

PREPOSITIONLESS DATIVES IN OLD AND MIDDLE IRISH:
THE INSTRUMENTAL, ACCOMPANIMENT/INCLUSIVE AND APPositionAL
DATIVE

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ABSTRACT

The early Irish dative case is typically found after prepositions, but there are a number of non-prepositional usages. Three of these are explored in this chapter: the instrumental dative, the dative of accompaniment or inclusion, and the dative of apposition. The main goal of the chapter is to describe the syntactic distribution and features of these constructions, compare their similarities and differences, and ultimately to sharpen the classification of these three usages of the dative into distinct constructions. The bulk of the chapter concentrates on the third construction, the dative of apposition, in which the dative-marked nominal is found in apposition chiefly to a pronominal item. Because this pronominal is virtually obligatory, comparison between the early Irish appositional dative and a typology of similar “adnominal pronoun constructions” in other languages is made. A major contribution of the chapter is to show that there are various number and person restrictions that are placed on the pronominal antecedent but these restrictions are subject to diachronic variation. Finally, the dative of apposition is contrasted with the nominative of apposition, which is shown have a distinct syntactic structure.

Keywords: *dative of apposition, adnominal pronoun, prepositionless dative, Old Irish, syntax.*

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1. Introduction

The dative case in early stages of Irish is typically a prepositional case;¹ it is lexically selected by certain prepositions, such as *ó* ‘from, by’ (1), or it marks location after prepositions that can take both the accusative (marking movement) and the dative, such as *i* ‘in, (in)to’ (2).²

- (1) ho goistiu
by noose.DAT
‘by a noose’ (Ml.23b10)³
- (2) a. i n-gnimaib
in NAS-deed.DAT.PL DATIVE (Ml.31b20)
‘in deeds’
- b. i n-degnimu
in NAS-good_deed.ACC.PL
‘to good deeds’ ACCUSATIVE (Ml.51b10)

Aside from this prepositional function, the dative also appears in a number of constructions without a governing preposition. Three of these, which long have been thought to be historically related, will be the subject of this paper: the instrumental dative, the dative of accompaniment or inclusion, and the dative of apposition.⁴ The instrumental dative is a relatively rare use of the dative case without a governing preposition to denote an instrument, means, manner, or attendant circumstance (3). The dative of accompaniment/inclusion by contrast is comparatively common. The term will be used here to refer to a class of ungoverned datives where the dative itself means ‘with’, in the sense of accompaniment, i.e. ‘together with’ (4). Finally, the dative of apposition refers to the use of the dative to mark a nominal expression that stands in apposition to another nominal expression, which is usually in fact a pronoun (5).

¹ Stifter (2006:36) goes so far as to suggest replacing the term dative with “prepositional”; however, given the main topic of this paper, this seems premature.

² Apart from the glosses defined at the beginning of this volume, the following conventions are used: [A]=agent theta role on verbal agreement (usually subject), INF=infinitive, NAS=nasalization, [P]=patient theta role on pronoun (usually direct object), PA=proprial article (Booth 2024:220), PRT=particle, WH=wh-interrogative.

³ Examples from the *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (Stokes and Strachan 1901–1903) are cited with standard sigla, for which see section 4. Other examples are cited using the editor-date system.

⁴ Other usages of the dative cited in Thurneysen (1946: 160–162) such as temporal datives, e.g. *huaraib* [hour.DAT.PL] ‘sometimes, at times’, or comparative datives, e.g. *maissiu maenib* [splendid.CMP treasure.DAT.PL] ‘more splendid than treasures’, are not considered here.

(3) INSTRUMENTAL

díre a-mucfolach cóic séoit **mucaib**
 penalty.NOM 3SM.POSS-pig_sty.GEN five sét.NOM.PL pig.DAT.PL
 ‘Five *sēts* (payable) **in pigs** (is) the penalty for his pig-sty.’

(Hancock et al. 1879: 314.21)

(4) ACCOMPANIMENT

co-t-recat i-sin maig **a-slógaib**
 PV-3SM[P].meet.PRES.3PL[A] in-ART field.DAT 3PL.POSS-host.DAT.PL
 ‘They meet him in the field **with ...their hosts.**’

(O’Rahilly 1976: 33)

(5) APPOSITION

is ni=ni **firiónaib**
 COP.PRES.3SG 1PL=EMPH_(1PL) righteous.DAT.PL,M

‘It is we **righteous.**’

(Wb.33a7)

Aspects of these non-prepositional usages of the dative have previously been discussed in Pedersen (1899, 1913), Dillon (1928), Vendryes (1937), Thurneysen (1946) and Baumgarten (1989), but several fine distinctions between the three usages outlined above have not been investigated in any detail, namely the ways in which the nominal phrase (hereafter often referred to as the NP) marked with dative interacts with its wider clausal context and how this interaction differs according to the featural content of the nominal or items associated with it (i.e. whether the noun is singular or plural, or whether associated nouns in the accompaniment or appositional dative construction is a pronoun/pronominal or a noun, etc.). The investigation of these featural distinctions lies at the heart of the current paper. A major goal is, through careful attention to the syntactic contexts of the dative NP, to categorize the attested data, chiefly that found in manuscripts compiled from 700–900 A.D. (i.e. essentially the Old-Irish glosses) and supplemented with a selection of later Old- and Middle-Irish material (ca. 900–1200 A.D), and then to determine if the data exhibits any asymmetries (feature-based or otherwise, such as for instance, asymmetries arising from diachronic change) and finally to discuss the significance of any such asymmetries. A subsidiary goal is to offer a sketch of possible syntactic analyses that will account for the differences between the three types of non-prepositional dative mentioned above and to situate the dative of apposition in particular in the context of cross-linguistic typologies of nominal person (cf. the discussion of Höhn 2022 below).

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2, the major features of the three non-prepositional dative constructions (instrumental dative, dative of accompaniment/inclusion, and dative of apposition) are described and a short history of research on these constructions is sketched. Following this, the focus of the chapter shifts to a detailed investigation of the dative of apposition starting in section 3. Section 4 is a corpus study which looks at the context and distribution of the various morphosyntactic features of the dative of apposition identified in previous sections. Section 5 provides a short typological overview of adnominal pronoun constructions and attempts to show how the Irish dative of apposition construction fits into this typology. Finally, section 6 outlines a structural analysis of the various constructions discussed in paper.

2. Brief Description of Non-Prepositional Datives

2.1. Instrumental Dative

As already seen above, the instrumental dative denotes the instrument, means, manner, or attendant circumstance. It is largely confined to poetry—especially chevilles—and legal language, while in normal prose it is usually only found in certain set phrases (Thurneysen 1946: 161). Although the existence of this instrumental usage has long been recognized and its limitation to certain stylistic contexts or genres commented upon, the syntactic contexts of its use remain to be clarified. In fact, aside from Thurneysen's (1946: 161, 500, 546, 563) observations that some conjunctions that introduce subordinate clauses were originally instrumental (or, as he calls them, adverbial) datives (6),⁵ no significant generalizations have previously been made concerning the syntactic distribution of such dative NPs.

- | | | | |
|-----|--|--|--|
| (6) | feib | fo-nd-úair=som | |
| | quality.DAT[='as'] | PV-NAS.3SN[P]-find.PRET.3SG[A]=EMPH _(3SM) | |
| | la | auc<taru> | |
| | with | author.ACC.PL | |
| | 'As [lit. 'in/with the quality'] he has found it in authors...' (Sg.144b3) | | |

In all stylistic contexts, the instrumental dative is syntactically most common as a sentential adjunct, i.e. an adverb (7).

⁵ The conjunctions are: *ama[i]l* 'as' (from *samail* 'likeness'), *cruth* 'like' (from *cruth* 'form, shape'), *feib/fib* 'as' (from *fíu* 'worth'), *indas* 'as, so that' (from *indas* 'manner, appearance') and *inni* 'as' (from *inne* 'quality, manner, kind').

- (8) a. [NP *eregem* ind inni=se]
 complain.NOM ART essence.DAT=PROX
 ‘a complaint of this nature [lit. with this essence]’
 (MI.90c8)
- b. [NP *cóic* séoit mucaib]
 five sét.NOM,PL pig.DAT,PL
 ‘five *sēts* (payable) in pigs’
 (Hancock et al. 1879: 314.21)
- c. co [NP *ndroch* óir senmesib]
 with circlet.DAT gold.GEN old_measure.DAT,PL
 ‘with a circlet of gold (made) according to the old standards/
 measurements’
 (Stokes and Strachan 1903: 209)
- (9) [ADJP *lán* lubaib]
 full.NOM,SG,M herb.DAT,PL
 ‘full of herbs’ (lit. ‘full with herbs’)
 (Greene n.d.:1.393)

2.2. Dative of Accompaniment

The dative of accompaniment typically has the meaning ‘together with’, as mentioned above. The syntactic contexts where it is found have not been detailed in any precise way, although Dillon (1928: 318) notes in passing that the “principal” noun, i.e. the noun to which the dative of accompaniment is attached or, in other words, with which it is coordinated, can be the subject or the object of the sentence. This is true in the vast majority of cases. In (10a) the dative NP accompanies the subject and in (10b) the object. There also a few examples in which the dative NP accompanies the nominal complement of a preposition (10c).

- (10) a. *luid* [NP-SUBJ *patraic*] *iarom* for
 go.PRET.3SG Patrick.NOM afterwards on
muir *nónbur* *i* *lin*
 sea.ACC nine_person.DAT in number.DAT
 ‘Patrick went afterwards to sea with nine men in a group.’
 (Stokes 1887: 28.14)⁷

⁷ Stokes suggests emending *i lin* to *a lin* but this seems unnecessary.

- b. ro·fuid=side [NP-OBJ ind i Palladius]⁸ ...dé⁹
 AUG·send.PRET.3SG=ANA ART DEICT.ACC Palladius two
 feraib deac do praicept
 man.DAT.PL ten PRT preach.DAT
 ‘He sent Palladius with twelve men to preach...’
 (Stokes 1887: 30.12)
- c. bennacht for [NP-COMP firu Muman],
 blessing.NOM on man.ACC.PL Munster.GEN
 feraib maccaib mnaib
 man.DAT.PL boy/child.DAT.PL woman.DAT.PL
 ‘A blessing on the people of Munster, including men, children and
 women.’
 (Stokes 1887: 216.12)

In (10c) the dative case of the nouns *feraib*, *maccaib*, and *mnaib* is not triggered by the preposition *for*, because its actual complement (*firu*) is clearly marked as accusative. The dative is not a prepositional case here; rather, independent of the prepositional phrase, it marks accompaniment, or more specifically, inclusion: the ‘people (lit. men) of Munster’ include men, children, and women.

This inclusive reading always appears to be possible, although it is perhaps more common when the principal noun (the subject, object, or PP-complement) is singular but the associated dative NP is plural or collective. In any case, the dative of accompaniment is often ambiguous without wider context. In (10a) for example, the dative personal numeral *nónbur* ‘nine men/people’ could be understood as referring to a total of nine men: Patrick and eight others; that is, the reading ‘Patrick as one of nine men’/‘Patrick with eight men’ is in principle available. It is only by examining the entire story of which this sentence forms a part that it becomes clear that Patrick is indeed accompanied by nine other people, and hence the entire number of the group of people who went to sea in (10a) is ten, not nine. To see this, consider the following passage quoted from Stokes

⁸ *Palladius* is morphologically nominative in Latin terms, but it is likely that the form was invariant for the Irish author of the text.

⁹ The form of the word *dé* ‘two’ in this example is unusual: it is the “combining” form of the numeral, which is used in numeral+noun compounds. To my knowledge, apart from this example it is never found when the noun is followed by the numeral *deac* ‘ten, -teen’. It is possible that, despite appearances, *dé* represents the normal, non-combining dative form *dib*, which is expected here. The lack of final *-b* could be explained as the result of assimilation of final *-b* /v/ and initial *f* /v/ (here voiced due to the obligatory “nasalization” triggered in the dative dual).

(1905: 30, trans. pg. 31), where *nónbuir* [nine_person.GEN] ‘nine’ clearly modifies the noun *choimthechtaigi* ‘companions’:

Ocus durothlaigestar Pátraic tri itgi fair, .i. bith dia deis hi flaith nime, combad é pa breithemh do Goi[d]elaibh hillathi bratha, agus here in **nónbuir choimthechtaigi** di ór agus argutt dia thabairt do Góidelaib ar creitem.

‘And Patrick asked three boons of Him, namely, to be on His right hand in the kingdom of heaven, that he (Patrick) might be judge of the Gael on doomsday, and as much gold and silver as the nine companions could carry [literally: a burden of the nine companions of gold and silver], to be given to the Gael for believing.’

In contrast to the non-inclusive reading of (10a), the dative NP is clearly inclusive in:

- (11) a-t-recht [NP-SUBJ Mongán]
 PV-3SM[P].rise.PRET.3SG[A] Mongán.NOM
 mórfessiur di-n charnd for leith
 seven_person.DAT from-ART. carn.DAT on side.ACC
 ‘Mongán as one of seven men [or: with six men] rose up from the cairn to the side.’

(Meyer and Nutt 1895: 56)

The inclusive reading of the dative NP is guaranteed by clues in the rest of the narrative: in their journey Mongán and his six companions meet seven otherworldly counterparts (*Marfessiur deligthe* and ‘[there were] seven distinguished men there’) and partake of wine from seven vats (*secht taulchubi de fín* ‘seven vats of wine’). If the dative NP were to be understood as non-inclusive, there would be a total of eight men (Mongán and seven companions) and the symmetry between the number of men on the journey and the otherworldly counterparts offering vats of wine would be broken. The inclusive reading of (11) seems thus to be assured.

The inclusive reading of the dative of accompaniment is comparable to another structure that we may call the “inclusive coordination construction” (12).

- (12) dún [pro_{1PL}=ni] agus Barnaip
 to.1PL =EMPH_(1PL) and Barnabas.NOM
 ‘to me [lit. us] and Barnabas’ (Wb.10d1)

In this construction, the first conjunct is a non-singular, overt or covert¹⁰ pronoun and the second conjunct is a noun. The two conjuncts are related in a superset/subset relation: the referent of the personal name is included in the reference set of the non-singular pronoun; hence the pronoun is the superset and the noun the subset. The construction is cross-linguistically common. Compare for instance the Icelandic construction exemplified in (13).

- (13) *María fór út. [Þau Jón] ætla ða*
 Maria went out PA.N.NOM.3PL Jón.NOM intend.PL to
 hittast.
 meet
 ‘María went out. She and Jón (=they including Jón) are going to meet.’
 (Booth 2024: 224, ex.7b)

Previous discussions of the inclusive coordination construction in Irish are Griffith (2009), Ködderitzsch (1997), Lash and Griffith (2018), Meid (1968), Thurneysen (1925), and McCloskey (1986, 1991); references for similar constructions in other languages, including Icelandic are found in Booth (2024). No previous scholarship draws a connection between the inclusive coordination construction and the inclusive use of plural NPs in the dative of accompaniment construction, yet the semantics of the two are very close and it is possible that there was some mutual interaction between the two constructions. Nonetheless, despite the obvious semantic similarities, there are also differences: (a) unlike in the inclusive coordination construction, the principal (first) NP, is usually a full noun phrase in the dative of accompaniment construction, not a pronoun,¹¹ and (b) the dative of accompaniment, though never itself a pronoun, nonetheless is the superset which contains the reference of the principal NP within its reference. These differences between the two constructions are schematized in (14). The superset/ subset relation illustrated here reminds one of the semantics of predication, the denotation of a predicate being a set of entities (Rudin and Beltrama 2019). The predicative denotation of the inclusive dative leads naturally to the extension of the prepositionless dative to mark apposition (a type of predication) in the form of the dative of apposition which is considered in more detail below in section 2.4.

¹⁰ For further discussion on the morphology of pronominal items, see section 3.2 below.

¹¹ There are also a few examples of pronominal antecedents in the dative of accompaniment construction, e.g.

i. *ara tised pro_{3SG} úathad leis*
 that come.PST.SBJ.3SG few.DAT with.3SM.ACC
 ‘that he should come **with only a few** with him’ (O’Rahilly 1967: 23)

- (14) a. NP_{SG} + NP_{DAT,PL}
 SUBSET + SUPERSET
- b. PRO_{PL} *ocus* NP_{SG}
 SUPERSET and SUBSET

2.3. Clearing up terminological confusions

Before moving on to a description of the dative of apposition, it will be useful here to clear up some apparent confusion in previous literature on the development of this construction. The main confusion consists in a persistent imprecision in the characterization of different types of prepositionless datives.

The imprecision started early on in this history of research on the matter. For example, in the course of several studies, Holger Pedersen laid the groundwork for much of the subsequent investigation into the non-prepositional dative usages. In Pedersen (1897: 71), he translates the possible appositional dative example in Wb.19a3 *ar-preceptorib geinte* [1PL.POSS-teacher.DAT.PL] (cf. Appendix D), as “ordret: vore lærere” (literally: our teachers), and immediately follows this with the note “Instrumental”, thus collapsing the distinction between these two constructions. In a later publication, he writes “Dass der Dativ in allen diesen Beispielen [referring to instances of the dative of apposition, Ed.] als Instrumentalis zu fassen ist, geht daraus hervor, dass überhaupt der nackte Dativ im Sinne des Instrumentalis noch im Mittelirischen ganz gewöhnlich vorkommt” (‘The fact that the dative in all of these examples is to be understood as an instrumental is evident from the fact that the bare dative in the sense of the instrumental is still quite common in Middle Irish’) (Pedersen 1899: 379–380). Once again, he sees the dative of apposition as no different from the instrumental dative.

A few years after this in his *Vergleichende Grammatik*, Pedersen (1913: 74–76, §§416–417) exemplifies and discusses *two* uses of the dative which he called (a) the *Dativ-Instrumentalis* (‘instrumental dative’) and (b) *Appositions-Kasus* (‘apposition case’), thus still not recognizing three distinct constructions. He does however continue to characterize the appositional dative as a derivative of the instrumental, saying “Diese Verwendung des Dativ-Instrumentalis führt direkt zur Verwendung als Appositions-Kasus hinüber” (‘this use of the instrumental dative leads directly to the use as apposition case’) (1913: 75, §417). Although this sentence in its context is ambiguous, it seems to imply that the appositional dative (a kind of predicative) comes directly from the instrumental usages (denoting means or manner), although this derivation is not perhaps at first entirely obvious, there being little that connects these usages semantically. Indeed, Pedersen probably should not in fact be understood as

suggesting such a direct link, the use of the phrase ‘führt direkt ... hinüber’ notwithstanding.¹²

It seems likely that Pedersen’s argument should be understood in the following way: the term *Dativ-Instrumentalis* refers broadly to datives denoting manner or means and datives of accompaniment, the semantic relation between the two being clear even in English (cf. the polysemy of the word ‘with’ meaning both ‘by means of’ and ‘together with’). Significantly, he first lists examples having the manner reading and then lists examples with the accompaniment reading. The latter are followed by the paragraph beginning “Diese Verwendung des Dativ-Instrumentalis” (‘this usage of the instrumental dative’). Pedersen probably meant to imply that the particular usage that was the origin of the appositional dative was the dative of accompaniment, not the instrumental proper which denoted means or manner. This possibility makes sense, since, as we have seen, the dative of accompaniment can sometimes, usually with collectives, have an inclusive reading where the nominal associate (typically the subject) is included as a member in the set of people or things referred to by the dative NP. As mentioned above, this is close to the denotation of a predicative, which is needed to make sense of the dative of apposition; consider again (5), here repeated as (15). It seems clear that the dative NP *firiónaib* ‘righteous’ is interpreted as a superset, one of whose members is the denotation of the pronoun *ni=ni* ‘we’.

(15) APPPOSITION

is	ni=ni	firiónaib
COP.PRES.3SG	1PL=EMPH _(1PL)	righteous.DAT.PL.M
‘It is we righteous. ’		

(Wb.33a7)

The confusion or imprecision in the characterization of prepositionless datives is also found in Thurneysen (1946: 160–161) where instrumental usages like that shown above in (3), repeated here in condensed form as (16) are characterized as instances of the dative of apposition, despite having a means/manner/instrument interpretation.¹³ Significantly, the dative NP *mucaib* ‘pigs’ cannot

¹² A direct link between the instrumental and the appositional is also suggested in the English translation of Pedersen’s *Grammatik* (Lewis and Pedersen 1937: 163); but because the translation omits for whatever reason all examples of the dative of accompaniment that precede the statement on the derivation of the appositional dative, I believe it misses the point of Pedersen’s text.

¹³ It is also worthwhile noting here that associate of the dative NP is a full noun phrase, whereas the associate of a dative of apposition is usually a pronominal (see section 2.4 below on this point).

straightforwardly be characterized as a superset which contains the denotation of the subset *séoit*, which roughly means ‘unit of value’.

- (16) *cóic* *séoit* *mucaib*
 five *sét.NOM,PL* *pig.DAT,PL*
 ‘five *sēts* (payable) in pigs’

(Hancock et al. 1879: 314.21)

Another probably misanalysed example is (17).

- (17)
cia *mmór* *erchru*
 WH *great.NOM,SG,N* *deficiency.DAT*
 ‘how great [it is], the deficiency’

(Ml.58b10)

Griffith (2021: S0006-3635) calls (17) appositional, even though this is not only unnecessary but actually misleading. The Latin context for the Old-Irish gloss makes it clear that the dative should be understood as a calque on the Latin prepositional phrase in bold in (18).

- (18)
nosti *in* *quanta* *cor* *meum*
 know.PERF.2SG *in* *how_much.ABL,SG,F* heart.NOM my.NOM,SG,N
 conturbatione *consterit[=constiterit]* *in* *quantum*
 confusion.ABL *consist.PERF,SBJ,3SG* *in* *how_much.N*
sit *difectum* *propriae* *uirtutis*
 be.PRES,SBJ,3SG *deficient.ACC,SG,N* *own.GEN,SG,F* *virtue.GEN*
 ‘You know how much my heart was troubled (lit. in how much confusion my heart may consist), by how much it was deficient of its own virtue.’

The meaning of the wh-phrases in (18) is instrumental and the equivalent Irish dative in (17) should therefore be characterized as such, i.e. it is not appositional. In addition, this interpretation of the function of the dative should be accompanied by a new morphological analysis, as follows: the adjective *mmór*, here acting as a quantifier, is prefixed to the dative noun *erchru* and the entire compound is preceded by the wh-interrogative marker: *cia mmór-erchu* [WH great-deficiency.DAT]; the translation is: ‘in/by how much deficiency’.

As a final case of this continuing imprecision in terminology and data collection, consider the following description of a corpus of datives of apposition found in Dillon (1928: 316):

I have generally excluded the purely associative dative which occurs in early language... but [which, (Ed.)] disappears later, surviving only in phrases like *cosaib tirmaib* ([feet.DAT.PL dry.DAT.PL.F] ‘with dry feet’, Ed.) ...Certain cases which in Old Irish are strictly associative dative have been collected, because, standing in close relation to the principal substantive, they develop an appositional use. These are such instances as Im. Br. 56.14 *atrecht Mongán mórfessiur*, where the principal is singular and the appositional a collective ...so that there is no real apposition.

Dillon’s “associative dative” breaks down into two types: the “purely associative dative”, i.e. the instrumental dative proper, and the “strictly associative dative” which is what is called in this paper the dative of accompaniment. Although Dillon’s phrasing is less than satisfactory, the connection between the instrumental and the accompaniment is clear, as pointed out above. The inclusion of the dative of accompaniment among his examples of the dative of apposition is, however, not useful as it confuses diachronic development of the dative of apposition with the synchronic description of the construction. In the discussion of the appositional dative below, I have made use of Dillon’s corpus, but I have carefully culled all dative of accompaniment examples. Maintaining this careful distinction between accompaniment and appositional dative for the purpose of synchronic description leads to a sharper understanding of the morphological features proper to each construction.

2.4. Dative of Apposition

Going forward, the focus of this paper will be the appositional dative construction. This construction has two crucial subparts which appear in the following order: (a) a pronominal item and (b) the dative substantive itself (19).

(19) APPPOSITION

is	[PRONOUN <i>ní=ni</i>]	[DATIVE firiónaib]
COP.PRES.3SG	1PL=EMPH _(1PL)	righteous.DAT.PL.M
‘It is we righteous. ’		

(Wb.33a7)

The pronominal item can either be an overt pronoun or *pro* (for more on this distinction, see section 3.2 below. In the following discussion, it will sometimes be called the “antecedent”. The substantive (sometimes also called the “nominal”) item can be a noun, a nominalized adjective, and certain numerals, called personal numerals (so-called because they are primarily used to count people). The latter inflect as nouns, being in fact morphologically derived from nouns (e.g. *cóecar* ‘five people’ with dative *cóecur*, from *cóec* ‘five and *fer* ‘man’).

The presence of a pronominal antecedent is virtually obligatory in the dative of apposition, there being only one systematic exception to this generalization in the Old-Irish corpus. The exception is if the dative substantive is *óenur* ‘as one (person), alone’ in which case the first member of the dative of apposition construction can be a full noun phrase, e.g. (20).

(20)

tíassat	[NP ind	ocdaim]	
go.PRES.SBJ.3PL	ART	young_ox.NOM.PL	
[DATIVE a-n-oenar]			
3PL.POSS-NAS-one_person.DAT			
‘The oxen will go alone...’			(Stokes 1887: 252.26)

In examples of this type, the dative substantive phrase *a-n-óenar*¹⁴ clearly cannot be understood literally (i.e. as something like ‘with their one person’) and thus cannot be a dative of accompaniment but seems to be a kind of dative of apposition. In such cases, the dative substantive has been grammaticalized¹⁵ and could almost be classified amongst intensifiers such as *féin* (cf. DIL s.v. *fadéin*, *féin*) ‘self’ (for more on this, see the discussion surrounding [42] below).

Aside from this systematic context for an NP-antecedent before the dative, the only apparently isolated counterexample to the pronominal antecedent generalization in the appositional construction is:

(21) fó	a-cruib	calathchethardu	
under	3SM.POSS-hoof.DAT.PL	hard_foursome.DAT	
‘under its hard strong four hooves’			
			(Mac Cana and Slotkin n.d.:l.8657)

¹⁴ The spelling *óenar* for *óenur* is not unexpected in a late text.

¹⁵ This grammaticalization possibly occurred as early as Wb. (eighth century), where the personal numeral *óenar* (dat. *óenur*) is only ever found in the dative of apposition construction where it means ‘alone’. To express the normal numeral meaning, the new compound *óenfêr* ‘one person’ is used (Aaron Griffith, p.c., citing Noordzij 2024).

This example was first mentioned (Pedersen 1913: 74–75) in his list of Dativ-Instrumentalis examples, which, as mentioned above, in fact included all three types of prepositionless datives that we are concerned with in this paper. Characterizing it either as an instrumental dative (expressing means or manner) or a dative of accompaniment does not seem right. The dative *cethardu* ‘foursome’ could therefore be appositional to the preceding noun *cruib* ‘hooves’. Setting aside this possible counter example,¹⁶ the generalization that a pronominal is virtually obligatory seems fairly robust (although the corpus is of course quite small). Because of this, it will be useful to compare the corpus of appositional datives in Old Irish to the set of ‘adnominal person constructions’ (APCs) known from other languages. Höhn (2022: 5) defines these constructions as constructions in which “the person specification of an extended nominal projection... is expressed by means of pronouns in construction with a nominal expression.” Höhn’s central example is the English phrase *we linguists*, where the pronoun *we* specifies the nominal projection *linguists* as first-person plural. These kinds of constructions are interesting because they are unexpected under a naive assumption that nominal projections are always third person. The Irish examples of the appositional dative considered so far seem very close to the English *we linguists* example. Thus, to highlight the comparison and to emphasize that the Irish construction is of crosslinguistic and typological interest, I usually refer to the construction in the description below as the “Dative Adnominal Pronoun Construction” (or Dative APC).

3. Basic Features of the Irish Dative of Apposition Construction

The features of the dative of apposition/Dative APC will be explored in the following subsections. The construction is made up of two parts: a pronominal item and the dative substantive as mentioned above. The discussion focuses first on the latter, as it is of course the defining member of the construction. This is followed by a description of the pronominal antecedent. The investigation is rounded out by a short section describing construction-external features, i.e. the clause-level contexts in which the Dative APC is found.

3.1. Part of Speech of the Substantive

As has already been mentioned, the substantive can be any of the following three parts of speech: a noun (22a), an adjective (22b), or a personal numeral (22c).

¹⁶ Aaron Griffith (p.c.) points out that it is possible to view *cethardu* as an adjective in the dative plural with defective case agreement (cf. <https://dil.ie/8913>). If this is so, then this example is irrelevant to the issue at hand, as *cethardu* is not appositional at all.

The actual frequency of each part of speech as well as the distribution of each across different clausal contexts as well as related diachronic matters, will be discussed in section 4.

- (22) a. is dún [*pro*_{1PL}=ni preceptórib]
 COP.PRES.3SG to.1PL =EMPH(1PL) preacher.DAT.PL
 ‘It is of us preachers.’
 (Wb.10d8)
- b. is [ni=ni **fíriónaib**]
 COP.PRES.3SG 1PL=EMPH_(1PL) righteous.DAT.PL.M
 ‘It is we **righteous**.’
 (Wb.33a7)
- c. at·taam [*pro*_{1PL} ar·ndiis] i cuimriug
 PV·be.PRES.1PL 1PL.POSS-two_person.DAT in bond.DAT
 ar christ
 for Christ.DAT
 ‘We two are (now) in bonds for Christ’s sake.’
 (Wb.32a28)

3.2. Form of the Pronominal Item

The antecedent pronominal is either an overt pronoun (23a) or *pro* (23b).

- (23) a. [ni=ni fíriónaib]
 1PL=EMPH_(1PL) righteous.DAT.PL.M
 ‘we righteous’
 (Wb.33a7)
- b. ad·rochobursam [*pro*_{1PL} fíriánaib]
 PV·AUG.desire.PRET.1PL righteous.DAT.PL.M
 ‘we righteous had desired...’
 (Ml.56b24)

For the purposes of this paper, the following distribution of *pro*, derived from McCloskey and Hale (1984), is assumed: it occupies the subject position of finite

- (25) it mo-gudi *pro*_{1SG=se}
 COP,PES.3PL 1SG.POSS-prayer.NOM.PL =EMPH_(1SG)
 ‘They are my prayers.’

(Ml.132d1)

3.3. Doubling of Pronominal Features

In some APCs, personal pronominal features are ‘doubled’: the usual pronoun or *pro*, is followed by a substantive marked with a personal possessive morpheme, which in this construction does not have possessive meaning (cf. Baumgarten 1989, Vendryes 1937 and section 4.2 below). In (26), the pronoun *tu=ssu* ‘you’ is followed by the dative-marked personal numeral *óenur* which is prefixed by the personal possessive morpheme *th’-* [2SG.POSS-], thus doubling the pronoun.

- (26) *tu=ssu* *th’-óenur*
 2SG=EMPH_(2SG) 2SG.POSS-one_person.DAT
 ‘you alone’ (lit. ‘you your one person’)

(Wb.5a28)

3.4. Person and Number of the Pronominal Item

All persons and numbers are attested in the Dative APC. All three singular persons are exemplified in (27). The corresponding plurals follow in (28).

- (27) a. *as* [*mmé* *m’-óinur*]
 COP,PRES,3SG,REL 1SG 1SG.POSS-one_person.DAT
 ‘that it is I alone’

(Sg.202a7)

- b. *ni* [*tu=ssu* *th’-óenur*]
 NEG 2SG=EMPH_(2SG) 2SG.POSS-one_person.DAT
 ‘not you alone’

(Wb.5a28)

- c. *ní* *do* [*pro*_{3SM} *á-óinur*]
 NEG to.3SM,DAT 3SG.POSS-one_person.DAT
 ‘It is not to him alone...’

(Ml.89b6)

- (28) a. dín [*pro*_{1PL}=ni preceptórib]
of. 1PL.DAT =EMPH_(1PL) preacher.DAT.PL
‘of us preachers’
(Wb.10d8)
- b. arna-bad hui<l>cc [*pro*_{2PL} dib
lest-COP.PRES.SBJ.2PL evil.NOM.PL two.DAT.DU.N
línaib]
number.DAT.DU
‘lest you both be evil’
(Wb.5d38)
- c. a-soinmigi [*pro*_{3PL} a-cloinaib]
3PL.POSS-prosperity.ACC 3PL.POSS-wicked.DAT.PL.M
‘their, (the) wicked men’s prosperity’
(Ml.39c34)

3.5. Contexts in which the Dative APC is found

The dative APC basically has the distribution of any other pronominal or noun phrase, except that it never appears as a direct object in contemporary Old-Irish sources (cf. section 4 below). To be more specific, the corpus attests to four contexts: anywhere in which an independent pronoun is licensed (29a),¹⁸ in the complement of an inflected preposition (29b),¹⁹ as the subject of a verb (29c), and as a post-nominal genitive modifier (29d).

¹⁸ These are discussed in García-Castillero (2013). Two typical contexts are (a) wherever the pronominal item is a predicate after a form of the copula, e.g. the pivot of a cleft sentence as in (29a), and (b) wherever it is the second conjunct of a coordinate structure after the conjunction *ocus* ‘and’.

¹⁹ The dative is not licensed by the preposition itself. This is clear from evidence like the first example below where the preposition marks the non-APC NP complement as accusative; contrast this with the dative-marked APC in the second example.

- i. a. la israheldu
with israelites.ACC.PL.M
‘with [the] Israelites’
(Ml.100c7)
- b. leo [*pro*_{3PL} a-n-óinur]
with.3pl.acc 3pl.poss-nas-one_person.dat
‘with them alone.’
(Sg.158b7)

- (29) a. is [ni=ni firiónaib]
 COP.PRES.3SG 1PL=EMPH_(1PL) righteous.DAT.PL,M
 ‘it is we righteous’
 (Wb.33a7)
- b. is dín [pro_{1PL}=ni preceptórib]
 COP.PRES.3SG of.1PL,DAT =EMPH_(1PL) preacher.DAT.PL
 ‘It is of us preachers.’
 (Wb.10d8)
- c. na nní ad·rochobursam
 any.N thing.NOM PV·wish.AUG.PRET.1PL,REL
 [pro_{1PL} fíriánib]
 righteous.DAT.PL,M
 ‘anything we righteous had wished’
 (Ml.56b24)

4. Corpus Description

In order to be as precise as possible about the distribution of the features discussed above, a corpus study of the appositional dative was carried out. The corpus is divided into two parts, the first consisting of data from contemporary Old-Irish manuscripts produced between 700 and 900A.D., and the second of Old and Middle-Irish material found in manuscripts compiled between 900 and 1200A.D. This split is usually made because the Old-Irish data from the earlier set of manuscripts is thought to correspond more closely to the normal speech and written norms of the period during which they were compiled. The data from the later manuscripts, even where it is Old Irish, may have been edited or updated by later copyists using norms closer to early Modern Irish. This section will only describe the data from the earlier corpus, which includes the major glossed manuscripts, i.e. the Würzburg manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, (Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. M.p.th.f.12, abbreviated here as “Wb.”), the Milan manuscript of the commentary on the Psalms by Theodore of Mopsuestia (Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Ms. C 301 inf, or “Ml.”), and the St. Gall manuscript of Priscian’s *Institutiones Grammaticae* (St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 904, or “Sg.”). In addition to these three major glossed manuscripts, there are another 58 manuscripts compiled before 900 that contain Old-Irish glosses. Together these have been called the ‘minor glosses’ (Lash 2017), since the total number of glosses contained in them is a mere fraction of the total found in the three major glossed manuscripts. The minor glosses were also searched for

possible Dative APCs, but only the Karlsruhe manuscript of Bede's works (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 167, KBede) contains a possible example, which in fact had to be excluded based on the principles described below. In all cases the Old-Irish glosses are interlinear or marginal comments, paraphrases, or translations of the base text which is in Latin. Table 1 summarizes the data from the earlier corpus.

Table 1. Total Dative APCs in the Corpus

Manuscript	Wb.	MI.	Sg.	KBEDE
Total Glosses	3501	8443	3478	258
Dative APCs	13	8	11	0
Exclusions	4	5	1	1

4.1. Exclusions

The last line of Table 1 represents potential examples of the Dative APC that were excluded because their status as true examples of the construction was uncertain. These examples were excluded on the basis of following four factors:

- (30) • code switching between subparts of the dative of apposition construction (i.e. either the substantive or the pronoun is in Latin while the other item is in Irish),
- ambiguity between nominative and dative marking,
 - pronoun and dative substantive do not form a constituent,
 - dative substantive is not actually appositional, but rather predicative.

The exclusions are exemplified in (31); for a full list, see Appendix D.

(31) a. CODE-SWITCHING

iudicabimus .i. hireschaib
 judge.FUT.1PL i.e. faithful.DAT.PL,M
 'We, namely, the faithful, will judge.'

(Wb.9c10)

b. CASE AMBIGUITY

dún=ni ais
 to.1PL.DAT=EMPH_(1PL) people.NOM?/DAT?
 'to us people'

(MI.66d1)

c. NO CONSISTUENT

dam=sa oirdnidu .i.
to.1SG.DAT=EMPH_(1SG) ordained.DAT.SG.M i.e.
ongthu
anointed.DAT.SG.M
‘to me, (through being) ordained, i.e. anointed’

(Ml.48b8)

d. PREDICATIVE

ni-bad a-óenur dó
NEG-COP.PST.SBJ.3SG 3SM.POSS-one_person.DAT to.3SM.DAT
‘He should be alone.’

(Wb.14a21)

The basis for the exclusion of (31a) and (31d) is clear. The other two require some discussion. (31b) is excluded because the noun *ais* is the same in both the nominative and the dative. If the noun is nominative, the construction could be an example of the nominative of apposition, although this is quite unlikely (see section 6 below); otherwise, it is indeed an appositional dative. Since we cannot be sure which case is used from simple inspection, it is in any case a less than ideal example. As for (31c), it has been taken as a dative of apposition in the past (cf. the comments on the dative forms in Stifter et al. 2021: S0006-2829), but this assessment ignores the context of the gloss. When the context (the Latin passage in [32]) is factored in, however, it is clear that the pronominal complement of the preposition (*dam=sa* ‘to/for me’) does not at all form a constituent with the dative substantive *oirdnidu* ‘ordained’ and is thus not a good example of the dative of apposition, which always forms a constituent with its antecedent.

(32)

ET	PROTECTOR	SALVATIONUM	CHRISTI	SUI	EST
and	protector	salvation.GEN.PL	anointed.GEN	his.GEN	is
id	est	ex	unction	vidilicet	christo.
that	Is	out_of	anointing.A	namely	anointed.ABL

The Irish phrase *dam=sa* ‘to/for me’ translates the dative *mihi*; the dative *oirdnidu* ‘ordained’ paraphrases the prepositional phrase *ex unctione* ‘according to the anointing’²⁰ and the secondary gloss *.i. onghthu* translates the ablative

²⁰ The connection between ‘ordained/ordaining/ordination’ and ‘anointing’ derives from the use of oil to anoint priests when they are ordained to the priesthood.

christo. The use of the dative to translate the ablative marked prepositional phrase *ex unctio* is expected, as there is no ablative in Irish. One could view *oirndidiu* in Irish terms as an instrumental dative, but since the gloss is essentially a word-for-word Irish paraphrase of the Latin, the evidential value of this example for the use of Irish cases is in fact very low.

4.2. Distribution of Morphosyntactic Features

The tables in this section group the data according to a number of morphosyntactic features. Table 2 shows the distribution of Dative APCs according to the part of speech of the substantive. In all tables, the total number of Dative APCs with doubling in a given cell is marked with an asterisk, i.e. 8* in the bottom right corner of Table 2 indicates that there are eight third-plural examples involving a personal numeral and that all eight involve doubling.

Table 2. Distribution of person marking according to part of speech of nominal

Person	Noun		Adjective		Pers. Numeral	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st	–	2	–	3	2*	1*
2nd	1	1	–	–	3*	2*
3rd	–	4	1	1*	3*	8*

Two generalizations can be drawn from Table 2: (a) dative APCs with personal numerals are about twice as common as those with nouns or adjectives; and (b) doubling is virtually confined to dative APCs in which the substantive is a personal numeral. The latter observation is well known (cf. Thurneysen 1946: 160, Dillon 1928: 318–319), but usually expressed differently. Thurneysen wrote that personal numerals are always accompanied by a personal “possessive pronoun, except where they express plurality but stand in apposition to a singular”. In order to illustrate the exception in the latter part of the sentence, he refers to the example given above as (11). This example is, however, irrelevant, because there is no syntactic apposition; as argued above (11) is an inclusive dative of accompaniment. Rephrasing Thurneysen’s observation is therefore desirable. The more accurate generalization is simply that in the Dative APC, personal numerals are, without exception, accompanied by a possessive pronoun that doubles the features of the pronominal item. Note that this differs from Thurneysen’s observation by specifically referring to the dative of apposition construction that is the main focus of this section. This has the advantage of accounting for a number of cases where a personal numeral is not accompanied by a possessive pronoun; in all such cases, the personal pronoun is not in

remains elusive. Baumgarten's view only accounts for the lack of the possessive pronoun in the dative of accompaniment where the associate NP is singular and the dative NP plural. In such a situation, it makes sense that the possessive is omitted, as a plural cannot be identical with a singular; consider the ungrammaticality of the hypothetical example (35).

- (35) a-t-recht Mongán
 PV-3SM[P]-rise.PRET.3SG[A] Mongán.NOM
 a-mórfessiur
 3SM.POSS-seven_person.DAT
 'Mongán as one of seven men of him/?as one of seven men who he is
 arose...'

Aside the very specific situation where the associate NP is singular and the dative NP is plural, which pertains in fact only to the dative of accompaniment, Baumgarten makes no claim about nor suggests an explanation for the obligatory possessive in other combinations, summarized in (36), which are all found in the Dative APC.

- (36) • NP_{SG} [personal numeral]_{DAT.SG}
 • NP_{PL} [personal numeral]_{DAT.PL}
 • NP_{PL} [personal numeral]_{DAT.SG}²¹

The best explanation or analysis, which must remain preliminary, is that the possessive in combination with the personal numeral in the Dative APC has undergone grammaticalization and its original meaning as a genitive of identification has been bleached. In other contexts, the possessive still has its original function. This probably true in the one non-personal numeral example in Table 2, given here as (37a), and certainly true in a few cases which were omitted from the table because of the exclusion criteria discussed above (cf. 30), e.g. (37b).

- (37) a. ni-s roissed imned na
 NEG-3SF[P] reach.PST.SBJ.3SG[A] anxiety.NOM nor

²¹ E.g.

i. na-pad airib [pro]_{2PL} far-n-óinur]
 neg-cop.impv.3sg for.2PL 2pl.poss-nas-one_person.dat.sg
 'Let it not be for you yourselves alone.' (Wb.22d25)

erchrae do gres [a-sóinmigi
 want always 3PL.POSS-prosperity.ACC
 [a-cloínib]]
 3PL.POSS-wicked.DAT.PL.M
 ‘neither anxiety nor want would ever reach their prosperity, the
 wicked men **of them/that they are**’

(ML.39C34)

- b. **ar**-preceptorib geinte
 1PL.POSS-teacher.DAT gentile.GEN.PL
 ‘the teachers of the Gentiles **of us/that we are**’

(Wb.19a3)

Apart from the above generalizations drawn from the distribution of parts of speech in the Dative APC, viewing the data according to the four construction-external contexts defined above in section 3.5 also yields interesting results. The distribution of the Dative APC according to person, number, and the four contexts is shown in Table 3. In this and all subsequent tables, where a cell contains a sequence of two numbers separated by a comma, the first represents total number of non-doubling examples, the second the total number of doubling examples. As before the asterisk marks doubling.

Table 3. Distribution of Dative APC by context

Person	Indep.		Prep.		Subj.		Gen.	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st	2*	1	–	3	–	1,1*	–	–
2nd	1,2*	–	1*	2*	–	1	–	–
3rd	1,2*	–	1*	1,1*	–	2,5*	–	1,3*

The following generalizations can be made on the basis of this table: First, there are no person restrictions on the pronominal antecedent of the dative in the independent (Indep.) and prepositional (Prep.) contexts. Despite the lack of data for the second and third person plural in the independent context and the first and third person singular in the prepositional context, it is perhaps possible with a bit of extrapolation to say that these contexts also have no number restrictions on the pronominal antecedent; that is, under this interpretation, the gaps in the table for the person-number combinations just specified are merely accidental. The second generalization, which is derived from the other half of the table, is that only plural pronominal antecedents are allowed in the subject and genitive contexts.

The data is summarized in a 2x2 contingency table (Table 4 below) in order to test the statistical significance of these generalizations using Fisher's Exact Test. The independent variables are (a) context, here split between independent/prepositional and subject/genitive, and (b) number. The null hypothesis is that neither context nor number have any bearing on the distribution of the Dative APC. In other words, if the null hypothesis were true, the Dative APC should be attested equally in all contexts no matter the grammatical number of the pronominal item. The dependent variable is the distribution of the Dative APC.

Grouping the independent with the prepositional context on the one hand and the subject with the genitive context on the other hand is not unfounded. To allay fears of "p-hacking", this subgrouping can be justified based on the following syntactic assumptions: independent pronouns and prepositional pronouns are both typically non-arguments but subjects and genitives are not. Independent pronouns are often predicates in a cleft sentence but other non-argument functions are also found. Prepositional pronouns are basically adjuncts but they can also be predicates. Both independent and prepositional pronouns therefore contrast clearly with verbal arguments, such as subjects. Genitive NPs are similar to subjects in that at least some genitives are, or can be, characterized as arguments, specifically subjects of a nominal phrase (cf. in general Partee and Borschev 2003; in Old Irish this obviously true of the qualitative and identificational genitives, cf. example [33] below and the subjective genitives in constructions containing a verbal nouns where the underlying verb is low on the transitive scale, cf. Roma 2021). Because of considerations like this, the method of subgrouping in Table 4 has at least the advantage that it is based on recognized natural classes, i.e. arguments vs non-arguments.

Table 4. Distribution of the Dative APC by context/number

	Indep./Prep.	Subj./Gen.
SG	10	0
PL	8	14

Using the typical significance level of $p < .05$, the result of the Fisher's Exact Test is significant at $p = .0013$. Assuming the data, sparse though it is, is representative of the population, this means that the null hypothesis can be rejected: the context and number of a Dative APC have an effect on its distribution. In particular, Dative APCs whose pronominal item is singular do not appear in the subject or genitive context, as suggested above, whereas the independent and prepositional contexts place no such restrictions on the number of the pronominal item.

nine_person.DAT messenger.GEN.PL
 ‘to us nine messengers’

(O’Rahilly 1967: 3)

One might object that doubling should not occur anyway in (38b) as the genitive plural noun *echla*<*c*>*h* ‘messengers’ could be seen as replacing the possessive personal features; i.e. a genitive noun is normally thought to be in complementary distribution with a possessive marker. This line of analysis does not go far, however, as (39) shows that a genitive noun and doubling can co-occur in Dative APCs. In fact, genitive doubling is relatively common in early Irish in general. This coupled with the fact that doubling is apparently a requirement with personal numerals in the early corpus implies that examples without a possessive marker on the personal numeral which doubles the pronominal item are therefore quite unusual and could be representatives of a shift in underlying grammar.

(39) *comterbtis* *a-n-gnim*
 person.IMPF.3PL 3PL.POSS-NAS-deed.ACC
a-triar *brathar*
 3PL.POSS-three_person.DAT brother.GEN.PL
 ‘they three brothers used to perform their deeds...’

(Hogan 1892: 58)

Turning now to the distribution of later Dative APCs by context, one observes in Table 6 a few remarkable innovations.

Table 6. Distribution of later Dative APCs by context

Person	Indep.		Prep.		Subj.		Gen.		Obj.	
	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st	1*	–	1*	3	5	5	1*	–	1*	1*
2nd	–	–	–	1*	1*	–	1*	–	–	–
3rd	–	–	2*	3,1*	1,4*	9,13*	–	1,3*	–	2*

Aside from the four contexts found in contemporary Old-Irish manuscripts, later sources attest to the spread of the Dative APC into the object position, e.g. (40) where the dative APC is appositional to the infixed pronoun *-us* marking the object.²²

²² The two first-person examples are slightly different being infixed into a verbal complex headed

do-lecud *pro*_{2SG} th'-oenur s-in
 2SG.POSS-allowing.ACC 2SG.POSS-one_person in-ART
 cocrích
 border.ACC
 '...the Ulstermen will censure me if I let you [go] alone to the
 marches' [lit. 'will strike upon me to let you alone to the border']
 (O'Rahilly 1967: 28)

The word order in (41a) (cf. also 40) is another interesting innovation. While there is absolute adjacency between the pronominal item and the dative substantive in the older corpus, (41a) is one of several examples in the later material showing that the dative substantive can be arbitrarily far from the pronominal item. Table 7 breaks down the data according to adjacency and person. There is a preference for adjacency (n=36), but non-adjacent dative substantives are by no means rare (n=24).

Table 7. Distribution of adjacent vs. non-adjacent Dative APCs

Person	Adjacent		Non-Adjacent	
	SG	PL	SG	PL
1st	5	7	4	2
2nd	1	1	1	-
3rd	5	17	2	15

The data could also have been categorized according to part of speech, context (i.e. independent, subject, etc.), person, and adjacency, but doing so yields no discernible effect. It is, however, interesting to note that dative personal numerals are more frequently non-adjacent than any other part of speech, accounting for 18 out of 24 examples. Furthermore, the most common personal numeral is *óenar* 'alone' (dat. *óenur*) which is found in eight out of the 18 examples with personal numerals. The predominance of *óenur* can perhaps be linked to the grammaticalization of this word as an intensifier or focus particle (cf. the discussion of example [20] above). The usual early Irish intensifier, *féin* etc. (cf. DIL s.v. *fadéin*, *féin*), can also be non-adjacent to its pronominal antecedent. Compare the usage of *óenur* in (42a) to *fanisin* in (42b).

- (42) a. at-ar-fail *pro*_{1PL} ...**ar-n-oenur**
 PV-1PL·be.PRES.3SG 1PL.POSS-NAS-one_person.DAT
 i n-etarlén
 in NAS-trouble.DAT

‘We are ...**alone/ourselves** in great hardship.’ [lit. ‘There is us ... alone in great hardship.’]

(Greene n.d.: 1.3762)

- b. ru-n·sluinfem *pro*_{1PL=ni}
 AUG-1PL[P] name.FUT.1PL[A] =EMPH_(1PL)
 didiu cene **fanisin**
 PRT without.3SN.ACC INTS_(1PL)

‘We will be able moreover to name **ourselves** without it.’

(Wb.15a4)

5. The Typology of APCs: How does Irish compare?

Recall that the terminology ‘Dative APC’ used here beside ‘dative of apposition’ derives from Höhn’s (2022) discussion of adnominal person constructions in various languages. The goal of his paper was to outline a typology of adnominal person constructions. He suggests the features in (43) as important for understanding how adnominal person differs cross-linguistically:

- (43)
- morphological expression of person: regular (i.e. strong) pronoun vs. affixal clitic pronouns?
 - case effects: does pronoun case = noun case / pronoun ≠ noun case? (e.g. English *we linguists* nominative pronoun in subject position, vs. *us linguists* non-nominative in other positions)
 - relative position of pronoun: postnominal / prenominal
 - co-occurrence of APC with the definite article or not?
 - co-occurrence of APC with a modifying demonstrative or not?
 - person/number restrictions on the use of APC
 - (un)agreement patterns with APC

The corpus study in sections 3-4 allows us to easily plug the Old and Middle-Irish data into this typology. Table 8 summarizes the typology as it pertains to Old and Middle Irish. Brief further discussion of each feature follows the table in sections 5.1-5.6.

5.1. Morphological Exponence

It has already noted above that the morphological exponent of person in the Dative ACP is either an independent pronoun or *pro* (cf. 23). The only analytical difficulty is the ‘doubling’ construction (cf. 26). Although it was assumed above that a Dative APC with doubling consists of the antecedent pronoun (*pro* or

overt), the personal possessive marker and the substantive, it is possible that the APC is only the possessive marker and the substantive. If the assumption that all three elements form one constituent is maintained, it is not quite clear how to analyze the possessive from a purely formal perspective. As discussed above (in section 4.2), the possessive marker seems to have been grammaticalized and is presumably the exponent of some functional head, but exactly which is open to debate; for one suggestion, see below in section 6.

Table 8. Höhn's APC Typology for Irish

Feature	Irish Value
morphological exponent (of person)	regular pronoun or <i>pro</i>
case effects	N/A
relative position of pronoun	prenominal
co-occurrence w/ definite	no
co-occurrence w/ demonstrative	no
person/number restrictions	all persons & numbers (but see below)
(un)agreement patterns	see below

5.2. Case Effects

With regard to what Höhn calls ‘case effects’, early Irish presents some difficulty. This is because overt pronouns, i.e. independent stressed pronouns do not necessarily have case, although they do have two morphological variants: the common non-possessive (e.g. *mé* ‘I, me’) and the much rarer possessive form (e.g. *muí* ‘mine’). The non-possessive form is used in some positions where nouns get default nominative case, e.g. as pivots of a cleft construction, but it is clearly not the same as a nominal case form as it is never used in some other positions where cases are assigned to nouns, e.g. in subject position (where nouns are nominative) or after accusative or dative assigning prepositions. In these contexts, the only licit pronominal is *pro*, identified by agreement with a governing head. The possessive form is never used as a nominal modifier (i.e. in positions where nouns are assigned genitive), but only as a predicate. Thus, it seems that pronouns and pronominal items don't have case in the same way that nouns do, so even answering Höhn's question is difficult. The best conclusion is therefore that this typological feature does not apply to Old Irish (hence “N/A” [not applicable] in Table 8): the case of the nominal can neither correspond to or differ from the case of the pronominal, because the pronominal has no case.

(determiner); in other words, this lack of co-occurrence is seen as evidence for the pronominal determiner analysis. However, the lack of co-occurrence in early Irish does not necessarily point in the same direction because of an interesting quirk about the ordering of adnominal demonstratives relative to nouns.

As mentioned briefly above, adnominal demonstratives constitute a major deviation from head-initial word order in early Irish as demonstratives must always follow the noun they modify and a noun so modified must always be preceded by the definite article (45). One might say therefore that the demonstrative is licensed by the presence of a definite article in the determiner (D) position.

- (45) in fer=so
 ART man.NOM=PROX
 ‘this man’

The co-occurrence of the demonstrative with a pronoun in the APC is entirely unattested (46).

- (46) tu=ssu choimdid=*so
 2SG=EMPH_(2SG) lord.DAT=PROX
 ‘*you lord here’ (*vel sim.*)

This is probably more than an attestation gap and requires some grammatical explanation. At least two possibilities immediately come to mind: (a) perhaps a demonstrative cannot be licensed in the APC because there is no D in the structure, the pronoun being in some other position, and thus the licensing requirement of the demonstrative is not met, or (b) the licensing requirement is not the presence of D itself but rather the presence of a particular type of D, namely the definite article; in the latter scenario the pronoun is in D but does not come with the right features to license the demonstrative. The differences between these two possibilities will be returned to below in section 6.

5.5. Person/Number Restrictions

As Höhn notes, “English pronominal determiners ... are restricted to certain person/ number combinations. In particular, singular pronouns or third person plural pronouns cannot be used as adnominal pronoun” (Höhn 2022: 27). This kind of restriction, as he observes, is cross-linguistically variable. Indeed, Irish presents a striking contrast with English, as all persons and numbers are found in the dative APC (see tables 2 and 3), although it is true that the third and first person are more frequent than the second person. Thus, there appears to be no

blanket person/number restrictions in Irish. There are, however, some restrictions based on context, as mentioned above: in particular, only plurals are found in the subject or genitive position during the early period. Moreover, the substantive in singular dative APCs is most frequently a personal numeral, whereas the part of speech of the substantive in dative plural APCs is more varied.

5.6. Unagreement

When in subject position, Irish Dative APCs show “unagreement” in the sense that a verb can be inflected in any person and have an ostensibly “third-person” substantive as subject, e.g. *fíriánib* in (47). Positing the non-overt pronominal *pro* is a typical way of dealing with the mismatch between verbal agreement morphology and the noun.

- (47) na nní ad-rochobursam
 any.N thing.NOM PV·wish.AUG.PRET. 1PL.REL
 [*pro*_{1PL} fíriánib]
 righteous.DAT.PL.M
 ‘anything we righteous had wished’(Ml.56b24)

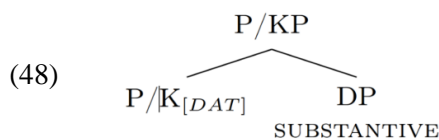
Höhn links the “unagreement” pattern of examples like (47) to the presence of a definite article in APCs in other language. His generalization is as follows: “Null subject languages with definite articles (a) show unagreement if they have a definite article in APCs, and (b) do not show unagreement if they have no definite article in APCs” (Höhn 2022: 31). But this cannot be quite right for Old Irish, as Old Irish disallows definite articles in APCs but nonetheless allows “unagreement”. In this respect it patterns with northern and southern Calabrese, which, as Höhn (2022: 32) points out, have unagreement but do not allow definite articles in APCs.

6. Sketch of a Structural Analysis

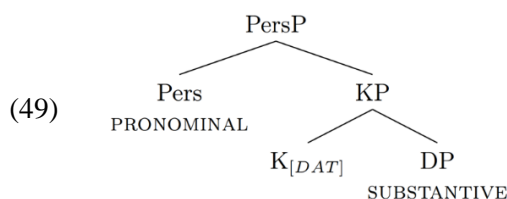
In this section, structural analyses of Dative APCs, instrumental and accompaniment datives are sketched. These analyses enable one to distinguish these dative constructions formally from each other, but more importantly, they will also show how the Dative APC differs from other instances which have also been labelled as “appositional” in the literature on Old Irish.

6.1. The structure of non-prepositional dative constructions

We shall start with the instrumental and accompaniment datives as these are quite straightforward. In both usages, the dative has a lexical meaning: ‘with’ or ‘together with’. Both meanings are normally marked with a preposition in Old Irish: often *a* ‘from, out of’ or *ar* ‘for, by’ for instrumental meanings and *la* ‘with’ for accompaniment meanings. The dative case marking can therefore be understood as roughly equivalent to these prepositions and the structure can consist either of a null preposition or a KP (Toman 1994) triggering dative marking, and the nominal phrase that is so marked (48). In this structure, the antecedent or “principal” noun or pronoun, which is coordinated with the dative of accompaniment, is separate from and outside of the dative-marked nominal projection.



The Dative of Apposition / Dative APC is essentially the same but adds a person feature, hosted on the head of PersP, on top of the structure (49) (cf. the structure that Höhn 2022: 20 suggested for Greek APCs). In this position, the person feature selects KP directly. This direct selection has two effects: (1) the semantic relation between the pronominal head of PersP and the rest of the KP is one of predication and (2) direct selection can be correlated with the prevalence of adjacency between pronominal item and substantive, at least in the corpus as a whole. The fact that non-adjacency is also found in the later period is perhaps an indication that some further grammatical shift has occurred.²⁶



²⁶ One potential shift, the grammaticalization of *óenur* ‘alone’ as an intensifier, has already been mentioned a number of times above.

The presence of DP in (49) confronts us once again with the problem which arose above regarding the licensing of the demonstrative (cf. section 5.4). Under the scenario that the demonstrative is licensed by the mere presence of D, the structure in (49) should allow demonstratives, contrary to fact. I would like to suggest therefore that in fact the other scenario suggested above is correct: demonstratives are only licensed by a definite article in D, while other items that can occupy D do not license them. That being said, a natural question to ask is: if the pronominal feature is in the head of PersP, why posit D at all? What function does it have in (49)? one possibility is that the person features in the Dative APC are distributed across various heads in the extended projection of the noun phrase and that one of those heads is D. Direct evidence for this comes from the doubling construction:

- (50) ni tu=ssu th'-óenur
 NEG 2SG=EMPH_(2SG) 2SG.POSS-one_person.DAT
 'not you alone' (Wb.5a28)

Examples of this type show that person features can be in two positions. Let us assume that the pronominal item *tu=ssu* in (50) is in PersP. As for the position of the “possessive” marker *th-*, which has been grammaticalized in APCs containing a personal numeral, there is some evidence that it is in D. Consider the fact that possessive markers in their general use outside of the Dative APC and the definite article appear to be in the same position relative to numerals and that possessives also never co-occur with articles.

- (51) a. in di bai
 ART. two.NOM.DU.F cow.NOM.DU
 'the two cows' (Ml.2b11)
- b. mo (*in) di lāim
 1SG.POSS ART two.NOM.DU.F hand.ACC.DU
 'my (the) two hands' (Blathm. §2.1)

These facts make it plausible to suggest that it is the possessive that is in D in APCs with doubling. While more research is certainly required to work out the details, the simultaneous presence of person in the head of DP and PersP in this context is perhaps to be explained by feature copying or agreement: the person feature in D is copied and remerged in PersP. In non-doubling contexts, the features are totally removed from the lower head.

- (54) a. laeti gratiarum
 rejoicing.NOM.PL,M thanksgiving.GEN.PL
 habeamus officia
 have.PRES.SBJ.1PL service.ACC.PL
 ‘let us (while) rejoicing have the services of thanksgiving’

LATIN

- b. os ni faihti
 and 1PL joyous.NOM.PL,M
 ‘and we joyous’ IRISH

(Ml.131b10)

The Irish glossator makes use of the dative of apposition in three contexts, all three of which are largely distinct from the two Latin constructions glossed with the nominative. The dative of apposition can accordingly be: (a) information added by the Irish glossator himself, bearing only a slight connection, if any at all, to the Latin context (e.g. *Israheldaib* is added in [55]), (b) the dative of the personal numeral *óenar*, lit. ‘one person’, as a translation of the Latin subject-oriented adjective *solus* ‘alone’ (56), or (c) a direct translation of Latin noun phrases (57). Type (a) is most common, accounting for 27 out of 32 examples in the glosses. The other two types are rarer: type (b) is represented by four examples, whereas (57) is the only example of its kind.

- (55) a. nusquam magis quam **in** **nobis**
 nowhere more than **in** **us.ABL**
 magnum nomen eius
 great.NOM.SG,N name.NOM his
 esse apparuit
 be.INF appeared.PERF.3SG
 ‘Nowhere more than in us has his great name appeared to be.’

LATIN

- b. air is **indiun** **[pro_{1PL}=ni**
 for COP.PRES.3SG in.1PL =EMPH_(1PL)
 [Israheldaib]]
 Israelite.DAT.PL,M
 ‘For it is **in us** Israelites.’ IRISH

(Ml.94d6)

- (56) a. hic (solus) ...c habet finale
 here alone c have.PRES.3SG final.ACC.SG.N
 ‘here (alone) ...it has a final c’LATIN
- b. is [he a-óenur]]
 COP.PRES.3SG 3SN 3SN.POSS-one_person.DAT
 ar·ecar hi .c.
 PV·find.PRES.PSS in c
 ‘It is this alone that is found [ending] in c.’ IRISH

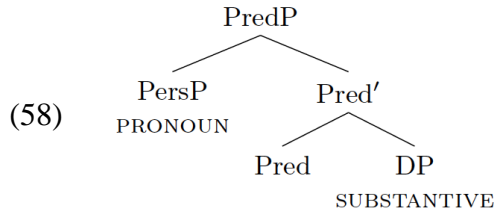
(Sg.201b5)

- (57) a. **te** sum **dominum** me
 you.ACC be.PRES.1SG lord.ACC me.ACC
 habere profesus
 have.INF declare.PPL
 ‘I have declared myself to have **you as lord.**’ LATIN
- b. tu=ssu choimdid
 2SG=EMPH(2SG) lord.DAT
 ‘you Lord’ IRISH

(Ml.36c2)

The Latin context in (57) is at first glance very similar to (53), the Latin context of the nominative example discussed above (cf. 52b). A distinction can, however, be observed: in (57) the discontinuous Latin phrase *te... dominum* ‘you as lord’ taken together forms the direct object of *habere* ‘to have’ and thus is a syntactic constituent. This constituent is translated into Irish as the dative APC *tu=ssu choimdid*, which as argued above, is a single noun phrase. This contrasts with *te dominum* in (53) where the Latin phrase is, under most plausible analyses a small clause. where the two words represent two constituents: a projection containing the pronominal acting as subject and second projection containing the nominal predicate.

Generalizing from this proposed contrast between (52b) and (57b), I suggest that all cases of so-called “nominative apposition” to a pronoun in the Old-Irish glosses are not appositional at all. Instead, the pronoun and the noun together form a small clause (58), i.e. a clausal projection, not a nominal one. Thus the construction is probably a native Irish one and the distinction between it and the dative APC comes down to the underlying syntactic differences between them. While both are predicational, the dative APC is predication internal to the noun phrase and the nominative construction is clausal predication.



7. Conclusion

This paper has identified three semantically and syntactically distinct uses of the prepositionless dative: the instrumental, accompaniment/inclusive, and appositional. These differ from each other semantically and syntactically, although there are clear lines of development that link each one to the next. The historical semantic development seems to have progressed from the instrumental meaning ‘with, by means of’ to the accompaniment usage ‘x together with y’, to an inclusive reading whereby the associate (x) of the dative of accompaniment is a subset whose denotation is contained within a superset, the dative itself, hence the basic translation of ‘x as one of y’. The latter gets further specialized when the subset is limited to a pronoun, thereby leading to the dative of apposition, which is comparable therefore to the adnominal pronoun constructions found in other languages, such as the English expression *we linguists*.

In addition to these semantic developments, the external and internal syntax of these three dative constructions has been clarified for the first time: instrumentals are used as sentential adjuncts or adverbs, nominal modifiers, and occasionally the complement of an adjective; in addition, instrumental datives have been grammaticalized in some cases as clausal conjunctions. Accompaniment datives are always found with an NP associate which can be in subject and object position or in the complement of a preposition. As adnominal pronoun construction, the appositional dative has the distribution of other pronouns, in the language: it can be connected to independent or prepositional pronouns, the null subject position, or the nominal modifier position (i.e. genitive)—only in later (post-classical Old Irish) sources can the appositional dative also be found in object position. These external contexts interact with the internal features of the pronominal item the dative of apposition in some unexpected ways. In particular, it was shown that at least in the early period the subject and genitive contexts were limited to plural pronouns, whereas the independent and prepositional contexts were open to both singular and plurals.

Aside from these distributional observations on the external syntax of the dative constructions, a formal sketch of their internal syntax was developed to make the differences and similarities between these and other constructions clearer. The proposal here is that both instrumental and accompaniment datives

are essentially KPs or PP with null prepositions. Appositional datives are KPs which have been selected by PersP, the site of the person features of the pronoun at some stage of the derivation; i.e. the structure is [PersP [KP [DP]]]. Ultimately all three are noun phrases and therefore have the basic distribution of nominals. A final section of the paper contrasted the dative of apposition with the so-called nominative of apposition. The latter was analyzed here as a small clause wherein the nominative-marked item behaves as a predicate and the associated pronoun a clausal subject.

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A Appendix: Introduction

The examples listed below form the corpus of datives of apposition used in this paper. It is divided into three parts: datives of apposition in the glosses, datives of apposition outside of the glosses, and exclusions. The first and third section are exhaustive. The second section could be expanded many times over by selecting different texts to mine for examples. The texts and examples listed here are derived from Dillon (1928:313–315) with a few supplementary examples from Pedersen (1913). Two types of examples which Dillon includes were omitted: examples in texts after 1150 A.D. and examples which fall under the category of datives of accompaniment/inclusive, rather than datives of apposition. The examples in this section are not glossed/tagged.

B Dative of Apposition in the Glosses

B.1 First Person Singular

B.1.1 PRO-INDEP

- (1) *acht mei=sse m'óinur* ‘save me alone’ (Wb.5a25),
- (2) *as mmé m'óinur* ‘that it is I alone’ (Sg.202a7).

B.2 First Person Plural

B.2.1 PRO-INDEP

- (3) *is ni=ni firiónaib* ‘It is we righteous.’ (Wb.33a7).

B.2.2 PRO-SUBJ

- (4) *at-taam ar ndiis* ‘we two are...’ (Wb.32a28),²⁷
- (5) *na nní ad-rochobursam fíriánib* ‘whatever we righteous had wished’ (Ml.56b24).

B.2.3 PRO-PP

- (6) *dín=ni preceptórib* ‘of us preachers’ (Wb.10d8),
- (7) *dún=ni apstalaib* ‘to us apostles’ (Wb.25d12),

²⁷ Thurneysen (1946: 160) translates ‘we twain are...’.

- (8) *indiun=ni Israheldaib* ‘in us Israelites’ (Ml.94d6).²⁸

B.3 Second Person Singular

B.3.1 PRO-INDEP

- (9) *ni tu=ssu th’óenur* ‘not you alone’ (Wb.5a28),
 (10) *tu=ssu choimdid* ‘you, Lord’ (Ml.36c2),
 (11) *acht tu=su t’óinur* ‘other than you alone’ (Ml.78b18).

B.3.2 PRO-PP

- (12) *duit=so th’óinur* ‘to you alone’ (Sg.208b5).

B.4 Second Person Plural

B.4.1 PRO-SUBJ

- (13) *ar-na-bad huilcc dib línaib* ‘lest you both become evil’ (Wb.5d38).

B.4.2 PRO-PP

- (14) *airib far n-óinur* ‘by you yourselves alone’ (Wb.22d25),
 (15) *fuirib for n-óinur* ‘on you alone/by yourselves’ (Wb.14d17).

B.5 Third Person Singular

B.5.1 PRO-INDEP

- (16) *hé=som triuss* ‘he third/Tertius’ (Wb.7c8),²⁹
 (17) *hé á oenur* ‘he alone’ (Wb.13c3),
 (18) *he a óenur* ‘this alone’ (Sg.201b5).

²⁸ Stokes and Strachan (1901) translate ‘in us, the Israelites’. They also note that the manuscript reading *is israelda il-daib*, which is corrupt. There are two suggested emendations, either as given in the example, or *israeldaib ildaib* ‘manifold Israelites’. The dative plural ending is present regardless.

²⁹ Thurneysen has (1946: 160) ‘he as third’. In context, adjective *triuss* ‘third’ is probably a translation of the personal name *Tertius*.

B.5.2 PRO-PP

(19) *do á oinur* ‘to him alone’ (Ml.89b6).

B.6 Third Person Plural**B.6.1 PRO-SUBJ**

(20) *at-troillisset díb línaib* ‘they both had deserved’ (Wb.4c15),

(21) *at-ballat díb línaib* ‘they both perish’ (Wb.9d5),

(22) *mani bet a triur* ‘if they should be all three’ (Ml.121c5),

(23) *co-mtis anmmnidi a triur* ‘that the three of them would be nominatives’ (Sg.7b2),

(24) *biit a triur* ‘the three of them are’ (Sg.93a2),

(25) *écrihdai a ndíis* ‘them two are indefinite’ (Sg.151b6),³⁰

(26) *con-oscaigter a triur* ‘the three of them are changed [lit. moved]’ (Sg.162b3).

B.6.2 PRO-PP

(27) *leo a n-óinur* ‘to them alone’ (Sg.158b7),

(28) *friu dib línaib* ‘to them both’ (Sg.162b2).

B.6.3 PRO-GEN

(29) *a sóinmigi a cloínib* ‘their, the wicked men’s, prosperity’ (Ml.39c34),

(30) *a n-accumul a triur* ‘bringing the three of them together’ (Ml.121c6),

(31) *a fogur díb línaib* ‘the sound of them both’ (Sg.6a3),

(32) *a ngenitne a triur* ‘the genitives of the three’ [lit. ‘genitives of them three’] (Sg.200a14).

C Dative of Apposition outside of the glosses (mostly from Dillon 1928)**C.1 First Person Singular****C.1.1 PRO-INDEP**

(1) *mé... m’oenur* ‘I... alone’ (Greene n.d.:l.3180).

³⁰ Thurneysen (1946: 160) translates ‘(they are) both indefinite’.

C.1.2 PRO-SUBJ

- (2) *Do·deochad m'oenur* 'I have come alone' (Greene n.d.:l.3097),
- (3) *nā digthim... m'oenurān* 'I cannot go... by myself' (Greene n.d.:l.3204),
- (4) *brissim=sea... m'óenur* 'single-handed I am victorious...' (O'Rahilly 1967:2),
- (5) *á theichfet=sa m'oenur* 'when I alone shall flee' (O'Rahilly 1967:68),
- (6) *Atu=sa m'oenur* 'I have stood alone' (O'Rahilly 1967:111).

C.1.3 PRO-OBJ

- (7) *a-nam·fúil=sea m'oenurán* 'as I stand alone' [lit. 'as there is me alone'] (O'Rahilly 1967:58).

C.1.4 PRO-PP

- (8) *assu lim=sa ...m'oenur* 'I think it easier ...by myself' [lit. 'with me myself'] (Hogan 1892:44.11).

C.1.5 PRO-GEN

- (9) *mo comlond m'oenar* 'I alone make combat' [lit. 'my combat alone'] (Meyer 1901:235.9).

C.2 First Person Plural**C.2.1 PRO-SUBJ**

- (10) *ragmait dib línaib* 'we will both go' (Stokes 1888:466.5),
- (11) *ro·bámar=ni .xu. feraib* 'we were fifteen men strong' (Knott 1936:34),
- (12) *con·dechsam ...ar ndís* 'so that we two may go' (Greene n.d.:l.1155),
- (13) *combadar maithe díb línaib* 'provided that both of us were generous' (O'Rahilly 1967:2),
- (14) *ra·fúilemm trichait chet* 'we thirty hundreds will be' (O'Rahilly 1967:70).

C.2.2 PRO-OBJ

- (15) *Atar·fail ...ar n·oenur* 'we are alone' [lit. 'there is us alone'] (Greene n.d.:l.3762)

C.2.3 PRO-PP

- (16) *forn díís* ‘for the two of us’ (Greene n.d.:1.3285-3286),
 (17) *dun dib linaib* ‘for us both’ (Meyer 1901:236-237),
 (18) *dún=ni nónbur echla<c>h* ‘to us nine messengers’ (O’Rahilly 1967:3).

C.3 Second Person Singular**C.3.1 PRO-SUBJ**

- (19) *imbir féin... th’oenuir* ‘exert yourself alone...’ (O’Rahilly 1967:60).

C.3.2 PRO-GEN

- (20) *do-lecud th’oenuir* ‘to let you alone [go]’ [lit. ‘your letting alone’]
 O’Rahilly 1967:28).

C.4 Second Person Plural**C.4.1 PRO-PP**

- (21) *dúib=si far nUlaib* ‘for you Ulstermen’ (O’Rahilly 1976:21).

C.5 Third Person Singular**C.5.1 PRO-SUBJ**

- (22) *na dicsed lín* ‘that no number... should go’ (Stokes 1888:458.22),
 (23) *no-geb<ad>=si a hóenuir* ‘she alone would take’ (Gray 1982:50),
 (24) *acht mad maith a oenuirán* ‘save if it is good alone’ (Greene n.d.:1.1243),
 (25) *Arus-ainic=side a oinar* ‘alone he met them...’ (Meyer 1890:450.103),
 (26) *Aross-anaic=sim... a oenuir* ‘alone he met them...’ (Meyer 1901:253.12).

C.5.2 PRO-PP

- (27) *les... a óenuir* ‘with him... alone’ (Gray 1982:40),
 (28) *fóthi a oenuir* ‘under/for herself alone’ (O’Rahilly 1967:16).

C.6 Third Person Plural**C.6.1 PRO-SUBJ**

- (29) *to-cuitchetar... láechaib ocus cléirchib* ‘they have sworn... laymen and clerics’ (Meyer 1905:20,§29),
- (30) *cot-recat... a slógaib ulib* ‘they, all their hosts, meet’ (O’Rahilly 1976:33),
- (31) *lotar... a triur churad* ‘they three warriors went’ (Windisch 1880:294),
- (32) *ni toirthiget dib línaib* ‘both of them are not fertile’ (Stokes 1887:34.27),
- (33) *lotar... a ndís* ‘they both went’ (Stokes 1888:466.7),
- (34) *lotar-som a n-ocht feraib déc* ‘they eighteen men went’ (Stokes 1889:74.15),
- (35) *Gabsad a triur* ‘the three of them began...’ (Stokes 1889:74.z),
- (36) *dí-erlátar a triur* ‘the three of them escaped’ (Gray 1982:70),
- (37) *do-teigtis... a cethror* ‘the four of them would go’ (Knott 1936:4),
- (38) *finna díb línaib* ‘both of them fair’ (Knott 1936:30),
- (39) *beit a ndís* ‘they are both’ (Greene n.d.:l.1436),
- (40) *Līnib treb, ...do-deochatar* ‘in bands of tribes... they came’ (Greene n.d.:l.5521),
- (41) *ō ro-fersat... a ndīss* ‘the two of them poured out’ (Greene n.d.:l.1882),
- (42) *Na-lotar... a triur* ‘three of them went’ (Meyer 1890:444.34),
- (43) *Batir comaltai díb línaib* ‘they were both foster-children’ (Meyer 1890:446.48),
- (44) *Co taisfenat dib línaib* ‘both of them show’ (Windisch 1880:182.16),
- (45) *combat beóda díb línaib* ‘that both of them are courageous’ (O’Rahilly 1967:2),
- (46) *ní roichtis=sium... lín* ‘a sufficient number of them... could not get’ (O’Rahilly 1967:23),
- (47) *cond-rístais a sessiur* ‘so that all six of them might fight him’ (O’Rahilly 1967:34),
- (48) *co tætsaitis a ndis* ‘that both of them should fall’ (O’Rahilly 1967:90),
- (49) *comterbtis... a triar brathar* ‘they three brothers used to perform’ (Hogan 1892:58.8),
- (50) *Not-lotar... a cetar* ‘the four of them went’ (Meyer 1901:248.4).³¹

C.6.2 PRO-OBJ

- (51) *Arus-ainic=side... a-triur* ‘...he met them three’ (Meyer 1890:450),
- (52) *Aross-anaic=sim a-tríar* ‘...he met them three’ (Meyer 1901:253.12).

³¹ a cetar = a cethrur

C.6.3 PRO-PP

- (53) *etorro dí línaib* ‘between them both’ (Stokes 1888:452.7),
 (54) *doib... in lín=sin* ‘(to/for) that group/lot of them’ (Gray 1982:42),
 (55) *doib a ceathrur* ‘to them four’ (Knott 1936:1936),
 (56) *etarrai a ndiss* ‘between the two’ (Meyer 1901:240.13).

C.6.4 PRO-GEN

- (57) *a suidi a chethrur* ‘the seat of them four’ (Stokes 1887:198.25),
 (58) *dia mbās a rrodīs brāthar* ‘to kill the two of the brothers’ (Greene n.d.:1.4470),
 (59) *lainib laechaib a lánlín* ‘the full number of them hosts and warriors’ (Greene n.d.:1.5001),
 (60) *a ndith... a ndegdoenib* ‘the destruction of them nobles’ (Greene n.d.:1.5363)

D Excluded Examples

The following twelve examples of potential Dative APCs were omitted for the reasons listed in (31) in section 4.1.

D.1 No Irish Pronoun [incl. hybrid Irish-Latin examples]

- (1) *iudicabimus .i. hireschaib* ‘we, namely, the faithful, will judge’ (Wb.9c10),
 (2) *ar preceptorib geinte* ‘we teachers of the Gentiles’ (Wb.19a3),
 (3) *ar n-óis recho manetar* ‘we folk of the Law mutually’ (Wb.31d1),
 (4) *maccaib israhel* ‘[us] children of Israel’ (Ml.92c3),³²
 (5) *laitnorib* ‘[we] i.e. Latins’ (Sg.4a2),³³
 (6) *doib residentibus* ‘to them residents’ (KBede.18b10).

D.2 Substantive is either Dative or Nominative

- (7) *huait=siu fercach* ‘from you (being) angry’ (Ml.23a17),
 (8) *ndún=ni ais dethrebo* ‘for us of the two tribes’ (Ml.66d1).

³² Glossing *nostri, quos* ‘us, whom’ in the Latin context: *Memor esto (.i. deus) nostri, quos errantes et dispersos in regione Egipti congregasti* ‘You should remember (.i. God) us, whom, wandering and dispersed in the region of Egypt, you gathered in.’

³³ Glossing *nos* ‘we’ in the Latin context: *Sunt igitur figurae litterarum quibus nos utimur uiginti tres*. ‘There are therefore twenty-three letter forms which we use.’

D.3 Non-Appositional Analysis/Meaning

- (9) *dam=sa oirdnidu .i. ongthu* ‘for me ordained, i.e. annointed’ (Ml.48b8),³⁴
(10) *huait chotarsnu* ‘by you opposite’ (Ml.108a4).³⁵

D.4 Predicational Dative

- (11) *nibad a óenur dó* ‘he should not be alone. (Wb.14a21),
(12) *bis a oinur* ‘who is customarily alone’ (Ml.102a17).

³⁴ See the main text (examples [31c] and [32]) for a discussion of this example.

³⁵ Glosses the ablative phrase *te adverso* in the Latin context: *quoniam utor te adverso pluraliter* ‘since I use you opposite a plural [i.e. ‘in the meaning of a plural’]’. The ablative is governed by the verb *utor* ‘I use’. The ablative is often translated into Irish with the preposition *ó*, lit. ‘from’, which governs the dative. Thus, the dative adjective *chotarsnu* ‘opposite’ is probably marked as dative because it follows the preposition.