

qmo postea per syllaba Indictione In
citur: qaccitru ea pnuantur. Silla
ba # pre ne ne dicio pthru habie
npo: Inuine tñ & plina onatio In
unadicatione ut Inubir Impitaur
cunne lege, & smilit plina dicio In
unayllaba utanp. do. die.

Accidit unicuique syllaba et non spi
ritur amputat nūc hēat. thon

To Be or not To Be: A Study of the Copula and the Substantive Verb in Old Irish

de quibus dicitur in dictione
dione thon catur. abry. eadicio
lic pnuantur ap t lōm; cōmpur unū
t duo t eā ut q. dāplacā imū rōm
t duo rōm t cōea. imū puocali:
bneur pte t p ea una rōndar hplā
p pte. ut capucunū rōm In cōmumb
syllabir. dēsb. multā docuēt uclāim
mae. & pēndū: q n rōlū an t. tr
fēā an m. ut rōp documur & n. po
p dāe mūdāe & p acunt w mūnq.
t unipidq. In p hōm p. i cōtē tātē t

Aron H.W.H. Joosten, 4281055

06-07-2020

Research Master's thesis

Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies (Celtic track)

Supervisor: dr. Aaron Griffith

Second reader: dr. Peter Schrijver

capio syllabae requisitae puocale
bonnēpā. r. amū. ta & pēā hqda
requat. quippe c. p. In mētro sub

trahi possat monē uetū. ut honac
ur rthmonū libno pmo. lincmur Inra
ni nēdāntq. p mīa rēmbē. Hā longūm
nata t pōstionē duorē cōmpōnā ut
do. anr. duo rōm qn p uocalē nāda
longam unaypā rōnānū ut rōl. cōēd
qn p uocalē nāda longūā duat rō
nāntq. rēquunt t unaduplēc ut monē
nē. cō In mētro nēēpē: unāquanq

syllabā turur t duos uacāp cōmpōn
p mīnū uacā dicio p syllabā uqu
p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū
p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū

Incipit de dictione



dicio + panymimdonad
m p pnuentae id: mondi
nim cōmpōstae. p dny. cōm
ad cōtū In cēllē hōdū. q. + ad cōtū rōm
In cēllē cōtū. hāc idē dicio nē p cōnē
unq. In duay p anq. d mūdāe h: In uī.
ā nq. t qdā h r q modī. n + ad cōtū m
tēllē hōdū h p cō d mūdāe. d p p nē cō d
tio ap syllaba n rōlū q n syllaba panr:

dictionis. pēā p dicio dicio h: In cēllē
hōdū aliquid hē. syllaba at nō mō
alqō p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū
labae dicio nq. pōrē qdā n cē

labae dictionis pōrē qdā n cē
labae nō p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū
labae p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū

labae p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū
labae p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū
labae p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū

labae p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū
labae p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū
labae p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū p mīnū



I, Aron Henricus Wilhelmus Hendrik Joosten, student number 4281055, hereby declare that I have read and understood the Plagiarism Rules Awareness Statement of the department Humanities, and that I have not committed plagiarism or fraud in this thesis.

06-07-2020, Utrecht.

Preface

I would like to express my gratitude here to everyone who has helped me complete this master's thesis. Firstly, and chiefly, to dr. Aaron Griffith, my supervisor, without whom this thesis would not have been even remotely feasible.

Secondly, my thanks to my friends and family who have supported me through this, even though there was a lockdown in place for much of it, and even when I was less available than they (and I) would have liked. A special word of gratitude to Mike Joosten and Anja Tolpekina, who have, at various stages, read and reread my thesis for cohesiveness, grammar, and spelling errors.

And last but not least, my partner, Nienke Vermeer, without whose advise the tables in this thesis would certainly have been a complete and utter mess, for her support and patience during these months.

Any errors found in this document remain my own, naturally,.

Image on title page: p.25 of the Cod. Sang. 904 (retrieved 06-07-2020 from: <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/csg/0904/25>).

Abstract

Old Irish has two different verbs, the copula and the substantive verb, that correspond to what would be translated in most Germanic languages as 'to be'. In some cases, these verbs appear to be able to overlap in use. These cases do not correspond to the known regular use of the substantive verb and the copula, and, so far, no answer for them has been put forward. This thesis attempts to find an origin for the use of the substantive verb for the copula and vice versa, by collecting and analysing the irregular examples of overlap.

To answer this question, the Old Irish glosses and a select few Old Irish texts, which are dated to the Old Irish period, were analysed for cases of overlap between the substantive verb and the copula. The results show a small number of occurrences of overlap between the substantive verb and the copula. These results are discussed in-depth, taking into account the full context of the relevant glosses. Possible features responsible for the irregular use of the substantive verb for the copula and vice versa are the translation of Latin *esse*, a stylistic choice, an archaism, or influence by register. It is argued that two registers exist in the Old Irish glosses, namely an educated, high register, established in the centres of learning in Ireland in the 6th century, a colloquial register of the authors of the glosses, and the tension between the two.

In all instances of the occurrence of overlap, the substantive verb uses the word order expected for the substantive verb (SUBST + SUBJ + PRED), and the copula uses the expected word order for the copula (COP + PRED + SUBJ). The common denominator of the compiled examples was their underlying word order, which was regular for both the examples of the use of the substantive for the copula and vice versa. It is argued that this distinction was originally used in the educated register to distinguish the copula and the substantive verb. Under pressure of the colloquial register of the authors of the glosses, other distinctions between the substantive and the copula were already used in the Old Irish glosses, resulting in only a small amount of examples of overlap that are still present in the material studied in this thesis. For this reason, the study concludes that the overlap between the substantive verb and the copula is due to an earlier reliance on word order rather than word class.

Table of contents

Abstract	3
1. Introduction	6
2. Academic Background	10
2.1 Morphology	10
2.2 The distinction PRED – SUBJ	12
2.3 The copula as a particle	13
2.4 Subject displacement	14
2.5 Copula.....	15
2.5.1 Copula + predicate + subject.....	15
2.5.2 Cleft sentences	16
2.5.3 Copula with post-copular pronoun	17
2.5.4 Copula with a preposition.....	19
2.6 Substantive verb	20
2.7 ‘To be’ in Welsh	21
2.8 Hypotheses	21
2.9 Concluding remarks.....	26
3. Method	28
3.1 Source material.....	28
3.1.1 The Würzburg Glosses	28
3.1.2 The Milan Glosses.....	29
3.1.3 The St. Gall Glosses.....	29
3.1.4 The Cambrai Homily	29
3.1.5 Additamenta from the Book of Armagh	30
3.1.6 The Lambeth Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount	30
3.1.7 The Treatise on the Mass.....	30
3.2 Method of analysis.....	30
3.3 The classification of copula for the substantive verb.....	31
3.4 On register in Old Irish texts	32
4. Results.....	35
4.1 The Würzburg Glosses.....	35
4.1.1 Overlapping substantives	35
4.1.2 Substantives with word order variance	36
4.2 The Milan Glosses	39
4.2.1 The use of the substantive for the copula	39
4.2.2 The use of the copula for the substantive	41

4.2.3	Substantives with word order variance	44
4.3	The St. Gall Glosses	46
4.3.1	The use of the substantive for the copula	46
4.3.2	The use of the copula for the substantive verb in St. Gall	46
4.3.3	Substantives with word order variance	48
4.4	The POMIC-corpus	50
4.4.1	The use of the substantive for the copula	50
4.4.2	The use of the copula for the substantive	51
5.	Discussion.....	52
5.1	The use of the substantive verb for the copula	52
5.2	The use of the copula for the substantive.....	54
5.3	The use of word order variance with the substantive	56
5.4	Difficulties and recommendations.....	57
6.	Conclusion.....	59
7.	Bibliography	64
8.	Appendix A: Prepositional phrases as predicates of the copula	67
8.1	Milan Gloss	67
8.1.1	Fragmentary glosses.....	67
8.1.2	Direct translations from Latin	68
8.1.3	Elided clefts.....	68
8.2	St.. Gall glosses.....	69
8.2.1	Fragmentary glosses.....	69
8.2.2	Direct translations from Latin	69
8.2.3	Elided clefts.....	69

1. Introduction

Old Irish has two different verbs, the copula and the substantive verb, that correspond to what would be translated in most Germanic languages as ‘to be’. These verbs can be used for a variety of purposes, which are sometimes only vaguely demarcated. This has led to occasions where it appears that the substantive verb is used where a copula would be expected, and vice versa. The goal of the present research is to find these examples in various Old Irish glosses and texts and an explanation for this conundrum. Both the substantive verb and the copula are used as often as one would expect from verbs that translate to ‘to be’, and only few examples of overlap have been identified thus far. This research hopes to shed light on these examples, and add others to them. Perhaps this will result in an adjustment of the rules for these verbs, or at least deepen the understanding of them. Firstly, however, it is necessary to attain some understanding of how the copula and the substantive verb are used syntactically.

The copula is used to link two parts of a sentence, the subject and the predicate, together. It is always unstressed, and is followed by a predicate that is either a noun or an adjective.¹ A further discussion of the terms can be found in section two below. As shown in 1), the normal word order in Old Irish, V(erb) S(ubject) O(bject), is not used in a copular sentence, but replaced by Verb, Predicate, Subject.

1) <i>Is</i>	<i>cosmart</i>	<i>do retaiþ</i>	<i>ind</i>	<i>fet</i>
be-COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	signal-NOM.SG.	to things PREP.PHRASE.DAT.PL.	- def.art.-NOM.SG.	whistling sound-NOM.SG.
‘The whistling sound is a signal to things.’			Sg. 003a07	

The copula is used here to show a relationship between the predicate *cosmart do retaiþ* and the subject *ind fet*. The VP here is *is cosmart do retaiþ*, and the NP is *ind fet*. There are other uses of the copula, where it is not purely used to connect a predicate to a subject, such as the cleft sentence, where a part of the sentence is highlighted by the use of a copula with a relative verb following it (example 2). It should be noted that although it seems functionally different, it is structurally quite similar to the use in example 1,² which becomes especially clear when example 2 is translated as ‘What is in them is a sense of a passive’.

2) <i>Is</i>	<i>ciall</i>	<i>chésto</i>	<i>fil</i>	<i>indib</i>
be-COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	sense-NOM.SG.	passive voice- GEN.SG.	be-SUBST.IMPERSO.NAL.REL.	in them- CONJ.PREP.3.PL.
‘It is a sense of a passive which is in them.’			Sg. 140a05	

The copula can also show possession, with a genitival predicate:

3) <i>Amal</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>ndae</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>dorche</i>
as- CONJUNCTION	be-COP.3SG.PRES.IND.REL.	God - GEN.SG.	def.art.- NOM.PL.	darkness- NOM.PL.
‘As the darkness is God’s.’		MI. 140c05		

Furthermore, the word order of a copular sentence may appear ungrammatical, for instance with the use of cataphora that substitute for the predicate. These cataphora are then followed by the subject, while it seems that the predicate is in clause-final position.³ Nonetheless, this should be regarded as

¹ Dillon (1928): 328-329.

² Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 144.

³ Mac Coisdealbha (1997).

the standard word order, because *ed*, by referring to the ‘true predicate’,⁴ keeps the predicate in second position, while also enabling the author to place the predicate in a marked position. Because it is an example of normal word order, this is excluded from analysis as well, although some consideration on this subject is made in section 2.5.

4) <i>Is</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>inso</i>	<i>tosach</i>	<i>int</i>	<i>alasailm</i>
be-	it-	this-	beginning-	def.art.-	second- PARTICLE,
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	PERS.PRON.3SG.N.	DEM.PRON.	NOM.SG.	GEN.SG.	psalm- GEN.SG.
‘This is the beginning of the second psalm.’			MI. 027d02		

These features should be considered grammaticalized. The purpose of the present research is not to discuss these types of examples, and they are therefore not collected nor commented upon. In the final analysis, only the non-grammatical use of the substantive for the copula (and vice versa) is analysed, as in example 10) below. The copula is discussed more in depth in section two.

The substantive verb is stressed and has a wider connotation than the copula that also includes existence and presence. It requires an adverbial or prepositional predicate.⁵ The following are examples of the regular use of the substantive verb:

5) <i>Roboí</i>	<i>chocad</i>	<i>etir</i>	<i>deichthriub</i>	7	<i>dethriub</i>	<i>corricisin</i>
be-	war-NOM.SG.	between-	ten tribes -	and	two	until then -
SUBST.3SG.PERF.IND.		PREP+ACC.	ACC.SG.		tribes-	PREP.EXPRESSION
					ACC.SG.	
‘There was a war between the Ten Tribes and the Two Tribes until then.’						MI. 137c08

6) <i>Sech</i>	<i>atá</i>	<i>són</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>supradictis</i>
although-	be-	that- NOM.SG.	in-	<i>supradicta-</i> DAT.PL.
CONJUNCTION	SUBST.3SG.PRES.IND.		PREP ^N +DAT./ACC.	
‘But that is in the <i>supradicta</i> .’		Sg. 202b04		

The substantive verb can also show possession with a preposition or a dative, which can be an infixed pronoun with the verb, accompanying the substantive verb,⁶ as shown below:

7) <i>In</i>	<i>tómun</i>	<i>fil</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>suidib</i>
def.art.-NOM.SG.	fear- NOM.SG.	be-	with-	them-DAT.PL. ⁷
		SUBST.IMPERSONAL.REL.	PREP.+ACC	
‘The fear that they have.’		MI. 042d09		

8) <i>Ní-m</i>	<i>bia</i>	<i>fortacht</i>	<i>tar</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>aesi</i>
not-NEG.PART. me-	be-	help- NOM.SG.	on-	their-	behalf-
INFIX.PRON.1SG.	SUBST.3SG.FUT.I		PREP.+ACC.	POSS.PRON.3PL	ACC.SG.
	ND.				
‘It will not be help to me on that account.’ ⁸			MI. 086c12		

⁴ At the end of the clause.

⁵ Dillon (1928): 328.

⁶ Baumgarten (1972): 239.

⁷ The use of dative plural *suidib* is unexpected, but appears early, from the Milan Glosses onwards, with the preposition *la*, see <http://www.dil.ie/29233>.

⁸ The infixed pronoun is used here as the dative of the possessor, see Kavanagh (2001): 119-120 for more examples of this use.

It can also have the function of the copula, usually if the predicate does not follow the verb, for instance in example 5.⁹ It should be noted here that it can be difficult to determine which element is the subject and which is the predicate. This difficulty is expounded upon in section 2.2.

9) <i>atá</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>atach</i>	<i>n-dún-ní</i>	
be- SUBST.3SG.PRES.IND.	God- NOM.SG.	refuge- NOM.SG.N. ¹⁰	to-PREP.,	US-
			INFIX.PRON.1PL,	US -
			SUFF.PRON.1PL	
'God is a refuge to us' MI. 66d1				

Sometimes, these verbs can overlap in use for unknown reasons, although there do not seem to be many examples. In the case of the substantive, it may be used as a copula even when the predicate immediately follows it, for which no solution has been put forward. A classic example is noted by Thurneysen (1946), which is seen in example 10. This clause is odd because the substantive is followed by a predicate, which is also an adjective, both normally diagnostics for the use of a copula.

10) <i>Biid</i>	<i>ersoilcthi</i>	<i>ar^l</i>	<i>c[h]iunn</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>rig</i>
be-SUBST.IMPV.2PL.	open-	on-	head-DAT.SG.	your-	king-
	PART.NOM.	LEN.PREP.+DA		POSS.PRON.2PL.	ACC./DAT.SG.
	PL.	T			
'Be ye opened before your king' ¹¹			MI. 46a7		

If this can happen, it may be the case that copular sentences can also in part overlap with the substantive. No mentions of the use of the copula for the substantive have been found in the literature, although it is included in this thesis for the sake of completeness.

The goal of the present research is to investigate this overlap. To arrive at a sound conclusion, it is necessary to answer the following question: 'In what cases do the substantive verb and the copula overlap in Old Irish?'. To answer this question, a variety of sub-questions needs to be accounted for. These questions are as follows:

1. How are the substantive verb and the copula differentiated, syntactically and formally, in Old Irish?
2. When can the substantive verb be used for the copula, and vice versa?
3. Can a chronological development of this phenomenon be witnessed?
4. Is there a difference between register when this phenomenon is used?

The third question is expected to pose some difficulties, especially prevalent in the unreliability of dating for most Old Irish texts, as most are handed down to us in later manuscripts. It is noted when a date for a text is under discussion, though this may make the comparison between examples more difficult. This issue is circumvented by using the glosses of Milan, St. Gall, and Würzburg as the primary witnesses for this section. These glosses all have relatively certain dates, for Würzburg, the middle of the 8th century,¹² for Milan, the end of the 8th century and for St. Gall 851 A.D.¹³ Thus, a clear diachronic development can be witnessed within the glosses, especially between Milan & Würzburg and St. Gall, as the latter is undoubtedly later than the other two, which cannot be dated to a precise year. Therefore, they are compared to one another, with Milan and Würzburg making up the 'older' group

⁹ Thurneysen (1946): 475, example abbreviated for clarity.

¹⁰ Note that this could also be an accusative due to the nasalization on the following preposition. Because it is a neuter noun in earlier language (<http://www.dil.ie/4928>), the nominative also causes nasal mutation.

¹¹ Thurneysen (1946): 476.

¹² https://wuerzburg.ie/about_Eng.html, last visited on 06-05-2020.

¹³ Ó Néill (2000): 177-178.

and St. Gall the 'newer'. Furthermore, other texts written in the Old Irish period, are compared to the glosses, to see whether the development is, or is not, diachronic. A possibility that should be kept in the back of the mind is that later texts do not show the overlap because of reasons other than diachronic development, for instance diatopic variation or register variation. For further methodological considerations regarding the dating of the texts used in the corpus, see section three.

A similar problem arises in the fourth question, which is heavily dependent on the number of examples that can be found in the Old Irish source material, and is also dependent on whether or not the overlap is even present in other texts than the glosses. More on this is discussed in section three.

So far, the syntactic differentiation between the copula and the substantive has not yet been fully explained. Some research on the morphology of these verbs has been done. The syntactic distinction of the copula and the substantive verb has, as of yet, not received any large publication. For the morphological differentiation, Bisagni (2012) attempts to place a first step towards a comprehensive and complete understanding of the morphological difference between the copula and the substantive. The present research continues this step by looking at the syntactical differences between them, a necessity to finally answer the question posed by Thurneysen (1946) so long ago.

To investigate the use for the copula for the substantive verb and vice versa, a summary of the morphological and syntactical differences of the copula and the substantive is presented, and treated in detail. Secondly, the method of research is explained, the method of choosing texts is deliberated upon, and the chosen texts are briefly presented. Thirdly, the examples found in text are discussed. Lastly, the results are discussed from a methodological point of view, and conclusions are drawn upon them.

2. Academic Background

Irish is the only Celtic language to consistently show the syntactic and morphological distinction of two versions of the verb ‘to be’. Declarative sentences often consist of at least a subject and a predicate. The grammatical subject usually pertains to the agent of the verb, and typically carries a nominative case, which is also the case in Old Irish.¹⁴ The grammatical subject can be identified by their difference from complements in whether they agree with the verb, normally precede or follow the verb, their case, or their agreement with the verb.¹⁵ It can also be a null element as part of the verb in Old Irish. The predicate signifies the situation in which the referents of the arguments¹⁶ are involved.¹⁷ This means that it describes the act being performed.¹⁸ In Old Irish, the copula can either be marked by a verb, or be a null component, implicitly connecting the subject with the copula complement. This shows that the copula itself does not have a semantic meaning, as is often the case in other languages.¹⁹ The predicate can, as a result of this lack of semantic meaning, be non-verbal, and the term ‘predicate’ is then used not for the copula itself, but for the new, non-verbal predicate, which is also sometimes termed a ‘copula complement’.²⁰ The copula is followed by the predicate in the Irish copula, and in turn followed by the subject. This differs from normal word order, which is VSO in Old Irish. This is explained in depth in this section.

2.1 Morphology

The copula and the substantive verb have the same root, except for the present indicative, where the copula has the root **h₁es*, the substantive verb has **steh₂-*.²¹ In other tenses, they share a root in PIE **b^hweh₂-* and the other differences are caused by difference in development through stress.²² For instance, this can be seen in the 3sg. present subjunctive of the copula and the substantive.²³ In the examples listed in table 1, the last change seen is the Old Irish change of unaccented vowels into schwa. In the copula absolute, because the *b* is non-palatal, the following letter must be *a*. On the other hand, in the substantive conjunct, the *e* is accented, and is changed into a schwa, but is still written *e*. The difference of the forms between the copula and the substantive is chiefly due to the accented versus unaccented reflex of the same root, as the reflex is slightly different between the two, although they start out as the same forms.

Table 1: Chronological development of the 3sg. present subjunctive of the copula and the substantive verb.

SUBST.ABS:	*bw-ehti-eti ²⁴	*bweθieθ	*béθi	beith
SUBST.CONJ:	*bwe-ehti	*bweθ	*bé	-bé
COP.ABS:	*bw-ehti-eti	*bweθieθ	*beθ’	bad
COP.CONJ:	*bw-ehti	*bweθ	*be	-ba

In his paper, Bisagni (2012) discusses all research done up to that point on the forms of the copula and the substantive verb, reviewing especially the third person singular substantive preterite, *boí*, and the third person singular past copula, *ba*. He concludes that the origin for this form is in the reduplicated

¹⁴ Radford et al (2009): 247-249.

¹⁵ This varies between languages, and is dependent on their basic word order.

¹⁶ i.e. grammatical subjects, direct objects and indirect objects, which can be both Noun Phrases and Prepositional Phrases.

¹⁷ van Valin (2001): 8.

¹⁸ Radford et al (2009): 247.

¹⁹ Pustet (2003): 5.

²⁰ Pustet (2003): 4-5.

²¹ Bisagni (2012): 1. See also Schumacher (2004): 295-296.

²² Bisagni (2012): 1. See also Schumacher (2004): 241-256.

²³ McCone (1991): 88-89.

²⁴ Schumacher (2004): 241, 246-247.

non-ablating perfect PIE **b^he-b^húH-e*, which leads to the OIr. forms. In this, he follows Schumacher (2004), although with a couple alterations. This provides a possible origin not only for the Old Irish, but also the Middle Welsh forms, lending more credibility to the article by Bisagni (2012). The most important addition Bisagni (2012) makes is adding what he calls ‘Isaac’s apocope’ to it.²⁵ This apocope changes early i-apocope to affect only unstressed words, ‘solving’ the issue of the absolute-conjunct distinction without the use of the particle **-eti*.²⁶ A full discussion on the absolute-conjunct distinction is outside of the scope of this thesis, and for Bisagni’s theory, it does not matter (as both the use of Isaac’s apocope and the use of the **-eti* particle result in the same Old Irish forms). Accordingly, the absolute-conjunct distinction is not discussed further here. Bisagni (2012) claims that there seems to be evidence of this having happened in Gaulish already, and that is very useful for his theory.²⁷

The neutralization of the opposition of absolute and conjunct in the Old Irish suffixless preterite lead to a single stressed form of the substantive verb, *boí* (absolute) and *-boí* (conjunct). If this is the case, the neutralization of the distinction between absolute/conjunct in the suffixless preterite should be considered as a *terminus ante quem* for the Primitive-Irish distinction between the substantive and the copula in the preterite. Otherwise, the form necessary for the copula, **-buwu*, would have disappeared as the conjunct form of the substantive verb (IC **bubu*) did, according to Bisagni (2012).²⁸ This preform is necessary for the formation of the OIr. copula conjunct *-bu*. Bisagni (2012) considers this an Irish innovation that was not present in Proto-Celtic or Insular Celtic. The substantive verb and the copula must have differentiated before the Primitive Irish innovation of neutralization of the absolute/conjunct distinction of the suffixless preterite, and after the split of Irish from Insular Celtic during the Primitive Irish period. Bisagni (2012) also identifies a *terminus post quem* for the split of the substantive verb and the copula, namely the end of Insular Celtic, as he calls it ‘an Irish innovation’. He presumes that the copular forms were obtained after the split through the detonicization of forms **búwe* and **búwu*. This presupposes some knowledge on the part of the speakers of the distinction between substantive and copula, and the loss of the ‘original’ copular forms. Therefore, both the SUBST.ABS. and the SUBST.CONJ. in table 2 are necessary to arrive at the copular forms of absolute *ba* and conjunct *-bo/-bu*, which must have undergone apocope. He assumes that the copula kept the distinction because of its increasing grammatical separation from the substantive verb, whereas in the substantive, only the absolute was productive, leading to generalized *boí* and *-boí* for the absolute and conjunct respectively.²⁹

Table 2: Chronological development of the 3sg. perfect according to Bisagni (2012).³⁰

	PC	GIC	IC	IC2	PIr.
SUBST.ABS:	*bébuwe	*bébuwe	*bubuwe	*[búβe]	*búwe
SUBST.CONJ:	*bebuwe	*bebu	*bubu	*[buβu]	*búwu

Nonetheless, there are also problems with Bisagni (2012). Firstly, he does not use the enclitic particle **-eti-*, which is accepted by some (but not all) scholars as the origin of the absolute/conjunct

²⁵ Bisagni (2012): 14.

²⁶ This is also called the Cowgill particle, and its discussion is outside of the scope of this thesis. Standard works discussing this particle are Cowgill (1975), Schrijver (1994), and Schumacher (2004). In this thesis, it is of little to no importance, only relevant for the original root of the absolute and the conjunct in table 1. It is not discussed here for this reason. It seems that much evidence exists in favour of this particle, and it is used by Schumacher (2004), and thus it is included in table 1. It should be noted, though, that this is still up for debate, due to the contention between Cowgill’s particle and Isaac’s apocope.

²⁷ Bisagni (2012): 8-9.

²⁸ Bisagni (2012): 16.

²⁹ Bisagni (2012): 15-16.

³⁰ Table from Bisagni (2012): 15.

distinction, and rather attempts to explain it by using Isaac's apocope.³¹ This is not very relevant for this thesis as both Isaac's apocope and the enclitic particle would lead to the distinction in approximately the same period as Isaac's apocope is an expansion of early i-apocope, which Bisagni (2012) dates to before Insular Celtic, as it also appears in some Gaulish words.³²

A second weakness of Bisagni (2012) is the use of detonicization to explain the forms of the copula in the past tense. While his morphological reasoning is sound, it seems odd that a verb that has an 'increasingly separate grammatical status',³³ and had a 'very high frequency of occurrence of these forms',³⁴ would be reinterpreted through analogy with a verb that was much less used, because irregular patterns that are frequently used usually keep their irregularities through reinforcement. Furthermore, the loss of the absolute/conjunct distinction of **búwe* and **búwu* is, according to Bisagni (2012) reliant on the loss of distinction between absolute and conjunct of the suffixless preterite.³⁵ Nonetheless, Isaac (2007) claims that this arose because proto-endings of the suffixless preterite would not be affected by his apocope, only the 3sg. *-e. He continues by stating that the 3sg. would then be levelled with the other forms through analogy.³⁶ If this should happen with the substantive verb, the relative chronology of Bisagni (2012), seen in table 2, would have no distinction between absolute and conjunct by the IC2 period, before the existence of Irish as its own language. Nonetheless, he relies on the distinction between absolute and conjunct to eventually lead to the copular forms, the functional distinction of which he claims to be an Irish innovation.³⁷ Although it is not mentioned explicitly, the 3sg. form of the substantive could have first led to the copular forms and then lost its distinction between absolute and conjunct through analogy with the other preterite forms of the substantive, as Isaac (2007) does state that the 3sg. undergoes his apocope.³⁸ In short, the deduction of the copular forms from the substantive verb could be more convincing.

Concluding, the root of the preterite and past of the copula and the substantive seems to have been solved by Bisagni (2012), as he argues convincingly in the line of Schumacher (2004) for a preterite root of the reduplicated non-ablauting perfect PIE **b^he-b^húH-e* for the substantive preterite 3sg. absolute and conjunct.

2.2 The distinction PRED – SUBJ

Certain problems arise in copular sentences when determining the predicate and the subject of a sentence. They can be differentiated grammatically when considering an example such as:

11) <i>Is</i>	<i>gann</i>	<i>membrum</i>
be-	scanty-NOM.SG.M.	parchment-
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.		NOM.SG.
'The parchment is scanty.'		Sg. 228a

In this case, it is clear that *gann* is the predicate, as it is an adjective and cannot be the subject of the sentence, which is the noun *membrum*. For this reason, the predicate can be distinguished from the

³¹ Isaac's apocope has the same result as the particle **-eti-*, referenced in footnote 66. Because the same result is achieved with Isaac's apocope would lead to the same root in the case of the root for the copula and the substantive, it is not discussed here.

³² Bisagni (2012): 8.

³³ Bisagni (2012): 16.

³⁴ Bisagni (2012): 16.

³⁵ Bisagni (2012): 16.

³⁶ Isaac (2007): 57.

³⁷ Bisagni (2012): 15.

³⁸ Isaac (2007): 57.

subject by looking at differences in word class (adjective versus noun).³⁹ The distinction becomes much harder to make, however, when both the subject and the predicate consist of nominal phrases. In this case, subject and predicate are often distinguished by word order alone, as the predicate is often followed by the subject in the grammatically distinguishable cases. This grammaticalization of word order is also found in other languages.⁴⁰ As long as the language maintains this strict word order, it can be used in that manner to distinguish between the predicate and the subject. This research focusses on the overlap between substantive and copula, and should thus be able to distinguish between predicate and subject even when strict word order or grammatical identifiers are not enough. Mac Coisdealbha (1997) offers a solution with the theory of theme versus rheme, in other words the identified element versus the identifying element. It is often difficult to separate grammatico-syntactical terminology, especially in the subject – predicate dichotomy. Therefore, it should be noted here that theme versus rheme uses, according to Mac Coisdealbha (1997), the innate correspondence ‘what is being talked of’ versus ‘what is being said of it’.

A word of caution is to not conflate the grammatical subject of a sentence with the syntactical Topic of a sentence, as Mac Coisdealbha (1997) rightly cautions against when using the theme versus rheme dichotomy. The Topic, in syntax, refers to the psychological subject of a sentence, or what the speaker is thinking about. This is fused in the Prague School with the term ‘theme’, and according to them pertains to old information.⁴¹ In addition to this, Comment⁴² is sometimes used to refer to a psychological predicate.⁴³ Nonetheless, a Topic does not have to be the grammatical subject of a sentence, nor is the Comment necessarily the grammatical predicate as meant in this thesis. The terms theme and rheme should therefore be seen separately from this tradition, and instead seen according to the dichotomy preferred by Mac Coisdealbha: ‘what is being talked of’ versus ‘what is being said of it’.⁴⁴ Sometimes, these questions cannot be answered from the context of the gloss alone. Therefore, in these cases, the Latin text is also closely read in order to identify the theme and the rheme.

Nevertheless, this can prove to be insufficient, as sometimes, even context cannot provide unshakeable proof for the distinction between the subject and the predicate. In these cases, reference is made to the most likely subject and predicate, with an explanation of why the choice was made. Furthermore, such uncertain cases are excluded from the final analysis, as they are considered contested and too dependent on potentially subjective judgements.

2.3 The copula as a particle

It is important to note that the copula is sometimes considered to be non-verbal in the third person singular auxiliary.⁴⁵ Lash (2017) suggests that the copula is a particle on the basis of several reasons. The first of those is that the 3rd singular of the copula can host class C pronouns in regular sentences and relative clauses, whereas simple verbs host pronominal suffixes, and compound verbs class A or class B infixed pronouns.⁴⁶ In short, this means that since the copula 3rd singular can only have a class C pronoun, it cannot be a verb, as verbs have either a pronominal suffix or class A or B pronouns. Secondly, Lash (2017) investigates the difference between the copula and simple and compound verbs when in relative clauses. With other verbs, the relative mutation (either nasalization or lenition, dependent on the type of relative clause) occurs before the verb when the verb is simple, or before a

³⁹ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 24.

⁴⁰ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 25.

⁴¹ Krifka (2007): 31-33.

⁴² Here capitalized (as is Topic and Focus) because the syntactical term is meant, as is customary.

⁴³ Krifka (2007): 31.

⁴⁴ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 25-26.

⁴⁵ Lash (2017): 80.

⁴⁶ Lash (2017): 80-81.

compound verb where the root is preceded by a preverb, or before verbs preceded by conjunct particles. With the copula, the mutation follows the verb.⁴⁷ Thirdly, he argues that the 3rd singular of the copula acts differently from other verbs with regards to the absolute-conjunct distinction. In other verbs, without a preceding particle, the absolute verb is found. When preceding conjunct particles are found, the verb is in the conjunct form.⁴⁸ The copula does not have such an easy distinction, and the absolute or conjunct of the copula is dependent on many different factors, such as whether it is in a subordinate clause with a conjunct particle, or follows an interrogative particle.⁴⁹ Lash (2017) does not count the word order of copular sentences amongst the reasons for an absolute or conjunct copula.⁵⁰ Lash (2017) dates the start of the use of the copula as a particle to the pre-Old Irish period.⁵¹ In conclusion, the 3rd singular copula is likely a non-verbal particle rather than a verb in the time period treated in this thesis. Although this does not have any direct bearing on this study, because this study focusses on the simple presence of the copula or the substantive verb, and not on the categorial status of specific copulas, it is necessary to understand this in order to comprehend the hypothesis on the basis of Lash (2017) in section 2.8.

2.4 Subject displacement

The dominant word order of Old Irish is VSO. Nevertheless, other word order types are known, such as SVO, where a *nominativus pendens* comes before the rest of the sentence.⁵² Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) adds another variant of word order in Old Irish, namely the subject-final position. Some of the divergences to this position are easily recognized, predictable and determined by a small amount of factors.⁵³ One of these divergences is a verbal noun functioning as a grammatical subject or object, which always occupies sentence-final position. A second occurs when the subject is a noun, qualified by a relative sentence, or is comparatively long, and consists of multiple adjectives or noun phrases qualifying the noun. These divergences, according to Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980), occur because of stylistic considerations.⁵⁴

Nevertheless, others are not so easily paired with a reason, nor are they always predictable. Some seem to have the defining factor of emphasis or nuance in a sentence, and thus the marked, divergent word order is used instead of normal word order.⁵⁵ An example of this use would be the following, where the emphasized parts are in bold.

12) *Do filter chucut ón rig do choscrad do thige 7 dot brith chucai ar eigin, 7 bia torrach úaimsea
7 béra mac de 7 **ni marba eónu in mac sin** 7 bid Conaire a ainm.*

'They are coming from the king to destroy your house and to take you to him by force and you will be pregnant by me and you will bear a son from it and **that son may not kill birds** and his name will be Conaire.'⁵⁶

This clause, in bold, carries a special connotation and emphasis, as it contains a taboo, which is one of the possible contexts mentioned by Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980). In 12), variant word order is thus used

⁴⁷ Lash (2017): 81-82.

⁴⁸ Lash (2017): 83.

⁴⁹ Lash (2017): 83-84.

⁵⁰ Lash (2017): 85.

⁵¹ Lash (2017): 85.

⁵² Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 28.

⁵³ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 30.

⁵⁴ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 29.

⁵⁵ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 30.

⁵⁶ Translation and example from Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 30.

to emphasize a clause. It should be noted that the demonstrative pronoun is used for the subject (which is in subject-final position) in this clause.

It is especially common in sentences expressing wishes or requests, but not limited to those.⁵⁷ Usually, the emphasis used does not lie on the subject itself, but rather on the entire statement.⁵⁸

Another context is found when a previously mentioned character is reintroduced after a break in the narrative. It is then determined by a change of focus,⁵⁹ more than a change in emphasis. In this case, if the subject is a noun, it is accompanied by the definite article or the definite article and the deictic particle *i*.⁶⁰ This change can also be seen where a break in the narrative for dialogue in direct or indirect speech is apparent. Then, it often is the consequence of something else alluded to in the dialogue beforehand.⁶¹

Importantly, variant word order patterns are most present in verse, where they can sometimes outnumber regular word order patterns.⁶² Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) lastly hypothesizes that the irregular features present in verse are no longer found in later language because once permitted word order patterns survive in poetry longer than in prose.⁶³ If this is the case, it is also expected that earlier texts show more irregular patterns than later texts do. Nonetheless, the theory of subject-displacement does not lead to irregular uses of verbs, but rather to word order variance with verbs.⁶⁴

2.5 Copula

In Old Irish, there are a number of different possible copular sentences. Although they mostly rely on the same construction (as outlined in 2.5.1), to categorize the ungrammatical use of the copula, a full understanding of grammatical use of the copula is a necessity. In this section, these are explained in order to determine what uses for the copula are expected. As mentioned above, the copula is classed as a connective verb. There is a variety of subclasses, which can be divided into different categories.

2.5.1 Copula + predicate + subject

This is the expected form, when the connection between subject and predicate is expressed by the use of the copula. This can be considered the ‘simple’ use of the copula. The copula is always unaccented, and in this class, the copula and the predicate are in the same accent group.⁶⁵ An example of this ‘simple’ use can be seen in example 13), which is the same as example 1 in the introduction.

13) <i>Is</i>	<i>cosmart</i>	<i>do retaib</i>	<i>ind</i>	<i>fet</i>
be-COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	signal-NOM.SG.	to things	- def.art.-NOM.SG.	whistling
		PREP.PHRASE.DAT.PL.		sound-NOM.SG.

⁵⁷ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 31.

⁵⁸ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 35.

⁵⁹ i.e. what Krifka (2006) would call pragmatic focus, which relates communicative goals of the participants, especially for highlighting the answer to a *wh*-question (who, what, etc.) (Krifka (2006): 23-26). A change in focus would then occur in this case when the narrator wishes to communicate to the participants that one part of the story has ended, and now an earlier person takes up the central stage of the theatre. It should be noted that the concept of focus is difficult to strictly define, and that the definition of pragmatic focus is only part of the full meaning of focus. Nevertheless, for this thesis, it is not necessary to delve deeply into the definition of this term, and therefore this shall suffice.

⁶⁰ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 33.

⁶¹ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 34.

⁶² Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 35-36.

⁶³ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 37-38.

⁶⁴ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 36.

⁶⁵ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 29.

The subject can also be unexpressed, especially common in the first or second person. The simple copula can also occur with a genitival predicate,⁶⁶ which shows possession of the subject by the predicate.⁶⁷

2.5.2 Cleft sentences

Cleft sentences are a subclass of copular sentences, where the predicate is connected to a subordinate clause. The clause contains a relative when the fronted element is a subject or an object, but when the fronted element is not a subject or an object, a non-relative form is expected.⁶⁸ It is used chiefly to emphasize parts of the sentence, and anything can be placed after the copula in this construction. In the case of an adjective, it may become an adverb in this case.⁶⁹ It is a very common part of the syntax of Old Irish, and it occurs in all periods. The same construction occurs in Welsh, where it is known as the Mixed Order.⁷⁰

It should be noted that this subtype of the copula could be considered not a subtype in its own right, but rather a different expression of the COP+PRED+SUBJ simple type. An example of the cleft sentence can be seen in example 14). In this example, it is clear that the fronted element is a subject or an object, as *ernaigde* is the same in nominative and accusative, and lenition might not show on the *#f-*, and therefore, the verb is relative.⁷¹

14) <i>is</i>	<i>ernaigde</i>	<i>fil</i>	<i>and</i>
be-	praying-	be-	in-
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	VN.NOM.SG.	SUBST.3SG.PRES.IND.REL	PREP.+ACC/DAT., it-INF.PRON.N.SG.
‘It is prayer that is in it.’			MI.038c11.

Another way of translating this gloss would be ‘What is in it is prayer’, with the relative phrase as the subject rather than as a dependant on the predicate *ernaigde*. This can be done with all sentences of this type can often also be translated , and thus classify it as a different expression of the simple type.

This classification does lead to a problem, however, as the fronted element can be anything, not just a noun or an adjective as would be expected in a copular sentence. In example 15), for instance, the fronted element is a prepositional phrase. Here, *teit* is a regular, absolute verb, which follows the rules of fronted elements. Nonetheless, this verbal phrase would not be expected with the simple copula (where the relative can sometimes act as a subject). As a consequence, the cleft sentence both is and is not part of the simple copula type.

15) <i>Is</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>digail</i>	<i>teit</i>	<i>hí</i>	<i>suidi</i>
be-	to-	punishment-	goes-	in-	this-
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	PREP.+DAT.	VN.DAT.SG.	3SG.PRES.IND.	PREP.+DAT./ACC.	AN.PRON.DAT.SG.
‘It is to punishment that it applies here.’			MI. 27c10.		

⁶⁶ Thurneysen (1946): 159.

⁶⁷ Baumgarten (1972): 239.

⁶⁸ Bergin & Strachan (1970): 137.

⁶⁹ Thurneysen (1946): 238-241.

⁷⁰ Mac Coisealbha (1997): 144.

⁷¹ Naturally, when it is fronted, it becomes a predicate. In the original sentence, without a cleft, *ernaigde* would be the subject.

2.5.3 Copula with post-copular pronoun

This class consists of the copula with a nominative, stressed, pronoun in the second position, for instance in the following example:

16) <i>ba</i>	<i>hé</i>	<i>a n-gnīm-som</i>	<i>molad</i>	<i>dae</i>
be-	PERS.PRON.-3SG.M.	POSS.PRON.2PL ^N ,	to	praise-
COP.3SG.PAST.IIND.		work-NOM.SG.M,	VERB.NOUN.NOM.SG	God-GEN.SG
		EMPH.PRON.2PL		
‘Their work was to praise God’		MI. 24a4		

Thurneysen explains that this occurs when the predicate is a definite nominative and not a personal pronoun.⁷² A definite nominative predicate can also immediately follow the copula.⁷³ He also elucidates that the post-copular pronoun occurs more often in the Milan Glosses and later, and less often in the Würzburg Glosses. Thurneysen (1946) furthermore comments on the use of post-copular pronouns. He states that the nominatives of pronouns occur most commonly as a predicate with the copula. As a subject, they solely occur after the interrogative pronoun and in clauses without a verb.⁷⁴ Following this, it stands to reason that in examples such as 16), the personal pronoun is always a predicate, and should be considered as such, due to the lack of occurrences of the personal pronoun as a subject in sentence clauses. Mac Coisdealbha (1997) seems to agree, as when he lists his possibilities for the copula and a post-copular pronoun, he mentions that while an occurrence of COP + SUBJ + PRED exists,⁷⁵ the post-copular pronoun should be regarded as substituting for the predicate, directly following the copula.⁷⁶ He uses the terms predicate-substituens (pronoun) and predicate-substituendum (nominal phrase)⁷⁷ for this.⁷⁸ Consequently, unless strong evidence comes forward in the examples, all personal pronouns in non-cleft copular sentences are considered as a substitute for the ‘true’ predicate, and the clause as adhering to the regular order of the predicate immediately following the copula.

Mac Coisdealbha (1997) further claims this could be motivated by the communicative function, where the heaviest information units tend to be placed in the end of the sentence. He claims that there is no way to create an absolute rule from this, which creates difficulty in assessing this type of example.⁷⁹ In instances where both the subject and the predicate are nouns or noun phrases, such as above, it is impossible on the basis of the Old Irish in itself to see which is the predicate, and which is the subject.⁸⁰ For this reason, it is necessary to use context to determine the predicate and the subject, for example through the use of theme versus rheme. In the case of example 16), the theme appears to be ‘their work’, as the identified element with ‘to praise God’ as identifying element. Furthermore, the Latin sentence this gloss refers to is *Erat iste mos apud filios Israhel ut ad sallendum Deo concurrerent hi ad quorum spectabat officium*.⁸¹ It becomes clear through the glossed Latin that OIr. *molad dae* is the subject in the Old Irish gloss, because it glosses L. *officium*, and the Old Irish gloss is used to explain what exactly this service was. In this case, using Mac Coisdealbha’s method, it seems that OIr. *hé* refers

⁷² Thurneysen (1946): 492-493.

⁷³ <http://www.dil.ie/29104>.

⁷⁴ Thurneysen (1946): 254.

⁷⁵ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 71-72: 3b, which corresponds to his ‘type 1a’.

⁷⁶ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 54-55.

⁷⁷ I.e. predicate-replacer and predicate-replaced.

⁷⁸ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 55.

⁷⁹ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 27.

⁸⁰ Thurneysen (1946): 493.

⁸¹ ‘That was a custom with the sons of Israel that those upon whose service it used to look, would flock together to sing psalms to God.’ Translation mine.

to the predicate, hence keeping the word order COP+PRED+SUBJ, with the pronoun as a cataphoric pronoun referring to the predicate, and having the grammatical role of predicate.

Mac Coisdealbha subdivided this category into four classes. Firstly, he recognizes a simple copula, with the word order VB+PRED+SUBJ. Secondly, he identifies a cleft sentence type preserving the character of the first category, with the same word order. These can be seen to correspond to the earlier categories set out above in section 2.4. A third class is formed by simple copular sentences with a post-copular stressed pronoun. He divides this class into three subclasses, the cataphoric type (a), which maintains the sequence VB+PRED+SUBJ, through placing a post-copular pronoun in between the verb and the subject. The nominal predicate is then placed at the end of the sentence. The pronoun would then be the predicate substituens (sns) and the predicate the predicate substituendum (subst) (example 17).⁸²

17) Verb	Predicate-sns	subject-clause		Predicate-subst	
<i>Is</i>	<i>hed</i>	<i>astécte</i>	<i>dúib</i>	<i>nébeth</i>	<i>immalle</i>
be-	it-	be-	to-	not-NEG.PART.	jointly,
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	PERS.PRON.3SG.N	COP.3SG.REL.	PREP.+ACC/DAT,	to be, to exist-	together-
		PRES.IND. right-	you-	VN.SUBST.NOM.SG.	ADV.
		NOM.SG.N	INF.PRON.2SG.		
			Wb.9b17		
‘It is this that is proper to you, not to be together.’					

Subclasses (b) and (c) spring forth from this ‘original’ use of the post-copular pronoun. Type (b) is a secondary development in the Old Irish period which leads to the word order VB+SUBJ+PRED. This word order is, according to Mac Coisdealbha (1997), only possible with a post-copular pronoun.⁸³ It is caused by confusion between the nominal phrase after words such as *inso*, *insin*, *són*, or *ede*, which refer anaphorically to other parts of text. This makes it difficult to establish a subject and a predicate in these types of sentences,⁸⁴ which can be seen in example 18). *Inso* here refers to the Latin ‘*Ut quid, domine, recissisti longi?*’, the start of a psalm. Nonetheless, it can be both the subject or the predicate in this sentence, both thematically and grammatically.

<i>18) Is</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>inso</i>	<i>tosach</i>	<i>ind</i>	<i>alasailm</i>
be-	it-	this-	beginning-	the-	other-
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	PERS.PRON.3SG.N	DEM.PRON.	NOM.SG.	DEF.ART.GEN.SG.	PREF.PART.,
					psalm-GEN.SG.M.
‘This is the beginning of the other psalm.’			MI.027d02		

Type (c) adheres to the simple word order, but has the pronoun and the predicate following each other as a predicate. An example of type (c) can be seen in example 19), where the post-copular pronoun is feminine, and must thus refer to the feminine word in the sentence (*inducbal*). *Lesom* should not be considered as a part of the copular construction, but rather as part of the Noun Phrase which starts with *inducbal*.

<i>19) Is</i>	<i>sí</i>	<i>inducbal</i>	<i>lesom</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>molad</i>
be-	she-	glory-	with-PREP.+ACC,	the-	praise-
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	PERS.PRON.3SG.F	NOM.SG.F.	he-	DEF.ART.NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.M.
			INF.PRON.3SG.M.		
‘The praise is the glory with him.’			MI.126b17		

⁸² I.e. the replacer and the replaced.

⁸³ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 72.

⁸⁴ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 48-51.

The fourth class is a cleft sentence that has a post-copular pronoun. It adheres to the sequence VB+PRED+SUBJ. It is an optional structure for a cleft sentence,⁸⁵ and can be seen in example 20).

20) <i>Is</i>	<i>ed</i>	<i>inchoisecht</i>	<i>trisodin</i>
be-	this-	indicate-	through-
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	PERS.PRON.3SG.N.	3SG.PRET.IND.	PREP.+ACC, that- AN.PRON.SG.N.
'It is this that was indicated through that.'			Mi.016c10

2.5.4 Copula with a preposition

If an adverbial phrase is predicated with a personal subject expressed by a pronoun, that pronoun does not appear as a nominative, but as the preposition *do* with the suffixed pronoun.⁸⁶ This is the case in example 21).

21) <i>nibad</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>óenur</i>	<i>dó</i>
not-NEG.PART., COP.3SG.PAST.SUBJ.	be- his-POSS.PRON.3SG.M.	one alone-NOM.SG.	to-PREP.+ DAT, him- INF.PRON.3SG.M.
'It should not be his aloneness to him.' ⁸⁷		Wb.14a21	

Possession can also be shown using a preposition.⁸⁸ In this case, the prepositional phrase must be the predicate, as there is no other phrase in the sentence that can fill this role.

22) <i>As</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>popul</i>
be-	with-PREP.+ACC	God-ACC.SG.	the-NOM.SG.	people-
COP.REL.3SG.PRES.IND.				
'That the people is God's.'		MI. 114a02-03		

Both types of occurrences should be considered grammaticalized, and are not included. They generally seem to adhere to the standard word order for the copula and the substantive verb.

It is possible that prepositional phrases can be predicates of copular sentences, as eDIL lists quite a few examples.⁸⁹ It should be noted that most examples in section (b) of eDIL are either cleft sentences, such as 23), or direct translations of Latin, such as 24). In section 2.5.2 the cleft sentence is discussed. Example 23) is a clear example of a fronted prepositional phrase, which should indeed be regarded as the predicate in this sentence. Nevertheless, it is an expected, grammatical, utterance, and therefore not included in the final analysis, because the cleft sentence behaves somewhat differently to the simple copula type.

23) <i>is</i>	<i>occ</i>	<i>maid</i>	<i>atáa</i>
be-COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	at-PREP.+DAT	good-DAT.SG.	be- SUBST.3SG.PRES.IND.
'It is at (doing) good that he is.'		Wb.6a18	

Example 24) is a direct translation of Latin. It stands to reason that these might contain ungrammatical utterances as to reflect the Latin as faithfully as possible. Another explanation may be that this is an

⁸⁵ Mac Coisdealbha (1997): 71-72.

⁸⁶ Thurneysen (1946): 493.

⁸⁷ Translation mine to show the grammatical usage. A better, sense-for-sense translation, per Thurneysen (1946): 493, is 'He should not be alone'.

⁸⁸ Baumgarten (1972): 239.

⁸⁹ <http://www.dil.ie/29104>, use (b).

elided cleft or simply only a fragmented gloss, which both make it impossible to identify whether or not this utterance is grammatical. If it is an elided cleft, the prepositional predicate is grammatical, as the elided verb would be understood by the reader. For a discussion on prepositional predicates and elision, see section 3.3.

24) *amal as o spirut.*

As it is of the spirit.

[...] *tamquam a Domini Spiritu.*

[...] as of the spirit.

For this reason, a study must be made into whether the copula can have a prepositional predicate and a grammatical non-zero subject to be able to identify whether or not this is a possibility at all. This should then be considered overlap of the copula and the substantive verb, as usually the substantive verb is expected to have a prepositional predicate in non-cleft sentences.

2.6 Substantive verb

The substantive verb is used in a broader sense than the copula, and denotes existence, presence, being in a certain condition, and more.⁹⁰ It carries stress, so it forms its own accent group. In example 25), an example of the regular use for existence with the substantive verb is shown. Note that the translation of the substantive here could also be ‘exists’, as *mordechur* is the grammatical subject in this sentence. It is also apparent that the prepositional phrase is not connected with the subject by the verb, as would be the case with the copula.

25) <i>Atá</i>	<i>mordechur</i>	<i>etir</i>	<i>deacht 7</i>	<i>doinacht</i>
be-	great	difference-	between-	divinity-
SUBST.3SG.PRES.IND.	NOM.SG.		PREP+ACC.	ACC.SG.,
				and-
				CONJ.PART.

‘There is a great difference between divinity and humanity.’ MI. 26b01

The most usual way the substantive verb is defined, however, is by it being ‘to be’ in other instances for which the copula is not used, except nasalizing relatives, where no form of *ata* or *is* is used. In regular use, it adheres to the general word order VSX,⁹¹ as in the following example.

26) <i>huare</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>cinniud</i>	<i>persíne</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>pronomen</i>
for- CONJ.	be-	definition-	person-	in-	pronoun-
	SUBST.3SG.PRES.IND.	M.SG.NOM.	GEN.SG.	PREP.+ACC./+DAT.	N.ACC.SG.

‘For a definition of person is in a pronoun.’ Sg. 197a11

The use of a prepositional phrase with the substantive verb is also regular. In general, the substantive should be thought of as a full verbal reflex of ‘to be’, which follows the regular verbal patterns in Old Irish, that is, it follows VSX word-order, and is stressed. If it has a pronoun, this is not the nominative singular of that pronoun, but rather a suffixed pronoun on a preposition, an emphasizing pronoun affixed to the verb, or an infixed pronoun on the verbal particle preceding the verb when it is in the

⁹⁰ Thurneysen (1946): 475.

⁹¹ Because the substantive verb is intransitive, the order VSX, where X is any other element, is more apt than VSO.

conjunct. Many idioms are created with the substantive verb as well.⁹² Although the substantive verb seems very different from the copula, it should be recognized that the verbal noun of the substantive verb is used for the copula in regular use.⁹³ It should be noted that the substantive verb can also be used as the copula in some cases that are mentioned by Thurneysen (1946),⁹⁴ for instance when the verb is in a relative clause and refers to a predicate expressed by a word in the principal clause, or when the subject stands between the predicate and the verb (as in example 26).

The substantive can also be used to reflect possession by adding a dative for the possessor.⁹⁵ In this case, the substantive is used as the copula, although it does adhere to the substantive word order, that of SUBST+SUBJ+PRED. The substantive is also considered regular when it is in the third person and followed only by a nominative noun, which is in this case always regarded as the subject. There is a non-zero possibility that this noun would be a predicate, although this would not be expected unless the context provides a reason to assume this noun is not the subject.

2.7 'To be' in Welsh

As mentioned above, Irish is the only Celtic language to consistently show a distinction between two versions of 'to be'. It is therefore relevant to look at the Middle Welsh uses of the copula and the substantive. Furthermore, it may prove relevant to establishing a common origin for the distinction, or disproving one.

In Middle Welsh, the verb 'to be' is represented by *bot*. It can be used as both a substantive or a copula. In the substantive, it often serves as an auxiliary verb with the verbal noun. It can be modified by an adverb. The copula also links a nominal predicate with its subject in Middle Welsh. Here, the predicate is also either a noun or an adjective. The early word order in independent, affirmative sentences was COP+PRED+SUBJ, which was later replaced in Middle Welsh prose by the order PRED+COP+SUBJ or COP+SUBJ+PRED. Predicates can also appear by themselves without a form of *bot*, or appear in marked position at the beginning of a clause.⁹⁶

From this, it logically follows that Irish has innovated its distinction between the copula and the substantive verb after the Insular Celtic period, as it is not a shared development. The early word order of copular sentences in Middle Welsh appears quite similar to that of copular sentences in Old Irish, and the possibility should be considered that this word order was present before the split of both languages, although no definite evidence for this has, as of yet, been presented. If the hypothesis of Lash (2017) is correct,⁹⁷ and the original word order in copular sentences for the Insular Celtic languages was COP+SUBJ+PRED, this would mean that Welsh has also innovated its word order.

2.8 Hypotheses

Even though there has been very little research on the prevalence of the overlap of the substantive and the copula, there are some theories relating to them that have been posited by other researchers. The first one treated here was contemplated by Bisagni (2019), who wrote that the instances of the use of the substantive verb in place of the copula in the *Amrae Coluimb Cille (ACC)* were not a linguistic fossil, as he considered the gap between the morphological distinction and the beginnings of literature

⁹² <http://www.dil.ie/4927>.

⁹³ Thurneysen (1946): 493.

⁹⁴ Thurneysen (1946): 476.

⁹⁵ Baumgarten (1972): 239-240.

⁹⁶ Simon-Evans (1964): 138-140.

⁹⁷ For an in-depth treatment, see section 2.8.

in Old Irish too wide to allow for the use of the substantive for the copula as an archaism.⁹⁸ Rather, he claims, the use of the substantive verb for the copula is a stylistic choice, especially used in a high or poetic register, and not an archaism. He explains that this choice could have partly come to be through the translation of Latin *esse* as the substantive verb.⁹⁹ He does note that it is hard to distinguish between the use of a semantic nuance or a pseudo-archaism. Similar constructions can be found in both later and earlier texts than the ACC, and are also in various *rosc* prophecies. Bisagni (2019) lastly posits that if correct, this stylistic choice was available to Irish authors throughout the Old Irish period.¹⁰⁰ To establish that the translation of Latin *esse* with the substantive verb is common even if the copula would be syntactically correct in the Old Irish, he explains that there is ‘ample evidence of the habit of translating forms of Latin *esse* with the substantive verb even when the Irish syntax required the copula [...]’.¹⁰¹ He mentions several passages from *Auraicept na n-Éces*. Dillon (1928) has written these out in his paper on nominal predicates. He mentions the following examples of the direct translation of Latin *esse* with the substantive verb, collated in table 3.

Table 3: 'ut donatus dixit': similar examples from Dillon (1928): 331. The examples are listed by the number they appear with in Dillon (1928).

2748: <i>ut donatus dixit: Uocaleis dicuntur quae per se quidim proferuntur et per se sillabam faciunt</i> ¹⁰²
So that Donatus said: those who by themselves are pronounced and make syllables by themselves are (said to be) vocals.
<i>.i. atat na guthacha dourgbad treothu fein [...]</i>
That is, vowels are [those that] are enounced by means of themselves.
462: <i>ut donatus dixit: Semiocales sunt quae per se quidim proferuntur et per se sillabam non faciunt</i>
So that Donatus said: those who by themselves are pronounced and do not make syllables by themselves are semi-vocals.
<i>.i. atat na leathghutai nahi dourgabtar treothu fein [...]</i>
That is, half-vowels are those that are enounced by means of themselves.

In this case, the substantive behaves as the copula, although it is not ‘ungrammatical’ per Thurneysen (1946) who would say that example 462 especially is an expected behaviour for the substantive verb.¹⁰³ It should be noted that *dourgbad* is an odd reading. It seems likely that example 2748 was intended like the grammatical construction in example 462. The subject clearly comes first in these sentences, as the theme in both is the vowels and semi-vowels respectively. Both should thus be regarded as grammatical utterances in Old Irish. Alternatively, in example 2748, *na guthacha* could easily be taken as the subject, with *dourgbad* as a relative. Then, the substantive verb would be perfectly regularly used as a substantive of existence. This seems much more likely.

He also lists the following examples, found in table 4.

Table 4: 'ut [...] dixit' more examples from Dillon (1928): 330-331. The examples are listed by the number they appear with in Dillon (1928).

475: <i>ut donatus dixit: mute sunt quae per se nec proferuntur et per se sillabam non faciunt</i>
So that Donatus said: they are mutes who by themselves are not pronounced and do not make syllables by themselves.

⁹⁸ Bisagni (2019): 124.

⁹⁹ Bisagni (2019): 124.

¹⁰⁰ Bisagni (2019): 124-125.

¹⁰¹ Bisagni (2019): 123-124.

¹⁰² This is similar to 364, according to Dylon, and *dicuntur* was read as *sunt*, according to him (Dylon (1928): 331).

¹⁰³ Thurneysen (1946): 475.

<i>.i. atat na muidi 7 it e na denat in sillaib treothu fein 7 [...]</i>
That is, there are mutes and it is they that do not make syllables by themselves and [...]
2945: <i>ut donatus dixit: mute sunt quae per se nec proferuntur et per se sillabam non faciunt</i>
So that Donatus said: they are mutes who by themselves are not pronounced and do not make syllables by themselves.
<i>.i. atat na muidi acht nochta denait int sillaib treotha fein 7 [...]</i>
That is, there are mutes but they do not make syllables by themselves and [...]
589: <i>ut Priscianus dixit: oratio est ordinatio congruam dictionum perfectamque sententiam demonstrans</i>
So that Priscian said: a speech is a decree that demonstrates harmonious diction and perfect sentences.
<i>.i. ata in innsi ordugud comimaircide na n-epert failisiges in ceill foirbthi</i>
The speech is a fitting arrangement of sayings that show the perfect mind.

He claims the sense is changed in examples 475 and 2945 sentences to fit *atat*, but both glosses seem to preserve the same sense as the Latin, albeit formulated a little different. Example 589 is ungrammatical, because the substantive verb here has a nominal predicate, rather than the expected adverbial or prepositional predicate. From these examples, it should be concluded that ungrammatical substantives can occur when Latin *esse* is translated as the substantive verb in Irish, but they can (and are) sometimes remedied by different constructions, such as a relative or a copular sentence following the substantive construction. It should be noted, however, that the examples here are from *Auraicept na n-Eces*, and are considered to be Middle Irish,¹⁰⁴ which means that it may be different from the situation in Old Irish.

Bisagni (2019) claims there is more evidence for this phenomenon in the glosses, which are investigated in this thesis. If his hypothesis is correct, it is expected that many more instances of overlap would be found in poetic texts, as these are often quite complex, providing an incentive for the author to make deliberate aberrant stylistic choices to show their knowledge. Furthermore, if it is a stylistic choice, the inverse would not be expected to occur, as the copula and the substantive verb were still differentiated, but just overlapped in order to give a text a certain air of high learning or of great age. Lastly, if his hypothesis is correct, it would be expected that most examples of the use of the substantive for the copula in the glosses are translations of Latin *esse*. One weak part of his hypothesis, however, is the dependency on his own theory of the early morphological split between the substantive and the copula. Although no criticism so far has been published on this theory, due to its relatively recent publication and the small number of scholars in the field, criticism may be forthcoming still. Nonetheless, his morphological theory holds up. His hypothesis of a stylistic choice remains to be tested for other sources than the ACC.

Lash (2017) would not agree with a stylistic choice. Rather than a mere stylistic choice, Lash (2017) believes that anomalous endings in the copular system signify a stage in which the word order was COP+SUBJ+PRED, while it was not yet an enclitic particle rather than a verb.¹⁰⁵ For these anomalous endings, he cites the endings of the second person present indicative *-t*, the first person plural *-n*, the second person plural *-b*, the first plural conjunct and the first plural subjunctive conjunct *-n*, and the first plural imperative *-n*.¹⁰⁶ These anomalous endings are highlighted in bold in table 5.

¹⁰⁴ Dillon (1928): 332.

¹⁰⁵ Lash (2017): 97.

¹⁰⁶ Lash (2017): 91.

Table 5: The paradigm of the present indicative absolute and conjunct of the copula, the copula subjunctive conjunct and the copula imperative.¹⁰⁷ Bold are the anomalous endings that are cited by Lash (2017).

	Present indicative		subjunctive	imperative
	absolute	conjunct	conjunct	
1sg.	<i>am</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ba</i>	-
2sg.	<i>at/it</i>	<i>-ta</i>	<i>-ba</i>	<i>ba</i>
3sg.	<i>is</i>		<i>-bo</i>	<i>bed</i>
1pl.	<i>ammin/ammi</i>	<i>-tan</i>	<i>-ban</i>	<i>baan</i>
2pl.	<i>adib</i>	<i>-tad</i>	<i>-bad</i>	<i>bed</i>
3pl.	<i>it</i>	<i>-taat/-tat</i>	<i>-bat</i>	<i>bat</i>

Lash (2017) identifies these endings as additions to the normal endings, which are, according to him, derived from subject pronouns and *notae augentes*, which are unstressed pronominal elements which have an emphasizing function. He adds to this the first and second person singular preterite forms (both conjunct and absolute), which have final *-sa*. These endings are seen in the Würzburg glosses without the addition of the anomalous endings.¹⁰⁸ Thurneysen (1946) claims that these endings should rather be viewed as arising through analogy with infixed pronouns.¹⁰⁹ In contrast, it is hard to see how infixed pronouns would analogously give rise to verbal endings, as Lash (2017) posits that only the third person singular copula is a non-verbal particle. Other forms are, according to him, still regarded as full verbs. Important to note here is that his anomalous forms can only be seen in the first and second person, and not in the third person. Lash (2017) argues that these endings could not have arisen through analogy with infixed pronouns.¹¹⁰ Firstly, he questions why the ending arising through sound change in the first person singular present copula *-mm* would have been interpreted as a pronoun at all. He claims that the current ending *-n* should not arise in that case, because it would be more logical to reintroduce the original palatalization from the verbal endings into the first person singular copula rather than interpret this form as non-verbal and then infect the rest of the paradigm with non-verbal pronominal endings. Secondly, he questions whether the change would be used to create a new regular system of endings, and why they would not extend to the other verbs through morphological levelling with the copula. Thirdly, he questions why this change would bring irregularity into a straightforward system rather than creating regularity by expanding the initial *a-mm* with a reinterpreted pronominal element to all other forms in the copula (which would lead to ***a-n* ‘we are’, instead of regular *a-mmi* ‘we are’). This latter change would be based on analogy with the infixed pronouns with prepositions.¹¹¹

Lash (2017) thus provides a second hypothesis, wherein an original COP+SUBJ+PRED changed to COP+PRED+SUBJ before the Old Irish period, and this is what is behind the archaism of overlap between the copula and the substantive. The benefit of the theory by Lash (2017) is that his theory is not fully reliant on the age of the morphological split of substantive and copula, namely before the split of conjunct and absolute in Primitive Irish,¹¹² but rather depends on a later change of directionality. It should be noted, however, that Lash (2017) does not provide a date for his syntactical reconstruction, but merely mentions that it was COP+SUBJ+PRED in pre-Old Irish.¹¹³

¹⁰⁷ Bergin & Strachan (1970): 72.

¹⁰⁸ Lash (2017): 92-93.

¹⁰⁹ Thurneysen (1946): 484-487.

¹¹⁰ Lash (2017): 120.

¹¹¹ Lash (2017): 199-121.

¹¹² Bisagni (2012): 16.

¹¹³ Lash (2017): 90-91.

Lash (2017) uses another tool for the analysis of archaisms, which does not rely on poetry.¹¹⁴ This is the theory by Harris and Campbell (1995), who claim that archaisms (although they name them 'relics') have two essential properties, namely that they are exceptions in a regular system, and are archaic, and have consequently been left out or exempted by the process of language development. They are an exception which does not fit with otherwise valid generalizations. They are determined by three different methods. (1) They recede over a period of time (in contrast to innovations, which spread), (2) they occur in the most commonly used expressions of a language, as frequent use reinforces specific patterns, and (3) they are likely to be preserved in proverbs and proverb-like sayings, or in legal documents, traditional literary forms, kinship terms and sacred expressions.¹¹⁵ This determination is used to evaluate the possibility of an archaic overlap of the substantive and the copula.

A third possibility is also presented by Lash (2014b), who wrote extensively on subject-displacement in Old Irish. He considers that early Irish distinguishes between subject positions that immediately follow the verb, what he calls subject-1, and a post-posed position which is clause or sentence final, which was first posited by Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980).¹¹⁶ They can be placed at the end of the sentence for six structural and contextual reasons, (a.) they are modified by relative clauses, (b.) they are comparatively long, or heavy Noun Phrases, (c.) they function as a Verbal Noun-Phrase, (d.) for emphasis, (e.) if two consecutive actions are contrasted, or (f.) with a change of focus with previously known information after a break or (in)direct speech.¹¹⁷

Lash (2014b) argues that there is a third position, what he calls subject-2, or the 'intermediate' position, which occurs after some adverbs.¹¹⁸ He calls these adverbs 'demarcating adverbs', although this is a purely descriptive term.¹¹⁹ These adverbs are *dano*, *didiu*, *ém/ám/óm*, *etir*, *trá*, *iarum*, *immurgu*, *and*, and *la* + Noun Phrase (but only in the meaning 'in the opinion of X').¹²⁰ He considers these adverbs as discourse oriented phrases, and thinks the fact they prevent the subject from being in second position (after the verb) is based on the Cinque-hierarchy.¹²¹ Because the reason for the prevention of the high position of the subject is not relevant for this thesis, but rather the fact that these adverbs move the subject at all, a full discussion on the Cinque-hierarchy is not included here.

Furthermore, Lash (2014b) concludes that subject-1 position relates to old information, and subject-2 contains new information (although it can be hearer-old but context-new). Therefore, he claims there are various subject-oriented positions in early Irish which relate to information structure, which can be compared to word order patterns found in Germanic languages. These were then differentiated with an adverb hierarchy which distinguishes between the demarcating adverbs mentioned above and other adverbs.¹²² This could prove useful in sentences with a substantive verb, as the copula should not be able to have an adverb. If a demarcating adverb is used in a sentence with the substantive verb, the subject is post-posed to subject-2 or the end of the clause, resulting in the word order PRED+SUBJ, if the substantive verb carries a predicate. In short, demarcating adverbs could be the cause of aberrant word order from the expected substantive order of SUBJ + PRED if the substantive carries a predicate. For this, a sentence would need to satisfy two rules, per Lash (2014b), namely that the sentence contains a demarcating adverb, or that the subject pertains to 'new' information.

¹¹⁴ Lash (2017): 90.

¹¹⁵ Harris and Campbell (1995): 354-355.

¹¹⁶ Lash (2014b): 280.

¹¹⁷ Lash (2014b): 278-279.

¹¹⁸ Lash (2014b): 280.

¹¹⁹ Lash (2014b): 280.

¹²⁰ Lash (2014b): 282.

¹²¹ Lash (2014b): 282-283.

¹²² Lash (2014b): 306.

Lash (2014b) should be seen as an extension of the rules made by Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) on the matter of subject displacement. The hypothesis is that when the word order in substantive sentences is not VSX, the context of the sentence should contain a demarcating adverb, pertain to 'new' information, or be subject to one of the rules Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) discovered. It should be noted that this is not a matter of the use of the substantive for the copula, but rather a case of word order variance.

The earlier two hypotheses can be regarded as mutually exclusive, as they both posit a different reason for the overlap, namely a stylistic choice and a syntactical archaism through an origin in COP+SUBJ+PRED. To test these hypotheses, it must first be established if the overlap is the result of an archaism, which is done using the theory of Harris and Campbell (1995). If it is the case that the overlap in the glosses can be seen as an archaism, it should occur less and less from Wb. to Sg., as they are quite some years apart from each other, and at this point, there was no standard for writing Old Irish. Nonetheless, as Bisagni (2019) also notes, it is often difficult to discover if a phenomenon came to be through (pseudo-)archaisms or through a stylistic choice.¹²³ This is mainly because, if used intentionally, archaisms are themselves a stylistic choice used by the writer to convey high learning.

The last hypothesis is not mutually exclusive with the other two. It is especially impactful in the word order of the substantive verb, and should be considered a possibility for the change of word order in the substantive verb from SUBST+SUBJ+PRED to SUBST + PRED + SUBJ, by relegating the subject to the end of the clause or subject-2 position by the use of demarcating adverbs, new versus old information, and the rules by Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980).

2.9 Concluding remarks

In this section, how to distinguish between the predicate and the subject in copular clauses and clauses containing the substantive verb has been made clear. It is stated that the copula 3sg. should be considered a particle because of its use of pronouns that cannot be used with a verb. It has also been explained that the copula does not regularly have semantic meaning. This fits the definition of the predicate in this case, which usually encompasses the verb in a clause, but does not in this thesis, instead only referring to the semantically meaningful part of the clause, i.e. what is said about the subject.

Furthermore, it is clear that there are various grammatical uses of the copula, which can be divided into four subdivisions, namely the simple structure, the cleft sentence, the copula with a post-copular pronoun, and the copula with a grammatical preposition. The copula functions by connecting the predicate to the subject of the sentence, and in itself does not have semantic meaning. It is always unstressed. The grammatical word order of the copula is V(erb)P(redicate)S(ubject). It can also be regarded as a particle. The substantive verb does have semantic meaning, in the sense of 'exist, be'. It is mainly used to denote existence, presence, or being in a location, and is always stressed. It can also be used as a copula. If that is the case, the predicate is mostly adverbial or prepositional, although as long as the grammatical word order of VSX is adhered to, it can also be a noun or an adjective.

Morphologically, both verbs share a root in all forms except the present. The morphological distinction between the substantive and the copula originates from the accent that is placed on the substantive verb and not from the copula. The split between the copula and the substantive verb was argued to be an Irish innovation, and its morphological distinction is thought to originate in the Primitive Irish period.

¹²³ Bisagni (2019): 124-125.

Three hypotheses were posited to explain the overlap of the substantive and the copula, also referred to as the ungrammatical use of the substantive or the copula. The first of those is the theory by Bisagni (2019), who posited that it is a stylistic choice originating in an archaism. The second is the theory by Lash (2017), who claims that this is merely an archaism originating from the earlier structure of copular clauses COP+SUBJ+PRED instead of the Old Irish COP+PRED+SUBJ. The last hypothesis originates from Lash (2014b) and Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980), and can be simply called subject displacement. In a variety of contexts, Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) has proven that Old Irish has two subject positions. Lash (2014b) adds a third subject position to this list which occurs with what he calls 'demarcating adverbs'. The hypothesis on the basis of this theory is that the ungrammatical use of the substantive or the copula are not due to some underlying stylistic choice or interference by archaisms, but rather a regular reflex from the rules of subject displacement by Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) and Lash (2014b).

3. Method

This section consists of the deliberations made in order to perform this research. Firstly, the selection of source material is discussed in depth. Secondly, the method for sentence analysis is deliberated upon. Lastly, some methodological difficulties are discussed.

The glosses are an exceptional source for the overlap between the substantive and the copula, because they contain so much data. For the copula, about 3700 examples were treated in this thesis, spread across the Milan and St Gall Glosses. About 1500 examples of the substantive verb were treated, which were found in the Würzburg, Milan, and St Gall glosses. This, combined with the relative certainty of the dating of the glosses and the POMIC texts, which added another 50 examples for the substantive and 200 for the copula, made this research possible and feasible.

3.1 Source material

In this section, the source material for the examples is discussed. Furthermore, some general remarks on the use of this material are made. For this research, it is necessary to look at a variety of sources, in order to be able to identify a number of examples. As some examples were provided by others in their writings, most notably Bisagni (2019), and dr. Griffith,¹²⁴ who provided a list of possible examples in the Milan glosses, the search has become easier. The current research focusses on texts available in edited form, and no manuscripts are studied. If relevant and possible, variant readings found by the editor are provided here as well. It should be noted that this research operates on the assumption that editors have provided a faithful edition. It may be the case in some editions that some measures have been taken by the editor to provide a 'true', grammatically correct Old Irish text, and corrected the subject of study of this paper. There is no way to control for this possibility, because editorial policies are often not listed. Due to the importance of the glosses, though, it is assumed that there is minimal or no interference by the editor in those. In the POMIC texts, this may be different, but it is also assumed to be minimal unless otherwise stated.

It should be noted that Old Irish material is used for the study of this phenomenon. An attempt has been made to use Old Irish material only, and to prevent interference from later stages of the language. Nonetheless, the possibility of Middle Irish material cropping up is present and cannot presently be discounted, although manuscripts that show distinct signs of correction by Middle Irish scribes are excluded from this list. It should be noted that some Middle Irishisms can already be witnessed in the Würzburg and Milan glosses.¹²⁵ This need not present difficulties, as these glosses can generally be considered Old Irish, i.e. a different stage of the language than Middle Irish,¹²⁶ where the standard usage of Old Irish is still controlled, when written by competent scribes. Nonetheless, some examples may lapse into colloquial or hypercorrect terms.¹²⁷ This is not an issue for this research, and may even prove a reason for the appearance of certain forms through the diachronic development of the substantive – copula distinction. Due to this self-imposed constraint some examples that only occur in late MSS, such as the examples present in the rosc prophecy of Moccu Mugairni, are excluded. No poetry that contained examples of the overlap of the substantive or the copula was found in contemporary Old Irish manuscripts.

3.1.1 The Würzburg Glosses

These glosses, present in the manuscript *Codex Paulinus Wirziburgensis*, are Old Irish glosses on a Latin text of the epistles of Saint Paul. The glosses date from the middle of the eighth century, and are thus

¹²⁴ Personal communication.

¹²⁵ McCone (1985): 101.

¹²⁶ McCone (1985): 103.

¹²⁷ McCone (1985): 103.

part of the Old Irish period. They are available in a digital format,¹²⁸ which presents 3501 glosses that were first edited by Stokes and Strachan. More glosses appear to have existed, though they are now lost.¹²⁹

3.1.2 The Milan Glosses

The Milan Glosses, present in the manuscript MS Ambr. C301 inf., gloss a Latin commentary on Psalms. It is one of the earliest sources of Old Irish still available to us in its original format, as it is often dated to the end of the 8th century,¹³⁰ and is therefore of paramount importance in this study. The dictionary is collated from the edition by John Strachan and Whitley Stokes, and is searchable in electronic form.¹³¹

3.1.3 The St. Gall Glosses

These glosses are present in the manuscript Stiftsbibliothek MS 904, and are a commentary on the Priscian *Institutiones Grammaticae*, a text on Latin grammar. This manuscript was written in Ireland and contains about 9000 glosses, including Latin glosses and symbols. Some of these glosses reference contemporary festival days, which Ó Néill uses to date the manuscript to 851 AD as the manuscript was written when Easter fell on 22 March, and 851 is the only year in the 9th century that has this extraordinarily early date for Easter.¹³² Over a third of the glosses were written in Old Irish, which is the section studied in this research. It is digitally accessible.¹³³ These glosses were also first edited by Whitley and Stokes (1901), although a more recent publication by Hofman (1996) incorporates the first half of the glosses, including Latin glosses and symbols.¹³⁴ Because St. Gall and Milan were probably written in the same period in a scholarly network based in Iona and Bangor, both connected to Armagh,¹³⁵ they are expected to have similar results to one another.

3.1.4 The Cambrai Homily

The Cambrai Homily is the first of its kind in Old Irish, and may be the first piece of continuous religious prose written in the Old Irish period.¹³⁶ It is found in Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 679, ff. 37rb-38rb.¹³⁷ It consists of a leaf accidentally bound in a larger manuscript that is written in Latin.¹³⁸ It is dated to the late 7th century, due to the use of archaic *sceo*, 'and', next to later *ocus*, 'and'. Furthermore, it contains passages borrowed from Gregory's *Homilia*, which necessitates a *terminus post quem* of 600 AD. These *Homilia* were probably already popular in Ireland from 632 onwards.¹³⁹ The material was accessed through POMIC,¹⁴⁰ which uses Thurneysen (1946) as an editor and the *Thesaurus Paleohibernicus* for the translation.¹⁴¹

¹²⁸ https://wuerzburg.ie/index_Eng.html, last visited on 06-07-2020.

¹²⁹ https://wuerzburg.ie/about_Eng.html, last visited on 04/03/2020.

¹³⁰ McCone (1985): 85.

¹³¹ https://www.univie.ac.at/indogermanistik/milan_glosses/, last visited on 05-05-2020.

¹³² Ó Néill (2000): 177-178.

¹³³ <http://www.stgallpriscian.ie/>, last visited on 05-05-2020.

¹³⁴ <http://www.stgallpriscian.ie/glosses>, last visited on 04/03/2020.

¹³⁵ Ó Muircheartaigh (2015): 216.

¹³⁶ Ó Néill (1981): 137.

¹³⁷ Lash (2014a), annotation manual: 1.

¹³⁸ Ó Néill (1981): 137-138.

¹³⁹ Ó Néill (1981): 146-147.

¹⁴⁰ Lash (2014).

¹⁴¹ Lash (2014a), annotation manual: 1.

3.1.5 Additamenta from the Book of Armagh

The Additamenta from the Book of Armagh run from ff. 16rb to 18vb in the Book of Armagh, MS TCD 52.¹⁴² They consist of records which fit as regards character with Tírechán's *Collectanea*, and they chiefly concern the 'heirs of Patrick'.¹⁴³ The text is dated to 700AD on the basis of orthographic features.¹⁴⁴ The MS as a whole is dated to 807 AD,¹⁴⁵ which is used as the date for this thesis, as it cannot be excluded that the text underwent scribal intervention in the time between the probable composition of the text per Bieler & Kelly (1979), and the final written copy handed down to us in the Book of Armagh. This dating fits in the requirements set forward by this thesis.

3.1.6 The Lambeth Commentary on the Sermon on the Mount

This text consists of flyleaves found in the late twelfth century MS London, Lambeth Palace 119, and are now located in fol. 7-8 of the Fragments 1229.¹⁴⁶ They are the remnants of a mainly Irish commentary with extensive Latin quotations. It comments on St. Matthew v. 5-7 and v. 20-22. It is impossible to say if the complete commentary would have extended over the whole of the Gospel or just the Sermon on the Mount. The text shows a large amount of learning, with many references to patristic sources.¹⁴⁷ On palaeographical grounds, the text is considered to have a *terminus ante quem* in the 10th century, with the brevity of the text and the loss of its original context making it hard to determine an exact date.¹⁴⁸ On orthographical grounds, however, a more precise date can be achieved. The general character appears to be more archaic than the Milan Glosses, and perhaps even earlier than the Würzburg Glosses. It is thought to be dated to c. 725 AD.¹⁴⁹

3.1.7 The Treatise on the Mass

This text is found in the Stowe Missal, MS RIA D ii 3, and is an Irish text. The other Irish text in this MS consists of spells against injury. The rest of the MS is in Latin, with the Irish part ranging from ff. 65 v. – 67v, with the treatise on ff. 65 v. – 67 v.¹⁵⁰ On hagiographical grounds, it can be given a *terminus post quem* of 792 AD.¹⁵¹ On orthographical factors, the Missal is dated to the early part of the 9th century, possibly the first decade.¹⁵² It should be noted that Warner (1915) finds it 'quite conceivable'¹⁵³ that the Missal was revised after it was written, but he notes that he has discovered nothing in either the Latin or Irish that suggest a later date than the ninth century.¹⁵⁴ Therefore, this date is adhered to in this thesis.

3.2 Method of analysis

The examples were selected in Ml. and Sg. by looking at the entries for the headwords *at-tá* and *is*, the substantive verb and the copula. All instances of the substantive and the copula in the glosses were classified under their respective headwords by Griffith & Stifter (2011) and Bauer & Schumacher (2015). As they analysed every gloss in Ml. and Sg. and turned them into searchable databases by

¹⁴² Lash (2014a), annotation manual: 2.

¹⁴³ Bieler & Kelly (1979): 46.

¹⁴⁴ Bieler & Kelly (1979): 246.

¹⁴⁵ <https://digitalcollections.tcd.ie/concern/works/3n203z084?locale=en#c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=4791%2C-312%2C13590%2C6222>, last visited on 21-05-2020.

¹⁴⁶ Bieler & Carney (1972): 1.

¹⁴⁷ Bieler & Carney (1972): 1-2.

¹⁴⁸ Bieler & Carney (1972): 5.

¹⁴⁹ Bieler & Carney (1972): 8.

¹⁵⁰ https://www.isos.dias.ie/master.html?https://www.isos.dias.ie/libraries/RIA/english/index.html?ref=https://www.vanhamel.nl/codecs/Dublin,_Royal_Irish_Academy,_MS_D_ii_3, last visited on 21-05-2020.

¹⁵¹ Warner (1915): xxxiv.

¹⁵² Warner (1915): xxxiv-xxxvi.

¹⁵³ Warner (1915): xxxvii.

¹⁵⁴ Warner (1915): xxxix.

headword, it should be assumed that all examples of the substantive and the copula were accounted for in their databases. The POMIC-corpus is a parsed corpus, which was searched by looking for *be-SUBJ* in the case of the substantive and *be-COP* for the copula in the .txt files. This latter search included zero copulas. Würzburg was searched by using Kavanagh (2001), who lists all examples of the substantive verb in his dictionary. Due to the already large scope of this research, copular examples were not compiled for the Würzburg gloss. All results for this search, including fragmentary glosses and difficult readings were analysed. After a primary analysis, some examples of the use of the copula for the substantive verb were excluded from further analysis. These are listed in Appendix A, and a discussion on them is found in section 3.3.

For the analysis of the examples, the following method was used. First, using the available databases of the glosses, sentences containing the copula and the substantive verb were collected and collated. Secondly, they were classified into grammatical and non-grammatical utterances of substantive and copular clauses. The grammatical uses of the copula or the substantive are discussed in section 2.5 and 2.6. All examples mentioned there should be considered grammaticalized, and all uses of the substantive or the copula, that do not fit in the categories above, are considered ungrammatical. If an example of an ungrammatical utterance was discovered, and it was classified as a case of overlap between the substantive and the copula, its predicate and subject are established using the guidelines posited in section 2.2. If it was impossible to establish the predicate and the subject with these guidelines, this is noted. All examples of overlap were then analysed qualitatively, which includes determining a subject and predicate. The results of this analysis can be seen in section four. If necessary, the Latin gloss was also analysed. Finally, the examples collected were classified by the use of the copula for the substantive, word order variance of the copula, the use of the substantive for the copula, and word order variance of the substantive verb. These examples were put into a table for fast and easy readability, which contains all the texts analysed in chronological order of the age of the text or manuscript it was found in, as discussed in section 3.1.

After collating and analysing the examples, a comparison was made between the glosses and the other texts, and a diachronic analysis was attempted by ordering the texts on the basis of their chronology. By including the total occurrences of the substantive and the copula, a comparison between the POMIC-corpus and the glosses can be made at the blink of an eye. A possible pitfall, however, is the small sample size, as there is generally less text of clear Old Irish in POMIC than in the glosses. Lastly, it should be noted that, although a thorough analysis is conducted, the possibility of human error, in the application of the method or the research of the source material, always remains.

Concludingly, a section is devoted to reflection upon the analysis done here, and recommendations for future research are made.

3.3 The classification of copula for the substantive verb

Some examples were found of the use of the copula for the substantive verb, specifically the use of the prepositional predicate with the copula. Nevertheless, many can be discounted on the basis of the following three criteria.

Firstly, many are fragments of a gloss only, and could include a cleft that is not seen. This is the case for glosses which only have the copula and a prepositional phrase, and nothing else in the gloss. An example of this is MI.002d08, *is aerutsu*, 'it is to You'. This gloss has no more information to go on than the copula and the prepositional phrase. It can, therefore, possibly be a cleft, or an elided cleft, which would make the prepositional predicate grammatical. Examples such as these are thus excluded from analysis of the copula used as the substantive verb. Because they could be examples, however, they are included in Appendix A. The total amount of fragmentary occurrences of the use of the copula for the substantive verb are included in table 11 in section five.

Secondly, some apparently ungrammatical copulas are direct translations of the Latin, as is discussed in section 2.5.4, especially in example 24). It is also the case in MI.022d13, as can be seen below.

27) *amal as dundfercach.*

As it is to the angry one.

[...] *ut irato* [...]

[...] as the angry one [...]

In 27), it is clear that the preposition is the direct translation of the Latin dative *irato* (from *iratus*) and should thus be seen as a gloss that directly translates the glossed Latin. It has an informational purpose, and as such, cannot be regarded as a purely Old Irish example of a prepositional predicate. This section also includes phrases such as example 28), MI.014c06. In this example, there is no direct translation, but instead the phrase *nochis X (s)ón* is used to explain something.¹⁵⁵ The part corresponding to X, *honaib dib* in example 28), is not part of speech and can therefore not be seen as the prepositional predicate with the copula. This same construction can be made with *sechis* instead of *nochis*.¹⁵⁶

28) *nochis honaib dib són .i. hires foirbthe 7 gnímai sainemlae*

That is of these two, to wit, perfect faith and excellent deeds.¹⁵⁷

[...] *sed fides inter haec* [...]

But faith [is] between them¹⁵⁸

Lastly, examples where a verb is clearly elided are also omitted from analysis. According to Thurneysen (1946), this is common in replies to questions, authoritative commands, descriptions and clauses where the copula is left out. It pertains to the omission of a verb from a clause, as is the case in the following example, MI.025d11.

29) *.i. cip hé ade asberam honarroet doinacht· anuile araroet .i. im hodeacht athar fa hodeacht maicc·*

i.e. whichever we say is that from which the humanity has received all that it has received, i.e. whether from the divinity of the Father or from the divinity of the Son.¹⁵⁹

In example 29), it is clear that the second part of the gloss seems to have a prepositional predicate (*ho deacht athar fa ho deacht maicc*). Nonetheless, this must be an elided cleft, because of the first part of the gloss, *honarroet doinacht anuile araroet*. This carries over into the second part of the gloss, eliding the verb *araroet* instead of writing it out for the third time. A more apt translation of this latter part would then be: 'i.e. whether it is from the divinity of the Father or from the divinity of the Son [that the humanity has received all that it has received].' This type of example is also omitted, although when it is unclear or improbable for elision to have taken place, the example is discussed in section four.

3.4 On register in Old Irish texts

Another difficulty in this thesis is the analysis of register of Old Irish texts. Register is the use of different words and syntax in appropriate situations, such as a high and polite register for a job

¹⁵⁵ <http://www.dil.ie/33216>.

¹⁵⁶ <http://www.dil.ie/36744>.

¹⁵⁷ Translation from Griffith & Stifter (2011).

¹⁵⁸ Translation mine.

¹⁵⁹ Translation from Griffith & Stifter (2011).

interview. Oftentimes, it is quite easy to distinguish registers in Old Irish, especially poetry from prose, literary from law, et cetera. The question of what register the glosses are in, is difficult to answer. They mostly consist of commentaries rather than translations, and show code-switching to the point it is suspected the writers and presumed readers of the glosses were, in fact, bilingual, and Old Irish was a respected medium of scholarly discourse.¹⁶⁰ DiGirolamo (2018) claims that this means it should be expected that the content interacts with the Latin on a high level and consists primarily of grammatical utterances.¹⁶¹ Nevertheless, presumably these commentaries were written down in order to comment on the Latin text, and therefore, they should be considered at least understandable, if not grammatical, even if there was no high level of interaction between the glosses and the Latin text. It is much more difficult to establish whether the register used was high, although this would be expected within a scholarly text. In contrast, most of the Old Irish texts were meant to be read by those capable; this means that almost all registers should be considered 'high' or at least functionally the same, when taking the differences in genre into account, as language may also vary per genre. This approach is adhered to in this thesis. This does not, however, mean that the glosses should be regarded as completely free of mistakes or errors.

A hint that standard 'Old' Irish does not exist is shown in the many examples of Middle Irish which already exist in the glosses.¹⁶² McCone (1985) argues that Middle Irishisms occur quite a lot, not just with spelling, but, more importantly, in the confusion of pretonic preverbs *ad*, *in*, and *as*.¹⁶³ Furthermore, he concludes that there were three linguistic strata in the glosses, namely a conservative, educated register, a colloquial 'Early Modern Irish' register, and hypercorrections resulting from the tensions between the two.¹⁶⁴ On the basis of these two facts, it should be concluded that there is no standard 'Old Irish' that is present in the glosses. While contemporary Old Irish texts, such as those treated in this thesis, confirm in the majority of usages to a conservative literary standard, there are sporadic deviations from this standard which are close to popular speech at the time.¹⁶⁵ As regards register, this provides an argument for the high, educated register in the glosses, per DiGirolamo (2018). Nevertheless, this also shows that popular speech was already evolving into Early Modern Irish when the glosses were written.¹⁶⁶ All in all, this high, educated register can be seen as 'standard' Old Irish, but it should be noted that it was, at the point of time treated by this thesis, already highly influenced by the colloquial register and had hypercorrections that resulted from the tensions between the two.

This educated register must, however, originate somewhere. It is highly likely that it originated in centres of learning in Ireland, i.e. the monasteries. According to Ó Muircheartaigh (2015), there was a small number of these which were able to be the exemplar of high literary and scholarly prestige in the period McCone (1985) proposes for the creation of the high, educated register (+/- 600 AD).¹⁶⁷ These were the monasteries at Iona, Armagh, Bangor, Clonmacnoise and Kildare, all under the hegemony of the Uí Néill. They were founded in the 6th century, and formed an ecclesiastical and intellectual structure, with Armagh having a central role from the seventh century onwards.¹⁶⁸ The sociohistorical account of Ó Muircheartaigh (2015) shows more evidence for the creation and use of a high, educated register in the Old Irish glosses, one that may have originated in Armagh and from

¹⁶⁰ DiGirolamo (2018): 147.

¹⁶¹ DiGirolamo (2018): 147.

¹⁶² McCone (1985): 95-102.

¹⁶³ McCone (1985): 98.

¹⁶⁴ McCone (1985): 103.

¹⁶⁵ McCone (1985): 102.

¹⁶⁶ McCone (1985): 102.

¹⁶⁷ Ó Muircheartaigh (2015): 196.

¹⁶⁸ Ó Muircheartaigh (2015): 196-197.

there spread to the other monasteries in an attempt to emulate the prestigious learning of the educated centre of Armagh, as a literary standard of written Irish.

As a result of this, one should be careful to ascribe a chronological development to any linguistic occurrences within the glosses, as they may be a result from any of the three possible linguistic strata. Nevertheless, it should be expected that, as time goes on, more use of the colloquial register is made, because of unfamiliarity with the 'original' educated standard, and thus the clash of the popular speech with the 'educated standard'. It seems like this clash does not yet occur quite as much as in later MSS, as hypercorrection is still quite rare in the glosses.¹⁶⁹ In short, the language used in the glosses is most likely of a high, educated register, but reflects an earlier period of the language than the language spoken by the writers of the glosses themselves.

¹⁶⁹ McCone (1985): 102.

4. Results

The analysis of the sources had the following number of cases of aberrant use of the copula or substantive verb with regards to traditional grammar rules as outlined above. In table 6, they are outlined. The brackets in the irregular substantive category signify the irregular substantives that involve word order, but are not the use of the substantive for the copula. Those in the irregular copula category signify the use of the copula for the substantive verb, which was not a category found in academic literature, but arose during the research. In this latter category, fragmentary glosses are added in brackets. For a discussion on this, see section 3.3. For a list of these, see Appendix A.

Table 6: Occurrences of irregular substantive or copular use.

Text	Substantive occurrences	Substantive irregulars	Copula occurrences	Copula irregulars
Cambrai Homily	6	0	17	0
Lambeth Commentary	30	2	147	0
Würzburg Glosses	463	2 (9)	-	_ ¹⁷⁰
Milan Glosses	696	4 (10)	2450	11 (34)
Book of Armagh	9	0	26	0
Treatise on the Mass	18	0	34	1
St. Gall Glosses	379	1 (6)	1198	6 (6)

This shows that the use of the copula for the substantive verb is very rare, only occurring eleven times in MI. (.4% of cases), and six times in Sg. (.5% of cases). It occurs once in the Treatise on the Mass (2.9% of cases). The use of the substantive verb for the copula occurs twice in Wb., (.4% of cases), four times in MI. (.6% of cases), and once in Sg (.3% of cases). It occurs twice in the Lambeth Commentary, where it pertains to 6.6% of cases. In this section, the examples are analysed and discussed.

4.1 The Würzburg Glosses

4.1.1 Overlapping substantives

The examples of the use of the substantive verb for the copula are found below. There were two examples found in the Würzburg glosses which are discussed here.

30) <i>biid</i>	<i>duine</i>	<i>slán</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>firian</i>
be-	man-NOM.SG.	sound-NOM.SG.	and-CONJ.PART.	righteous-
SUBST.3SG.PRES.CON.S.				NOM.SG.
'A man is sound and righteous.' ¹⁷¹		Wb.4d33		

Example 30) concerns the word class of the predicate, as it seems to have a predicate consisting of two nominative singular adjectives.. It, too, has a regular word order for substantive sentences. A mistake is unlikely, as the present consuetudinal 3sg. absolute is not the same in the copula. This example carries an additional difficulty, as the substantive verb could also be of existence, and the adjectives could then modify the subject of the substantive verb. To determine this, the rest of the gloss is needed to provide context about the statement.

¹⁷⁰ Due to time constraints and the lack of a searchable database as they exist for Sg. and MI., it was impossible to get a full view of the Würzburg glosses with regards to the copula. Kavanagh (2003)'s dictionary was consulted, and no odd constructions were noted for the copula by Kavanagh (2003).

¹⁷¹ This translation taken over from Whitley & Strachan (1901) by Doyle (2018).

31) *indfoisitiu ingiun imfolngi induine slán istrissandedesin biid duine slán etfírian combi bidslán et bidfírian*

'The confession of the mouth makes the man sound. Through those twain it is that a man is sound and righteous (or, that there is a man sound and righteous), so ever sound and ever-righteous.'¹⁷²

It is apparent that the adjectives are further qualified by *combi bidslán et bidfírian*. This is a subclause with *co* and the copula 3sg. consuetudinal present *-bi*. This cannot solve the difficulty, although it hints that the scribe knows of the grammatical rule of the copula. For this reason, it seems unlikely that he would make a mistake only a few words prior (with *biid*). It seems unlikely that the adjectives should be taken as the predicate, although it is impossible to establish this for certain. The Latin is not of much use here. Seeing as there are so few examples of the use of the substantive for the copula, this example should not be considered part of them, because it is by far more likely that the adjectives are qualifying than that they are the predicate in this sentence, even without the added context of the copula with adjectival predicates. All in all, it cannot be treated as a certain overlap, and is therefore left out of the final analysis.

32) *ataam for tectiri*
 be- your- messenger-
 SUBST.1SG.PRES.IND POSS.PRON.2SG. NOM.PL.
 'That we are your messengers.'¹⁷³ Wb.15a13

Example 32) also concerns the word class of the predicate, which is not expected to be a noun or an adjective. They have a regular word order for substantive sentences. In this examples, the predicate is a nominative plural noun. These should only occur with the copula, and not with the substantive verb. This instance of the substantive verb cannot be confused with a form that is similar in the copula. It has a zero-subject in the verb and *fortectiri* as a nominative following the verb. Both these facts make a mistake unlikely. Therefore, example 31) is the irregular use of a substantive for the copula.

4.1.2 Substantives with word order variance

In this section, the substantives with word order variance in the Würzburg glosses are discussed, which also arose during the course of the research. Table 7 is presented somewhat differently from the other examples, because it is less interesting for the overlap of the use of the substantive and the copula. Because the word order variance is similar in all cases it is not necessary to gloss every word in every example.

Table 7: Substantive verbs with word order variance in the Würzburg Glosses.

Example	Locus	Phrase & Translation ¹⁷⁴
a.	2c7	<i>conrobad innachorp ní inchoissised tóbe uitiorum assa anmin</i> So that something to signify (the) excision of <i>vitia</i> from his soul might be in his body.
b.	6a11	<i>rotbia less lóg dodagníma</i> There shall be reward of your well-doing to you by His hand. ¹⁷⁵
c.	7d5	<i>atáa lib uile</i> All is with you. ¹⁷⁶

¹⁷² Translation from Doyle (2018), who takes part of it from Whitley & Strachan (1901).

¹⁷³ Translation from Doyle (2018).

¹⁷⁴ Translation from Doyle (2018), taken over from Whitley & Strachan (1901), unless noted otherwise.

¹⁷⁵ Translation mine.

¹⁷⁶ Translation mine.

d.	11c21	<i>nifil linn inbéesso</i>
		This custom is not with us. ¹⁷⁷
e.	25b1	<i>hore (atá lib) f(iu)ss</i>
		Because ye have knowledge.
f.	25b9	<i>arnarobat leu inpecthisi</i>
		That these sins may not be with them.
g.	26b31	<i>ataa icach epistil asainchomarde sin</i>
		In every epistle is this special sign.
h.	28a23	<i>bieid dano dúnni andedesin</i>
		We too shall have those two things.
i.	32c12	<i>nipia detsu insin</i>
		That will not be to Thee.

Example a. is easily classified, as it contains a subject which is qualified with a relative clause, and so the subject would be expected to be in clause-final position per Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980).¹⁷⁸ Example b. has a clear subject, *lóg dodagníma* and an infixed object (-t-). It seems unlikely therefore that possession is indicated with *la* + NP. Nevertheless, it can also not be taken as the demarcating adverb ‘in the opinion of’. It rather denotes the agent of the verb, and means ‘at the hands of’.¹⁷⁹ For this example, an answer cannot be found in Lash (2014b). Perhaps the subject could be considered a heavy NP, and the emphasizing function of *lóg dodagníma* should also be considered.

Example c. needs extra context to fully analyse. Its entire gloss and the glossed Latin can be seen in 33).

33) 7d5: <i>Atáa lib uile</i> ¹⁸⁰
Everything is with you (pl.).
<i>Ita ut nihil uobis desit in ulla gratia, exspectantibus revelationem Iesu Christi.</i>
So that nothing of any gift is lacking to you, who await the revelation of Jesus Christ. ¹⁸¹

Nihil [...] in ulla gratia is the specifically glossed grammatical construct in the sentence. In this case,

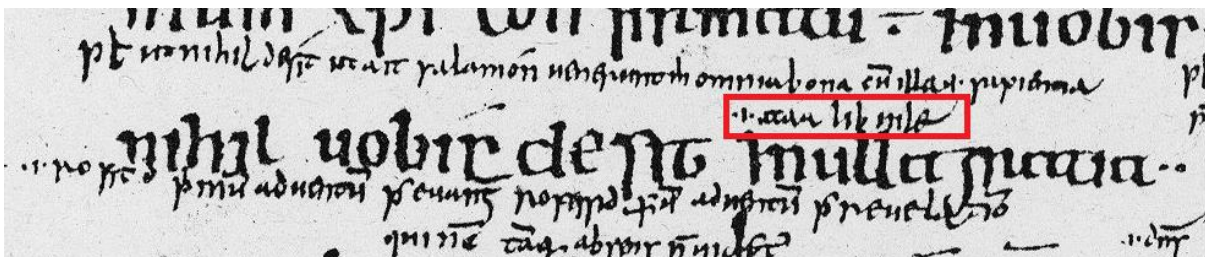


Figure 1: The gloss and Latin of example c. in the Würzburg MS. Picture from Gippert (1910), ff. 7v.

especially when considering the word order of the Irish gloss, *uile* refers to this entire construction rather than just *ulla* (which it is taken to refer to). Therefore, it may have contrastive emphasis, allowing the subject to be put in the emphasized subject-final position. As can be seen in Figure 1, *i. ataa lib uile*, which is in the red square, glosses *in ulla gratia*. Nonetheless, it is still possible for it to be in contrastive emphasis to the entire previous sentence, rather than emphasizing only *ulla*. This

¹⁷⁷ Translation mine.

¹⁷⁸ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 29.

¹⁷⁹ <http://www.dil.ie/29233>, IV (c).

¹⁸⁰ Translation mine.

¹⁸¹ Translation mine.

seems most likely in this case due to the clear opposition between *nihil* and *uile*, ‘nothing (is wanting)’ and ‘everything (is with you)’.

Example d. needs more context, which can be seen in the glossed Latin.

34) 11c21: <i>Nífil linn in bees-so, .i. tuidecht friaicned et cosnam et imbressan</i> ¹⁸²
We do not have this custom, that is, contravening nature and quarrelling and contention.
<i>Si quis autem videtur contentiosus esse, nos talem consuetudinem non habemus.</i>
If anyone yet is regarded to be contentious with this, we do not have such a custom. ¹⁸³

The Latin also has a demonstrative with *consuetudinem*, explaining the use of the demonstrative in the Old Irish gloss. Nonetheless, this subject, *in bees-so*, should be regarded as a long NP, as it has the entire second part of the gloss that is dependent on it. Therefore, it should be concluded that example d. is regular, following the theory of Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980).

Example e. is a very unclear reading. The editor has added *atá lib* to the gloss, but indicates that it is illegible. *Fiuss* could be in subject-final position due to the importance of this knowledge, i.e. the teachings that were given to them. No conclusions can be based upon this example, however, as it is uncertain what the gloss exactly contains.

35) 25b1: <i>noscomalnid hore (atá lib) f(iu)ss</i> ¹⁸⁴
fulfil them because ye have knowledge.
<i>Scitis enim quae praecepta dederim uobis.</i>
For you know what teachings we gave you. ¹⁸⁵

Example f. has *inpecthisi* as a subject, in subject-final position. It seems to have a non-contrastive emphasizing function, as it refers back to the behaviours mentioned in the first part of the gloss, as can be seen in 36).

36) 25b9: <i>.i. araill tra cairigedarsom sunda .i. utmuille et déess et foigde nosñguidsom didiu arnarobat leu inpecthisi</i> ¹⁸⁶
i.e. (there are) other things now which he blames here, namely, unsteadiness and indolence and mendicancy; he beseeches them, then, that these sins may not be with them.

Here, *inpecthisi* refers back, through the use of a demonstrative, to *utmuille et déess et foigde*. It should thus be considered that it emphasizes these sins, and is thus in the subject-final position.

In example g., the subject also refers back to an earlier part of the gloss, as can be seen in 37).

37) 26b31: <i>.i. commad in so sís roscribad som combad suaíchnid leosom ataa icach epistil asainchomarde sin</i> ¹⁸⁷
i.e. it would be this below that he wrote: it would be well known to them: in every epistle is this special sign.

¹⁸² Translation mine.

¹⁸³ Translation mine.

¹⁸⁴ Translation from Doyle (2018).

¹⁸⁵ Translation mine.

¹⁸⁶ Translation from Doyle (2018).

¹⁸⁷ Translation from Doyle (2018).

Here, this is also expressed through the use of a demonstrative, it refers back to *in so síis roscribad-som*, which in turn refers to the Latin text. For this reason, *ainchomarde* was given extra emphasis and thus placed in subject-final position.

Example h. results from the demarcating adverb *dano* which is fixed in place,¹⁸⁸ and can be used as a diagnostic for the subject *andedesin* to be in another position than subject-1 position.

Example i. must contain old information, because the subject of i. is an anaphoric pronoun. Nevertheless, the subject is still in marked position (i.e. subject-final) in this sentence. There must thus be another reason for the subject to be in this position. This reason could be contrastive emphasis, such as with example e. The Latin text pertaining to this gloss is seen in 38).

38) 32c12: <i>nipia detsu insin</i> ¹⁸⁹
That will not be to Thee.
<i>tú autem idem ipse és, et anni tui non deficient</i>
However, you will be the same, and your years will not run out. ¹⁹⁰

The part specifically glossed is *deficient*, so it is clear that *insin* refers to the entire clause after the comma. It could be that emphasis is used here, emphasizing that the years of the Lord (who is the ‘you’ in this sentence) will never end. In this case, it would be possible to place *insin* in subject-final position, one of the possibilities put forth by Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980).

In these substantives with word order variance, there are seven occurrences of *la* + Noun Phrase, of which none can be taken as Lash (2014a)’s demarcating adverb. Six of them could be taken to signify possession, and the other is discussed in example b. It is noteworthy, however, that of this small dataset, seven out of nine total occurrences concern a preposition signifying possession which immediately follows the verb. It should be considered that perhaps the preposition *la*, whether it signifies possession or not, can also come before the subject in the sentence, although more research is needed to establish this.

4.2 The Milan Glosses

4.2.1 The use of the substantive for the copula

There are four examples of the use of the substantive for the copula. These are listed below.

39) <i>co-na-bí</i>	<i>tírim</i>
so that-CONJ.PART., not-NEG.PART., be-	parched- NOM.SG.
SUBST.3SG.PRES.CONJ.	
‘So that it is not parched.’	MI.015b15

Example 39) contains the adjective *tírim* as the predicate, which should not be the case with the substantive. Nevertheless, it is possible that the form *-bí* is a copula, as the copula and the substantive verb are the same in the third person present consuetudinal. Griffith and Stifter (2011) have classified it as a substantive, and it is treated as such here.

¹⁸⁸ Lash (2014b): 282.

¹⁸⁹ Translation mine.

¹⁹⁰ Translation mine.

40) <i>Biid</i>	<i>ersoilcthi</i>	<i>ar^l</i>	<i>c[h]iunn</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>rig</i>
be-SUBST.IMPV.2PL.	open-	on-	head-DAT.SG.	your-	king-
	PART.NOM.	LEN.PREP.+DA		POSS.PRON.2PL.	ACC./DAT.SG.
	PL.	T			
'Be ye opened before your king'			MI.046a7		

Example 40) has the verbal adjective *ersoilcthi* as the predicate. This is ungrammatical, because the substantive should not have an adjective.

41) <i>cein</i>	<i>nombetis</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>saigtea</i>	<i>tuidmithi</i>
as long	as- be-	the-	arrows-NOM.PL.	fixed-
CONJ.PART.	SUBST.3PL.PAST.SUBJ.	DEF.ART.NOM.PL.		PART.NOM.PL.
<i>inna</i>	<i>feuil</i>			
in-PREP+ACC./DAT.,	flesh- ACC.SG.			
he-INF.PRON.3SG.				
'As long as the arrows were fixed in his flesh.'			MI.058a09	

Example 41) has an adjectival predicate, *tuidmithi*, nominative plural of *tuimide*, 'fixed', which is irregular. The past subjunctive 3 plural of the substantive is used here, which does have the same form in the copula as in the substantive, but the word order is regular for a substantive, so it is quite unlikely that a copula was meant by the scribe. *Tuidmithi* must be the predicate, as it is an adjective and can thus not be the subject of a clause. Nonetheless, it could modify the subject, leading to the meaning 'as long as there were arrows fixed in his flesh'. To make sure, the entire gloss should be investigated.

42) .i. *céin nombetis innasaigtea tuidmithi innafeuil nad cbiad íc do*
'i.e. as long as the arrows were fixed in his flesh, that there would be no healing to him.'¹⁹¹

In this sentence, the second clause has another substantive, the 3sg. secondary future conjunct. The glossed Latin is *sagitis infixis negauit sanitatem carni*,¹⁹² which is directly translated here. This lends further credence to the adjective modifying the subject, because this is also the case in the Latin. Nevertheless, it is impossible to determine whether or not the semantic meaning of 'existence' is possible here, although it seems unlikely. This example is discounted from the final analysis on these grounds.

43) <i>con-na-bí</i>	<i>asse</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>aicsin</i>	<i>leu</i>
so that-CONJ.PART., not-NEG.PART.,	easy-NOM.SG.	his-	seeing-	by-
be-SUBST.3SG.PRES.CONS.CONJ.		POSS.PRON.3SG	NOM.SG.VERB.	PREP+ACC./DAT.,
			NOUN.	them-
				INF.PRON.3PL.
'So that for him to be seen by them is not easy.'			MI.116a01	

Example 43) has an adjectival predicate *asse*, 'easy', and a noun-subject, the verbal noun *aicsin*, 'to see', which is expected in subject-final position.¹⁹³ In this case, the predicate does precede the subject. The consuetudinal present 3 singular substantive is the verbal form here. This form is easily confused with the consuetudinal present 3 singular copula, as the difference is only the emphasis on the word. Griffith & Stifter (2011) read this as a substantive, which is deemed correct due to the presence of the acute mark on the *-i#*.

¹⁹¹ Translation from Griffith and Stifter (2011).

¹⁹² 'With fixed arrows he denied health to the flesh.' Translation mine.

¹⁹³ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 30.

All in all, there are four examples of the use of the substantive for the copula in the Milan glosses.

4.2.2 The use of the copula for the substantive

There are nine possible occurrences of ungrammatical copular sentences in the Milan Gloss. These are outlined below.¹⁹⁴

44) <i>aní</i>	<i>arroet</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>suidiu</i>
that-	accepts-	not-NEG.PART.,	be- in-	this-
NOM.SG.DEM.PART.	PERF.IND.3SG.	COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	PREP+ACC./DAT.	DEM.PRON.DAT.SG.
‘That which he had assumed, it is not in the preceding (text).’			MI.017c03	

Example 44) has an ungrammatical prepositional phrase as the predicate. In this case, it must be the predicate because it is the latter part of a cleft sentence, which has a zero subject in the copula. The full gloss reads as follows.

45) *cid hodeacht maicc nó hodeacht athar· arafoima doinacht maicc aní arroet ní hisuidiu*

‘Whether it should be from the divinity of the Son or from the divinity of the Father that the humanity of the Son would assume that which He has assumed, it is not in the preceding (text).’

The first part of the sentence, *cid hodeacht maicc nó hodeacht athar [...]* should be regarded as the first part of the cleft.

46) <i>conroib</i>	<i>mesar</i>	<i>forsin</i>	<i>digail</i>
so that-PREVB., be-	measure-	on-PREP.+ACC./DAT., the-	vengeance-
COP.3SG.PRES.SUBJ. ¹⁹⁵	NOM.SG.	SUFF.DEF.ART.	DAT.SG.
‘So that there may be measure on the punishment.’			MI.022c12

Example 46) has the subject immediately following the copula. *Mesar* could be the subject here, as it is the glossed word in the Latin text. A substantive makes more sense here, and the verbal form *roib* seems to be one. Griffith & Stifter (2011) have this classified as a copula, but that must have been an error in the database.¹⁹⁶ This also becomes clear from the translation in the database, which is used in example 46).

47) <i>is</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>doinacht</i>	<i>maicc</i>	<i>cachla</i>	<i>focull</i>
be-COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	to-PREP.+DAT.	humanity- DAT.SG.	SON-GEN.SG.	every-	word-
				NOM.SG.,	NOM.SG.
				out of two-	
				SUFF.	

‘One of every two phrases is of the humanity of the Son.’ MI.024d30

Example 47) is difficult to classify. It seems to have a prepositional predicate, although the translation seems to hint towards an elided verb in the sentence. The entire gloss can be seen in example 48).

¹⁹⁴ The translations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from Griffith and Stifter (2011).

¹⁹⁵ Note that this is the classification in the database by Griffith & Stifter (2011). The 3sg. pres. subj. conj. substantive *-roib* is a more likely candidate, as the copula does not have this form.

¹⁹⁶ Personal communication, dr. Griffith.

48) *indichtarchu .i. is dodoinacht maicc cachlafocull 7 <diade> diadeacht anaill hotha ubi dicit qui[d] est homo rel. crici dead intsailm· t. is <do> do dia teit namma hothosuch intsailm asque ubi dicit quid est homo 7 ised insin asinferius amal [sodin] .i. magen hitait for aisndis do deacht 7 doinacht maic¹⁹⁷*

i.e. lower, i.e. one of every two phrases is of the humanity of the Son, and the other is of his divinity, from where he says *quid est homo* etc. until the end of the psalm. Or, it is to God only that it refers from the beginning of the psalm until where he says *quid est homo*, and it is that which is *inferius* in that case, i.e., the place where he mentions the explanation of the divinity and the humanity of the Son.

As can be seen by the similar construction highlighted in bold, *teit* may be elided in the first part of the gloss. The rules for elision in Old Irish are still not understood in great detail, and it could be that it is not elided. Nonetheless, on the basis of the similarity between both the constructions, it is most likely elision has occurred, making example 47) grammatical.¹⁹⁸

49) <i>comtis</i>	<i>cat[h]rai[g]</i>	<i>frise</i>	<i>llar</i>
so that-CONJ.PART., be- COP.3PL.PAST.SUBJ.	city-NOM.PL	against- PREP.+DAT./ACC., the-SUFF.DEF.ART.	ground- ACC.SG.
'So that the cities may be turned to the ground.'			MI.036d18

Griffith & Stifter (2011) consider example 49) quite problematic, citing *frisellar* as an odd form and completing *cathraig* for *catrai*. *Frisellar* would need to be an adjective, although that would make the word order of the copula ungrammatical. The *-e-* is also unexpected in *frisellar*. The context of the Latin provides us with the probable translation of the Irish gloss, but the gloss is too corrupt to be sure. All in all, the entire gloss is highly problematic, and should thus not be considered an example of the use of the copula for the substantive.

50) <i>is</i>	<i>fo</i>	<i>huath[ud]</i>	<i>amal</i>	<i>sodin</i>	<i>an</i>
be- COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	under- PREP.+ACC./DAT.	singular- DAT.SG.	as- PREP.+ACC.	this- AN.PRON. ACC.SG.	the- DEF.ART.NOM. SG.
<i>institutae</i>	<i>creaturae</i>				
<i>institutae-</i>	<i>creaturae-</i>				
NOM.SG.	NOM.SG.				
'And in that case <i>institutae creaturae</i> is in the singular.'			MI.042b11-12		

Example 50) has a clear nominal subject, *institutae creaturae*, and a clear prepositional predicate. This example should be regarded as the use of the copula for the substantive verb.

51) <i>ní</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>olc</i>	<i>friu</i>	<i>són</i>
not-NEG.PART., COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	be- PREP.+ACC./DAT.	because- ACC.SG.	evil- PREP.+DAT./ACC., them- SUFF.PRON.3PL.	against- DEM.PRON.NOM.SG.
'It is not because of evil against them.'			MI.046d08	

Example 51). does not belong in any of the categories mentioned in section 3.3,¹⁹⁹ as the glossed Latin is as follows.

¹⁹⁷ Translation from Griffith & Stifter (2011).

¹⁹⁸ The translation would then be 'it is to the humanity of the Son that one of every two phrases refers to'.

¹⁹⁹ I.e. fragmentary gloss, clear elision, or a direct translation of the Latin.

52) *et odio iniquo oderunt me*

And with unjust hate, they hate me.

This makes it clear that example 51) is not a direct translation, nor a fragment, nor is there a clear case of elision. Therefore, it is included as the ungrammatical use of the copula for the substantive.

53) <i>co[m]bed</i>	<i>chiall</i>	<i>ainsedo</i>	<i>ildai</i>	<i>and</i>
so that-CONJ.PART., be- COP.3SG.PAST.SUBJ.	sense- NOM.SG.	accussative- GEN.SG.	plural-GEN.SG.M.	in-PREP.+ACC./DAT., it- SUFF.PRON.3SG.N.
'There would be the sense of an accusative plural in it.'				MI.067d24

Example 53) has the subject of the clause immediately following the copula. This is a strange word order for the copula. It glosses the Latin *tarsis*, and comments that the sense of an accusative plural would be in it, even though it ends in *-is*. Perhaps *and* provides a solution to this gloss. It would not be expected that the copula would have this preposition as a predicate, and the copula does necessitate the use of a predicate. Nevertheless, even though *combed* is classified as the copula 3sg. past subjunctive, it could be classified wrongly, as the 3sg. past subjunctive conjunct of the substantive verb is the same. The substantive verb also regularly occurs with *and* to denote presence. This should thus be regarded as a wrongly classified example (which can also be seen in the translation by Griffith & Stifter, which starts with 'There is...').

54) <i>combetis</i>	<i>degnímai</i>	<i>leu</i>
so that-CONJ.PART., COP.3PL.PAST.SUBJ.	be- NOM.PL.	good deed- SUFF.PRON.3PL.
'So that good works should be with them.' ²⁰⁰		with-PREP.+ACC., them- MI.107c12

Example 54) has an occurrence of the subject immediately following the copula, followed by the predicate *leu*, which is used as a possessive. The Latin glossed is *partem meritorum*, or 'good deeds', which is also the subject of this clause. Nonetheless, *betis* can also be the substantive 3pl. past subjunctive rather than the copula, as both forms are the same. As this would be a regular substantive, it should be classified as such, and should be considered a grammaticalized utterance of the substantive verb, even though it is classified as a copula in Griffith & Stifter (2011).

55) <i>ba</i>	<i>fri</i>	<i>aicned</i>	<i>dano</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>talam</i>
be- COP.3SG.PAST.IND.	against- PREP.+ACC./DAT.	nature- ACC.SG.	then-ADVERB	the- DEF.ART.NOM. SG.M.	earth- NOM.SG.
<i>dluith</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>indluch</i>			
dense- NOM.SG.M.	to- PREP.+ DAT.	cleaving- DAT.SG.			
'Splitting the dense earth was contrary then to nature.' ²⁰¹				MI.129d08	

Example 55) should be considered as the use of the copula for the substantive verb, as it can be explained in no other way. Here, the subject is *in talam dluith*, and the copula has a construction with *do* + VN. The prepositional phrase can only be considered as the predicate in this sentence.

²⁰⁰ Translation mine.

²⁰¹ Translation mine.

All in all, four examples of the use of the copula for the substantive were found in MI.²⁰² It should be noted that one more, highly problematic, possible example is noted and discussed in this section, however, no definite statements can be made about that gloss due to its poor state.²⁰³

4.2.3 Substantives with word order variance

In table 8, the list of substantives with word order variance in the Milan Glosses can be found. This table is presented somewhat differently from the other examples, because it is less interesting for the overlap of the use of the substantive and the copula. Because the word order variance is similar in all cases it is not necessary to gloss every word in every example.

Table 8: Substantives with word order variance in the Milan glosses.

Example	Locus	Phrase & translation ²⁰⁴
a.	014c12	<i>atá inaicniud chaich denum maith 7 imgabail uilc dodenum</i> It is in the nature of every (person) to do good and to avoid doing evil.
b.	017b26	<i>ciachruth nombiad inaicniud denma andedeseo</i> What is the way in which these two things could be done?
c.	023a02	<i>combed doib forraithmet bedtorbach</i> That they should have a recollection which is profitable.
d.	030b16	<i>atá hí lebraib ríg anisin</i> that is in the Books of Kings
e.	033c17	<i>ní rabæ diesamni duaid</i> David did not have the boldness.
f.	044b10-11	<i>air nísfail li <i> um innabriathrasin</i> For there are not with me those words.
g.	068d16	<i>bieid dund firian animthanad sin</i> There will be that alternation to the righteous man.
h.	093a05	<i>com beth leu som nech di faithib diareladoib·</i> That they should have some prophet to manifest it to them.
i.	126c10	<i>nombiad iarfír aní rolabrastar dia 7 durairngert</i> That that which God had spoken and promised would be truly.

Example a. has two verbal nouns functioning as the subject, which can be placed in subject-final position according to Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980).²⁰⁵ Example b. has as subject *a n-dede-seo*, which contains a demonstrative and refers back to the Latin text. It has emphasis because of its reference to the Latin text, which is a reason for the subject to be put in marked subject-final position, according to Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980). The Latin text can be seen in 56).

<i>56) ciachruth nombiad inaicniud denma andedeseo</i> ²⁰⁶
What is the way in which these two things could be done?
<i>visitat atque visitatur</i>

²⁰² MI.017c03, MI.042b11-12, MI.048d08, MI.129d08.

²⁰³ MI.036d18.

²⁰⁴ The translations, unless otherwise noted, are taken from Griffith and Stifter (2011).

²⁰⁵ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 30.

²⁰⁶ Translation from Griffith & Stifter (2011).

He visits and he is visited.

Example c. carries a ‘heavy’ subject Noun Phrase, due to the relative clause dependent on the nominal subject, and is therefore relegated to the subject-final position. Example d. refers to the Latin that is glossed with *anisin*, which is the emphasized deictic particle *í*, which would be expected as a change in focus. The Latin glossed is seen in 57).

57) <i>atá hí lebraib ríq anisin</i> ²⁰⁷

That is in the book of kings.

<i>et quoniam Tabernaculum Templum uocatum sit manifesto Regum testimonio perducitur.</i>

And, since the tabernacle may be called <i>templum</i> in the book of the Kings, it was delivered, [...]
--

Here, the deictic particle refers to *Tabernaculum Templum uocatum sit*, where *tabernaculum* is the subject and *templum* the object. The entire subclause (*quoniam...testimonio*) is the zero-subject of *perducitur*. It is clear that the word order of the gloss is marked, with the subject being in subject-final position. It could also be that *Tabernaculum Templum uocatum sit* was regarded as the Topic of the sentence, and that *anisin* continues that Topic with the deictic particle *i*, which is in subject-final position to emphasize this.

Example e. could be somewhat contended, as *duaid*, David, is the same in the nominative and the dative singular.²⁰⁸ This is relevant because Baumgarten (1972) mentions that the independent dative with the substantive verb can be used as possession.²⁰⁹ Nonetheless, it should be considered as a nominative, as the independent dative is rare in Old Irish, and it is unclear what the subject should be in that case (unless it is a zero-subject, but that is unlikely as *duaid* is a perfectly valid as a subject). The marked order does not seem due to emphasis, but it could be the reintroduction of a character that was mentioned earlier before a break in the story. *Duaid* is reintroduced as the Topic of this gloss (and the zero-subject in the following part of the gloss) and can therefore be placed in subject-final position. Example f. has *inna briatha-sin* as an accusative plural which is marked double, and therefore delegated to the end of the sentence, according to Lucht (1994), who also treats this example in her paper.²¹⁰ Example f. should thus be regarded as perfectly regular, even though the grammatical object is positioned after the prepositional phrase.

Example g. has a subject with the demonstrative, namely *a n-imthanad-sin*. It is in subject-final position because it emphasizes the entire gloss. It refers to the Latin text, which can be seen in 58). The emphasis comes from the large amount of the Latin text that the gloss refers to, and it should thus be considered another example of emphasis according to the theory of Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980).

58) <i>in praesenti saeculo dano .i. bieid dund firian animthanad sin.</i> ²¹¹

Also in the present age, i.e. there will be that alternation to the righteous man.
--

<i>Habebit quidem sensum laboris sed liberationis securitatem atque ad breve tempus adflictus uita deinceps uita dilectabili iugiter perfrueter...</i>
--

He will have indeed an understanding of work but the freedom of security and afflicted by life for a short time, will enjoy successively a delightful life in perpetuity... ²¹²
--

²⁰⁷ Translation from Griffith & Stifter (2011).

²⁰⁸ <http://www.dil.ie/18936>.

²⁰⁹ Baumgarten (1972): 239.

²¹⁰ Lucht (1994): 83-84. For this example, see pp. 86.

²¹¹ Translation from Griffith & Stifter (2011).

²¹² Translation from dr. Griffith, personal communication.

Example h. has a ‘heavy’ subject Noun Phrase, and is consequently placed in subject-final position. Example i. also follows Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980). The subject, *aní*, is the deictic particle, and it carries a relative clause and can be considered a ‘heavy’ subject. For these two reasons it can be subject-final.

4.3 The St. Gall Glosses

4.3.1 The use of the substantive for the copula

59) <i>bith</i>	<i>techtai</i>	
be-SUBST.3PL.IMPV.	has-PART.NOM.PL.	
‘They must be considered (litt. they must be had)’.		Sg.006b22

There was just one example of the use of a substantive for the copula, which is listed above. This example contains a nominative plural verbal adjective, *techtai*, from *techtaid*, ‘to have, possess’. Therefore, this is an ungrammatical use of the substantive. The substantive is in the 3rd plural imperative and cannot be confused with a similar form for the copula, as only the third person plural future copula is similar to this form.

4.3.2 The use of the copula for the substantive verb in St. Gall

There were six instances of the use of the copula for the substantive verb in the St.. Gall glosses, which are discussed below.²¹³

60) <i>is</i>	<i>huas</i>	<i>neurt</i>	<i>dom</i>
be-	above-PREP.+DAT.	strength- DAT.SG.	to- PREP.+DAT., me-
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.			SUFF.PRON.1SG.
‘It is above my strength.’			Sg.001a06

Example 60) should be classified as the use of the copula for the substantive verb, as it does not fit any of the omission criteria,²¹⁴ nor does it give any reason to assume another cause for the prepositional predicate.

61) <i>combad</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>suidiu</i>	<i>iarum</i>	<i>pepigi</i>
be-	from-PREP.+DAT.	this-	then-CONJ.PART.	pepigi-NOM.SG.
COP.3SG.PAST.SUBJ.		AN.PRON.DAT.SG.		
‘ <i>Pepigi</i> would then be from this.’ ²¹⁵			Sg.181a03	

Example 61) falls into the same category as example 60), as *pepigi* is clearly the subject in this clause and the prepositional phrase must thus be the predicate.

62) <i>bes</i>	<i>nobed</i>	<i>nach</i>	<i>aile</i>	<i>leis</i>
perchance-	COP.3SG.PAST.SUBJ.	any-NOM.SG.	other-NOM.SG.	by-
CONJ.PART.				PREP+ACC./DAT.,
				him-
				INF.PRON.3SG.
<i>oc</i>	<i>ind</i>	<i>airchellad</i>	<i>amal</i>	<i>sodain</i>
at-PREP.+DAT	the-	taking away-	as- PREP.+ACC.	this-
	DEF.ART.DAT.SG.	DAT.SG.VB.NOUN.		AN.PRON.ACC.SG.

²¹³ Translation from Bauer & Schumacher (2015) unless otherwise noted.

²¹⁴ I.e. a fragmentary gloss, a direct translation of Latin, or an elided cleft.

²¹⁵ Translation mine.

'Perchance another might have been with him at the taking away in that case.'²¹⁶ Sg.202a07

Example 62) has *nobed* as the copular form according to Bauer & Schumacher (2015), but it can also be interpreted as the substantive verb, which also seems to be the case in the translation. In any case, it is a past subjunctive. In this instance, the substantive verb would yield a grammatical sentence, whereas a copular sentence would not, as it would need a zero-subject to function. In short, this example cannot be classified as the use of the copula for the substantive verb, since it most likely actually contains the substantive verb.

63) <i>cesu</i>	<i>fri</i>	<i>crich</i>	<i>desiu</i>	<i>a</i>
be-	against-	boundary-	hence-ADV. ²¹⁷	his-
COP.3SG.PRES.IND.	PREP.+ACC.	ACC.SG.		POSS.PRON.3SG.
<i>aicned</i>	<i>-som</i>			
nature-NOM.SG.	he-			
	EMPH.PRON.3SG.			
'Though its natural meaning is on this side of the boundary.'				Sg.217b12

Example 63) has a clear nominal subject, *a aicned som*, and a prepositional predicate. *-su* cannot be confused with the substantive verb. Therefore, this example must be seen as the use of the copula for the substantive verb.

64) <i>níbí</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>comsuidigud</i>
be-	in-PREP.+ACC/DAT.	composition-
COP.3SG.CONS.PRES.		DAT.SG.VERB.NOUN.
'(erga) is not in composition.'		Sg.219a01

Example 64) has *níbí*, the consuetudinal present 3 singular copula, according to Bauer & Schumacher (2015). This could also be taken to be the substantive verb, however, because what is analysed as the consuetudinal present 3 singular copula in the glosses sometimes has a diacritic mark (signifying the accent which distinguishes the copular and substantive form of the 3sg. present consuetudinal).²¹⁸ If an acute mark occurs, the form should be classified as a substantive verb, rather than a copula, regardless of word order and word class. In the case of Sg.061a18, Sg. 212a05, and Sg.219a01 (i.e. example 64) especially, a mistake in classification seems to have been made, as they all have prepositions following the verb and an accent on the *-i#*, so it is unclear why they are classified as copular forms.²¹⁹ These glosses are listed in table 9. No note is given by Bauer & Schumacher (2015) to explain their reading or classification. Two conclusions can be drawn on the basis of this. (1) The third person singular present consuetudinal conjunct for both the copula and the substantive is very difficult to be differentiated between. (2) The scribes of the St.. Gall glosses must have preferred the use of the substantive verb with the present consuetudinal.

²¹⁶ Translation from Bauer & Schumacher (2015).

²¹⁷ Literally, this is *de siu*, 'from this'. *Siu* is the dative singular of *so*, the demonstrative pronoun. *Di* is a preposition, governing the dative, from *de*, 'from'.

²¹⁸ Mi.091d02, Sg.061a18, Sg.095b07, Sg.212a05, and Sg.219a01.

²¹⁹ Note that Mi.091d02 is classified by Griffith & Stifter (2011) as a copula, while the accent on the *-i#* is transcribed. The predicate in that gloss, which immediately follows the verb, is an adjective. According to dr. Griffith, this is the reason this instance of the verb is classified as such (personal communication). He also explained that *cían* would normally have an acute mark on the *i*, which may have been misplaced..

Table 9: Wrongly classified 3 singular consuetudinal present conjunct substantives in Sg.

Locus	Phrase	Translation ²²⁰
Sg.061a18	ní·bí/ higuth	it is not in sound
Sg.212a05	ní bí friu hí/ comasndéis	it is not with them in apposition
Sg.219a01	níbí hi comsuidigud	it is not in composition ²²¹

Because the use of the substantive consuetudinal is so clearly preferred, the three glosses in table 9 should definitely be classed as substantives rather than copulas. Example 64) should therefore also be excluded from analysis as the use of the copula for the substantive verb, as its gloss is the regular use of the substantive verb.

More discussion on the confusion between the present consuetudinal copula and substantive can be found in section 5.2.

65) <i>ar</i>	<i>mad</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>comsuidigud</i>
for-CONJ.PART.	be-	in-PREP.+ACC/DAT.	composition-
	COP.3SG.PRES.SUBJ.		DAT.SG.VERB.NOUN.
'For if <i>cum</i> be in composition.'			Sg.222a06

Example 65) is more difficult to interpret. The Latin context can be seen in 66).

66) <i>cum in loco eius in compositione semper con praeponatur</i>
<i>Cum</i> is always put in place of <i>con</i> in composition.

As can be seen in the gloss, *cum* is not explicitly mentioned, but it is mentioned in the glossed Latin. It should thus be considered a zero-subject with the copula. Nonetheless, it could also be that it is simply elided along with a copula, which would make example 65) grammatical.²²² It would be confusing to have a double copula with a Latin word following it in the sentence. Due to the contention of this example, it should not be added to the examples of the use of the copula for the substantive verb.

All in all, Sg. has three certain examples of the use of the copula for the substantive verb.²²³

4.3.3 Substantives with word order variance

In table 10, the list of substantives with word order variance in the St. Gall glosses can be found. This table is presented somewhat differently from the other examples, because it is less interesting for the overlap of the use of the substantive and the copula. Because the word order variance is similar in all cases it is not necessary to gloss every word in every example.

Table 10: Uses of the substantive verb with word order variance in the St. Gall Glosses.

Example	Locus	Phrase & Translation ²²⁴
a.	040a11	<i>Atá linn chaenae ní asa·narbaram</i>
		We have besides something whereby we can express.
b.	147a10	<i>ní·bía leo insin</i>
		That they will not have.

²²⁰ Translation from Bauer & Schumacher (2015) unless otherwise noted.

²²¹ Translation changed from '(erga)' as in Bauer & Schumacher (2015) to 'it'.

²²² i.e. *armad hí comsuidigud is cum*, 'If it is in apposition that *cum* is'.

²²³ Sg.001a06, Sg.181a03, and Sg.217b12.

²²⁴ Translation from Bauer & Schumacher (2015) unless otherwise noted.

c.	167a04	<i>cid armad machdad anísín ol atá lee dano an iñnad so</i>
		Why should that be wondered at since it has this marvel?
d.	205a01	<i>huare rombói lagrecu angnáe</i>
		Because the Greeks had the form.
e.	208a04	<i>huare nadmbí hifreçndairc indtertpersan semper</i>
		Since the third person is not always present.
f.	209b29	<i>ar cach genitiu dichóisín ataát indib indícheilse sis</i>
		For in every genitive that exists there are these two meanings (mentioned) below.

Example a. has a subject which is qualified by a relative sentence, which can be placed in subject-final position. Example b. has a demonstrative pronoun, *sin*, as the subject, with the article. This may be due to a focus switch, according to Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980). This shift is not found in the glossed Latin, but could be found in an earlier part of the gloss, as the full gloss reads *.i. ut Paulo post .i. ní-bía leo insin. Paulo-post* can be the introduced Topic in the first part of the gloss, and then *insin* is put in subject-final position as it refers back to the Latin gloss, and signifies a Focus switch.. Example c. has the demarcating adverb *dano*, and therefore, the subject can be in subject-2 position (which is also subject-final position in this case). Interestingly, *la* as a possessive precedes *dano* here.

Example d. has an unusual subject position, with *agnáe* after the preposition *la Greco*. This could be an example of the use of the preposition *la* as an adverb, per Lash (2014b), but it is clearly not used in the context ‘in the opinion of’. The verb cannot be confused for the copula, as it is the perfect 3 singular substantive, which would correspond to the 3 singular past copula *-ba*. Perhaps it is placed in marked position here to contrast the first and second part of the gloss, because the second part has a different subject. It reads *ut ante dixit*, ‘as he said before’,²²⁵ where the subject is unexpressed, but seems to refer to Priscian, the grammarian.²²⁶ The glossed Latin is the following.

67) *huare rombói lagrecu angnáe*

Because the Greeks had the form.

Nec non etiam in nominibus similimodo plurima inueniuntur prolata, [Greek]. Unde Romani sextum casum assumpserunt.

And not even in the nouns were the multiple appearances discovered in the same way, [Greek]. From this, the Romans assumed a sixth case.

It is clear that example 67) does not provide the answer. Rather, it should be thought that *agnáe* refers back to the sixth case discussed in the entire gloss, i.e. the multiple appearances. It could emphasize the gloss to show the most important take-away from the glossed Latin.

Example e. has a subject not in subject-final position but rather in subject-2 position, even though there is no adverb preventing it from being in subject-1 position. It is unclear how this came to be, although the verbal form used here is the 3 singular present consuetudinal substantive, which is similar to the 3 singular present consuetudinal copula. This would explain the predicate following the verb immediately, but Bauer & Schumacher read it as a substantive verb, and their judgement is followed. Another possible reason for subject-final position is that the clause is a relative clause, as perhaps the subject is placed last to emphasize it. In the rest of the gloss, *ar is cóir a pronomen diainchoscsi mad freçndairc*,²²⁷ there are two anaphoric references to *ind tertpersan*, which could explain why it is in a marked position.

²²⁵ Translation from Bauer & Schumacher (2015).

²²⁶ I.e. the author of the Latin text.

²²⁷ ‘for it is meet that the pronoun should signify it, if it be present’. Translation from Bauer & Schumacher (2015).

Example f. also has emphasis on the sentence, and could for that reason be relegated to marked subject-final position. This becomes clear when taking into account the entire gloss.

68) <i>Omnis enim genitivus .i. isai/ri ní-tuic sui. isnai/b desimrectaib .acht. is/sibi se tuic indib ar/ omnis enim genitivus reliqua ar cach/ genitiu dichoisin ataat/ indib indícheilse sis. a/ta dano hi sui. cenud·fíl/ gním 7 chésad hisuidiu/ immurgu conachamthuislib../ ní indaicseogod</i>
i.e. therefore he has not put sui in the examples, but it is sibi, se that he has put in them, for omnis etc.; for in every genitive that exists there are these two meanings (mentioned) below: (this) is then in sui. Although, however, there are action and passion in this with its oblique cases this is not the causality.
<i>omnis enim genetivus uel uerbo adiungitur ad perfectionem sensus, ut mei uel illius potior, uel possessioni, ut mei seruo loquor.</i>
For every genitive [is] either attached to a verb for a perfect sense, that of me or rather of him, or of possession, as I speak to my servant.

In 68) it becomes clear that *indícheilse* refers back to the Latin gloss, which discusses the two meanings. *Indícheilse* would then reinforce the subject, and thus emphasize that there are two important meanings mentioned below. This emphasis should be considered reinforced by the use of the demonstrative in *indícheilse*. This is the reason it is in marked subject-final position.

Four out of six of the examples listed have a possessive predicate and the subject in clause-final position. This is again notable, because they are not listed as demarcating adverbs in Lash (2014a). Perhaps this signifies that possessive predicates can precede demarcating adverbs, although nothing can be claimed or concluded on the basis of so few examples.

4.4 The POMIC-corpus

4.4.1 The use of the substantive for the copula

Only one clear example of ungrammatical use of the substantive verb was found in the POMIC-corpus, which is lc.72.²²⁸ This is example 67), and it is ungrammatical because of the adjectival predicate immediately following the verb. It also has word order variance an ungrammatical word order, namely predicate-first with the substantive. This is easily explained by the ‘heavy’ phrase that is attached to the deictic particle *í*, which, according to Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980), makes it possible to put the subject in subject-final position (and thus move the predicate forwards).

69) <i>Ní</i> not-NEG.PART.	<i>bí</i> be- SUBST.PRES.CON.S.3SG.	<i>saithech</i> satisfied- NOM.SG.	<i>di</i> from-PREP+DAT, INF.PRON.3SG.M.	<i>int-í</i> the- DEF.ART.NOM.SG., one-NOM.SG.
<i>la-s-m</i> with- PREP+ACC.REL.,INF.PRON.3SG	<i>bí</i> be- SUBST.PRES.CON.S.3SG.REL			
‘The one with whom it is, is not satisfied from it.’			lc.72 ²²⁹ (l.119 in Bieler & Carney (1972))	

²²⁸ Note that the numbering is that of the POMIC-corpus as made by Lash (2014a). Below, the line numbers of the examples in the edition by Bieler & Carney (1972) are mentioned.

²²⁹ This is the POMIC-notation, meaning this is the 73rd sentence in the Lambeth Commentary. It is referred to as such in this thesis as well.

Another possible ungrammatical use is mentioned by Bieler & Carney (1972) on l. 370 (lc.246 in POMIC), but there Lash (2014a) classified the verb as a copula, which is also possible. It also has an adjectival predicate.

<i>70) Ní</i>	<i>bí</i>	<i>tromm</i>
not-NEG.PART.	be-	heavy-
	SUBST.PRES.CON.S.3SG.	NOM.SG.
‘It is not usually heavy.’	lc.246 ²³⁰ (l.370 in Bieler & Carney (1972))	

These examples could both be mistakenly identified as a substantive instead of a copula, either by the scribe (who may have added a diacritic) or by the editors. Both forms are almost the same in the substantive and the copula. Bieler & Carney (1972) do not give the reason for his interpretation. The MS. is unavailable online, and therefore it is not possible to interpret the original material at this time. Lash (2014a) follows Bieler & Carney (1972) mostly, but diverges here. It is unclear why he would regard lc.246 as a copula instead of a substantive verb. Following the discussion above in 4.3.3, the 3sg. consuetudinal present is regarded as the substantive verb in this thesis. Therefore, both examples are included in the final analysis of the use of the substantive for the copula.

4.4.2 The use of the copula for the substantive

There was one use of the copula for the substantive verb found in POMIC. It is seen in example 71).

<i>71) is</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>cloen</i>	<i>in</i>	<i>pars</i>	<i>ochtarach</i>
be-	on-	slope-	def.art-	part- NOM.SG.	upper- NOM.SG.
COP.PRES.IND.3SG.	PREP.+DAT/ACC.	ACC.SG.	NOM.SG.M.		
‘The upper part is on an incline.’			mass.43 ²³¹		

This phrase cannot be confused with a substantive verb. It clearly has a copula, the word order of COP+PRED+SUBJ is adhered to, and the subject is grammatical. Due to the use of the nominal subject, it is not probable that this sentence is (part of) a cleft sentence. It should thus be regarded as the use of the copula for the substantive.

²³⁰ This is the POMIC-notation, meaning this is the 246th sentence in the Lambeth Commentary. It is referred to as such in this thesis as well.

²³¹ This is the numbering adhered to in Lash (2014a). It signifies the 43rd sentence in the Treatise on the Mass. It is referred to by this numbering in the rest of this thesis.

5. Discussion

In this section, the results from section four are reviewed. Furthermore, the research as a whole is discussed and recommendations for future research are made.

The results of section four can be divided into three categories of ungrammatical use of the copula or the substantive verb. The first two concern the overlap of the copula and the substantive, the subject of this thesis. The first is the use of the substantive verb for the copula. The second is the use of the copula for the substantive verb. The third is the use of word order variance with the substantive verb. There was no word order variance witnessed with the copula. This category is, therefore, not included.

In table 11 below, all results are categorized by total remaining examples after their analysis in section four. All examples are discussed by category in this section.

Table 11: Total numbers of irregulars of every category of overlap and the word order variance with the substantive verb. The categories are outlined above, and the texts are in chronological order.

Source	Copula for substantive	Substantive for copula	Word order variance with the substantive
Lambeth Commentary	-	2	1 ²³²
Würzburg Gloss	-	1	8
Milan Gloss	4	3	8
The Treatise on the Mass	1	-	-
St.. Gall glosses	3	1	6
Total	8	7	23

5.1 The use of the substantive verb for the copula

In total, there are seven uses of the substantive verb for the copula in the investigated corpus. They are listed below in table 12. The contended examples are marked as such. Of the ungrammatical predicates in the substantive seen in table 12, four occur with the consuetudinal present *-bí*.²³³ Three uses occur with the imperative,²³⁴ and one use occurs with the first person plural present indicative *ataam*.²³⁵ For the consuetudinal present 3 singular, it should be noted that it is very similar to the consuetudinal present 3 singular of the copula, which occurs very uncommonly in the glosses. A discussion on this can be found in section 4.2.3, where the conclusion is that if there is a diacritic mark, it should be taken as the substantive verb. This is the case in the examples listed below.

The imperative and the first person plural present, both in the substantive and in the copula, are used very rarely. They are much less easily confused, especially the present indicative of the substantive and the copula, as they derive from a different root.

²³² Example Ic.72 of the Lambeth Commentary has both a 'heavy' subject and an adjective as an ungrammatical predicate.

²³³ Ic.72, Ic.246, Ml.015b15, and Ml.116a01.

²³⁴ Ml.046a07, and Sg.006b22.

²³⁵ Wb.15a13.

Table 12: The uses of the substantive verb for the copula in all sources

Locus	Phrase & Translation
Ic.72	<i>Níbí saithech di int-í lasmbí</i>
	'The one with whom it is, is not satisfied from it.'
Ic.246	<i>Níbí tromm</i>
	'It is not usually heavy.'
Wb.15a13	<i>ataam fortectiri</i>
	'That we are your messengers.'
MI.015b15	<i>conabítirim</i>
	'So that it is not parched.'
MI.046a07	<i>biid ersoilcthi archiunn forrig</i>
	'Be ye opened before your King.'
MI.116a01	<i>connabí asse a aicsin leu</i>
	'So that for him to be seen by them is not easy.'
Sg.006b22	<i>bith [leg. bit] techtai</i>
	'They must be considered (litt. they must be had).'

Interestingly, the examples seem to have some things in common. MI.046a07, Sg.006b22 and MI.015b15 have an adjectival participle as the predicate, and MI.015b15, Ic.72, Ic.246, and MI.116a01 have a 'regular' adjectival predicate. Only Wb.15a13 has a noun-predicate, although it should be noted that Wb.15a13 and MI.046a07 are the only non-3rd person forms in the list. Their biggest similarity is that they all have their predicate immediately following the verb, as opposed to the regular use of the substantive for the copula when the subject follows the verb. Nonetheless, all of the examples listed above do not have an expressed subject, but a zero-subject in the verb, except for Ic.72, which has the deictic particle as the subject, and MI.116a01, which has a verbal noun, *a aicsin*, 'his seeing', as the subject. It is notable that both of these also have a different word order from the other examples, although this is normal because of the heavy NP in Ic.72, and the use of a verbal noun as the subject in MI.116a01. It should be considered that the differentiation between copula and substantive verb was not fully carried out, because of the grammaticalized examples of overlap.

As established in section 2.6, the most common use of the substantive does not have a predicate, but rather has to do with existence, presence, being in a certain condition, et cetera. This is the case, for instance, in example 72).

72) <i>atá</i>	<i>ní</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>chiunn</i>
be-	anything-	before-	head-DAT.SG.
SUBST.PRES.IND.3SG.	PRON.NOM.SG.	PREP.+ACC/DAT.	
'There is something ahead.'			Sg.039b10

Here, *archiunn* should be regarded as an adverb. It is not the predicate in the copular sense, because it does not modify the subject only. It is connected with *atá*, which carries the semantic meaning of 'being in a location'. This sort of use is the main use for the substantive verb, as a semantically charged version of the verb 'to be'.²³⁶ As noted in 2.6, there is an important exception, as it can be used as the copula when it is in a relative clause and refers to the predicate in the main clause, or when the subject stands between the verb and the predicate. These uses are considered grammaticalized, but may help understanding the examples collated from the data. Of these examples, 6 can clearly be identified as having a zero-subject. They do not have a usual predicate, as a prepositional or adverbial predicate would be expected, but Thurneysen (1946) lists the following example.

²³⁶ Thurneysen (1946): 475.

73) <i>ataat</i>	<i>mesai</i>	<i>dae</i>	<i>nephchomtetarrachti</i>	<i>amal</i>	<i>abis</i>
be-	judgements-	God-GEN.SG.	incomprehensible-	like-	<i>abyssus-</i>
SUBST.PRES.IND.3PL.	NOM.PL.		PART.NOM.PL.	PREP.+	ACC.SG.
				ACC.	
'The judgements of God are incomprehensible like an abyss.'					MI.55d11

There appears to be no difference between example 73) and MI.046a07, except for the zero-subject in the latter. In short, all examples except MI.116a07 and lc.72 could be classified as the same 'grammatical' use of the substantive for the copula, with the word order VSX. This is the case because with a zero-subject, the word order remains intact as it would in a regular Old Irish nominal sentence with a zero-subject.

MI.116a01 and lc.72 do not fit with the others on the basis of their word order, although there are no functional differences regarding the word class of the predicate. As discussed in sections 4.1.2, 4.2.3, and 4.3.3, however, word order variances are mostly due to the employment of subject-displacement due to a variety of different factors. Importantly, one of those factors is the use of relatives with the subject, as is the case with *int-í lasmbí* in lc.72. MI.116a01 has *a aicsin* as its subject. This is a verbal noun, and, according to Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980), should therefore assume subject-final position.²³⁷ The perceived word order should thus be regarded as VSX in these sentences.

In short, these 'ungrammatical' uses of the substantive for the copula can all be classed together with the grammatical use of the substantive for the copula where the subject stands between the verb and the predicate. This results in both being in the same, overarching category of the use of the substantive verb for the copula. This category seems to be dependant not primarily on the word class of the predicate (as can be seen by the examples above), but rather the perceived word order of the clause. It should be concluded that the word class of the predicate with the substantive can, in some cases, also be a noun or an adjective.

5.2 The use of the copula for the substantive

In total, there are eight examples of the use of the copula for the substantive. They can be seen in table 13 below.

Table 13: The use of the copula for the substantive. All examples are in chronological order, from the oldest MS to the newest.

Locus	Phrase & Translation
MI.017c03	<i>cid hodeacht maicc nó hodeacht athar· arafoima doinacht maicc aní arroet ní hisuidiu</i>
	Whether it should be from the divinity of the Son or from the divinity of the Father that the humanity of the Son would assume that which He has assumed, it is not in the preceding (text).
MI.042b11-12	<i>is fo huath [leg. huathud] amal sodin an· institutæ creaturæ</i>
	And in that case <i>institutæ creaturæ</i> is in the singular.
MI.046d08	<i>ní arolc friu són</i>
	It is not because of evil against them.
MI.129d08	<i>.i. assa dluthi son ba fri aicned dano intalam dluith do indluch</i>
	Splitting the dense earth was contrary then to nature.

²³⁷ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 30.

Mass.43 ²³⁸	<i>is for cloen in pars ochtarach</i>
	The upper part is on an incline.
Sg.001a06	<i>is huas neurt dom ara doidngi</i>
	It is above my strength for its difficulty.
Sg.181a03	<i>combad hošuidiu iarum pepigi</i>
	<i>Pepigi</i> would then be from this.
Sg.217b12	<i>.i. tar crích innunn .i. cesu/ fricrích dešiu aaicned som</i>
	i.e. beyond the boundary, i.e. though its natural meaning is on this side of the boundary.

All examples except MI.017c03 and Sg.001a06 have a non-zero subject. There are six instances of the present indicative copula,²³⁹ the past indicative is used once,²⁴⁰ and the past subjunctive is used once.²⁴¹ Only the third person singular is used in these examples. The prepositional predicates are governed by various prepositions. There does not seem to be a unifying element to these examples, except for their word order (which is, in all cases, still COP+PRED+SUBJ).

The use of a prepositional predicate with the copula is considered grammaticalized, if it is used as possession, as in example 74). Note that the word order of COP+PRED+SUBJ is adhered to.

74) <i>amal</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>les</i>	<i>inna</i>	<i>nert</i>
as-CONJ.PART.	be-	with	him-	DEF.ART.NOM.
	COP.PRES.IND.3PL	CONJ.PREP.3SG.	SG.	virtue-NOM.SG.
	.REL.	M.		
'As the virtues are with him.'			MI.108c14	

The examples listed in table 13 cannot be put into this category, but they all adhere to the same word order, even though the predicates do not align. It is noteworthy that there was no copula observed in the data that did not adhere to this word order of COP+PRED+SUBJ, even if the predicate could be considered irregular or ungrammatical. It seems that the word order of the copula is very strict, as not one in 3872 examples of the copula deviated from this word order.

All examples of the use of the copula for the substantive could be regarded as arising from elision. It is currently unknown what process lays behind elision exactly, but it is known that the copula is frequently elided. It stands to reason that the copula is at least permitted to have prepositions and adverbs as prepositions, as it does have them as predicates in cleft sentences, such as 75).

75) <i>is</i>	<i>tri</i>	<i>sodin</i>	<i>dofocuirther</i>
be-	through-	that-	invites-
COP.PRES.IND.3SG.	PREP.+ACC.	ACC.SG.AN.PRON.	PASS.PRES.SUBJ.3SG.
'It is through it that he may be invited.'			MI.018c10

A number of examples were excluded, most importantly, fragmentary glosses where the copula has a prepositional predicate. Because the prepositional predicate in fragmentary glosses could not be ascertained, they could not be included, due to the lack of information in those glosses. In total, there

²³⁸ This is the numbering adhered to in Lash (2014a). It signifies the 43rd sentence in the Treatise on the Mass.

²³⁹ This includes the negative *ní*, MI.017c03, MI.042b11-12, MI.046d08, Mass.43, Sg.001a06, and Sg.217b12 (which has *ce*).

²⁴⁰ MI.129d08.

²⁴¹ Sg.181a03.

were 40 fragmentary uses of a prepositional predicate with the copula in the St. Gall and Milan glosses where elision or the direct translation of Latin did not play a role. A list of these, and the elided and translated examples, can be found in Appendix A. These examples should be considered as possible examples of the prepositional predicate, although it cannot be ascertained. They could also be examples of elided cleft sentences. Because of the high degree of doubt that exists for these examples, they are not included as examples of the use of the copula for the substantive.

There were also 16 examples of elided clefts where the copula carried a prepositional predicate. It seems a possibility that elision is, in fact, indicated with the ungrammatical prepositional predicate. In contrast, examples such as Sg.181a03 can hardly be considered elided, especially due to the addition of *iarum*. This is not to say that it is impossible for examples such as these to be elided, but they should be regarded as evidence against the indication of elision with an ungrammatical prepositional predicate. If the prepositional predicate would indicate elision, it should be expected that a uniform verb could be used to ‘complete’ the gap left by elision, or one is informed from context to the reader. This is not the case in the examples of table 13. Some can be explained with an elided copula, such as MI.017c03, MI.046d08, MI.129d08 and Sg.217b12. Explaining away MI.046d08 as an elided cleft would be especially ad hoc, because it does not include a subject for the elided cleft. Others would need the substantive verb, such as mass.43. In short, the examples in table 13 should be taken as evidence against the use of the prepositional predicate to indicate elision, especially because there are only 16 examples of the use of a prepositional predicate with certain elision. In these examples, it is always clear from context that elision is employed, whereas in the examples in table 13, this is not clear whatsoever. For instance, take MI.53d17 (example 76).

76) <i>is</i>	<i>i-n</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>dorecatar</i>	<i>ní</i>
be-	in-	God-ACC.SG.	hope-	be-
COP.PRES.IND.3SG.	PREP.+ACC/DAT.		PERF.IND.3PL.	COP.PRES.IND.3SG.NEG.
<i>intiu</i>	<i>fesin</i>			
in	them-	themselves-		
CONJ.PREP.3PL.	PRON.3PL.			
‘It is in God that they hope, it is not in themselves [that they hope].’				MI.53d17

In the context of this example, it is obvious that *dorecatar* is elided in the second part, and should be understood by the reader. Therefore, elision is the reason for the prepositional predicate in the second part of the gloss. It should be noted that the glosses in table 13 do not contain any verb that could be elided in the problematic part of the gloss. It should thus be concluded that elision is not the underlying reason for the examples of prepositional predicates with the copula as seen in table 13.

All in all, it seems that prepositions can be taken as the predicate with the copula, as long as the word order of the copula remains the same, or the copular clause is a cleft sentence.

5.3 The use of word order variance with the substantive

There are 23 instances of the use of the substantive verb with word order variance. Of these, 22 can be explained on the basis of subject-displacement theory by Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980), or Lash (2014b). Only one gloss, Wb.25b1, *hore (atá lib) f(iu)ss*, cannot be explained. It is clearly not a direct translation of the glossed Latin, which reads *scitis enim quae praecepta dederim uobis*. The manuscript is unreadable for this gloss,²⁴² and the editor has supplied the form *atá*. Because of the high amount of intervention in the gloss by the editor, it cannot be considered an example of unexplained word order variance, especially because all other examples were easily explicable. Concludingly, the theory

²⁴² <http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/celtica/wbgl/wbgl25r.jpg>, last accessed on 09-06-2020. The gloss is situated at the top of column b.

of Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) and Lash (2014b) is also productive in clauses with the substantive verb, as it is clearly behind the possibility of an 'irregular' subject position with the substantive verb.

5.4 Difficulties and recommendations

This research highly benefitted from the use of the digital dictionaries of the Old Irish Glosses by Griffith & Stifter (2011) and Bauer & Schumacher (2015). The dictionary by Kavanagh (2001) is, as of yet, unavailable in digitized format, although there seems to be an effort underway to create a digitized dictionary of the Würzburg Glosses.²⁴³ Furthermore, POMIC, created by Lash (2014a) was of great aid due to its easily searchable nature as a parsed corpus.

A study such as it was executed in this thesis requires a huge time-sink in collating every example of the substantive and the copula. Nonetheless, a quantitative analysis into the overlap of the substantive and the copula is necessary to ascertain a complete understanding of their use in later periods of the language, a subject untreated by this thesis. The use of digitized editions would already benefit this cause greatly, as a digitally searchable edition may provide a better way of collating examples. It is therefore recommended that editions are digitized in a searchable format, in order to make this type of research easier and a little less time consuming. It is understandable that large texts are not turned into dictionaries as is done for the St. Gall and Milan Glosses, but that would make the execution of quantitative research more feasible. For some features of the Irish language, it is necessary to achieve a full overview of a period of the language, which is currently extremely difficult.

The biggest constraint in this thesis was the amount of source material. Even though it is standard practice for researching Old Irish to use the glosses, more would have been achieved if more sources were available. Other sources may provide an entirely different outlook on this phenomenon. If more sources are consulted, a chronological development may more clearly appear, or more examples from later sources may be treated, after thorough analysis of the texts in later manuscripts, which were excluded from this thesis due to the uncertainty of when these texts were composed. With more research, these texts may be added if they can be accurately dated, or they could be argued to be seen as a reflection of the language used at the time of writing (albeit archaic).²⁴⁴

For further research, it is recommended that later periods of the Irish language, especially Middle and Early Modern Irish, are also analysed for examples of overlap between the copula and the substantive, alongside those of the Würzburg Gloss. This recommendation is made because while this thesis can hint to the underlying reason for the overlap of the substantive and the copula, due to the relatively small corpus and time period, no conclusions on the development of this phenomenon can be drawn. The biggest difficulty here will be collecting enough examples to find any overlap. All in all, it is expected that examples of this overlap are few and far-between, especially in later language, and would necessitate an enormous amount of analysed material. Dating this material would then be the next difficulty. In order to prove or disprove deliberate archaisms, a chronological timescale is necessary. So far, this seems to be the most claimed reason for the overlap between the substantive and the copula, and should thus form an integral part of any study of this phenomenon. A large difficulty for this study would be that the copula becomes increasingly defective on the way to Modern Irish (where it is no longer an inflected verb).²⁴⁵ The final difficulty that needs to be overcome is the usual 'normalization' of the possibly Old Irish texts which occur in later MSS on the basis of the

²⁴³ Dr. Griffith, personal communication.

²⁴⁴ An argument for this would be that the scribe would change some parts of older composed texts to fit his current understanding of the Irish language, but would almost never edit the entire text, and therefore he must have regarded some issues as 'wrong' but other issues as examples of how the language must have looked when it was older, i.e. those issues were still interpretable to the scribe.

²⁴⁵ Irslinger (2015).

glosses.²⁴⁶ Although this is a practice mostly used in the earlier days of Celtic Studies, many editions from the 20th century are still regarded as the go-to works for these texts, which is completely understandable as they are highly useful for most types of research. Therefore, it is unclear how many examples of overlap may have been lost by an overzealous editor who would force the language used in a text into the mould of the glosses by using standard grammars based upon them. As a result of this, the amount of overlap between the copula and the substantive that is present within the glosses could be easily missed. Naturally, some editors do note their intervention, although many more do not outline their editorial policy, making it highly difficult to interpret their choices. This problem was exemplified in this thesis in the, sometimes odd, classification of the present consuetudinal substantive *-bí* as a copula without comment. As stated before, it is impossible to make conclusions for later periods of the language. As such, it is recommended that more data-driven research is carried out into the occurrence of a prepositional predicate with the copula in later stages of the language, especially early Middle Irish and late Old Irish, which should shed more light on the use of a prepositional predicate specifically. Concludingly, it is not yet possible, on the basis of this thesis, to do more than hypothesize a potential reason for the use of the seemingly ungrammatical prepositional predicates in the glosses.

²⁴⁶ McCone (1985): 104.

6. Conclusion

In this section, the question ‘In what cases do the substantive verb and the copula overlap in Old Irish?’ is answered. To achieve this, firstly, an analysis of the hypotheses outlined in section 2.8 is made. Secondly, the prepositional predicate in copular sentences is discussed and outlined. Thirdly, the register of the glosses and the POMIC-corpus is discussed regarding the use of Old Irish. Fourthly, the chronological development of the overlap is outlined and discussed. Lastly, a conclusion is reached, answering the research question.

The hypotheses can be separated into three distinct theories, those by Bisagni (2019), Lash (2017) and Lash (2014b). Firstly, the hypothesis by Bisagni (2019), who argues that the use of the substantive for the copula is a stylistic choice in ACC, but also in other examples. According to him, the glosses supply the most evidence for this. Therefore, the use of the substantive for the copula is analysed according to this pattern. This is, of course, easily tested for these glosses, firstly, by checking whether *esse* is in the glossed Latin, and secondly, by examining the glossed Latin to see if it is a direct translation. Only Sg.006b22 passes this first test. The other irregular examples all do not gloss Latin *esse*.

77) *bith techtai*
‘They must be had’

L. *elementa sunt habenda*
‘The principles must be had’.

In example 77), it is clear that the gloss is a direct translation from Latin, as *elementa* is the subject of the Latin clause, and is expressed within Old Irish *bith*. Nevertheless, this explains only one out of nine readings of the substantive verb in place of the copula with regards to word class. The Lambeth Commentary also does not have a Latin translation of *esse* for its forms of the substantive verb. It should be concluded that it is, without a doubt, possible that a gloss that contains L. *esse* is translated with the substantive, even if the copula would be required syntactically, as shown in 77). Nonetheless, this is clearly not the primary motivation of the overlap, as it only explains one out of seven examples of the use of the substantive for the copula, and it would also leave the use of the copula for the substantive unexplained.

The second hypothesis is by Lash (2017), who states that the split between the copula and the substantive was relatively recent, and the overlap is an archaism resulting from an original word order of COP+SUBJ+PRED. Therefore, both the copula and the substantive verb could be used interchangeably. The results show that this underlying structure is never used with the copula in the analysed data. For this reason, it is considered unlikely that a possible underlying COP+SUBJ+PRED is the cause of the overlap between the substantive verb and the copula. Nonetheless, his theory of an archaism as the motivator for the overlap may hold up. As mentioned in 2.8, archaisms need to fit into one of three categories, at the very least: (1) they recede over time, (2) they occur in commonly used expressions, and (3) they are likely to be preserved in proverbs and proverb-like sayings, even if those are not commonly used. The examples are very uncommon in the glosses in general, and they do not fit in category 2), as not one of the examples of overlap is commonly used. These examples are also not fitting for category 3), because they are likely to be preserved in proverbs and proverb-like sayings. This could be true still, as it is unlikely to find proverbs or proverb-like sayings in texts such as the glosses. Nonetheless, some degree of similarity would be expected between the examples if the overlap was petrified in some areas of the language.

Two problems occurs when assigning the examples of overlap to category 1) especially, and that is the issue of register in the glosses, and the chronological development of the examples. As should be clear

from table 11 (section five), there were not enough examples found to establish any chronological development for the overlap between the substantive and the copula.

As explained in section 3.4, the glosses most likely consist of three registers, one of which is an 'old' literary standard, the other the colloquial language, and the other occurs through conflict of the two. If the overlap should fall into category 1) of an archaism, a chronological development in the short time period treated by the data here may well be blocked by the educated, literary standard from the 6th century,²⁴⁷ because the time-span of the data treated in this thesis is just about 100 years (from the first examples in Wb. to the latest examples in Sg.). Some chronological development may be expected, but the small number of examples in general can also obscure this development. In short, it is impossible on the basis of this data to prove an archaism, although it is not possible to disprove it either, because the literary standard used at the time of writing of the data treated in this thesis was, in fact, an archaic standard. Should the overlap be part of this literary standard, it would also have been an archaism for the scribes writing the MS.

The third hypothesis does not concern word class, but rather word order variance. This is not useful for the case of overlap of the use of the substantive verb and the copula, although it may have some bearing on the subject of substantives at large. The theory of subject displacement, firstly written down by Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) and expanded upon by Lash (2014b), shows that there are three positions for the subject in a nominal sentence in Old Irish, namely 'regular' subject position,²⁴⁸ subject-2,²⁴⁹ or subject-final. These context conditions are (1) that they are modified by relative clauses, (2) that they are comparatively long, or heavy Noun Phrases, (3) that they function as a Verbal Noun-Phrase, (4) for emphasis, (5) if two consecutive actions are contrasted, or (6) with a change of focus with previously known information after a break or (in)direct speech. If one of these conditions is fulfilled, the subject is allowed (or sometimes expected) in subject-final position. Lash (2014b) adds to this list his 'demarcating adverbs', which allow the subject to be in subject-2 position. This hypothesis can account for all examples of aberrant word order in the substantive verb. These contexts should consequently be regarded as the underlying cause of differing word order in these examples. It should be noted that these examples should not be considered 'irregular' in any way.²⁵⁰ As mentioned above, it is likely that earlier texts would show more subject-displaced variants than later texts, because of the loss of productiveness of word order variance. The data investigated here suggests that earlier texts (such as the Milan and Würzburg Glosses) contain more subject-displaced variants than later texts, although due to the small sample size and the relatively small time-scale involved, no conclusions can be reached. The hypothesis by Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) is deemed to interact with word order in clauses with the substantive verb, which should be regarded as a substantive verb with word order variance, and not as the use of the substantive verb for the copula. It does not interact with the copula, however. This may be the case because the use of a copula for a cleft sentence also emphasizes the clause or word that is brought forward. For this reason, it seems unlikely that copular constructions require a marked word order variant to emphasize parts of the sentence (or the entire sentence) beyond the use of the cleft sentence, which is only possible with the copula. In short, it would be expected that this word order variance is not seen with the copula.

In section 3.4, register was discussed. One of the research questions concerned the development of the overlap of the substantive and the copula regarding register. Nevertheless, in the data treated in this thesis, the registers used, as outlined by McCone (1985), should be seen as the same in all texts. While the target audience for the glosses were other, educated monks, and the goal seems to have been to ascertain a deeper understanding of the Latin text treated, the target audience for the POMIC-

²⁴⁷ McCone (1985): 103.

²⁴⁸ I.e. following the verb.

²⁴⁹ This was the addition by Lash (2014b) to the theory of Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980).

²⁵⁰ Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 36.

texts must have been the same, especially because all texts in the POMIC-corpus treat an ecclesiastical subject. In short, there was no intertextual difference witnessed in register, although intratextually, three different registers are at play. It should be clear, however, that this consisted of three different registers, a highly educated ‘standard’ register, which was based on a period of the language before that spoken by the authors, a colloquial register which the authors spoke, and the register which consisted of the forms resulting from the interference of these two.

Partly due to the relatively small time-period, but mainly because of the small amount of samples discovered in the glosses, no chronological development was witnessed. Nonetheless, because so few examples were uncovered, this research is also unable to answer if the use of the overlap of the substantive verb and the copula remains stable. More research is advised in order to establish the chronological development of this feature.

There is one unifying element for all the examples, as both the use of the substantive for the copula and vice versa are always consistent in word order. The substantives adhere to the word order SUBST+SUBJ+PRED (or have a zero-subject, and can thus be placed in the same category regarding word order), except for two. These examples are Ml.116a01, *connabí asse a aicsin leu*, and lc.72, *ní bí saithech di int-í lasmbí*.²⁵¹ Both would be expected, however, on the basis of Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) to have a subject in subject-final position, because of a verbal noun being the subject for the former, and a heavy NP for the latter.²⁵² Therefore, these examples cannot be seen as an example against the adherence to the basic word order SUBST+SUBJ+PRED, whereas Thurneysen (1946) adds an entire category of the use of the substantive for the copula as ‘regular’ use.²⁵³ The examples treated in this thesis should be put in the same category, as there is nothing distinguishing them from the ‘regular’ use of the substantive as the copula per Thurneysen (1946). The copular constructions all adhere to the word order COP+PRED+SUBJ (or have a zero-subject). It should be considered that this was the underlying difference between the two verbs in some stage of the language. This came to be in the pre-Old Irish stage, per Lash (2017), who claims that the underlying word order of the copula is COP+SUBJ+PRED. It would make sense that after the distinction of the copula and the substantive verb on a morphological level, due to the similarities between some forms, such as the present consuetudinal 3sg., the past subjunctive, et cetera, another method of differentiation of the copula and the substantive was needed. For this reason, the change to COP+PRED+SUBJ may have been made, and the subsequent difference in word order between the substantive and the copula may then have been used as the primary distinguisher. This seems the most likely origin for the overlap between the substantive and the copula for the examples found and discussed in this thesis.

It seems that underlying word order difference between the substantive and the copula should be regarded as the most important differentiator between the substantive verb and the copula for the Old Irish period, as there are no deviations from it with the copula, and 22 motivated deviations from the standard word order of the substantive. It seems that, from the time of the creation of the educated register in the 6th century onwards,²⁵⁴ more differentiators were added to the substantive and the copula in the competing colloquial standard of the scribes of Old Irish texts. In the data treated in this thesis, it seems that more than just word order may have been at play, seeing as most of the examples fit in the definition of ‘regular’ examples as outlined in section two. This indicates a later change to a more expansive distinction by word class of the predicate. The overlap of the substantive verb and the copula should thus be seen as arising from their separation by word order rather than word class of the predicate in earlier language, which was subsequently placed in the educated

²⁵¹ These are discussed in depth in section 5.1.

²⁵² Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980): 30.

²⁵³ Thurneysen (1946): 475.

²⁵⁴ McCone (1985): 103.

register. By the time it was written down in MSS that were handed down to us, the colloquial register of the scribes of those MSS interfered with their use of the educated register.

Although no conclusions can be drawn for the later language on the basis of this thesis, it should be noted that there are some hints in academic literature as to the later nature of the distinction between the copula and the substantive verb. As should be abundantly clear, the substantive was used to translate *esse*. This can be seen, for instance, in the examples treated by Dillon (1928) of the *Auraicept na n-Eces*, some of which are listed again in table 14.

Table 14: Relevant examples from Dillon (1928): 331. These are also discussed in-depth in section 2.8. They are listed by the same number as is used in Dillon (1928).

589: <i>ut Priscianus dixit: oratio est ordinatio congruam dictionum perfectamque sententiam demonstrans</i>
So that Priscian said: a speech is a decree that demonstrates harmonious diction and perfect sentences.
<i>.i. ata in innsi ordugud comimaircide na n-epert faillsiges in ceill foirbthi</i>
The speech is a fitting arrangement of sayings that show the perfect mind.
2945: <i>ut donatus dixit: mute sunt quae per se nec proferuntur et per se sillabam non faciunt</i>
So that Donatus said: they are mutes who by themselves are not pronounced and do not make syllables by themselves.
<i>.i. atat na multi acht nochta denait int sillaib treotha fein 7 [...]</i>
That is, there are mutes but they do not make syllables by themselves and [...]

In example 589, the substantive is used as the copula, with the subject between the verb and the predicate, whereas in example 2945, this is prevented simply by the addition of *acht* in the Irish. Example 589 is a more literal translation of the Latin, and example 2945 is less literal, but grammatically correct in the eyes of the later grammarians. If the use of the substantive verb for the copula occurs primarily as a translation of *esse* in later language,²⁵⁵ this would be hint that in the earlier period, the copula and the substantive were not differentiated by word class. For the translation of Latin *esse* with the substantive to arise with all word classes of the predicate, it does not seem logical that the scribe would leave an ungrammatical construction as '[...] a slavish rendering of the Latin text',²⁵⁶ but rather that the construction used to be grammatical (i.e. the correct word order was adhered to). This is especially true for the scholarly nature of these texts. Therefore, it seems likely that, during the period of the establishment of the educated register, the copula and the substantive verb were differentiated between by their word order. Subsequently, the translation of *esse* with *at-tá* was placed in the educated register and taught to the scribes, which conflicted with their colloquial register, and thus produced both examples of overlap and examples such as 2945 above, where the perceived ungrammaticality of the clause was fixed by the scribe. This also explains why in the Old Irish period, treated in this thesis, most examples of overlap do not concern *esse*, but a variety of other constructions.

Be that as it may, it is impossible to draw conclusions on this overlap in later periods of the Irish language. According to Bisagni (2019), it remains possible as a stylistic choice in all periods of the language,²⁵⁷ and not only as a strict translation of Latin *esse*. Therefore, more research is necessary into the later use of the substantive and the copula to corroborate or disprove the findings of this

²⁵⁵ In contrast to the context of the use of the substantive verb for the copula in the data in this thesis, where it is only used irregularly to translate Latin *esse* once.

²⁵⁶ Dillon (1928): 330.

²⁵⁷ Bisagni (2019): 125.

thesis. Another research (project) into this phenomenon is recommended to put the matter to rest once and for all.

In short, the grammars on the substantive and the copula should be expanded to include the possibility of overlap along the following lines. (1) the subject in substantive clauses can be displaced on the basis of Mac Giolla Easpaig (1980) and Lash (2014b), either by a variety of context-clues or by Lash's demarcating adverbs. (2) it is likely that, in earlier language, before Old Irish, the copula and the substantive were mostly distinguished by word order, rather than by word class. This is still used because it was enshrined in the established high, educated register during the Old Irish period. In later language, this may have changed, although more research is needed. Due to this, in earlier language it was possible for the substantive verb to have a noun or adjectival predicate, and for the copula to have a prepositional predicate. This may have given rise to the seemingly 'slavish' translation of Latin *esse* with OIr. *at-tá* in all cases.

In this thesis it is argued that the overlap of the substantive and the copula in the Old Irish period is a result of two distinct phenomena in Old Irish. The first is the underlying distinction between the substantive verb and the copula on the basis of word order. The second phenomenon is the creation of an educated 'high' register sometime during the sixth century AD. It is argued that the overlap of the substantive and the copula is a result of the, relatively early, establishment of an educated, high register, because while the substantive verb and the copula were quite separated at the time of the development of this register, they were not quite finished with separating. Because of the enshrinement of the possibility of a nominal or adjectival predicate with the substantive, and a prepositional and adverbial predicate with the copula, it remained possible to have overlap between the substantive verb and the copula, as long as they adhered to the strict word order set out after their separation. This possibility is witnessed in the sources treated in this thesis. It is recommended that this matter is looked into for later periods of Irish, in order to provide more evidence for this theory, or to disprove it completely.

7. Bibliography

Literature

- Bauer, Bernhard, Stefan Schumacher, *The Online Database of the Old Irish Priscian Glosses* (2015). Accessible through: <https://www.univie.ac.at/indogermanistik/priscian/>. Last accessed on 14-06-2020.
- Baumgarten, Rolf, 'Varia IV: A Crux in Táin Bó Fraích', in: *Ériu* 23 (1972): 235-241.
- Bergin, Osborn, John Strachan, *Old Irish Paradigms And Selections from the Old Irish Glosses* (London 1970).
- Bieler, Ludwig, Fergus Kelly, *The Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin 1979).
- Bieler, Ludwig, James Carney, 'The Lambeth commentary', in: *Ériu* 23 (1972): 1-55.
- Binchy, D.A., 'The Saga of Fergus Mac Léti', in: *Ériu* 16 (1952): 33-48.
- Bisagni, Jacopo, 'The origins of the preterite of the Old Irish copula and substantive verb: an overview and new ideas', in: *Journal of Celtic Linguistics* 14 (2012): 1-29.
- Bisagni, Jacopo, *Amrae Columb Chille: a critical edition* (Dublin 2019).
- Breatnach, Liam, 'Some remarks on the Relative in Old Irish', in: *Ériu* 31 (1980): 1-9.
- Corpus of Electronic Texts, available online via: <https://celt.ucc.ie//irlpage.html>.
- Cowgill, Warren, 'Two further notes on the origin of the Insular Celtic absolute and conjunct verb endings', *Ériu* 26 (1975): 27-32.
- DiGirolamo, Cara M., 'Word order and information structure in the Würzburg Glosses', in: Cardoso, Adriana, Martins, Ana Maria (eds.), *Word order change* (2018): 143-160.
- Dillon, Myles, 'Nominal predicates in Irish II', in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 17 (1928): 307-346.
- Doyle, Adrian, *Würzburg Irish Glosses* (2018), accessible via: https://wuerzburg.ie/index_Eng.html, last accessed on 14-06-2020.
- Electronic Dictionary of the Irish Language (Dublin), available online via: <http://www.dil.ie/>.
- Gippert, Jost, *The Old Irish "Würzburg" Glosses: manuscript pages digitised from the facsimile edition Epistolae Beati Pauli glosatae glosa internlineali, Halle 1910* (Frankfurt 2001). Accessible online through: <http://titus.fkidg1.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/celtica/wbgl/wbgl.htm>. Last accessed on 09-06-2020.
- Greene, David, 'Archaic Irish', in: Rolf Ködderitzsch, Karl Horst Schmidt, *Indogermanisch und Keltisch* (1977): 11-32.
- Greene, David, 'The Conjunct Forms of the Copula in Old Irish', in: *Ériu* 19 (1962): 73-74.
- Griffith, Aaron, and David Stifter, *A dictionary of the Old-Irish glosses in the Milan Codex Ambrosianus C 301 inf*, Online: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft: http://www.univie.ac.at/indogermanistik/milan_glosses.htm.
- Harris, Alice C. and Lyle Campbell, *Historical Syntax in Cross-linguistic Perspective* (1995).
- Hofman, Rijcklof, 'The Sankt Gall Priscian Commentary: Part 1', 2 vols, in *Studien und Texte zur Keltologie* 1 (Münster 1996).
- Irslinger, Britta, *The Copulas Is and Tá in Modern Irish* (2015). Accessible through: <http://www.rosenlake.net/er/irish/Irslinger-copula.html>. Last accessed 03-07-2019.
- Isaac, Graham, 'A new conjecture on the origins of absolute and conjunct flexion', in *Ériu* 57 (2007): 49-60.
- Jackson, Kenneth, *Language and history in early Britain: a chronological survey of the Brittonic languages 1st to 12th c. A.D.* (Edinburgh 1953).
- Jasanoff, Jay H., 'Old Irish boí 'was'', in: Mohammad Ali Jazayery, Werner Winter (eds.), *Languages and Cultures: Studies in Honor of Edgar C. Polomé* (1988): 299-307.
- Kavanagh, Séamus, *A Lexicon of the Old Irish Glosses in the Würzburg Manuscript of the Epistles of St. Paul*, Wodtke, Dagmar S. (ed.) (Wien 2001).
- Koch, John T., 'Prosody and the Old Celtic Verbal Complex', in: *Ériu* 38 (1987): 143-176.

- Krifka, Manfred, 'Basic Notions of Information Structure', in: Féry, C., Fanselow, G. and Krifka, M. (eds.), *Working Papers of the SFB632* (Potsdam 2007): 13–56.
- Lash, Elliot, 'Evaluating directionality in the internal reconstruction of pre-Old Irish copular clauses', in: *Indo-European Linguistics* 5, n1 (2017): 77-129.
- Lash, Elliot, 'Subject positions in Old and Middle Irish', in *Lingua* 148 (2014b): 278-308.
- Lash, Elliot, *The Parsed Old and Middle Irish Corpus (POMIC)*, version 0.1 (2014a).
accessible through:
https://www.dias.ie/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6586&Itemid=224&lang=en, last visited: 21-05-2020.
- Lucht, Ina, 'Doppelte Markierung des Akkusativs beim Transitivum im Altirischen', in *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* 46 (1994): 80-118.
- Mac Coisdealbha, Pádraig, Graham R. Isaac, *The Syntax of the Sentence in Old Irish: selected studies from descriptive, historical, and comparative point of view* (1997).
- Mac Giolla Easpaig, D., 'Aspect of Variant Word Order in Early Irish', in: *Ériu* 31 (1980): 28-38.
- Matasovic, Ranko, *Etymological Dictionary of Proto-Celtic* (Leiden 2009).
- McCone, Kim, 'The Indo-European origins of the Old Irish nasal presents, subjunctives and futures', in: *Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Sprachwissenschaft* 66 (Innsbruck 1991).
- McCone, Kim, 'The Würzburg and Milan Glosses: Our Earliest Sources of 'Middle Irish', in: *Ériu* 36 (1985): 85-106.
- McCone, Kim, *The origins and development of the insular Celtic verbal complex*, (Maynooth 2006).
- Meyer, Kuno, *Miscellanea Hibernica*, (1917).
- Ó Muircheartaigh, Peadar, 'Gaelic dialects present and past: a study of modern and medieval dialect relationships in the Gaelic languages' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 2015).
- Ó Néill, Pádraig, 'Irish observance of the three lents and the date of the St Gall Priscian (MS 904)', in *Ériu* 51 (2000): 159-180.
- Ó Néill, Pádraig, 'The Background to the Cambrai Homily', in *Ériu* 32 (1981): 137-147.
- O'Brian, M.A., *Corpus Genealogiarum Hiberniae*, (1976).
- Pustet, Regina, *Copulas: Universals in the Categorization of the Lexicon* (Oxford 2003).
- Radford, Andrew, Martin Atkinson, David Britain, Harald Clahsen and Andrew Spencer, *Linguistics: an introduction*, 2nd edition (Croydon 2009).
- Rix, H., M. Kümmel, Th. Zehnder, R. Lipp and B. Schirmer, *Lexikon der indogermanischen Verben. Die wurzeln und ihre Primärstambildungen* (Wiesbaden 2001).
- Schrijver, Peter, 'The Celtic adverbs 'against' and 'with' and the early apocope of *-i', in *Ériu* 45 (1994).
- Schrijver, Peter, *Studies in the history of Celtic pronouns and particles* (Maynooth 1997).
- Schumacher, Stefan, Britta Schulze-Thulin, *Die Keltische Primärverben: ein vergleichendes, etymologisches und morphologisches Lexikon* (Innsbrück 2004).
- Simon-Evans, D., *A grammar of Middle Welsh* (Dublin 1964).
- Strachan, J., 'The Substantive Verb in the Old Irish glosses', in: *Transactions of the Philological Society* 24, n1 (1899).
- Thurneysen, Rudolf, transl. D.A. Binchy, Osborn Bergin, *A Grammar of Old Irish* (1946).
- Valin, Robert D. van, *An introduction to Syntax* (Cambridge 2001).
- Vries, Ranke de, *A Student's Companion to Old Irish Grammar* (Leipzig 2013).
- Warner, George F., *The Stowe Missal: MS. D. II. 3 in the library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin*, vol.ii (London: 1915).
- Whitley, Stokes, John Strachan (eds.), *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus: a collection of Old-Irish glosses, Scholia prose and verse*, 3 vols (Cambridge 1901-1910).

8. Appendix A: Prepositional phrases as predicates of the copula

In this appendix, all examples of prepositional phrases as predicates with the copula are included, except for the grammaticalized use of the prepositional predicate (i.e. possession) and the list of truly irregular copulas (which can be found in section 5.2). They are divided by gloss, and by the category they fit in: fragmentary glosses, elided glosses, and direct translations of the Latin.

8.1 Milan Gloss

8.1.1 Fragmentary glosses

Locus	Gloss	Translation ²⁵⁸
020b03	ní hodegnimson fadesin	that is not from his own good work
021d06	isarsuidib	it is to them
027b13	amal isindenmada coitchin	as it is of the common maker
030d27	amal bid isinterchru	as if it were in the failure
032a25	amal bid on etartetarcur	as if it were by intercession
032c14	is dúnni	it is to us
037d19	amal bid hochocrunn	as if it were by lot
044b04	mad dustoir	if it is according to the literal sense
044b06	maduruín	if it is according to the mystic sense
049a11	amal bid arinchoisecrad	as though it were for the consecration
049d11	amal bid hoscíath	as if it were by a shield
051b30	ní ontoracht	it is not by the success
053a10	is ar inret nisin	it is for that thing
054a22	amal is na n assar	as of the Assyrians
054d10	amal bid inderbraithrib	as though in brothers
061a21	ní baidodaing	it will not be with difficulty
062c10	is indiunni	it is in us
065b13	is daitsiu	it is to you (sg)
072d04	ishisuidi	it is in that
075b20	.i. nidinacca dim .i. acht isdu dim·	i.e. it is not of a non-something, i.e. but it is of a something.
080a02	amal bid holailiu lon	as if it were by a certain fat
085a03	isnání sin	it is of those
085d12	is huait nertadsu	it is by Your (sg) exhortation
088c12	amal bid inaraim	as though it were in sum
090c10	ní huadoiscarslog	it is not by the rabble
092a19	is cuccut su	it is to You (sg)
092a20	isduitsiu	it is to You (sg)
104a03	is disin	it is thence
120c04	amal as dudia	as it is to God
122c03	is indibsi	it is in you (pl)
128d12	ni hitaidbsin	it is not in showing
129d20	istriunni	it is through us
135b04	isduibsi	it is to you
139c05	nísnai btemplaib	it is not in the temples

²⁵⁸ Translation from Griffith and Stifter (2011).

8.1.2 Direct translations from Latin

Locus	Gloss	Translation ²⁵⁹
022d13	amal as dundfercach	as it is to the angry one
027b13	amal isindenmada coitchin	as it is of the common maker
036a15	is inna imcaisin adi	it is in his sight
036b20	is innachuimlecht adi	it is to its advantage
038d15-16	amal is onchumscugud	as is by the motion
040d17	amal bid hualailiu chlausul adbchlostu	as though it were by some ostentatious conclusion
049b07	7 ni arferc	and not out of anger
059a23	cinip hondsemídetu [leg. hondsemígdetu] cenip ho erutrummugud [leg. etrummugud] inna na nolc [leg. inna nolc] form	if not from the tenuity, if not from the lightening of the evils upon me
063d02	amal nibad huanach comthumus	as though it were not by any compensation
069c07	ní dunephní	it is not of nothing
085d11	is hotoissigeacht adi ón 7 hua noibi	that is, by their leadership and by their sanctity
088b07	ní hua écumachtgi	it is not because of its impossibility
101d12	amal bid huánchlaind socheneuil	as if it were by the noble plant
118b03	amal bid hi combuch no hí cmmlith [leg. commlith]	as though in confraction or attrition

8.1.3 Elided clefts

Locus	Gloss	Translation ²⁶⁰
025d11	im hodeacht athar fa hodeacht maicc	whether it is from the divinity of the Father or from the divinity of the Son
034d06	.i. asberat alaili ciasu for oin fiur ataat inda nainm so .i. iacob 7 israhel· combad du dethriub notesad áñ iacob 7 combad du deichthrib immurgu an israhel	i.e. some say that though these two names, to wit, Jacob and Israel, are on one man, it is to the two tribes that 'Jacob' applies, and it is to the ten tribes, however, [that] 'Israel' [applies].
035a08	i. ní si accuis insin arinrogab duaid acht is do asraib intsainriud 7 issí tra inchetbuidsin forthet inlebur archiunn· uel propter praemisam <caum> causam .i. as di assaraib rogabad insalmso quæ non continetur .i ni fil ainm nassar isint salm immurgu ðeperthe is dib rogabad intsainriud	i.e. that is not the reason for which David sang it, but it is of the Assyrians, to be precise, and that then is the sense which the book supports below. uel propter praemissam causam, i.e. that it is of the Assyrians that this psalm was sung, quæ non continetur, i.e. however the name of the Assyrians is not in the psalm; so that it should be said that it is of them that it was sung, to be precise.
051b12	is dodia	but it is to God
053d17	ní intiú fesin	it is not in themselves
054c18	nibu d(i)ndisin	it was not because of that (i.e. for betrayal)
067d08	acht is for ammons síon	but (it is) on mons Sion

²⁵⁹ Translation from Griffith and Stifter (2011).

²⁶⁰ Translation from Griffith and Stifter (2011).

071b19	is dait siu	it is to You (sg)
074a02	amal bid tar ?si nuilc huain se [leg. huaim se] friusom	as though it were in return for evil from me towards them
085d01	is armeinci inna indithme dosom indiu [leg. intiu]	it is because of the frequency of the intentness to him in them
094d06	airis indiunni israheldail daib [leg. israheldaib]	for it is in us, the Israelites
100b02	acht is innandrummai	but it is in their backs
101c08	is daitiu	it is to You (sg)
136c04	ní etir sicut 7 ita	it is not between sicut and ita

8.2 St.. Gall glosses

8.2.1 Fragmentary glosses

Locus	Gloss	Translation ²⁶¹
009b11	amal bith dochonsain amal asñdi	as it were to a consonant, (or) as to it
061a18	Fodailcenéuil/ ininisin 7 ní·bí/ higuth	that (is) distinction of gender in meaning, and it is not in sound
200a06	ní ofoilsigud suin 7 gotho	not by demonstration of sound and voice
157b04	mad odib nogaib	if it were from two integers
161b07	mad iarnaiciud	if it be according to nature
212a05	in compositione 7 ní bí friu hí/ comasñdéis	in composition, and it is not with them in apposition

8.2.2 Direct translations from Latin

Locus	Gloss	Translation ²⁶²
003b27	ní di chárachtraib	not about written shapes
222a05	ní machdath cid hí comasñdís	no wonder that it is in apposition

8.2.3 Elided clefts

Locus	Gloss	Translation ²⁶³
K 066a01	ní fodeud	it is not at the end
213a07	7 ita/remsuídighthib indí greic amal/ ñodain	and for prepositions are the two Greek (words), in that case

²⁶¹ Translation from Bauer and Schumacher (2015).

²⁶² Translation from Bauer and Schumacher (2015).

²⁶³ Translation from Bauer and Schumacher (2015).