 26, 49^d13, 55^b2, 70^a11, 71^c19, 72^d11, 74^d7, 76^d5, 110^a9, 142^b3

⁸ Wb 1^a8; MI 48^a21, 74^b13

⁹ Wb 5^a18, 17^d14, 28^a12; MI 78^b18; Thes Pal ii 245.6 (Cambrai); Thes Pal ii 241.13 (Book of Armagh)

¹⁰ Wb 3^d20; MI 45^d5, 86^d3, 107^b8

¹¹ Wb 5^a6; MI 39^d10, 11, 14, 44^a32, 54^b26, ^c29, ^d14, 59^a21, 62^a21, 130^b12, 140^a1

¹² Wb 2^a9, 15^a4

¹³ Wb 24^d20, 25^a35

¹⁴ Wb 4^a27, ^b19, 13^b10, 20^d17; MI 96^a10, 105^b6

¹⁵ Wb 34^a2; MI 24^a24; Sg 16^a8

¹⁶ MI 22^c3, 46^a21, 77^a6 (twice), 7, 89^a6, 93^d10, 136^c11

¹⁷ Wb 15^c28, MI 78^d7

¹⁸ Wb 11^b7 (?), 21^b8

¹⁹ Wb 2^d14, 4^a27, 6^d11, 14^a35, 15^a8; MI 53^d9, 108^a9, 120^a3

²⁰ MI 32^a19, 63^b1, 135^d4

2sg	2sg	MI 101 ³	<i>fo-t-chridigther-su</i> “You (sg) gird yourself” ²¹
2sg	3sg n	Wb 32 ²⁵	<i>do-n-gena-siu</i> “that you (sg) will do it” ²²
2sg	3pl	MI 102 ¹⁰	<i>dian-da-dercaither</i> “if you (sg) look at them” ²³
3sg n	2sg	MI 43 ¹¹	<i>for-tat-tet-su</i> “it (<i>hoc nomen</i>) helps you (sg)” ²⁴
3sg m	2sg	MI 133 ¹⁴	<i>du-ndat-re-siu</i> “that he might strip you (sg)” ²⁴
3pl	2sg	MI 112 ¹	<i>do-t-emfet-su</i> “they will protect you (sg)” ²⁵
2pl	3sg n	Wb 27 ²⁷	<i>ni-chretid-si</i> “you (pl) do not believe it” ²⁶
2pl	3sg m	Wb 9 ⁷	<i>do-d-n-indnaste-si</i> (MS <i>-nastise</i>) “that you (pl) deliver him” ²⁷
2pl	3pl	Wb 5 ¹³	<i>a-ta-samlibid-si</i> “you (pl) will imitate them” ²⁸
3sg n	2pl	Wb 16 ¹⁰	<i>ro-b-ánic-si irfócre</i> “a warning reached you (pl)”
3sg m	2pl	MI 18 ⁷	<i>co cho-tab-[b]osad-si</i> “so that he should crush you (pl)” ²⁹
3pl	2pl	Wb 14 ^{d37}	<i>a-tob-segat-si</i> “who go to you (pl)” ³⁰
3sg m	3sg n	MI 46 ¹¹	<i>at-beir-som</i> “he says it” ³¹
3sg m	3sg m	MI 43 ¹³	<i>r-a-cload-som</i> “He should hear him” ³²
3sg m	3sg f	MI 49 ⁷	<i>do-s-ber-som</i> “he inflicts it (<i>dígal</i>)” ³³
3sg f	3sg m	MI 61 ¹	<i>ro-d-n-gab-som</i> “which had seized him” ³⁴
3sg f	3sgf	Wb 9 ^{d5}	<i>ni-s-ñ-derig-si</i> “it (<i>dlúm</i>) does not leave her”
3sg n	3pl	MI 63 ^{b12}	<i>du-da-raid-som</i> “which led them” ³⁵
3sg m	3pl	Wb 25 ^{b9}	<i>no-s-ñ-guid-som</i> he beseeches them” ³⁶
3sg f	3pl	Wb 5 ^{c12}	<i>do-da-essarr-som</i> “which will save them”
3pl	3sg n	MI 124 ^{d9}	<i>amal-as-ind-bertatar-som</i> “as they said it” ³⁷
3pl	3sg m	MI 112 ^{b20}	<i>co-t-n-oat-som</i> “they guard him” ³⁸
3pl	3sg f	MI 24 ^{d24}	<i>ro-nda-saibset-som</i> “they perverted it (<i>canóin</i>)”
3pl	3pl	MI 44 ^{a14}	<i>do-s-ratsat-som-adi</i> “they applied them” ³⁹

²¹ Wb 30⁹; MI 101³, 112^{b6}

²² Wb 32²⁵; MI 40^{b2}, 87⁸ (?), 106^{c12}

²³ MI 36^{d2}, 102^{b10}

²⁴ MI 93^{a15}, 133^{a14}

²⁵ MI 106^{c11}, 112^{c1}

²⁶ Wb 7^{d4}, 13^{b10}, 14^{d24}, 15⁷, ^{d6}, 16⁹, 18^{b9}, 21^{c12}, 23⁷, 24^{a16}, 27^{a27}; MI 29⁴, 103^{b13}

²⁷ Wb 9⁷; MI 103^{c15} (?)

²⁸ Wb 5^{a13}, 24^{b12}, 21

²⁹ Wb 8^{a16}, 11^{b4}, 19^{b12}, 23^{d4}; MI 18⁷

³⁰ Wb 14^{d37}, 21^{c17}

³¹ Wb 4^{b20}, 8^{a14}, 24⁷, 27^{c18}; MI 46^{a11}, 47^{a14}, 50^{b8}, 53^{b27}, 56^{b3}, 118^{b6}, 123^{b13}, 124^{b3}; Sg 14^{d5}; Tur

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³² Wb 4^{a10}, 8^{a4}, 13^{a17}, 25^{b16}, 32^{d8}; MI 19⁶, 20², 30^{b20}, 33^{b5}, 38^{a4}, 39^{a22}, 43^{a13}, 44^{a16}, 72^{c1}, 133⁹; Tur 18

³³ Wb 31⁹; MI 29³, 49^{b7}

³⁴ MI 61^{a1}, 62^{c19}

³⁵ MI 39^{a15}, 63^{b12}

³⁶ Wb 25^{b9}; MI 23^{b5}, 26^{b8}, 34^{b6} (?), 60^{d3}

³⁷ Wb 8^{a10a}, 21^{a11}, 24^{b20}; MI 28^{d8}, 64^{a10}, 124^{d9}

³⁸ MI 22^{d4}, 112^{b20}, 131^{c10}; Tur 6

³⁹ MI 44^{a14}, 46^{c8}

3. Analysis

Generalizations from the data:

Third person *notae* only appear if both subject and object are third person.
Second person *notae* only appear if there is no first person subject or object.
First person *notae* are always allowed.

Examples with unambiguous 3rd person referent for *nota augens*:

- (7) Wb 5^{c12} *bid* misericordia... *do-da-esarr-som* “...mercy that will save them”
- (8) Wb 31^{a9} *ro-s-failsigestar-som-sidi* “he has manifested it (*bríathar* f. ‘word’)”
- (9) MI 24^{d24} *ro-nda-saibset-som* “they have perverted it (*canóin* f. ‘canon’)”
- (10) MI 29³ *for-ta-comai-som* “he preserves it (*sciám* f. ‘figure’)”
- (11) MI 34^{b6} *ni-s-gaib-som lius* “disgust seizes them”
- (12) MI 49^{b7} *do-s-ber-som* “he inflicts it (*dígal* f. ‘punishment’)”
- (13) MI 61^{a1} *indhuall ro-d-n-gab-som* “the pride (f.) which had seized him”
- (14) MI 62^{a19} *inna firbrihemnachte du-d-rigni-som inraicc* “of the righteous judgment (f.) which made him worthy”

Claim: when the subject and object are both third person, the *nota augens* will agree with a human to the exclusion of a non-human.

We can construct the following hierarchy for the appearance of the *notae augentes*:

1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person human > 3rd person non-human

4. Further evidence for 3rd person human > 3rd person non-human

Theoretical considerations: the hierarchy posited above corresponds to the Animacy Hierarchy (Silverstein 1976; more general description in Croft 1990: 95-123, esp 111-7; more specialized are Comrie 1989: 124-37 and Dixon 1994: 83-97). An elaborated version of the animacy hierarchy is presented below (from Dixon 1994: 85):

1st pron > 2nd pron > 3rd pron > proper nouns > human > animate > inanimate

No language uses all these possibilities, and some switch the place of the 1st and 2nd person pronouns, but the hierarchy as a whole is quite robust and useful.

Example from Mesquakie (Algonquian):

- subject and object marked on verb
- grammatical function of person affixes determined by separate suffix
- if subject higher on hierarchy than object, direct suffix form used
- if object higher on hierarchy than subject, inverse suffix form used

The data are taken from Comrie (1989: 129):

(15)	ne	-waapam	-aa	-wa	ne	-waapam	-ek	-wa
	1sg	see	direct	3	1sg	see	inverse	3
		“I see him”				“He sees me”		

Inner-Irish support for 3rd person human > 3rd person non-human:

- *-som* is rarely neuter (see Thurneysen 1946: 253, 272)
- new claim: *-som* is almost exclusively human

word preceding <i>-som</i>	human referent	non-human referent	neuter referent
<i>é</i> (masc sg pron.)	9	0	0
<i>a</i> (masc / nt poss pron)	43	0	0
copula + noun ⁴⁰	25	2	1
Substantive verb	7	0	0
verb	229	2	0
Conjugated prep.	173	3	3

Table 1: referents of *-som* in the entire Würzburg and Milan corpora⁴¹

-som clearly refers mostly to male humans. For the statistic to be truly decisive, however, we must ensure that the categories of words *-som* follows do not also select for male human referents. Partial statistics follow:

<i>é</i>	without <i>-som</i>	with <i>-som</i> ⁴²
human	56	7
non-human	48	0

Table 2: referents with *é*; p = 0.01846

conj. prep.	without <i>-som</i>	with <i>-som</i> ⁴²
human	193	73
non-human	31	3

Table 3: referents with conjugated prep; p = 0.02000

These statistics demonstrate that, after *é* and conjugated prepositions, the referent (i.e. human or not) when *-som* is present shows a distinctly different profile from that when *-som* is not present.⁴³

Hypothesis: *-som* selects for human referents, while *é* and the conjugated prepositions are neutral in that regard.

The hypothesis is not proven, but it is supported in the data and it buttresses the claim that in verbs with 3rd person subject and object, a *nota augens* will always refer to a human participant to the exclusion of a non-human one (cf. Würzburg division of *int-í* (exclusively human) vs. *a n-í* (non-human, regardless of grammatical gender) (McCone 2006: 261)⁴⁴).

⁴⁰ Not included is MI 130^c18 *airis suidiu robuthir tairngeri som* “for herein it was the Land of Promise”, since it appears there is corruption of the text (see Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus i p.446).

⁴¹ Cases where there is an infix pronoun with which *-som* could also agree are not included, since the referent is not uniquely determinable.

⁴² Figures with *-som* in this table were drawn from the entire Würzburg corpus and the first 100 pages of Milan (comprising about 25% of the total number of glosses).

⁴³ The statistical test used was Fisher’s Exact Test. When the p-value is less than 0.05, it shows that the compared categories are significantly different.

⁴⁴ This pattern is not, however, borne out in the first 100 pages of Milan, though there are only a few examples.

5. Further observations on the *notae augentes* and on *-side*

McCone (2006: 219): *notae augentes* spread from original function as clitic subject pronouns

Possible support: *notae augentes* agreeing with the subject of a verb never found with an expressed subject or with a relative verb with subject antecedent:

- (16) **ad-cí-som dúa in mnái* “God sees the woman”
 (17) **is dúa ad-chí-som in mnái* “it is God who sees the woman”

Interpretation: Insular Celtic (and Pre-Old Irish) was a pro-drop language, i.e. it permitted one or no expressed subjects, but not two. Allows a natural explanation for the Old Irish restrictions on *-som*.

Similarities between *-side* and *-som*:

- follow verbs, agreeing with infix pronoun or with subject
- follow copula + noun
- follow a noun with a preceding possessive pronoun
- follow a personal pronoun
- do not co-occur with a expressed subject⁴⁵
- do not co-occur with a relative verb with subject antecedent⁴⁶
- not neuter in the singular

Differences:

- deixis: *-som* mostly has near deixis “here”, *-side* distant deixis “there”
- *-side* does not appear with conjugated prepositions
- *-side* co-occurs with the *notae augentes* (always immediately after them)
- *-side* does not follow the animacy hierarchy

Examples:

- (18) Wb 15^c26 *ro-n-fúir-side* “He knows us”
 (19) Wb 25^a26 *a-tob-cí-side* “He sees you (pl)”
 (20) Sg 205^a2 *ní-s-n-airmim-sidi* “I do not reckon them”
 (21) MI 37^a15 *ní-n-tanic ade* “it has not come to us”
 (22) Wb 31^a9 *ro-s-failsigestar-som-sidi* “he has manifested it (*briathar* f. ‘word’)”
 (23) Sg 16^a8 *ní-s-n-arróetmar-ni-sidi* “though we have not accepted this (letter *ψ*)”
 (24) MI 22^a4 *at-lentais-[s]om-adi* “they used to pollute it (*loc* m. ‘place’)”
 (25) MI 44^a14 *do-s-ratsat-som-adi* “they have applied them (*arma* nt. ‘arms’)”
 (26) MI 44^b10-11 *ní-s-rothechtus-[s]a-[a]dí* “I did not have them”

⁴⁵ The one possible exception, MI 36^c14 *it bithdommai-sidi dá gente* “the gods of the gentiles are ever-poor”, can be analyzed as: “they are ever-poor, the gods of the gentiles”.

⁴⁶ Kavanagh (2001: 797) analyzes Wb 22^b11 *is hed do-theit de...* “it is to this that he comes...” such that the *de* is neuter, but it is clearly better as masculine, agreeing with the subject of *do-theit*.

6. Conclusions and direction for future work

Conclusions:

- *notae augentes* follow an exceptionless hierarchy:
1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person human > 3rd person non-human
- *-som* refers to humans and only exceptionally to non-humans
- *-side* stands outside the animacy hierarchy and may refer to non-humans
- *notae augentes* and *-side* never serve as subject of a verb if there is already an overt subject or if the verb is relative with a subject antecedent

Further areas to study:

- does the animacy hierarchy play a role elsewhere in Old Irish grammar?
- what is the correlation of *-som* and humanness in remaining categories?
- are *-si* (3sg fem) and *-som* (pl) also open to the same analysis?
- is there is any way to disambiguate the ambiguous remaining examples?
MI 112²⁰ *co-t-n-out-som* “they (angels) guard him (the righteous man)”
MI 43¹³ *r-a-cload-som* “He should hear him”
- what is the exact function of the *notae* (contrastive, discourse shaping)?

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The Milan Glosses Project: a digital database*

<http://www.univie.ac.at/indogermanistik/download/projekte/milan.htm>

Overview

The project has been funded for three years by the Austrian Sciences Fund, and it is based at and administered by the University of Vienna, housed in the Indo-European Institute. David Stifter is the project director and I am the principal researcher. The project will run from January 1, 2007 to December 31, 2009.

Main Project Goals

- produce a lexicon of the forms in the Milan Glosses (like Kavanagh for Wb)
- produce and put on-line a fully searchable electronic database of the same

Subsidiary Project Goals

- correct mistakes found in the Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus
 - approx. 40 errors of readings in Thesaurus to 30^a1 (~14% of text)
 - approx. 5 errors in Ascoli's text
- produce an electronic version of Milan, based on the text in the Thesaurus

Progress

- entire text digitized and online (see website address listed above)
- first 100 pages of text edited, corrected, and put on-line as searchable PDFs
- first 100 pages of text analyzed and put into database

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