

OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF ATTENTION MARKERS
IN *COMRAC LÍADAIN 7 CHUIRITHIR*

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ABSTRACT

In a series of articles, Aaron Griffith (2008, 2010, 2011, 2013) and Bernhard Bauer (2018: 12-13) have shed light on the pragmatic function and the syntactic operation of the Old Irish *notae augentes* and the anaphoric pronoun *suide*/-*side*, which for practical purposes can be grouped together under the umbrella term ‘attention markers’. The comparatively high incidence of these elements in the late Old Irish tale *Comrac Liadaine 7 Chuirithir* ‘The Encounter of Liadain and Cuirithir’ (Stifter forthc.), provides an opportunity to test these hypotheses and to add to and refine the description of their syntactic and pragmatic functions. In addition to two previously established functions, namely 1. to direct the mental focus of the recipients and 2. to distinguish between overall and temporarily salient referents, two hitherto unrecognised usages of attention markers can be identified for Old Irish, namely 3. as argument-fillers after quotative verbs, and 4. as verbal gender-markers.

Keywords: Old Irish, attention markers, *notae augentes*, anaphoric pronouns, syntactic-pragmatic textual analysis.

1. Preliminaries

In a series of important articles over a decade, Aaron Griffith (2008, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2018, also Griffith & Stifter 2025), Chantal Kobel (2015), and Bernhard Bauer (2018: 12-13) have shed light on the syntactic behaviour of the so-called *notae augentes* as well as of the anaphoric pronoun *suide* and its unstressed variant *-side* in Old Irish, on their pragmatic functions, on the factors governing

their distribution, and on the etymology of these elements¹. The *notae augentes*, as well as anaphoric *suide/-side*, are optional pronominal markers that appear to be used for reference tracking or for emphasis and contrast between different referents (Griffith 2013: esp. 68–70)². The *notae augentes* can refer to all persons, while the set of *suide/-side* is restricted to third persons. Except for *suide*, which is fully stressed and prosodically independent, they are enclitic, although *-side* shows a remarkable range of allomorphs that correlate in a complex way with gender and case (Griffith 2013: 60). The *notae augentes* are uninflected. *Suide* fundamentally inflects like a *īo-/īā*-stem adjective, but its neuter has the irregular nom./acc.sg. form *sodain*. This inflectional behaviour likewise sets *suide/-side* apart from other nominals. These pronominal markers have no exact equivalents in most modern European languages (hence the lack of readily available terms for them).

The main hypotheses about the function and the syntax of the *notae augentes* and of the pronominal focus marker *suide/-side* are the following (after Griffith 2018: 192–195; and Griffith in Griffith & Stifter 2025). Both sets fundamentally appear in contexts that already have a pronominal index, namely after nominal phrases preceded by possessive pronouns; after personal pronouns or prepositions; after predicates in copular sentences, serving as the subject; and after verbs, agreeing with either the subject or the infixed or suffixed object. The distribution of the two sets is almost identical except after prepositions. The *notae augentes* follow conjugated prepositions, but in the case of the anaphoric pronoun the fully accented forms (M/F *suide*, N *sodain*) are used after the plain preposition. Only from late Old Irish onwards can the enclitic forms *-side* etc. follow conjugated forms of the prepositions, probably in analogy to the *notae augentes*. Most commonly, only a single pronominal marker follows a double-indexed verb, but in the rare cases when two such markers are used, the first is a *nota augens* and the second is anaphoric *-side*.

With regard to their function, the *notae augentes* have traditionally been understood as optional markers that reinforce or emphasise an already present pronominal element, in particular in order to highlight the contrast between two persons or rarely items. Griffith's groundbreaking study of 2008 has undermined

¹ This article was written as part of the research project *DiAgnostic*, funded by an Irish Research Council Advanced Laureate Award (project ID IRCLA/2023/2124). The semantic and syntactical observations in this paper emanate from my work on a new edition of the late Old Irish tale *Comrac Liadaine 7 Chuirithir* 'The Encounter of Liadain and Cuirithir', carried out during my sabbatical leave from Maynooth University 2022/3. I thank an anonymous reviewer and Elliott Lash for their helpful suggestions and corrections, but responsibility for all errors remains with me alone.

² The received wisdom about *notae augentes* a.k.a. 'emphasizing particles' and anaphoric pronouns (which Thurneysen explicitly calls "unemphatic") can be found in GOI 252–253 and 301–303.

this notion by demonstrating that there is no wholly free choice of *notae*, or, in other words, it is not possible to add a *nota* to just any pronominal element that one would want to lay emphasis on. When attached to a verb that indexes two pronominal items, the *nota augens* must agree with whichever argument is higher up in the hierarchy of animacy following the order 1st person > 2nd person > 3rd person animate > 3rd person inanimate. In addition to the vaguely defined notion that these elements ‘lay emphasis’ on or ‘draw attention’ to all persons, the 3rd-person forms can be used to mark a discourse topic (Griffith 2018). In particular, *-side* appears to have deictic function and to serve also as a marker of a new topic (Griffith 2013: 67-70).

In older grammars of Old Irish, their function is only hinted at in the most cursory fashion. For instance, Rudolf Thurneysen devotes not even two full pages in the *Grammar of Old Irish* to a section about what he calls “emphasizing particles” (Thurneysen 1946: 252-253). It is only concerned with some morphophonological aspects of the *notae* and their syntactic behaviour. Thurneysen is notably silent about their semantic value and their pragmatic function. *Suide* and its unstressed allomorph *-side* are treated fifty pages later in a separate section about the ‘Syntax of the demonstrative pronouns’ (301–304). Again, Thurneysen’s account is almost exclusively concerned with the morphological variation, but hardly with syntactic or pragmatic questions. Thurneysen’s brief treatment is emblematic of the attention given to these elements throughout the twentieth century.

Holger Pedersen’s *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* treats these elements even more perfunctorily. Although his grammar has a section entitled ‘Die Augentia’ (§489, ii 152-153), it exclusively speaks about enclitic forms of *suide*. Stressed anaphoric *suide* receives a brief discussion as part of a diverse set of ‘s-Demonstrativa’ (§514, ii 189-190). Regarding the *notae augentes* proper, only cursory mention is made of their forms as part of the paradigms of Old Irish personal pronouns (§481, ii 139), but neither their syntactic behaviour nor their pragmatic function are anywhere addressed. Pedersen’s approach is closely mirrored in the English translation of his work, the *Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* (Lewis & Pedersen 1961: 193-195, 201, 222). Regarding their function, it is said there that “the personal idea [i.e. pronominal elements] ... can be stressed by an enclitic emphasizing pronoun” (193-194), which is illustrated by five made-up examples for the 1st singular. The section about ‘Emphasizing pronouns’ (§345, p. 201) is again only dedicated to *-side*.

In the century since, change in the understanding and the grammatical description of these elements has been little. McCone (1994: 189) devotes a couple of lines to a proposal for the diachronic emergence of the “*míreanna treise*” (Irish for ‘emphasizing particles’), whose origins he ultimately sees in reduplicated stressed pronouns, but he has little to say about their function. The

section in Stifter (2006: 127-128) about ‘emphasizing particles’, which follows and expands on the account in the standard grammars, is entirely obsolete in light of the insights gained in the years immediately after the publication of that book of mine. Reference to the progress achieved by Griffith is finally made in the brief account in Stifter (2009: 80-81) about ‘*notae augentes*’. Griffith & Stifter (2024) present the matter concisely according to what was known about the function and form of those elements *ca.* 2022.

A full account of the newly achieved understanding of these formally diverse elements in a reference grammar of Old Irish is still a desideratum³. Frequently, but not very appropriately, they are called ‘emphasising pronouns’ or ‘emphasising particles’, as was duly illustrated by the older examples quoted above. Neither Griffith nor Bauer use a common term that comprises both *notae augentes* and the anaphoric pronoun *suide/-side* in a single category, even though both recognise their semantic relationship. For ease of reference and partly anticipating the outcome of this study, I will subsume *notae augentes* and anaphoric pronouns under the cover term ‘attention markers’.

This article examines the use of attention markers for discourse purposes, using examples from a late Old Irish tale, *Comrac Liadaine ocus Chuirithir*, and aims to add new observations to the descriptions of their usage. The comparatively high concentration in the tale not only of *notae augentes*, but also of anaphoric *suide/-side*, provides an opportunity to test some of Griffith’s and Bauer’s hypotheses, as well as to add to and refine their description and to identify further functions that these elements have. This article can thus serve as a model for studying other texts in the future. Doubtless, widening the scope to more texts and other genres will potentially lead to further refinements of or additions to the findings of this study. Perhaps a contrastive study might even show up differences in usage between narrative and more expository texts. However, such an investigation is not feasible within the present scope.

2. *Comrac Liadaine ocus Chuirithir*

In order to understand the use of the attention markers in the context of the narrative, it is essential to summarise its plot first. *Comrac Liadaine 7 Chuirithir* ‘The Encounter of Liadain and Cuirithir’ (henceforth CLC)⁴ is a fairly short prosimetric tale of approximately 800 words, with a strong featuring of the

³ See also Ranko Matasović’s contribution to this volume, in which he puts the Old Irish *notae augentes* in their wider typological context and makes a number of important observations about them.

⁴ The received edition of CLC is Meyer 1902. A radically revised new edition is currently in preparation by me (Stifter *forthc.*); all references are to that new text that is also reproduced in Appendix 1 of this article. A critical overview of the tale in Irish can be found in Stifter 2023.

metrical component. It consists of 27 stanzas or 98 verse lines (*ca.* 350 words) and *ca.* 450 words in 47 prose lines in my forthcoming new edition (67 in Meyer's edition of 1902). The tale is set in the 7th century, but the characteristics of the language leave no doubt that the written text actually dates either to the late 9th or maybe even to the early 10th century, that is to say, it can be positioned chronologically sometime during the transition from Old to Middle Irish. While the language adheres overall to the standards of Old Irish, snippets of what look rather like Middle Irish have been inserted throughout the text by the author, clearly for stylistic and possibly also for sociolinguistic purposes.

The tale centers on the tragic love story between the two poets *Líadain* from Munster and *Cuirithir* son of *Doborchú* from Connacht. This geographical contrast plays a minor role in the tale, and is of some relevance to the argument of this study as well. While *Líadain* is on a poetic tour through Connacht, she and *Cuirithir* fall in love with each other, but *Líadain* postpones any physical consumption of their mutual attraction to a later date, when she will have returned to her home. *Cuirithir* therefore travels incognito, accompanied only by a single servant, to *Líadain*'s place, possibly *Cell Achaid Chonchinn* in *Corco Duibne* (modern Killagha, Co. Kerry). For reasons that are not revealed to the reader at this stage (the medieval audience probably had the necessary background knowledge), *Cuirithir* cannot enter the place in which *Líadain* lives. At this point, another character appears on the scene, the chief poet and chief fool of Ireland, *Mac da Cherdae* 'son of two arts', who has a brief, witty exchange with *Cuirithir* and whom *Cuirithir* asks to convey a message to *Líadain*. Being a liminal character (cf. Clancy 1993), *Mac da Cherdae* can enter *Líadain*'s chamber, which, as it turns out, is in a nunnery. She is in a room with three other nuns. Up to this point, the tale has been in prose, but most of what follows now is in verse, interspersed with brief prose outlines of the events. In order to convey *Cuirithir*'s secret message, *Mac da Cherdae* resorts to the ruse of reciting a highly coded poem of five stanzas that only *Líadain*, being herself a poetess, is able to decode and understand. The plot goes pretty much downhill from that point onwards, but the details are less relevant to the present investigation. The couple subject themselves to the spiritual guidance – or rather tyranny – of *St Cummíne Fota*, who offers them the option of a spiritual marriage, in which they are only allowed to talk to each other, but not see each other. As can be expected, this goes horribly wrong. Ultimately, *Cuirithir* is first deported from the monastery, and then goes into exile abroad, effectively fleeing from *Líadain*, probably because of his unrequited emotions. *Líadain* wastes away in constant reminiscence of her love, spending the rest of her days on the stone on which *Cuirithir* used to pray. My provisional edition and translation of the text is added as an appendix to this article.

3. Attention markers in CLC

The prolific use of attention markers is one of the most interesting syntactical and pragmatical aspects of CLC. This relatively short text has 50 instances of *notae augentes* and 5 of *-side*, which together constitute 7% of the almost 800 words of the tale, although their distribution is rather uneven between the prose and verse sections of CLC (see below). The narrative part and especially the dialogues at the beginning of the text with their frequent shifts of authorial attention from addresser to addressee, alternating between conversations among men and between men and a woman, provide an ideal testing ground to investigating the pragmatic factors that regulate the use of these pronominal elements. Appendix 2 contains a table that not only contains all instances of attention markers in CLC with a brief classification of their function and use in each case, but also includes relevant sentences *without* them, i.e. passages where one might expect them, but where they are not used.

Column A of the table refers to the paragraph and sentence in the tale. The relevant phrases (here called ‘stressed units’) are quoted in column B. The presence or absence of an attention marker in the phrase is marked by +/- in column C. When a marker is present, the status of the animacy of the referent is indicated in column D. Column E names the subject of the clause or sentence in which the phrase is embedded (using the initials in the case of the human actors). When the subject is a common noun, its animacy is indicated by +/-; human subjects are naturally animate. Column F indicates if the phrase under scrutiny has the purpose of effecting a shift of the readers’ attention, i.e. directing their mental focus to a different subject or object. Column G records if the phrase refers to the topic of the clause or sentence. Where I am uncertain about the status of a topic, this is marked by ?. Column H specifies if the phrase occurs in poetry (+) or prose (-). Any additional comments that help to set the phrase in context are provided in column I.

For example, in the prose phrase *th’ainm-siu* ‘your name’ [POSS.2SG name.NOM=EMPH(2SG)] in sentence 3.12, a *nota augens* is present (*-siu*), which refers to an animate referent (Cuirithir). However, the subject of the sentence itself, *ainm* ‘name’, which is also its topic, is inanimate. This phrase effects a shift of attention from Liadain’s name which was the topic of the preceding sentence. In sentence 13, likewise in prose, the phrase *foid far ndís* ‘spend the night together’ (literally ‘you two sleep’; [sleep.IMPV.2PL POSS.2PL pair.DAT]) is construed without attention marker; therefore the question of animacy is not applicable here. The 2nd person plural pronoun, referring to Liadain and Cuirithir, is the – naturally animate – subject, which also forms the topic of the sentence. The attention has shifted from a different scene, a poem by Liadain, in the preceding paragraph. The additional comments specify that this phrase occurs in a situation of address

(by St Cummíne), but no contrast is possible in this context, since no other pair of people is present in the scene.

Unsurprisingly for this genre of text, with the one exception of the dummy neuter pronoun *són* ‘it’ in §2.1, all referents of the attention markers are animate and human, even though *notae augentes* are not *per se* restricted to human or animate referents. Griffith (2008; 2018: 202, 207) has shown that *notae augentes* are primarily, but not exclusively, associated with humans in the Old Irish glosses. Examples for non-animate referents are *mad fochricc som* ‘if it be a payment’ [if.COP.PRES.SBJ.3SG payment.NOM=EMPH(3SM)] (Wb. 2b26) or *dorumadirsi* ‘which she (= the sun) had measured’ [measure.AUG.PRET.3SG=EMPH(3SF)] (ML. 16c11)⁵. In any case, it can be expected *a priori* that in a tale such as CLC, which is concerned with the interaction of human actors, chances are extremely slim to find examples in which non-humans would be referred to by *notae augentes*. This expectation is fully borne out by the data.

Attention markers, i.e. *notae augentes* and *-side*, are useful narrative devices. Accordingly, the majority of examples are found in the prose sections of the tale. Due to the more monologic, speaker-centred nature of the verse sections, shifts of attention are considerably less frequent there, but they do occasionally occur in the poetry as well. Every single one of the ten prose paragraphs features at least one *nota augens* (100%), while only ten out of the 27 verse paragraphs have one (37%). However, in the case of the verse, I have ignored the use of the extra-metrical, stanza-opening phrase *as-bert-som* ‘he said’ [say.PRET.3SG=EMPH(3SM)], which occurs a number of times as a stage direction to introduce the speaker; but I haven’t counted them together with the main prose sections either, since the paragraphs in which it appears are poetry in essence. These figures are only a rough statistic since the prose and verse sections differ considerably from each other in length. Ultimately, however, the unequal distribution of the markers in the verse has probably less to do with the form (even though metrical considerations such as syllable count may play a practical role for the absence or presence of a *nota*), but the distribution is primarily predicated by their content. Their, as it were, natural environment are contexts with frequent interaction between different agents. Where such interaction constitutes the theme of a poem, attention markers are common also in verse⁶. On the other hand, the markers are

⁵ In the case of the ‘sun’, it is conceivable that native speakers felt it to be a quasi-animate entity.

⁶ Outside of the present tale this point is amply illustrated in the famous Old Irish poem of the scholar who contrasts himself with his cat Pangur (*Thes.* ii 293–294). Likewise, in the first of the two riddle poems in manuscript C301 inf. in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (*Thes.* ii 291–292; Ahlqvist 2018; Stifter forthc.), in which the poet talks about his enigmatic encounter with a mysterious ‘boy’, *notae augentes* are frequent, whereas in the second poem, where he talks about a building, they are virtually absent except for the last line in which a *nota* is required for metrical reasons.

entirely absent from Mac da Cherdæ's poem (§§5–9), from the pair of stanzas §§11–12 ('*Guth*') and, with one exception, from the long-distance verse triologue between Cuirithir, Líadain and St Cummine (§§17–21). All of these stanzas are preponderantly monologic utterances which feature no contrasts between different referents. *Notae augentes* would therefore not be expected in them in the first place.

The one tell-tale exception among those stanzas is §20 when Líadain contrasts her own place of origin with that of Cuirithir and accordingly uses *hé-seom* 'he' [3SG=EMPH(3SM)] and *messe* 'me' [1SG=EMPH(1SG)]. On the other hand, it is entirely predictable that *notae augentes* occur numerously in Líadain's long and famous lament (§§23–32) since throughout this poem the attention of the speaker and of the audience is constantly shifting from the speaker ('I, me') to the topic ('Cuirithir, he, him') and back again. I mention these instances only cursorily, because there is nothing unexpected in them. They fulfil primarily the long-recognised function of highlighting the contrast between two persons. The following discussion will be concentrating only on unexpected, unusual or complex employments of the attention markers.

3.1. *-si* as a non-default gender marker

A remarkable usage of a 3rd-person *nota augens* occurs at the very beginning of the tale. In the opening sentence §1.1,⁷ Líadain has been introduced as the main topic of the text. §1.2 continues with *luid-si* 'she went' [go.PRET.3SG=EMPH(3SF)]. Since no other subject has been mentioned so far, the 3sg. feminine *nota -si* can neither serve to contrast her with anybody else, nor to direct the attention to a new topic. If one compares this *luid-si* with the contextually very similar *téit* 'he goes' [go.PRES.3SG] in §4.1, one crucial difference emerges. Like in §1.2, the subject of §4.1 is the same as in the immediately preceding sentence §3.16, namely in this case the temporarily salient Mac da Cherdæ. As §4.1 therefore illustrates, it is not necessary to pick up the referent again by **téit-som*; *téit* on its own is sufficient if no change of subject or attention takes place.

Even more striking is the contrast of §1.2. *luid-si* with *luid* 'he went' [go.PRET.3SG] in §2.2. The last human topic was Líadain in §1.9. §2.1 has a neuter dummy subject 'it, this'. But the subject of *luid* in §2.2 is 'he', i.e. Cuirithir; topic and attention have shifted, even though this is not marked formally. It seems that a 3rd-person singular verb without overt subject can be read as masculine by default. In contrast, therefore, for *luid-si* in §1.2 the conclusion suggests itself that the function of the gendered *nota augens* here is to mark the – implicitly non-

⁷ Here, as in the following, the sentences are not quoted *in extenso* since the reader will be able to find the full context in the text printed in Appendix 1.

default – feminine gender of the pro-drop subject. In other words, female agency is grammatically encoded as something that is not the default. It is highly desirable to see if this observation can find support from more data from other texts as well. Other occurrences of the feminine *nota augens -si* in CLC (§§10.1, .9, 22.2, 34, 37.2, .3) are explicable by other, more mainstream pragmatic factors and can therefore not be adduced in support of the present proposition⁸.

3.2. *-som* vs. *-side*

Griffith (2013: 67-70; cf. also 2018: 202-203) has shown that the 3sg. masculine *nota augens -som*, which goes back to **somo-* and is related to Engl. *same*, is “a pronoun that marks continuing topics” and that it refers to an item that has higher accessibility in the mental map, while “*-side* signals to the hearer / reader that the referent is not the cognitively most salient one [...], but rather an item of more removed salience”. While not specifically mentioned by Griffith, it can be extrapolated that the same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, for feminine *-si*. Bauer (2018: 12-13) has refined this theory by demonstrating that *-side* functions as an equivalent to *-som* when two male referents occur as protagonists.

The use of *-side*, which occurs four times in CLC, but only in §§1–2, conforms entirely with Griffith’s and Bauer’s observations. In §1.3, *-side* introduces a new, not-yet-salient referent (*Cuirithir*), even though *-som* would have been semantically unambiguous, given that the only other character introduced at that point is the feminine *Liadain*. By using *-side* for *Cuirithir* at this early point of the tale the author is therefore making a narrative point. Its use indicates that *Cuirithir*, even though being one of the two eponymous protagonists of the tale, is only the second-most important character after *Liadain*. When she comes into focus again (§1.5), she is picked up by *-si* added to the conjugated preposition *dí* ‘to her’ [to.3SF]. In the rest of this paragraph, there is no further opportunity for either *-som* or *-side* to refer to *Cuirithir* since, when he is mentioned (§§1.5, .6), his name is used.

⁸ Alternative interpretations of *-si* in §1.2 have been suggested to me by Elliott Lash (pers. comm.). He argues that §1.2 immediately follows the new introduction of information, namely the presentation of *Liadain* as a topic of consideration in §1.1. In §4.1, on the other hand, *téit* ‘he (i.e., Mac da Cherdæ) goes’ follows the long paragraph §3 that intervenes between the introduction of that character in §2.5 and §4.1. So the overall context is quite distinct in Lash’s opinion. Furthermore he suggests that *Liadain* is a main character and Mac da Cherdæ is a temporarily salient, but not a main character. Perhaps *-si* in §1.2 establishes *Liadain* as a character slightly higher on a hierarchy of salience than Mac da Cherdæ. Special considerations for highly salient main characters are also found in the placement of NPs referring to these characters relative to demarcating adverbs and V (cf. Lash 2014). Finally, *luid-si* instead of simple *luid* could anticipate the contrast with *Cuirithir* in the next sentence.

§2 exemplifies the deictic precision of the different attention markers in guiding the readers' inner eyes. Cuirithir has now been promoted to the position of the salient masculine referent of the tale. The first two references to him in §2.2 (*luid* 'he went' [go.PRET.3SG], 'n=a *diäid* 'behind him' [in=POSS.3SM following.DAT]) are without an attention marker. The reference to him is unambiguously implied by the fact that the use of the plain verbal form without attention marker by default refers to a male actor, as was seen above. The next reference in the same sentence (*a étach-som* 'his clothes' [POSS.3SM clothes.NOM=EMPH(3SM)]) features the marker for the salient referent Cuirithir because a new masculine actor (*óengillae* 'a single servant') has been introduced in the meantime. That this new actor is non-salient is made clear by the use of *-side* in the next phrase (*hi téig for=a muin-side* 'in a satchel on his neck' [in satchel.DAT on=POSS.3SM neck.DAT=ANA]). There is no ambiguity in the scene as to who is carrying whose clothes. The sentence continues with *droch=étach imbi* 'bad clothes about him = he was wearing bad clothes' [bad=clothes around.3SM]. The absence of a marker here is equivalent to a reference back to the salient referent (*Cuirithir*). The same is true for the following *luid* 'he went' [go.PRET.3SG], *co-mboí* 'so that he was' [so=that=be.PRET.3SG], *gaibid* 'he takes/begins' [take/begin.PRES.3SG], *étach imbi* 'clothes about him = he put on clothes' [clothes.NOM around.3SM], *co-mboí* 'so that he was' [so=that=be.PRET.3SG] (§§2.3–4). *Co-n-accae Mac da Cherdae cucai* 'he saw Mac da Cherdae (coming) towards him' [so=that=see.PRET.3SG Mac da Cherdae.NOM towards.3SM] (§2.5) introduces a new supporting character, but the personal references (*co-n-accae* 'he saw', *cucai* 'towards him') remain unambiguously to the salient main actor Cuirithir, even without a marker. The next sentence §2.6 begins with *óinmit-side* '(he was) a fool' [fool.NOM=ANA], clearly drawing the new character Mac da Cherdae into the focus of the readers' attention. In *im-téged* 'he used to walk' [walk.IMPF.3SG] (§2.7), the marker has been left away because Mac da Cherdae remains the centre of attention. Nevertheless, the author concludes this paragraph with *é-side* 'he' [3SM=ANA] and *do-tét-side* 'he comes' [come.PRES.3SG=ANA] (§2.8–9), probably to be explicit about the non-salient subject and to underline the contrast to Cuirithir who, even though a poet himself, is neither *ardfili na hÉirenn* 'the high poet of Ireland' nor an *óinmit* 'fool'.

3.3. Absence of attention markers

A notable deviation from the pattern established in the preceding section occurs in the dialogue between Cuirithir and Mac da Cherda in §3. 3rd-person attention markers are entirely lacking. Since both male characters are probably of equal salience on the micro-level of this scene, the author may have avoided the use of *-som* for the one and of *-side* for the other. Instead, the author uses the names of

the protagonists or, when the inherent logic of the dialogue leaves no doubt about the speakers' identity, he doesn't indicate the focus change at all, but leaves it to the reader to infer who has the word. The result is a paragraph that is almost reminiscent of a modern movie script rather than of a typical medieval Irish tale.

3.4. Attention markers as obligatory argument fillers

Mac da Cherdae has the last word in §3, even though he is only referred to by the final *orse* 'he said' [say.3SM]. Although superficially reminiscent of the *notae augentes*, the final *-se* of *orse*, which marks the masculine gender, is *not* an attention marker as such, but rather fills the subject slot (cf. the remarks below about the obligatory filling of the subject slot after the quotative verb *as-beir*). §4.1 commences with *téit* 'he goes' [go.PRES.3SG]. The lack of an attention marker means that the same subject still continues. *Boi-si* 'she was' [be.PRET.3SG=EMPH(3SF)] (§4.2) then marks a change of referent onto the salient feminine referent *Liadain*, followed immediately by *dessid-som* 'he sat down' [sit.PERF.3SG=EMPH(3SM)] (§4.3). The attention has shifted back to the temporarily salient masculine referent Mac da Cherdae. It cannot be Cuirithir because the reader is aware from the progress of the narrative that the latter is excluded from this scene. *Airi* 'on him' [on.3SM], which also refers to Mac da Cherdae later in the same sentence, needs no marker for the same reason.

The use of the *nota augens* in the introductory statement at the beginning of §5, *is ann as-bert-som* 'he then said' [COP.PRES.3SG in.3SN say.PRET.3SG=EMPH(3SM)], still referring to Mac da Cherdae, may come as a surprise. Even though the subject has remained the same (as it does in §§17 and 34), its occurrence could serve the function of emphasising that the account is continuing with a focus on the actor who is temporarily salient. However, another factor may be at play here and a different analysis is possible. It seems that the quotative verb *as-beir* '(s)he says' and *as-bert* '(s)he said' requires that its subject slot be filled either by a noun⁹, a proper name (§15; Lat. *dixit* [say.PRET.3SG] with a name in §§11, 19)¹⁰ or, in the absence of either, by a *nota augens* (§§5, 14, 17, 34), i.e. it cannot appear on its own. Plain sentence-final *dixit* in §22.2 is only an apparent exception to this because the verb is still under the sway of the sentence-initial

⁹ There is no exact example to illustrate this combination in CLC, but the half-Latin phrase *dixit in ben* 'the woman said' [say.PRET.3SG ART.NOM woman.NOM] (§12) probably stands in for OIr. *as-bert in ben*, i.e. quotative *as-bert* + a generic noun. Perhaps this hypothesis is only valid for narrative genres. In the Old Irish glosses, examples with an empty subject slot can be found, e.g. *asbeir i=nná diad* 'he says afterwards' [say.PRES.3SG in=POSS.3SN following.DAT] (Ml. 94a11) or *asbeir síis* 'he says below' [say.PRES.3SG below] (22b4); but note that these examples are accompanied by adverbial expressions.

¹⁰ *Liadain dixit* in §§18 and 20 is only an editorial amendment.

nota augens in *do-luid-si* ‘she came’ [come.PRET.3SG=EMPH(3SF)]. That the rules governing the use of attention markers are special with quotative verbs, is also indicated by §14. There it could be expected that *as-bert-som* [say.PRET.3SG=EMPH(3SM)] continues the immediately preceding subject St Cummíne, but the referent is rather the overall salient Cuirithir.

As a reviewer astutely points out, this special syntactic behaviour of verbs reporting psychological states and speech acts may be explained by their greater need of explicit referents since, unlike motion verbs, the agents or experiencers of such verbs are harder to infer from the context.

3.5. Attention markers substituting nouns

Only one more paragraph, §16, will be analysed in detail. Its dramatic centre is a bitter exchange between the two male actors St Cummíne and Cuirithir, but a voiceless, third male character, a small boy, also populates the scene. The boy had been commanded to join – and separate – the two lovers Líadain and Cuirithir in bed. An altercation arises between Cummíne and Cuirithir over the boy’s testimony about the events of that fateful night. In §16.2, *in mac* ‘the boy’ [ART.NOM boy.NOM] constitutes the subject and the centre of attention; the role in *di=a chuibsigud do Chumíniu* ‘for his confession to Cummíne’ [for=POSS.3SM confession.DAT for Cummíne.DAT] in the same sentence is pragmatically unambiguous and requires no further clarification. However, in the overall scene he is a side character: he is not given direct speech, and his salience is always lower than that of the other actors in the scene. Then Cummíne speaks in §16.3–4; quotative *ar* [say.3SG] is accompanied by his name. For Cuirithir’s response in §16.5–6, the author resorts to the utmost dramatic terseness: Cuirithir’s defiant direct speech is presented without any indication of the speaker or the use of a quotative particle or verb at all. One could make the point that the speaker’s identity is so obvious in this climactic moment that the audience’s attention needs no guidance. Since Cuirithir (1st person) is speaking to Cummíne (2nd person), it is evident from the context that the 3rd person referred to in his direct speech can only be the *mac*. The final sentence of the paragraph (§16.7) tells us that as a result of this quarrel, he, i.e. Cuirithir, is taken to another place. Cuirithir is simply referred to by the salient masculine attention marker *-som*. His name has not been mentioned a single time in the whole episode, but he has nevertheless been present in the readers’ minds throughout. The simple use of *-som* for Cuirithir at the end of the episode may also serve to highlight that none of the other male actors mentioned in the tale so far will play a role from now on until the end – the remaining 21 of 37 paragraphs. He will remain the only salient masculine referent.

4. Conclusion

In summary, it can be said that a great economy inheres in the use and non-use of attention markers in *Comrac Liadaine ocus Chuirithir*. Four usages can be distinguished (further research may uncover more):

1. The most typical and most frequent employment of the *notae augentes* and of *-side* is to direct the reader's or hearer's attention, i.e. their mental focus, from the subject (or sometimes object) of the preceding sentence or clause to another one, sometimes with a specifically contrastive purpose.
2. Furthermore, they can be understood as serving to structure the distinction between overall and temporarily salient 3rd-person referents in a text, the former represented by the *notae augentes*, the latter by *-side*. In this sense, formal absence of *notae augentes* is pragmatically equivalent to reference to the overall salient or temporarily salient referent.

In addition to these core functions as focus markers, there are two special uses of the *notae augentes* that, to my knowledge, have not been recognised before.

3. After the quotative verb *as-beir* 'says' they fill the subject slot if no other nominal phrase is present.
4. In one instance in the studied text, namely *luid-si* 'she went' in §1.2, the feminine *nota* is best understood as marking the female gender of the covert subject, a very rare instance of gender-marking on verbs in Old Irish.

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Comrac Liadaine 7 Chuirithir (CLC)

1. ¹ Liadain ben do Chorco Duibne .i. banéces. ² **Luid-si** for cúairt hi crích Connacht. ³ Cuirithir mac Doborchon, **éces-side** danó. ⁴ Do Chonnachtaib dó. ⁵ Do·gníther ón cuirm **dí-si** la Cuirithir.
⁶ ‘Cid **ná·dénam-ni** óentaíd, a Liadain?’ ol Cuirithir. ⁷ ‘Ropud án ar mac ar ndís.’
⁸ ‘**Ní·dénaimm-se** ón,’ olsisi, ‘arnáro·loitea mo chúairt immum. ⁹ Dia·tís armo chenn do frithisi dom thig, **do·reg-sa** lat.’

2. ¹ Ba fí **són**. ² Luid fodess 7 óengillae ’na diäid 7 **a étach-som** hi téig **fora muin-side** 7 drochétach imbi 7 cenna na ngái isin téig. ³ Luid iarum co·mboí ocin topur i tóeb ind lis. ⁴ Gaibid iarum a étach imbi 7 do·ratta na gaí fora cranna co·mboí oca crothud. ⁵ Co·n-accae Mac da Cherdae cucai. ⁶ **Óinmit-side**, mac Maíle Ochtraig maic Dínertaig dona Déisib Muman. ⁷ Cummae im·téged muir 7 tír inna chossaib tírmaib. ⁸ Ard·fíli na hÉrenn 7 óinmit na hÉrenn **é-side**. ⁹ **Do·tét-side** co Cuirithir.

3. ¹ ‘Maith sin,’ or Mac da Cherdae.
² ‘Amin,’ or Cuirithir. ³ ‘In tú fer ind lis?’
⁴ ‘Nách mé,’ or [Mac da Cherdae].
⁵ ‘Can deit?’ or Cuirithir.
⁶ ‘Ind óinmit tróg dina Déssib .i. Mac Da Cherdae.’
⁷ ‘Ro·cúalamar,’ or Cuirithir. ⁸ ‘In·regae isin les?’
⁹ ‘Ragat,’ olse.
¹⁰ ‘Dénae mo lessa,’ ol Cuirithir. ¹¹ ‘Ben mór fil tall, apair frie triat chéill féin tudecht cosin topur-so.’
¹² ‘Cía a h-ainm?’
¹³ ‘Liadain.’
¹⁴ ‘Cía **th’ainm-siu**?’
¹⁵ ‘Cuirithir mac Doborchon.’
¹⁶ ‘Maith,’ orse.

4. ¹ Téit isa teg. ² **Boi-si** ina h-imdai cethéora mnáib. ³ **Dessid-som** 7 níro·laäd óid airi.

5. Is ann **as·bert-som**:

‘A thech mór,
fo·longat na tuireda,
dia·mbeth nech no·dálad dáil,
timnae dáib co fuineda.

6. Ba mithig,
a thopuir fil fiada tig,
dond·n-ised nech.
Ferait a llúadain imbi
uissi áilli imrinni.

7. Ro·lá temel dom roscaib,
am díllig ar inchoscaib,
conid liadain con·gairiu
cach banscál nád·athgeniu.

The Encounter of Liadain and Cuirithir

1. Liadain, a woman of the Corcu Duibne and a female poet. She went on a journey into the territory of the Connachta. Cuirithir son of Doborchú was also a poet. A feast is arranged by Cuirithir for her.

‘Why don’t we make a union, Liadain?’ said Cuirithir. ‘A son of the two of us would be splendid.’

‘No, I don’t,’ she said, ‘lest my journey be ruined on me. If you come back to my house to meet me, I will go with you.’

2. And so it happened. He went south, and only a single lad followed him, and his clothes were in a satchel on his (the lad’s) neck. He wore bad clothes and the points of the spears were in the satchel. He then arrived at the well at the side of the court. He put on his clothes, and the points were put on the spear-shafts so that he could brandish them. He saw Mac da Cherdae coming towards him. That was a fool, the son of Máel Ochtraig, son of Dínertach from the Déisi in Mumu. He could equally walk dryshod on sea and land. He was the high poet of Ireland and the fool of Ireland. He comes to Cuirithir.

3. ‘Well then,’ said Mac da Cherdae.

‘Indeed,’ said Cuirithir. ‘Are you the man of this court?’

‘No,’ said Mac da Cherdae.

‘Who are you?’ asked Cuirithir.

‘The poor fool of the Déisi, Mac da Cherdae.’

‘We have heard of you,’ said Cuirithir. ‘Will you go into the court?’

‘Yes,’ he replied.

‘Do me a favour,’ said Cuirithir. ‘Inside is a great woman, tell her through your own wit to come to this well.’

‘What is her name?’

‘Liadain.’

‘What is your name?’

‘Cuirithir son of Doborchú.’

‘Good,’ said he.

4. He goes into the house. She was in a compartment with three women. He sat down and no attention was paid to him.

5. Then he said:

‘Oh big house,
which the columns support,
if there should be someone here who would have made a tryst,
an order for them until sunsets.

6. It would be time,
oh well, which is near their house,
that someone should come to it.
Beautiful, pointed larks
perform their fluttering around it.

7. Darkness has fallen upon my eyes,
I am incapable of (discerning) signs,
so that I call ‘grey one’ (i.e. Liadain)
every womanfolk I do not recognise.

8. A ben cosind remorchois,
ní·fúar do sét di márchlois.
Nícon·festar fo chailliu
banscál badid cíallaidiu.

9. Mac in míl
anas adaig fo lindib,
fo·longat 'cot idnaidiu
cossa glasa fo rindib.'

10. ¹ Is iar sin **do·cuäid-si leis-siom**, corru·gabsat anmchairdi Cummíni Fótai maic Fíachnai.
² 'Maith,' or Cummíne. ³ 'Mór dom mírennaib ad·opair nert na h-anmchairde foirb. ⁴ Inba déicsiu dúib ná imacallam?'
⁵ 'Imacallam dúin,' or Cuirithir. ⁶ 'Is ferr a·mbiä dé. ⁷ Imma·n-accae dún riäm.'
⁸ In tan iarum **no·téged-som** timchell martrae, no·íattae a tech **fuirri-si**.
⁹ No·íattae danó **fair-siom**, in tan **no·téged-si**.

11. [14.] [Cuirithir dixit:]

'Inmain guthán ro·cluiniar,
fáilte fris nocho·lamor.
Acht is ed at·biur nammá:
is inmain in guthán-sa.'

12. [15.] Dixit in ben:

'Guth dom·adbat tri chletha,
is maith dó dom·inchrecha.
Is ed do·gní frim in guth,
nachom·léci do chotlud.'

13. [17.] 'Foíd far ndís innocht,' or Cummíne, '7 tét léignid bec etruib, coná·dernaid anapaig.'

14. [18.] Is and **as·bert-som**:

'Másu óenadaig at·bir
feise dam-sa la Líadain,
méte la láech nod·fiäd,
ind adaig ní·archriäd.'

15. [19.] Is ann as·bert Líadain:

'Másu óenadaig at·bir
fes **dam-sa** la Cuirithir,
cid blíadain do·bermais fris,
boíthum imma·rordamais.'

8. Woman with the stout foot,
I have not found your like of great fame.
Never will be known under the veil
womanfolk that would be smarter.

9. The son of the animal
that stays at night under pools,
while he is waiting for you
greyish feet support him with points.'

10. After this she went with him, and they accepted the soulfriendship of Cummine 'The Long', son of Fiachnae.

'Well', said Cummine. 'The power of soulfriendship has a lot of (spiritual) food to offer to you. Will it be seeing each other or talking to each other for you?'

'Talking to each other', said Cuirithir. 'Something better will come from it. We have seen each other before.'

Whenever he therefore used to walk around the churchyard, her house was locked on her. And it was locked on him, whenever she used to walk around.

11. [14.] [Cuirithir said:]

'Dear is the little voice that I hear,
I daren't be joyful about it.
I only say as much:
dear to me is this little voice.'

12. [15.] The woman said:

'The voice that reaches me through the house-poles,
it rightly reproaches me.
This is what the voice does to me,
that doesn't let me sleep.'

13. [17.] 'Spend the night together', said Cummine, 'but a small pupil has to go between you lest you do something immature.'

14. [18.] Then he said:

'If you say 'only one night'
for me to spend with Liadain,
for a layman who had spent it, that would be something,
the night would not have been wasted.'

15. [19.] Then Liadain said:

'If you say 'only one night'
for me to spend with Cuirithir,
even if we devoted a year to it,
I would have something that we could meditate on.'

16. [20.] ¹ Foit in n-aidchi-sin. ² Do·berar in mac arabáruch dia chuibsigid do Chumminiu.

³ ‘Is tacair duit, ní·celae,’ ar Cummine. ⁴ ‘**Not·selos-sa** dia·celae.’

⁵ ‘Is cummae dó cia·eiplea. ⁶ **Na·selos-sa** dia·n-atma.’

⁷ **Rucad-som** iarum do chill aili.

17. [21.] Is and **as·bert-som**:

‘Di chánaib
ó ro·scarus fri Liadain,
is sithir cech lá fri mí,
sithir cech mí fri bliadain.’

18. [22.] [Liadain dixit:]

‘Másu Chuirithir indiu
do·cuaid co rrétairiu,
dirsan in chiall fris·ngéna
fri nech nachid·aithgéna.’

19. [23.] Cummine dixit:

‘Ní maith lim a n-í at·bir,
a Liadain ben Chuirithir.
Ro·boí sunna, nirbo mer,
cid ’sú tised Cuirither.’

20. [16.] [Liadain dixit:]

‘A fír, ní maith a ndo·bir,
mo liud-sa for Cuirithir.
hÉ-seom do brú Locha Sing,
messe féin ó Chill Chonchinn.

21. [24.] Diä haíne didine
níbu scor for mílige
for loäi mo gainmén gil
itir di láim Chuirithir.’

22. [25.] ¹ **Luid-sium** didiu co·mboí hi Cill Letrach i tír na nDéise inna ailithri. ² **Do·luid-si** fora **íarair-seom** ⁷
dixit:

23. [26.] ‘Cen áinuis
in gním·hí do·rigénus:
an ro·charus ro·cráidius.

24. [27.] Ba mire
ná·dernad **a airer-som**,
manbad omun rí nime.

16. [20.] They spend this night. In the morning, the boy is brought to Cummine to confess.
'It is advisable to you not to conceal [anything],' said Cummine. 'I will slay you if you conceal [anything].'
'It does not matter to him how he dies. I will slay him if he admits [anything].'
He was then brought away to another church.

17. [21.] Then he said:

'For a long time,
after I had parted from Liadain,
each day is as long as a month,
each month is as long as a year.'

18. [22.] [Liadain said:]

'If Cuirithir has gone
away to the scholars today,
he will make the [impression of a] sad state of mind
to anyone who will not know about it.'

19. [23.] Cuimmine said:

'I don't like what you say,
Liadain, wife of Cuirithir.
He has been here, he was not mad,
even before he came, Cuirithir.'

20. [16.] [Liadain said:]

'Man, I don't like what you say,
making a charge regarding me against Cuirithir.
He being from the banks of Lake Sing,
and I myself from Cell Chonchinn.'

21. [24.] 'On Friday,
there was no 'unleashing onto an evil lie-in'
on the fleece of my bright hide
in the arms of Cuirithir.'

22. [25.] He then went [away] and was in exile in Cell Letrach in the land of the Déssi. She came searching for him and said:

23. [26.] 'Without joy
the deed that I have done:
what I have loved, I have offended.

24. [27.] It would be madness
for whoever would not have satisfied him,
if it were not for the fear of the king of heaven.

25. [28.] Níbu amlos
do·sum in dál dúthracair:
asnam sech phéin hi pardos.

26. [29.] Bec mbríge
ro·cráidi frim Cuirithir.
Fris-seom ba mór mo míne.

27. [30.] Mé Liadan,
ro·carus-sa Cuirithir.
Is firithir ad·fiadar.

28. [31.] Gair **bá-ssa**
hi comaitecht Chuirithir.
Fris-siom ba maith **mo gnás-sa**.

29. [32.] Céol caille
fom·chanad la Cuirithir,
la fogur fairge flainne.

30. [33.] Do·ménainn
ní·cráidfed frim Cuirithir
do dálaib cach·ndénainn.

31. [34.] Ní·chelaē:
ba **hé-seom** mo chridešerc,
cía no·carainn cách chenae.

32. [35.] Deilm ndega
ro·tethaind **mo chride-sa**.
Ro·fess nícon·bíā cena.’

33. [36a.] ¹ Is é didiu crád **do·rat-si fair-seom**, a lúas ro·gab caille. ² Amail **ro·cualae-seom a tuidecht-si** aníar,
luid-siom hi curuch forsin fairggi, co·ndechaid i n·ailithri, **coná·accae-si** innunn.

34. [11.] Is and **as·bert-si**:

‘Cuirithir int aithéces
carsom, ním·ráinic a less.
Inmain fiada da cos nglas,
bid dirsan a bithingnas.

35. [12.] Ind lece fri derthech andess
forsa·mbíd int aithéces,
minic tíagar dí im cach ndé
fescar iar mbúaid ernaigthe.

36. [13.] Nícon·bíā aice bó
ná dairti ná dartadó.
Nocha·bíā cnáim do leiss
for láim deis ind aithéicis.’

25. [28.] It was not to his disadvantage,
the thing that he desired:
striving past pain into Paradise.

26. [29.] Something of little import
has offended Cuirithir towards me.
Towards him, my gentleness was great.

27. [30.] I am Liadain,
I have been loving Cuirithir.
It is as true as it is being told.

28. [31.] Briefly I was
in the company of Cuirithir.
Towards him, my behaviour was good.

29. [32.] Forest music
was accompanying me with Cuirithir,
with the sound of the blood-red ocean.

30. [33.] I would have thought,
nothing would offend Cuirithir towards me,
whatever things I would do.

31. [34.] Don't conceal it:
he was the love of my heart,
even if I should love everyone beside him.

32. [35.] A blast of fire
has torn my heart apart.
It is known, no one will ever be beside him.'

33. [36a.] What had caused him offence was the haste with which she had taken the veil. When he heard that she was coming from the west, he went on the ocean in a boat and went into exile, so that he didn't see her anymore [or: she didn't see him anymore].

34. [11.] Then she said:

'Cuirithir, the ex-poet,
he loved me, I did not need him.
Dear is the lord of two grey feet,
it will be sad to be separated from him forever.

35. [12.] The stone south of the oratory,
on which the ex-poet used to be,
often one wanders there each day
at evening, after the glory of prayer.

36. [13.] He will never have a cow,
nor heifers nor bull calves.
And no bone will be at the hip
at the right hand of the ex-poet.

37. [36b.] ¹ ‘**Do·cóid-seom** i fecht-so,’ olsi.

² Ind lecc **fora·mbíd-som** oc ernaighi, **ro·boi-si** forind leicc-sin, co·ndechaid a h-anim dochum nime. ³ Conid ind leicc-sin do·chóid **dara h-agaid-si**.

⁴ Comrac Líadaine 7 Chuirithir in sin anúas.

37. [36b.] ‘This time he is gone,’ she said.

The stone on which he used to be praying, she was on that stone until her soul went to heaven. And it is that stone that went over her face (= that marked her grave).

This above is the Encounter of Líadain and Cuirithir.

1. List of presence (+ absence) of attention markers in CLC

| A. | B. | C. | D. | E. | F. | G. | H. | I. |
|------|------------------------|----------------|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|------------|--------|--|
| § | stressed unit | marker present | animacy of marker | subject | attention shift | topic | poetry | comments |
| 1.1 | <i>banéices</i> | – | n/a | L | – | + | – | beginning of narrative |
| 1.2 | <i>luid-si</i> | + | + | L | – | + | – | no contrast possible |
| 1.3 | <i>éces-side</i> | + | + | C | + | + | – | new character |
| 1.4 | <i>dó</i> | – | n/a | dummy – anim. | – | + | – | |
| 1.5 | <i>dí-si</i> | + | + | <i>cuirm</i> ; – anim. | + | –? | – | |
| 1.6 | <i>ná-dénam-ni</i> | + | + | 1pl. L&C | + | –? | – | |
| 1.7 | <i>ropud án</i> | – | n/a | <i>mac</i> ; + anim. | + | <i>mac</i> | – | |
| 1.8 | <i>ní-dénaimm-se</i> | + | + | 1sg. L | + | –? | – | |
| | <i>olsisi</i> | + | + | L | + | + | – | |
| 1.9 | <i>dia-tís</i> | – | n/a | 2sg. C | + | + | – | |
| | <i>reg-sa</i> | + | + | 1sg. L | + | + | – | |
| 2.1 | <i>són</i> | + | – | dummy – anim. | – | + | – | |
| 2.2 | <i>luid</i> | – | n/a | C | + | + | – | |
| | <i>a étach-som</i> | + | + | <i>étach</i> , – anim. | + | + | – | salient referent |
| | <i>for a muin-side</i> | + | + | <i>étach</i> , – anim. | + | + | – | new character, non-salient referent |
| | <i>drochétach imbi</i> | – | n/a | <i>étach</i> , – anim. | + | + | – | salient referent |
| 2.3 | <i>luid</i> | – | n/a | L | – | + | – | |
| 2.4 | <i>gaibid</i> | – | n/a | L | – | + | – | |
| | <i>co-mboi</i> | – | n/a | L | – | + | – | |
| 2.5 | <i>co-n-accae</i> | – | n/a | L | + | + | – | shift to M? |
| 2.6 | <i>óinmit-side</i> | + | + | M | + | + | – | new character, non-salient referent |
| 2.7 | <i>im-téged</i> | – | n/a | M | – | – | – | |
| 2.8 | <i>é-side</i> | + | + | M | – | + | – | non-salient referent |
| 2.9 | <i>do-tét-side</i> | + | + | M | – | + | – | non-salient referent |
| 3.12 | <i>th'ainm-siu</i> | + | + | <i>ainm</i> , – anim. | + | + | – | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|-----|---------------------------|---|---|---|--|
| 3.14 | <i>orse</i> | – | n/a | M | + | + | – | -se in <i>orse</i> is not <i>nota augens</i> |
| 4.1 | <i>téit</i> | – | n/a | M | – | + | – | |
| 4.2 | <i>boi-si</i> | + | + | L | + | + | – | salient referent |
| 4.3 | <i>dessid-som</i> | + | + | M | + | + | – | temporarily salient referent |
| 5 | <i>as·bert-som</i> | + | + | M | – | + | – | required by quotational <i>as·beir</i> |
| 10.1 | <i>do·cuāid-si</i> | + | + | L | + | + | – | |
| | <i>leis-seom</i> | + | + | L | + | – | – | |
| 10.8 | <i>no-téged-som</i> | + | + | C | + | + | – | |
| | <i>fuirri-si</i> | + | + | C | + | – | – | |
| 10.9 | <i>fair-siom</i> | + | + | L | + | – | – | |
| | <i>no-téged-si</i> | + | + | L | + | + | – | |
| 13 | <i>foid far ndis</i> | – | n/a | 2pl. L&C | + | + | – | address; no contrast |
| | <i>coná·dernaid</i> | – | n/a | 2pl. L&C | – | + | – | |
| 14 | <i>as·bert-som</i> | + | + | C | + | + | – | required by quotational <i>as·beir</i> |
| | <i>dam-sa</i> | + | + | 2sg. Cu | – | – | + | |
| 15 | <i>dam-sa</i> | + | + | 2sg. Cu | – | – | + | |
| 16.4 | <i>not·selos-sa</i> | + | + | 1sg. Cu | + | – | – | |
| 16.6 | <i>na·selos-sa</i> | + | + | 1sg. C | + | – | – | |
| 16.7 | <i>rucad-som</i> | + | + | C | – | + | – | |
| 17 | <i>as·bert-som</i> | + | + | C | – | + | – | required by quotational <i>as·beir</i> |
| | <i>ó ro·scarus</i> | – | n/a | 1sg. C | – | + | + | |
| 19 | <i>a n-í at·bir</i> | – | n/a | <i>a</i> – anim. | + | + | + | |
| | <i>ro·boi, nírbo</i> | – | n/a | C | + | + | + | |
| 20 | <i>a ndo·bir</i> | – | n/a | 2sg. Cu | + | + | + | |
| | <i>mo líu·dsa</i> | + | + | <i>líud</i> – anim. | + | + | + | |
| | <i>é-seom</i> | + | + | C | + | + | + | contrast |
| | <i>messe</i> | + | + | 1sg. L | + | + | + | contrast |
| 22.1 | <i>luid-sium</i> | + | + | C | + | + | – | |
| | <i>co·mboi</i> | – | n/a | C | – | + | – | |
| 22.2 | <i>do·luid-si</i> | + | + | L | + | + | – | |
| | <i>fora iarair-seom</i> | + | + | C | + | – | – | |
| 23 | <i>do-rigénus, ro·charus, ro·cráidius</i> | – | n/a | 1sg. L | – | + | + | |
| 24 | <i>a airer-som</i> | + | + | <i>airer</i> – anim. | + | – | + | |
| 25 | <i>do-sum</i> | + | + | <i>dál</i> – anim. | – | – | + | |
| 26 | <i>frim</i> | – | n/a | <i>bec mbrige</i> – anim. | + | – | + | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------|---|---|-----|-------------------------|----|---|---|---|
| | <i>fris-seom</i> | + | + | <i>míne</i> – anim. | + | – | + | |
| | <i>mo míne</i> | – | n/a | <i>míne</i> – anim. | – | – | + | |
| 27 | <i>mé</i> | – | n/a | 1sg. L | + | + | + | |
| | <i>ro-carus-sa</i> | + | + | 1sg. L | – | + | + | |
| 28 | <i>bá-sa</i> | + | + | 1sg. L | – | + | + | |
| | <i>fris-siom</i> | + | + | <i>gnás</i> – anim. | + | + | + | |
| | <i>mo gnás-sa</i> | + | + | <i>gnás</i> – anim. | – | – | + | |
| 29 | <i>fom-chanaid</i> | – | n/a | <i>céol</i> – anim. | – | – | + | |
| 30 | <i>do-ménainn,</i> <i>frim,</i> <i>cacha-ndénainn</i> | – | n/a | 1sg. L | + | + | + | |
| 31 | <i>hé-seom</i> | + | + | C | + | + | + | |
| | <i>mo chridešerc,</i> <i>no-carainn</i> | – | n/a | C | – | – | + | |
| 32 | <i>mo chride-sa</i> | + | + | <i>cride</i> - anim. | + | – | + | |
| 33.1 | <i>do-rat-si</i> | + | + | L | – | – | – | anticipating contrast |
| | <i>fair-seom</i> | + | + | L | + | – | – | contrast |
| | <i>ro-gab</i> | – | n/a | L | + | – | – | |
| 33.2 | <i>ro-cúalae-seom</i> | + | + | C | + | + | – | anticipating contrast |
| | <i>a tuidecht-si</i> | + | + | C | + | – | – | contrast |
| | <i>luid-siom</i> | + | + | C | + | + | – | contrast |
| | <i>co-ndechaid</i> | – | n/a | C | – | + | – | |
| | <i>coná-accae-si</i> | + | + | C/L? | +L | – | – | subject/object unclear |
| 34 | <i>as-bert-si</i> | + | + | L | – | + | – | required by quotational <i>as-beir</i> |
| | <i>carsom</i> | – | n/a | C | + | + | + | |
| | <i>ním-ráinic a less</i> | – | n/a | <i>les</i> – anim. | – | – | + | |
| 36 | <i>aice</i> | – | n/a | <i>bó</i> + anim. | – | + | + | |
| 37.1 | <i>do-cóid-seom</i> | + | + | C | – | + | – | |
| | <i>olsi</i> | – | n/a | L | + | – | – | – <i>si</i> in <i>olsi</i> is not <i>nota</i> <i>augens</i> |
| 37.2 | <i>fora-mbid-som</i> | + | + | C | + | – | – | |
| | <i>ro-boí-si</i> | + | + | L | + | – | – | |
| 37.3 | <i>ind lecc-sin</i> | – | n/a | <i>lecc</i> – anim. | + | + | – | |
| | <i>dara h-agaid-si</i> | + | + | | + | – | – | shift from stone |

Key: The presence of an attention marker for each pertinent phrase ('stressed unit', B) is marked by +/- in column C. When a marker is present, the status of

the animacy of the referent is evaluated in column D (spoiler: all are animate). Column E indicates the subject of the overall clause or sentence (C Cuirithir, Cu St Cummine, L Liadain, M Mac da Cherdae). When the subject is a generic noun, its animacy is indicated by +/- . Column F records if the phrase under scrutiny entails a shift of the readers' attention. Column G records if the phrase refers to the topic of the clause or sentence. Where I am uncertain about the status of a topic, this is marked by ?. Column H marks if the phrase occurs in poetry (+) or prose (-). Any additional comments are provided in I.