



- |     |   |                       |
|-----|---|-----------------------|
|     | “I and Conchobar rose up”                                 | TBC I 476             |
| b.  | téit ocus a máthair<br>“he and his mother go”             | CG 63                 |
| c.  | do·lluid-si ocus a hinailt<br>“she and her maid come”     | TBF 125-6             |
| (4) | Prepositional object:                                     |                       |
| a.  | thorom-sa ocus Chonchobar<br>“across me and Conchobar”    | TBC I 436             |
| b.  | leis ocus a ben<br>“with him and his wife”                | CG 199                |
| (5) | Genitive:   |                       |
|     | a chomraic-som ocus saul<br>“of Saul’s and his encounter” | Ml 75 <sup>a</sup> 6a |

This collection is not a complete one, but rather a representative one. Still, there are enough examples to show that it is unlikely to be an anomaly or mistake. Further, it is important to note that these examples show that the construction is not a late phenomenon within Old Irish. Thurneysen (1925: 83), commenting on (4b) from *Críth Gablach* says, “altertümlicher wäre *leo*, pluralisch”.<sup>1</sup> Since it is now recognized that the language of *Críth Gablach* is older than that of the main glossator of Würzburg (Binchy 1941: xiii-xv), Thurneysen’s comment is unjustified. Example (5) comes from the Milan Glosses, two examples come from recension one of the *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, and one example is from *Táin Bó Fraích*. Aside from TBF, all are older texts, and TBF represents on the whole good Old Irish. It appears that we must recognize this means of coordination beside the more familiar, and more exotic, one exemplified in (2) above.<sup>2</sup>

Looking slightly further afield, we might note that there is a further rule for coordinated nouns in Old Irish by which the verb agrees only with the first of these:

- |     |  |                      |
|-----|--|----------------------|
| (6) | in·coissegar deacht ocus doinacht críst<br>“the Godhead and Manhood of Christ are indicated” | Ml 42 <sup>b</sup> 2 |
|-----|--|----------------------|

As far as I have been able to see, this rule holds without exception for the Milan and Würzburg Glosses, as well as a fairly random selection of other Old Irish literature. Interestingly, this construction is exactly parallel to that seen in (3), except that the subject is expressed by a full noun phrase in (6), rather than by a pronoun, as in (3). This parallelism is expected if the *notae augentes* are simply the regular pronouns of Old Irish (Greene 1973; Griffith 2008, forthcoming).

The above has commented mainly on the incorporated pronouns of Old Irish, i.e. those contained in the verb, conjugated preposition, and pronominal possessive. For the independent pronouns, the only means of coordination seems to be the one under discussion, i.e. the one seen in (3)-(5):

<sup>1</sup> To be fair to Thurneysen, the citation in the Grammar does not deny the type exemplified above in (3)-(5). He may have changed his opinion from 1925, but he does not make an explicit statement on the matter.

<sup>2</sup> The time depth of both methods of coordinating pronouns is unclear. As Binchy (1960: 80) notes, it appears that *ocus* as a conjunction arose only late in the pre-history of Irish. As such, we cannot be sure that either construction predates that time. It is possible that when *ocus* arose, it simply took over the syntax of the earlier connective, in which case either or both of the constructions could be quite old. On the other hand, it is possible that new constructions arose with the new connective. See Griffith (2009) for a proposal on the origin of *ocus*.

(7) me-sse ocus Pangur Bán  
“I and Pangur Bán”

Thes ii.293, 14

There are not many examples of such coordination, but the example is secure and suggests that the pattern is good Old Irish.

Coordination of the type seen in examples (3) through (7), while not especially noteworthy cross-linguistically, is uncommon for Old Irish and does not seem to have been noticed in the literature. For that reason I have felt justified writing briefly on this small topic of Old Irish syntax.

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