

# A GRAMMAR OF OLD IRISH

BY RUDOLF THURNEYSSEN

REVISED AND ENLARGED EDITION

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## TRANSLATORS' PREFACE

Part I of Rudolf Thurneysen *Handbuch des Altirischen* appeared in 1909 in the series *Indogermanische Bibliothek* published by Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, Heidelberg. Although the book was primarily intended for philologists--its purpose being, in the author's words, 'to make Old Irish accessible to those familiar with the comparative grammar of the Indo-European languages'--it has been for more than a generation the standard work for all who have made Old Irish their special study. Since its SYSTEMation, however, considerable advance has been made in the investigation of the older language, much of it due to Thurneysen himself, and an up-to-date edition of the *Handbuch* has long been a desideratum of Irish scholarship.

Ten years ago, the author, at the request of the Irish Government, undertook to prepare a new edition in English, in which he would have the assistance of a former pupil, Mr. Michael Duignan (now Professor of Celtic Archaeology in University College, Galway). Mr. Duignan spent two years in Bonn, working under Thurneysen's direction, mainly on an interleaved copy of the German edition which contained far-reaching alterations and additions, and by 1938 he had completed a draft English translation, the typescript of which was subsequently revised by Thurneysen. It was intended, on Mr. Duignan's return to Ireland, that this version should be set up in galley-proofs and submitted to Thurneysen for further revision. But although about a third of the work was eventually set up, the outbreak of war in 1939 made communication between Dublin and Bonn virtually impossible, and in August of the following year came the news of Thurneysen's death.

Six months afterwards Mr. Duignan, with the consent of the Minister for Education, generously offered all the material--Thurneysen's interleaved German text and two typescripts of the draft translation (each of them revised separately by Thurneysen), as well as the galley-proofs--to the recently founded

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School of Celtic Studies in the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. At that time ( 1941) both of us were associated with the School, and we gladly undertook, in memory of a great teacher and friend, to complete, as best we could, the task he had not been spared to finish.

This task has proved more formidable than we anticipated. In the German version, on which our revised translation is primarily based, Thurneysen had obviously not yet said his last word on a number of points. In revising Mr. Duignan's draft translation, he had made several changes and additions, and had even rewritten entire sentences and paragraphs, sometimes in German, sometimes in English. He must have intended to do similar work on the proofs, and had he lived to pass the whole book for press, he would undoubtedly have removed various inconsistencies and corrected minor inaccuracies. As we felt it would be an excess of *pietas* to let these stand, we have silently removed inconsistencies in spelling, accentuation, references, and translation. We have not, however, aimed at absolute consistency, which in a language with such fluctuating orthography is scarcely attainable. Nor have we interfered with the author's practice in unimportant points of transcription where there was no likelihood of confusion. For example, Thurneysen generally separates a geminating final from the following initial by a hyphen, but occasionally he writes the two words together (**ba-calar** beside **niténat** p. 152). On the other hand, we have adopted a uniform system of transcription for compared forms of other Indo-European languages, such as Sanskrit.

In dealing with the numerous examples cited by the author, we have permitted ourselves a certain amount of latitude. A doubtful example, or one which in our opinion did not illustrate the rule, we have omitted altogether where it was but one of several examples. Where, however, it was the sole example cited in support of the rule, and other unambiguous examples were at hand, we have substituted one of these. On the other hand, where not merely the example but the rule itself seemed doubtful to us, we have retained both unaltered, commenting on them, when this seemed advisable, in the notes at the end of the book. Occasionally, too, we have transferred one or more examples to the heading under which they seemed more properly to belong.

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In the text itself, apart from minor corrections of fact and bibliographical additions, we have introduced no changes. On the contrary, we have tried to convey as accurately as we could Thurneysen's views even when we disagree with them. On one occasion only did we depart, unwisely as we now think, from this rule by omitting an entire sentence (after p. 327 l. 31) which we believed the author would himself have wished to strike out had the arguments against it been put before him. Subsequently we decided to include it in the translators' notes (no. 129), as its reinsertion in the text would have upset the pagination.

In these notes we have as far as possible avoided controversy. We have not discussed any of the etymologies proposed by Thurneysen; nor have we dealt with questions which would require fuller treatment than could be afforded here, and which in any case belong to the province of a reviewer rather than a translator. In matters of long-standing controversy between experts, where we felt that Thurneysen, with all the evidence before him, had definitely made up his mind on one side, we have as a rule refrained from presenting the views of others except where these views have since been reinforced by fresh evidence. We have, however, included references to differing solutions of problems discussed in this Grammar which have recently been advanced by other scholars. The bibliography, too, has been brought up to date, sometimes in the text itself (where the new SYSTEMations form part of a series already mentioned), otherwise in the notes. In these we have also made some additions to Thurneysen's lists of forms.

Finally, we have made a number of changes in the format of the book, which, as originally planned, was to have been identical with that of the German edition. Clarendon type is used for every Irish word in the body of the work, but not as a rule for the analysis or the constituent elements of a word, nor for roots, stems, or reconstructions of earlier forms, all of which remain in italics. The vowel of a stressed syllable is sometimes printed in heavy italics, as in the German edition, to indicate the position of the stress (e.g., pp. 27-30). Forms occurring on inscriptions (whether in the Ogam or the Latin alphabet) are printed in small capitals (roman). Following the author's practice, square brackets are used for letters and syllables wrongly omitted in the MS.; round brackets for letters

which may be inserted or omitted at will (such as glide-vowels), occasionally also to denote the expansion of scribal symbols and suspension marks, e.g. **da ( nau )**, **t ( ra )** p. 557, **auc ( taru )** p. 563, etc. For all other languages italics are used, even for most Gaulish forms, where it would have been more consistent to use small capitals; this type appears only in those Gaulish forms where its use was indicated by Thurneysen.

The index of Irish words has been compiled on the principles followed in the German edition, but more exhaustive references have been given. Each of the remaining Celtic dialects has been indexed separately. For the convenience of philologists we have added indexes of the compared forms of other Indo-European languages, omitting such forms as are cited only for morphological or syntactical comparison.

The second part of the *Handbuch*, which appeared as a separate volume in 1909, contained a selection of Old Irish texts, with notes and glossary, which the author intended as a short Reader for students of the first volume ('Grammar'). A new edition in English, based on Thurneysen's interleaved copy of the German original, is in course of preparation.

We wish to offer our sincere thanks to Professor R. I. Best. who has given us constant help with the translation, and to Professors Michael O'Brien and J. Lloyd Jones for information on various points. The task of seeing the book through the press has been greatly lightened by the unfailing assistance we have received from the Registrar and other members of the staff of the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, in particular from Miss K. MacFadden, whose typescript of the extremely difficult 'copy' was a model of accuracy. It only remains for us to apologize for the long delay in completing this revised translation, and to express the hope that, as it leaves our hands, it is not unworthy of the illustrious scholar whose name it bears.

D. A. B. O. J. B.

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<a href="#">577</a>
<a href="#">578</a>
<a href="#">664</a>
<a href="#">673</a>
<a href="#">687</a>

# ABBREVIATIONS

## 1. Grammatical

abs. = absolute	lit. = literally
abstr. = abstract	loc. = locative
acc. = accusative	masc. = masculine
act. = active	n. = note
adj. = adjective	neg. = negative
adv(b). = adverb	neut. = neuter
arch. = archaic (§ 10)	nom. = nominative
coll. = collective	num. = numeral
compar. = comparative	part. = particle
conj. = conjunct, conjunction	partc. = participle
conj. prep. = conjugated preposition	p(er)f. = perfect
cons(uet). = consuetudinal	pl(ur). = plural
cpd. = compound	poet. = poetic
cpv. = comparative	possess. = possessive
cop. = copula	prep preposition
dat. = dative	pr(es). = present
dep(on). = deponent	pret. = preterite
du. = dual	pron. = pronoun
encl(it). = enclitic	prot(ot). = prototonic
fem. = feminine	rel. = relative
fut. = future	sec. = secondary
gen. = genitive	sg. = singular
gl. = glossing	subst. = substantive
indef. = indefinite	subj. = subjunctive
ind(ic). = indicative	vb. = verb
inf. = infix	vb. n. = verbal noun
interrog. = interrogative	v. nec. = verbal of necessity
ipf. = imperfect	voc. = vocative
ipv. = imperative	

## 2. Languages

Armen. = Armenian	Corn. = Cornish
Avest. = Avestan	Dor. = Doric
Boeot. = Boeotian	Eng. = English
Bret. = Breton	Fr. = French
Brit(ann). = Britannic	Gaul. = Gaulish
Celt. = Celtic	Germ. = Germanic

Gk. = Greek  
 Goth. = Gothic  
 Hitt. = Hittite  
 Hom. = Homeric  
 IE. = Indo-European  
 Ir. = Irish  
 Ital. = Italian  
 Lat. = Latin  
 Lesb. = Lesbian  
 Lett. = Lettish  
 Lith. = Lithuanian  
 MHG. = Middle High German  
 Mid. = Middle  
 Med. = Medieval  
 Mod. = Modern  
 O. = Old

OE. = Old English  
 OHG. = Old High German.  
 ON. = Old Norse  
 Osc. = Oscan  
 OW. = Old Welsh  
 Pers. = Persian  
 Pruss. = Old Prussian  
 Sc. Gael. = Scottish Gaelic  
 Skt. = Sanskrit  
 Tochar. = Tocharian  
 Tyrol. = Tyrolese  
 Umbr. = Umbrian  
 Ved. = Vedic  
 Venet. = Venetic  
 W. = Welsh

### 3. Bibliographical

ACL. = *Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie* (§ 20).  
 Aisl. MC. = *Aislinge Meic Con Glinne* (ed. Meyer). London 1892.  
 Ält. ir. Dicht. = *Über die älteste irische Dichtung* (Meyer). Berlin 1913-14.  
 Anecd. = *Anecdota from Irish Manuscripts*. Vols. I-V. Halle 1907-1913.  
 Arm. = *Book of Armagh* (§ 7, 4).  
 Asc. = *Ascoli, Glossario dell' antico Irlandese* (§ 19, 1).  
 AU. = *Annals of Ulster* (ed. Hennessy and MacCarthy). Vols. I-IV. Dublin 1887-1891.  
 Auratic. = *Auraicept na n-Éces* (§ 20, 9).  
 BB. = *Book of Ballymote* (Facsimile) published by the Royal Irish Academy . . . Dublin 1887.  
 BDD. = *Togail Bruidne Da Derga* (edd. (1) Stokes, Paris 1902; (2) E. Knott, Dublin 1936).  
 Bezenbergers Beitr. = *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von A. Bezenberger*. Göttingen 1887-1907.  
 BR. = *The Book of Rights* (ed. O'Donovan). Dublin 1847.  
 Bull. Board Celt. Stud. = *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*. Cardiff 1921-.  
 Brugmann = *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* (§ 21).  
 Bürgerschaft = *Die Bürgerschaft im irischen Recht* (Thurneysen). Berlin 1928.  
 Cam. = *Cambrai Homily* (§ 10,2).  
 CIL. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.  
*Cáin Adamnáin: An Old-Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan* (ed. Meyer). Oxford 1905.  
 Cóc Con. Fug. = *Cóc Conara Fugill* (ed. Thurneysen). Berlin 1926.  
 Contr(ib). See Meyer.

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Corm. = *Cormac's Glossary* (ed. Meyer, Anecd. IV).  
 Dottin = *La Langue gauloise* (§ 3).  
 Ériu (see § 22).  
 Féil = *Féilire Oengusso* (§ 8).  
 Fianaig. = *Fianaigeacht* (ed. Meyer). Dublin 1910.  
 FM. = *Annals of the Four Masters* (ed. O'Donovan). Vols. I-VII Dublin 1848-51.  
 Gött. Gel. Anz. = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*.  
 Gr. C. = *Grammatica Celtica* (§ 17,1).  
 Hib. Min. = *Hibernica Minora* (Meyer). Oxford 1894.  
 IF. = *Indogermanische Forschungen*. 1892-.  
 IF. Anz. = *Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde*. 1892-.  
 IGT. = *Irish Grammatical Tracts* (ed. Bergin).  
 IT. = *Irische Texte* (ed. Windisch and Stokes). Vols. I-IV. Leipzig 1880-1909.  
 Imram Brain = *The Voyage of Bran* (ed. Meyer). London 1895.  
 Ir. Recht = *Irishes Recht* (Thurneysen). Berlin 1931.  
 Itin. Ant. = *Itinerarium Antonini*.  
 ITS. = Irish Texts Society.

JRSAL. = *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*. Dublin 1849-.

Kuhns Beitr. = *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Sprachforschung*. . . . herausgegeben von A. Kuhn und A. Sehleicher. Berlin 1858-1876.

KZ. = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*. . . . herausgegeben von A. Kuhn . 1852-.

Laws = *Ancient Laws of Ireland*. Vols. I-VI. Dublin 1865-1901.

LB. = *Leabhar Breac* (lithographic reproduction). Dublin 1872-1876.

*Liadain and Cuirithir* (ed Meyer). London 1902.

LL = *Book of Leinster* (§ 9).

LU = *Lebor na Huidre* (§ 9).

Macal. = *Studies in Irish Epigraphy* (§ 14).

Met. Dinds. = *Metrical Dindshenchas* (ed. Gwynn). Vols. I-V. Dublin 1903-1935.

Meyer, Contr(ib). = *Contributions to Irish Lexicography* (§ 19,3).

MI.- *Milan Glosses* (§ 6).

Mon. Tall. = *The Monastery of Tallaght* ( Gwynn and Purton). Dublin 1911.

MSL. = *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris*. Paris 1882-. O'Cl. = *O'Clery's Irish Glossary* (ed. Miller, RC. IV-V).

O'Dav. = *O'Davoren's Glossary* (ed. Stokes, ACL. II).

O'Mulc. = *O'Mulconry's Glossary* (ed. Stokes, ACL. I).

Ped(ersen) = *Vergleichen Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen* (§ 17,2).

Ped.<sup>2</sup> = *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* by Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen (§ 17,2).

PH. = *The Passions and Homilies from Leabhar Breac* ( Atkinson). Dublin 1887.

PRIA. = *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*.

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Rawl. = *Rawlinson B. 502*. . . . published in facsimile . . . . With an introduction . . . . by Kuno Meyer. Oxford 1909.

RC. = *Revue Celtique* (§ 22).

RIA. Dict. = *Dictionary of the Irish Language*. . . . published by the Royal Irish Academy (§ 19,4).

RIA. Contr. = *Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language* (§ 19,5).

Sc. M. = *Scéla Mucce Meic Dathó* (ed. Thurneysen). Dublin 1935.

Sg. = *St. Gall Glosses* (§ 7,5).

Sitzb. Pr. Akad. = *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*.

SP. = MS. in *St. Paul, Carinthia* (§ 7,6).

SR. = *Saltair na Rann* (§ 8).

TBC. = *Táin Bó Cúailnge from the Yellow Book of Lecan* (ed. Strachan and O'Keefe). Dublin 1912.

TBC. (ed. Windisch) = *Die Altirische Heldensage Táin Bó Cúailnge*. Leipzig 1905.

TBF. = *Táin Bó Fraích* (ed. Byrne and Dillon). Dublin 1933.

Tec. Corm. = *Tecosca Chormaic* (ed. Meyer). Dublin 1909.

Togail Troi = *The Destruction of Troy* (ed. Stokes). Calcutta 1881.

Thes. = *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* (§ 4).

Trans. Phil. Soc(iety) = *Transactions of the Philological Society*. London 1859-.

Triads = *The Triads of Ireland* ( Meyer). Dublin 1906.

Trip. = *Vita Tripartita S. Patricii* (§ 8).

Tur. = *Turin Glosses* (§ 6,3).

Wb. = *Würzburg Glosses* (§ 5).

YBL. = *Yellow Book of Lecan* (RIA. Facsimile). Dublin 1896.

ZCP. = *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* (§ 22).

Zu ir. Hss. = *Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern* ( Thurneysen ). Berlin 1912-13.

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# INTRODUCTION

## THE CELTIC LANGUAGES

Zimmer, *Sprache und Literatur der Kelten im Allgemeinen* (in Hinneberg, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart, Teil I, Abteilung XI.*, 1 (1909), p. 1 ff. Quiggin, article "Celt" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. V. (1910), p. 611 ff. **1.** Old Irish is the earliest form of a Celtic language which can be more or less completely reconstructed from extant sources. The **Celtic languages** belong to the Indo-European family, and fall into two main geographical divisions, Insular Celtic and Continental Celtic. I. **Insular Celtic** comprises the Celtic languages of Great Britain (including one which has spread from there) and Ireland. It is divided into: 1. **Gaelic** or Goidelic. **Góidil** (sg. **Góidel**) was the ancient name of the people who spoke this language, which itself was called **Góidelig**. The form 'Gaelic' in English corresponds to the modern Scottish pronunciation (*Gàidhlig* as opposed to *Gaoidhealg* in classical Modern Irish). In Medieval Latin it was called *scottice*, *scotice* from *Scotti*, the name by which the Irish tribes were known to the Romans since the fourth century. The territorial subdivisions of Gaelic are:

- a. **Irish** in Ireland. The language of the earliest sources is called Old Irish, that from about A.D. 900 Middle Irish, and that from the beginning of the seventeenth century Modern Irish.
- b. **Scottish Gaelic** in the Highlands of Scotland and the adjacent western islands; it was introduced by Irish settlers from about the beginning of the sixth century A.D.

In English it is sometimes called **Erse**, i.e. 'Irish'.

- c. **Manx**, the language formerly spoken in the Isle of Man, now virtually extinct.
- 2. 2. Britannic** (or British), so called from the Roman province *Britannia*. It comprises:
  - a. **Welsh** (French *gallois*), the language of Wales; also called Cymric (German *Kymrisch*) from *Cymry* and *Cymraeg*, the native words for the people and their language. It is customary to distinguish Old Welsh, the earliest period of the language, Middle Welsh (from the twelfth century on), and Modern Welsh or Welsh (roughly from the appearance of the first printed works in the sixteenth century).
  - b. **Cornish**, the language of the peninsula of Cornwall down to the seventeenth century, now extinct.

The language of the earliest text (12th cent.), a Cornish version of Ælfric's Latin-English Glossary, is sometimes called Old Cornish.

- c. **Breton** (French *bas-breton*) or Aremoric, the dialects of the Breton peninsula (modern *Basse-Bretagne*, ancient *Aremorica*), introduced by British immigrants from the fifth century on. Old Breton comprises the language of the early glosses and charters, Middle Breton that of the literature from the fifteenth century on, and Modern Breton or Breton, by some dated from the beginning of the seventeenth century, comprises the living dialects.

The earliest texts of Britannic are virtually as old as those of Irish, but they are by no means so extensive. Furthermore, the language of these texts had undergone far more grammatical changes than had Old Irish; and its vocabulary, as a result of the Roman occupation of Britain, had been affected to a much greater extent by borrowings from Latin. Nevertheless we can see from these early texts that at one time, about the beginning of the Roman conquest, the resemblance between Britannic and Irish was extremely close. The great difference in word-forms which we find in the historic period (apart from a few phonological differences such as Britannic p for Irish q) is due primarily to the different position of the stress. Whereas in Irish this always fell on the first syllable (§ 36), in Britannic, before the loss of final syllables, it fell on the penult. Hence the earlier vocalism of medial syllables is often easier to recognize in Britannic than in Irish.

In the present work Britannic denotes basic forms common to all the Britannic dialects, Old Britannic, on the other hand, proper names dating from the Roman period.

3. **Pictish**, the language of the *Picti* in the North of Britain, has left scarcely any traces beyond a few proper names, which just suffice to show that a Celtic language closely akin to Gaelic and Britannic was once dominant in these regions.

Collection of the remains: Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Society 1888-90*, p. 390 ff. (=Bezenbergers Beitr. XVIII. 84 ff.). For inscriptions from these regions see Rhys, *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland XXVI*. 263 ff.; Diack, *The Newton Stone and other Pictish Inscriptions* ( 1922); Macalister, *The Inscriptions and Language of the Picts* (Féil-Sgríbhinn Eóin Mhic Néill: Essays and Studies presented to Professor Eoin MacNeill), 1940, p. 184 ff.

**3. II. Continental Celtic**, often called **Gaulish** for short, the languages of the Celtic tribes in the two Gauls, the Iberian Peninsula, Central Europe as far as the Black Sea, and Galatia in Asia Minor after the Celtic Galatians had settled there. None of these survived into the Middle Ages, and their records, although of great importance for the history of the Celtic languages, are very meagre.

Gaulish texts survive only in some fifty inscriptions, most of them short, and all, except for a few in Northern Italy, found in France. Apart from these we have only a number of personal, tribal, and place names, together with some words regarded by ancient writers as Gaulish, notably those in a glossary first published by Endlicher, which gives Latin explanations of seventeen Gaulish words (best edition: Zimmer, *KZ*. XXXII. 230 ff., cp. *IF*. XLII. 143 ff. and 192). In the present work Gaulish forms are generally cited from one or other of the following collections:

Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* (unfinished), vols. I, II ( 1896-1904), and III which breaks off at fascicle 21, col. 1408 (1913).

A glossary of all words (in MSS. and inscriptions) which are either certainly or possibly Celtic down to the beginning of the Middle Ages (A--Z, Supplement A-- *Domiciacus*).

Dottin, *La Langue gauloise* ( 1920).

Contains (p. 145 ff.) a collection of the Gaulish inscriptions, and cites previous editions and studies.

Among recent works may be mentioned: Eóin Mac Néill, *On the Calendar of Coligny* (Ériu X. 1 ff.); Hermet, *Les Graffites de la Graufesenque* ( 1923), *La Graufesenque, 2 vols.* ( 1934), containing reproductions of inscriptions, partly Gaulish, partly Latin, on pottery (cp. *ZCP*. XV. 379 ff., XVI. 285 ff.); Weisgerber, *Die Sprache der Festlandkelten* (XX. *Bericht der RömischGermanischen Kommission, 1931*, p. 147 ff.).

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## SOURCES

4. For the grammarian the most important sources of Old Irish are those preserved in more or less contemporary manuscripts. They consist for the most part of glosses in Latin MSS., i.e. marginal and interlinear explanations in Irish interspersed with Latin. Most of them have been preserved on the Continent, where, since they ceased to be understood at an early date, they remained long unused. In Ireland, on the other hand, constant use wore out the older manuscripts, with the result that most of the texts survive only in later transcripts in which the language has undergone a number of changes.

The most complete collection of these contemporary sources is contained in:

**Thes.** Stokes and Strachan, *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus, 2 vols.* ( 1901-3).

*The texts are accompanied by a translation and have been emended, MS. readings being given in footnotes. Earlier editions are cited in the preface. The examples quoted throughout the present work follow the enumeration of this collection.*

Cp. Stokes, *A Supplement to Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus*, 1910 (corrigenda).

An earlier collection is:

Zimmer, *Glossae Hibernicae* ( 1881); further, *Glossarum Hibernicarum Supplementum* ( 1886).

The texts are given exactly as in the MSS. and without translation.

5. The most important of these records are:

1. **Wb.** The Glosses on the Latin text of the Pauline Epistles preserved at Würzburg. The main glossator (**Wb.** ) wrote the glosses on fol. 1-32; his work was continued on fol. 33 and 34a by a second glossator (**Wb. II.** ), whose linguistic forms are somewhat later. But, before either of them, the scribe of the Latin text had himself written a few glosses, consisting mostly of single words (**Wb. I.** ). The glosses by the main glossator, though apparently copied from another manuscript, are characterized by great accuracy and contain very few errors. They may be assigned to about the middle of the eighth century.

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Editions:

1. Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.* 1 ff., cp. Supplem. 6 ff.
2. Stokes, *The Old Irish Glosses at Würzburg and Carlsruhe* ( 1887).
3. *Thes.* I. 499 ff. Cp. Strachan, *ZCP.* III. 55 ff.; Zimmer, *ZCP.* VI. 454 ff.; [Stern, \*ibid.\* 531 ff.](#) (corrigenda and fresh collation).

Collotype facsimile: *Epistolae Beati Pauli glosatae glosa interlineali. Irisch-Lateinischer Codex der Würzburger Universitätsbibliothek, herausgegeben und mit Einleitung versehen von L. Ch. Stern* ( 1910).

6. 2. **MI.** The Milan Glosses on a Latin commentary on the Psalms. These form the largest collection of glosses. They were, however, not written with the same care as Wb., slips of the pen being frequent; hence no reliance can be placed on unsupported spellings. The manuscript came to Milan from Bobbio, but seems to have been written in Ireland. The Latin text and the glosses, except for a few additions by a corrector, are the work of a single scribe who signs himself Diarmait. It is possible that this Diarmait was the grandson of Áed Rón described as *anchorita (=anachoreta) et religionis doctor totius Hiberniae* who died in 825. The Maíl-Gaimrid cited as an authority in glosses 56<sup>b</sup>33 and 68<sup>c</sup>15 is almost certainly to be identified with the *scriba optimus et ancorita, abbas Benn[c]h[j]air* ( Bangor, Co. Down), who died in 839.

In addition to the glosses, the manuscript contains at the beginning two Irish poems, now partly indecipherable, written in another hand ( *Thes.* II. 291 f.).

For the language of MI., which is appreciably later than that of Wb., cp. Ascoli, *Note Irlandesi* ( 1883), and Strachan, *ZCP.* IV. 48 ff. Editions:

1. Ascoli, *Il Codice Irlandese dell' Ambrosiana I.*, 1878 (= Archivio Glottologico Italiano V.). A literal transcription of the MS.
2. *Thes.* I. 7 ff.

Collotype facsimile: *The Commentary on the Psalms with Glosses in Old Irish* preserved in the Ambrosian Library, Collotype Facsimile, with Introduction by R. I. Best (RIA. 1936).

3. **Tur.** Turin Glosses: glosses on two fragments of a Latin commentary on St. Mark's Gospel; written by the scribe of MI.

Editions:

1. Stokes, *Goidilica*, 1866 ( 2nd ed. *Goidelica*, 1872).
2. Nigra, *Glossae Hibernicae ueteres codicis Taurinensis* ( 1869), with detailed commentary.

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3. Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.* 199 ff.
4. *Thes.* I. 484 ff.

Collotype facsimile: at the end of that of Ml. (2 above).

7. The above are supplemented by a number of shorter sources, of which the more notable are:
  4. **Arm.** *The Book of Armagh* (Ireland), in part written by the year 807, and completed before 846, the date of the scribe's death. The material in Irish comprises:
    - a. Short glosses on the Latin text of the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles (*Thes.* I. 494 ff.).
    - b. Irish additions to Tírechán's Latin life of St. Patrick (*Thes.* II. 238 ff., cp. 364 f.). They are clearly derived from earlier sources; hence the fluctuation between archaic and later forms.

The entire MS. has been published by John Gwynn, *Liber Ardmachanus, The Book of Armagh*, RIA., 1913. (The Irish glosses transcribed by [Edward Gwynn, \*ibid.\* p. 471 ff.](#)).

Fol. 2-24 have been published in facsimile by Edward Gwynn, Facsimiles in Collotype of Irish MSS. (The Irish Manuscripts Commission) III: *Book of Armagh, The Patrician Documents* (1937).

5. **Sg.**, etc. A number of manuscripts containing glosses on Priscian's Grammar preserved in Carlsruhe, Leyden (written about 838), Milan (*Thes.* II. 225 ff.), and St. Gall (**Sg.**), the last by far the most copious. The St. Gall glosses, which are replete with scribal abbreviations, are of great lexicographic value. Except for a few later additions, they were written by two scribes, both of whom copied from the same original. The MS. was in Cologne between 850 and 869, and may have been written in 845 (see Traube, *Abhandlungen der philos.-philol. Classe der K. Bayerischen Akad. der Wissensch.* XIX. (1892) 338 ff.; Güterbock, *KZ.* XXXIII. 92). *These glosses were compiled from various sources, some of them being also found in the other Priscian MSS.; hence, side by side with forms later than those of Ml., there are a number of archaisms.*

Cp. *Nigra, Reliquie Celtiche* (1872); for the language, Strachan, *ZCP.* IV. 470 ff. Editions:

1. Ascoli, *Il Codice Irlandese dell' Ambrosiana II.*, 1879 (=Archivio Glottologico Italiano VI.), with an Italian translation down to fol. 75a.
2. *Thes.* II. 49 ff.; the marginalia, [ibid. pp. XX ff. and 290.](#)

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6. **SP.** A manuscript (from Reichenau) now in the monastery of St. Paul in Carinthia, written on the Continent by an Irish scribe in the second half of the 9th century. It contains an incantation and four Irish poems in somewhat later language.

Cp. Stern, *ZCP.* VI. 546 ff. Latest edition: *Thes.* II. 293 ff.

To the above may be added: glosses in Carlsruhe on St. Augustine's *Soliloquia* and Bede *De rerum natura* (*Thes.* II. 1 ff., 10 ff.), the latter written between 836 and 848; glosses in Vienna on Bede *De temporum ratione* (*Thes.* II. 31 ff.); in Berlin (formerly in Trier), written in a Continental hand, on Augustine *Enchiridion* (ed. Stern, *ZCP.* VII. 475 ff.); finally a few others printed in *Thes.*; *RC.* XXIX. 269 f.; *ZCP.* VIII. 173 ff., XV. 297 ff., XXI. 280 ff.; *Hermathena* XX. 67.

8. The present work is based primarily on the above sources, and thus treats in the main of the language of the eighth century and the first half of the ninth. Undoubtedly many texts preserved in later manuscripts belong also to this or an even earlier period. But the scribes seldom copy accurately, and introduce not merely later spellings but also later grammatical forms. Hence sources of this kind must be used with caution. Of particular value are those texts which can be dated with certainty and are written in verse, the fixed number of syllables and the rhyme serving to protect old forms, or at least to facilitate their restoration.

Of such texts the most important are:

**Fél.** The **Féilire** (Martyrology) of *Oengus mac Oengobann*—a calendar in verse of the saints for each day of the year, together with a Prologue and Epilogue—composed between 797 and 808. Linguistically it is very close to MI.

On the evidence supplied by the rhymes see Strachan, *RC*. XX. 191 ff., 295 ff. It has twice been edited by Stokes:

1. *On the Calendar of Oengus*, Trans. RIA., Irish MS. Series, I. ( 1880).
2. *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* ( Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. XXIX), 1905.

The first edition gives the full text of three MSS., whereas the second seeks to restore the language of the original. Both are provided with a translation and vocabulary.

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**Trip.** The *Vita Tripartita S. Patricii* (in prose), compiled between 895 and 901. On the whole the language of the original appears to be well preserved in the manuscripts, although these date only from the 15th-16th centuries; but it already differs in many particulars from that studied in the present work.

Editions:

1. Stokes, *The Tripartite Life of Patrick* ( 1887), with translation. Citations in the present work are from this edition.
2. K. Mulchrone: *Bethu Phátraic. The Tripartite Life of Patrick*. I. Text and Sources ( 1939).

For the language see K. Mulchrone, *ZCP*. XVI. 1 ff., 411 ff.

**SR.** This applies still more to **Saltair na Rann**, The Psalter of Staves, 150 poems on biblical history composed in 987.

Edited by Stokes, *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Medieval and Modern Series*, Vol. I, Part III. ( 1883); cp. Strachan, *The Verbal System of the Saltair na Rann* (Trans. Phil. Society 1895-8, p. 1 ff.).

**9.** Besides the old texts from later MSS. included in the Thesaurus, two large manuscript collectanea are frequently cited:

*LU. Leabhar na h-Uidhri, or Lebor na h-Uidre, Book of the Dun Cow (RIA.). The principal scribe died in 1106, but there are later interpolations, apparently of the 13th century (see Best, Ériu VI. 161 ff.).*

*Lithographic facsimile published by the RIA. ( 1870). Diplomatic edition by R. I. Best and Osborn Bergin ( 1929).*

*LL. Leabhar Laighneach, Book of Leinster (Trinity College, Dublin), most of which was transcribed about 1160.*

*Lithographic facsimile published by the RIA. ( 1880), with introduction, etc., by R. Atkinson.*

## **ARCHAIC SOURCES**

**10.** Sources linguistically older than the main body of the Würzburg glosses, some even as early as the sixth century, are also extant. Those transmitted in manuscripts of a later date have, however, been considerably modernized, and the remainder are too scanty to permit of our establishing an earlier

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stage of the language for more than a few isolated forms. In the present work such forms are called archaic (**arch.** ). The most important collections of them occur in:

1. **Wb. I**, the *prima manus* of the Würzburg codex, see § 5 (collected by Zimmer, *Gloss. Hib.* p. xiii.

and *Supplem.* p. 6; also *Thes.* I. p. xxiv.).

2. **Cam.** A Cambrai MS. written between 763 and 780 contains a short homily in Irish interspersed with Latin, transcribed--with every misreading which the Irish script could suggest--by a Continental copyist ignorant of Irish (ed. *Thes.* II. 244 ff.).
3. Three manuscripts in Paris and Florence contain some Irish glosses, perhaps originally the work of Adamnan ( Ir. Adomnán, † 704), on excerpts from Filargyrius's scholia on Virgil's *Bucolics* (ed. *Thes.* II. 46 ff., 360 ff.). All three were copied, with numerous errors, by Continental scribes, as were also a few glosses recently discovered in a manuscript at Naples ( *ZCP.* XXI. 280 ff., XXII. 37 ff.).
4. A single folio (palimpsest) of a manuscript in Turin, containing a few glosses on the second Epistle of St. Peter ( *Thes.* II. 713 f.).
5. The Irish names in earlier Latin writings ( *Thes.* II. 259 ff.), in particular those in the notes on the life of St. Patrick by Muirchu maccu Machthéni and Tírechán preserved in the *Book of Armagh* (§ 7, 4) and first written down at the end of the seventh century; further, those in the *Vita Columbae* compiled by Adamnan (Adomnán) between 688 and 704 and preserved in a manuscript written before A.D. 713.

For the language of these sources see *ZCP.* I. 347 ff., III. 47 ff.

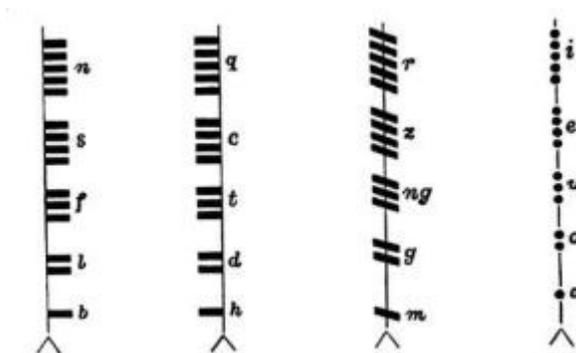
## INSCRIPTIONS

**11.** Older as a rule even than the above archaic material are the sepulchral inscriptions in a special alphabet called **ogom** or **ogum** in Middle Irish, **ogham** in Modern Irish. There are about three hundred altogether, most of which have been found in the southern half of Ireland. Of particular importance

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are some twenty inscriptions found in Britain, chiefly in Wales and the adjacent districts, where colonists from Southern Ireland had settled in the third century A.D.; for most of these inscriptions are bilingual, with a Latin version accompanying the Ogam. The earliest Ogam inscriptions, which show phonological marks of great antiquity, cannot be dated with certainty, but some of them are undoubtedly as old as the fourth century.

**12.** The **Ogam alphabet** was still understood throughout the Middle Ages and was occasionally employed in marginalia (e.g. in Sg.). It consisted of 1-5 strokes cut beside or across a central line for consonants, and of 1-5 notches (short strokes when written) on the central line for vowels. According to medieval sources the alphabet is as follows:



The symbol for *f* still denotes *w* or *v* in the earlier inscriptions; initially and medially it always represents Latin *V*, never *F*. The sign for *h* has hitherto been found only in later inscriptions, while *z* is not reliably

attested at all. Occasionally a second symbol for *c* (or *cc*?) is found, viz. a cross intersected by the central



line.

In the course of time these four sets (**aicme**) of Ogam characters were supplemented by a fifth for the diphthongs, two of whose symbols have already been found in later inscriptions. Other less frequent supplementary symbols (for *p*) may be ignored here.

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**13.** The linguistic material furnished by these inscriptions is very scanty, as they consist almost entirely of proper names. (As a rule the name of the deceased and that of his father or grandfather, both in the genitive, are connected by MAQQI, MAQI 'of the son' or AVI, AVVI 'of the grandson', e.g. DALAGNI MAQI DALI). Since the central line was formed by the edge of the pillar stone, i.e. by that part most exposed to weathering or other injury, the reading--particularly of vowels--is often very uncertain. Furthermore, the very nature of the Ogam script conduces to misspellings, since every misplacement or omission of a stroke produces a different letter. For all these reasons great caution is needed in using the material. A peculiarity of the Ogam inscriptions is the frequent gemination of consonants, even in initial position, without any apparent reason.

**14.** A complete collection of the inscriptions known at the time of SYSTEMation was given by

Brash, *The Ogam Inscribed Monuments of the Gaedhil*, ed. G. Atkinson ( 1879).

A new collection has been begun by

**Macal.** Macalister, *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*, Parts I.-III., 1897-1907 (more than 248 inscriptions to date).

The best collection of the inscriptions found in Wales, etc., is still that by John Rhys, *Lectures on Welsh Philology*, 2nd ed. ( 1879), p. 272 ff. Cp. also Westwood, *Lapidarium Walliae* ( 1876-9).

For the language cp. Mae Neill, *PRIA*. XXVII., Sect. C, p. 329 ff. ( 1909) and *ibid.* XXXIX., Sect. C, p. 33 ff. ( 1931); Pokorny, *ZCP*. XII. 415 ff.

**15.** Irish inscriptions in the **Roman** alphabet are in general later, though a few Christian epitaphs go back to early times.

Collections:

Petrie, *Christian Inscriptions in the Irish Language*, ed. M. Stokes, 2 vols. ( 1872-8).

Thes. II. 286 ff.

Cp. further Macalister, *The Inscriptions of Iniscaltra*, Lough Derg, Co. Galway ( *JRSAI*. XXVI., 1907); *The Memorial Slabs of Clonmacnois*, King's County ( 1909); Crawford, *A Descriptive List of Early Cross-Slabs and Pillars* ( *JRSAI*. XLII.-XLIII., 1913-14).

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## DIALECTS

**16.** Linguistic differences in the Old Irish sources are almost all differences of period, and are the result of morphological development. Contemporary divergences, such as would point to dialectal peculiarities, are very rare; cp. for instance the superlative in *-imem* (§ 371) found only in the Milan glosses, or the varying forms of the preposition **air- er- ir- aur-** (§ 823), between which, however, no strict line of demarcation can be drawn; further the almost complete absence of ón, by-form of són 'that' (neut., § 479), in Sg. The paucity of the sources does not suffice to explain this comparative uniformity; in the literary language a levelling and intermixing of dialects must have taken place. This process was undoubtedly assisted from the earliest times by the wandering poets, singers and scholars, who would naturally wish to be understood everywhere. Further, in the monastic communities of the sixth and following centuries, from which our sources are ultimately derived, the teachers were drawn from various parts of the country.

## PRINCIPAL WORKS OF REFERENCE

Tourneur, *Esquisse d'une histoire des études celtiques* ( 1905). R. I. Best , *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature* ( National Library of Ireland, 1913); *Bibliography of Irish Philology and MS. Literature, 1913-1941* ( Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1942). Thurneysen, *Die keltischen Sprachen* (in Streitberg, *Geschichte der indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft seit ihrer Begründung durch Franz Bopp, II. i* ( 1916), p. 281 ff.).

### I. GRAMMARS

#### **17. A. Grammars of all the Celtic languages, including Old Irish :**

1. Joh. Casp. Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica* ( 1853).

*The basic work in which the earliest forms of the Celtic languages were for the first time scientifically studied. Completely revised and enlarged in the*

*Editio altera, curavit H. Ebel* ( 1871).

*Still valuable for its collections of material. Cp.*

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Güterbock and Thurneysen, *Indices glossarum et uocabulorum Hibernicorum quae in Grammaticae Celticae editione altera explanantur* ( 1881).

The second part contains an index of words explained in the Irish sections of the Gr. C. Supplemented by

Hogan, *RIA.*, Todd Lecture Series, vol. IV. ( 1892), 267 ff.

Irish words mentioned in the other sections of the Gr. C. or merely cited in the Irish sections.

Tourneur, *Indices omnium vocabulorum linguae priscae Gallicae et vetustae Britannicae quae in Grammaticae Celticae editione altera explanantur* ( ACL. III. 109 ff.).

2. **Ped.** Holger Pedersen, *Veroleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, 2 vols. ( 1909-13).

*Traces the development of the Celtic languages from the earliest down to modern times.* Cp. **Thurneysen**, *IF. Anz.* XXVI. 24 ff., XXVII. 13 ff., XXXII. 23 ff.

**Ped<sup>2</sup>.** Henry Lewis and Holger Pedersen, *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar* ( 1937).

*A much abbreviated edition of the preceding work, brought up to date.*

### **18. B. Grammars of Early Irish :**

3. Windisch, *Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik mit Lesestücken* ( 1879).

*Translated by Norman Moore, A Concise Irish Grammar with Pieces for Reading* ( 1882), and Rev. James P. M'Swiney, *Compendium of Irish Grammar* ( 1883).

4. Hogan, *Outlines of the Grammar of Old Irish, with Text and Vocabulary* ( 1900).

5. Strachan, *Old Irish Paradigms and Selections from the Old Irish Glosses, with Notes and Vocabulary* ( 1904-5); third edition by Osborn Bergin ( 1929).

*The selections, arranged to illustrate the different parts of the verb, afford an excellent introduction to the study of the Old Irish conjugations and the syntax of the verb.*

6. Vendryes, *Grammaire du Vieil-Irlandais (Phonétique-Morphologie--Syntaxe)*, 1908.

7. F. W. O'Connell, *A Grammar of Old Irish* ( 1912).

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8. Pokorny, *A Concise Old Irish Grammar and Reader, Part I: Grammar* ( 1914).

9. Pokorny, *A Historical Reader of Old Irish* ( 1923).

An introduction to Irish grammar through the medium of short texts.

10. Pokorny, *Altirische Grammatik (Sammlung Göschen)*, 1925.

Greatly condensed.

11. Melville Richards, *Llawlyfr Hen Wyddeleg* ( 1935).

A short grammar and reader with glossary.

Cp. also Ó Máille, *The Language of the Annals of Ulster* ( 1910).

Traces the development of Irish as shown in these Annals down to the year 1000.

## **II. DICTIONARIES**

**19.** There is as yet no complete dictionary of Early Irish.

1. A glossary of all words found in the Old Irish sources listed above was undertaken by

Ascoli, *Glossario dell' antico Irlandese* ( 1907).

The work, left unfinished, contains only the letters A E I O U L R S F N M G and a few words beginning with C.

2. Windisch, *Irische Texte mit Wörterbuch* ( 1880).

In addition to the words occurring in the texts edited, the glossary contains a large selection from the vocabulary of Old and Irish. Cp. the criticism by Zimmer, *Keltische Studien* I. ( 1881).

3. Kuno Meyer, *Contributions to Irish Lexicography*, Vol. I, Part I ( 1906).

Covers only A-DNO. An extensive collection of Old and Middle Irish words from printed and manuscript sources, with references.

4. A corpus of the earlier language, with references, is projected in the

Dictionary of the Irish Language based mainly on Old and Middle Irish Materials, published by the Royal Irish Academy.

Fascicles already published: I *D-DEGÓIR* under the editorship of Carl T. S. Marstrander ( 1913); II (general editor Osborn Bergin) *E-EXTAIS* edited by Maud Joynt and Eleanor Knott ( 1932).

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5. Pending the SYSTEMation of the above dictionary, the materials collected for it are being made available in

Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language.

Fascicles already published: *M, N-O-P, R*, arranged by Maud Joynt ( 1939-40); *T-TNÚTHAIGID* arranged by David Greene and E. G. Quin ( 1943); *U* arranged by Teresa Condon ( 1942).

6. The task of bringing together all Early Irish words found in published glossaries has been undertaken in

*Hessen's Irish Lexicon, a Concise Dictionary of Early Irish with Definitions in German and English*, by Séamus Caomhánach , Rudolf Hertz, Vernam E. Hull, and Gustav Lehmacher S. J. , with the assistance of many collaborators.

In progress since 1933; published to date, vol. I.: *A-CENNAID*; vol. II.: *I-RUUD*.

**20.** Pending the completion of the above works, glossaries to individual texts have to be consulted. The following, which provide complete vocabularies of important texts, may be mentioned:

7. Atkinson, *The Passions and Homilies from the Leabhar Breac*; Text, Translation and Glossary ( *RIA.*, Todd Lecture Series, vol. II.), 1887;

*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. VI. ( 1901): Glossary to vols. I.-V.

Cp. Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Society 1888-90*, p. 230 ff., and *A Criticism of Dr. Atkinson's Glossary to Volumes I-V of the Ancient Laws of Ireland* ( 1903).

8. Windisch, *Die altirische Heldensage Táin Bó Cúalnge nach dem Buch von Leinster in Text und Übersetzung mit einer Einleitung* ( 1905).

9. G. Calder, *Auraicept na n-Éces, The Scholars' Primer . . . with Introduction, Translation of the Ballymote Text, Notes and Indices* ( 1917);

Togail na Tebe, *The Thebaid of Statius. The Irish Text . . . with Introduction, Translation, Vocabulary and Notes* ( 1922).

Cp. also Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie (ACL.), *herausgegeben von Wh. Stokes und Kuno Meyer*, 3 vols. ( 1900-1907).

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Kuno Meyer, *Zur Keltischen Wortkunde: §§ 1-23, Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akad. der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Classe, 1912, p. 790 ff.; §§ 25-40, ibid. p. 1144 ff.; §§ 41-58, ibid. 1913, p. 445 ff.; §§ 59-76, ibid. p. 950 ff.; §§ 77-101, ibid. 1914, p. 630 ff.; §§ 102-130, ibid. p. 939 ff.; §§ 131-154, ibid. 1917, p. 624 ff.; §§ 155-189, ibid. 1918, p. 618 ff.; §§ 190-235, ibid. 1919, p. 374 ff.; §§ 235-251, ZCP. XIII. 184 ff.*

*For the modern language it will be sufficient to mention:*

*Dinneen, Foclóir Gaedhilge agus Béarla. An Irish-English Dictionary.--Second edition 1927.*

### **III. ETYMOLOGICA**

**21.** *Works on the etymology of various Celtic languages include:*

*Stokes, Urkeltischer Sprachschatz, übersetzt überarbeitet und herausgegeben von Bezenberger, 1894 (= Fick, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, 4. Auflage, 2. Teil).*

*Macbain, An Etymological Dictionary of the (Scottish) Gaelic Language, 2nd edition 1911.*

*V. Henry, Lexique étymologique des termes les plus usuels du breton moderne, 1900 (Bibliothèque bretonne armoricaine, fasc. III.).*

*The relation of the phonetics and morphology of Irish to those of the other Indo-European languages is analysed by Brugmann (and Delbrück), Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. I, 1-II, 3, zweite Bearbeitung, 1897-1916.*

### **IV. PRINCIPAL JOURNALS**

**22.** *RC. Revue Celtique, founded by H. Gaidoz, 51 vols., 1870-1934.*

*Continued as:*

*Études Celtiques, publiées par J. Vendryes, 1936--(in progress).*

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*ZCP. Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie, founded by Kuno Meyer and L. Chr. Stern, 1897, vols. XIII-XXI edited by J. Pokorny with the collaboration of R. Thurneysen.*

*Ériu, founded as the journal of the School of Irish Learning, Dublin (edd. Kuno Meyer and John Strachan, vol. I. 1904), since 1928 published by the RIA. (edd. Osborn Bergin, T. F. O'Rahilly and Eleanor Knott).*

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# ORTHOGRAPHY

**23.** The sources of Old Irish--with the exception of the Ogam inscriptions ( § 12 )--are written in the Roman alphabet, and the characters have in general their Latin values. The letters *k*, *γ*, *z* occur only in isolated loan-words; e.g. *príd kalde* gl. *pridie kalendas* Sg. 220<sup>a</sup>1; *oínsyllabche* 'monosyllabism' 207<sup>a</sup>10 beside normal *sillab* 'syllable'; *baitzis-i* 'he baptized him' Thes. II. 241, 15 (Arm.), normally *baitsim* 'baptizo'. The letter *q* is also rare, e.g. **aequinocht** 'aequinoctium' Thes. II. 14, 35 beside *ecenocht* Ml. 111<sup>a</sup>9; occasionally it appears in a native word, e.g. *uisq(ue)* 'water' Wb. 11<sup>a</sup>17, Ml. 93<sup>b</sup>12 for normal *uisce*, influenced by Lat. *usque*.

**24.** The following points should also be noted:

1. The ligature *æ* can be used as in late Latin to represent *e*, including short *e*; e.g. *æclis* 'church' Wb. 28<sup>d</sup>24 beside **ecils** 16<sup>d</sup>6, *foirrgæ* 'sea' Sg. 124<sup>a</sup>1 beside **foirce** 67<sup>b</sup>9.

On the other hand, most scribes clearly distinguish it from *æ*, which is interchangeable with *ai* and represents a true diphthong ( § 66 ). Spellings like **aesca** for *ésca* 'moon' Thes. II. 20, 39, *dæe* Ml. 111c3 for *dé dæ* 'God's', *óencheillae* 'of one meaning' Sg. 27<sup>b</sup>3 for **-chéille** are rare.

*æ* for the old diphthong first appears in Mid. Ir. MSS.

2. *c* and *g* before *e* and *i* are never assimilated as in English and the Romance languages. For *et* instead of *cht* see § 28.

3. *n*, as in Latin, can represent, not merely the dental, but also--before *g*--the guttural nasal (*n*). Even here, however, it has a dental value when the group *ng* has arisen through loss of an intervening vowel. Thus in the orthography of Old Irish *ingen* represents two distinct words: *ingen* 'nail' (Lat. *unguis*, Mod. Ir. *ionga*) has *ng*, while *ingen* 'daughter' (Ogam INIGENA, Mod. Ir. *inghean*, *nighean*) is pronounced *inyen* with dental *n* followed by a spirant.

For the spelling *ingcert* (Lat. *incertus*.) Ml. 61<sup>b</sup>15, see § 915 c.

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4. *u* is vocalic, never consonantal (*w* or *v*).

In a few archaic sources *u* represents a *w* which subsequently disappeared, e.g. **Conual**, later **Conall**, see *Ált. Ir. Dicht.* II. 4 (cp. § 202, 1). The glide *u* of § 102, 6 is doubtless also a sort of *w*.

5. *x* represents the group *chs*; e.g. *foxol foxal* 'taking away', *foxlid* 'ablative case', *fo-rróxlul* 'has taken away' Wb. 27<sup>a</sup>19 beside *fochsul* Ml. 93d5, *fo-rochsalsat* 'they have taken away' 18<sup>d</sup>11; *oxalaib* Tur. 35, exile Thes. II. 255, 5, etc., Mid. Ir. *ochsal* 'axilla'; *díxa* gl. *conuexa* (pl.) Ml. 96<sup>c</sup>9, from *dígas* 'high'; similarly *·dU+00EDxnigedar* 'is, exists' § 762 b, *airdíxa* 'productus'.

On the other hand, the sound-group *ks* is represented by *cs*, e.g. **aicsiu** 'seeing'; *x* first appears in Middle Irish manuscripts.

**25.** *h* (except in the combinations *ch*, *th*, *ph*, § 28.) has been taken over from Latin as a mute letter only. It has no phonetic value, and is arbitrarily prefixed to words beginning with a vowel, particularly to words which would otherwise be very short, such as those consisting of a single vowel; e.g. **hí** beside **í**, deictic particle § 474 (cp. Late Lat. *hi his* for *ii iis*); **hi** beside **i** 'in', **hó** beside **ó** 'from', **hé** beside **é** 'he', pl. 'they', similarly **hed** beside **ed** 'it'. It is often prefixed to longer words beginning with *ui ua*, probably to prevent the Latin pronunciation *vi va*; e.g. **huisse** beside *uisse* 'just', *huile* beside *uile* 'whole', **húasal** beside *úasal* 'high'; also to words which resemble Latin words with *h-*, e.g. *híc hícc* beside *íc ícc* 'salvation' (cp. Lat. *hīc* 'here'), *hómon hómun* beside *ómun* 'fear' (cp. *homo*), **hires(s)** beside **ires(s)** 'faith' (cp. *heres*). But it is found, particularly in Sg., before other words also, e.g. *hesséirge* beside *esséirge* 'resurrection';

sometimes even as the initial of the second element of a compound, e.g. *amhires* 'unbelief' beside **amires** (cp. **hires** above), *da·hucchi* 'understands it' beside *da·ucchi*.

There are only isolated cases of its use as a mark of hiatus in the interior of words, e.g. in the foreign **Israhel** (a spelling also found in Latin), and even in gen. sg. *rehe* 'of a period' Wb. 4<sup>c</sup>11 beside dat. pl. *réib* 22<sup>a</sup>8.

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Even in Latin loan-words it is not consistently used, for *h-* was mute in these also; cp. *umaldóit omaldóit* beside *humaldóit* 'humilitas', *úair* beside *hóir* acc. dat. sg. 'hora'.

Though the letter *h* was merely graphic, Old Irish had also a spoken *h* ( § 240 ), for which, however, there was no symbol; the use of Latin *h* to represent it dates from the Mid. Ir. period. An early instance may be *na haill* 'something else' in the marginal note Sg. 217 ( Thes. II. xxii). In archaic *menmnihi* gl. *animositates* Wb. I. 18<sup>a</sup>21 *h* stands for spirant *ch*.

**26. Length in vowels** is often, though by no means consistently, marked by placing over the syllable an acute accent, which probably derives from the Roman apex. This accent is also found indiscriminately over the first or second element of the diphthongs *ai ae, oi oe, au, ia, ua, ui, eu, eo, iu*. In the present work the diphthongs with *-i* are printed *ái óí úí* in order to distinguish them from *ā ō ū* followed by the glide *i* ( § 86 ). Thus *baíth* 'foolish', *oín* 'one', *druí* 'magician', with true diphthongs, as against *láim* acc. dat. sg. of *lám* 'hand', **hóir** acc. sg. 'hour' (gen. *hóre*), *rúin* acc. dat. sg. of *rún* 'secret'. In other diphthongs the accent is placed over the first element: *áe óe áu éu éo ía íu úa*.

In general, marks of length omitted in the MSS. are inserted, except in the cases mentioned § 48. It is unlikely that the later pronunciation *eó*, with the stress on the *o*, had developed in the O.Ir. period.

**27.** In archaic texts, and also in Arm., length in vowels may be shown by doubling; e.g. **baan** 'white', **ee** 'he' Cam.; *cuúrsagad* 'reproving' Thes. II. 242, 11 (Arm.), otherwise *cúrsagad cúrsachad*.

In Wb. also doubling is frequent, but--except in compensatorily lengthened *ē* ( § 54 )--is restricted to long final syllables; e.g. *fáas faás* beside *fás* 'empty', *indocbáal* beside *indocbál* 'glory', *dée* beside *dé* 'God's', *ríi* beside *rí* 'king', *móor* beside *mór* 'great', *rúun ruún* beside *rún* 'secret'. On the other hand, spellings like *líithe* 'saved' 5<sup>c</sup>4, *a chéele* 'his fellow' 6<sup>a</sup>4, are quite exceptional. This restriction shows that doubling is intended to express something more than mere

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length, perhaps a pronunciation bordering on disyllabic in certain positions of the word in its clause or in slow speech. Words in which vowels formerly constituting two syllables have become monosyllabic by contraction show similar fluctuation in spelling; e.g. *tintuúth* 'translation' 12<sup>a</sup>10 beside *tintúth* 19<sup>d</sup>17 (from *\*t-ind-south*). Only in such words is doubling found in later sources also: *impuud* 'turning' Sg. 202<sup>b</sup>8 beside *impúd* 106<sup>b</sup>10 (from *\*imb-south*); see § 113.

In verse monosyllables with a long vowel or a diphthong at the end of a line sometimes count as two syllables.

**28.** For the **spirants** (or fricatives) Latin offered only five symbols: *s, f*, and in Greek words *ch th ph*, all of which are used in Irish. The symbols *f* and *ph* have the same phonetic value; *ph* is normally used at the end of a syllable or where the spirant has arisen from lenition of *p* ( § 231, 5 ), *f* in all other cases. Examples: *oíph* 'appearance', *neph-riagolde* 'irregular', *in phreceptóri* 'praeceptores'; but *fer* 'man', *Filistinib* dat. pl. 'Philistines' Ml. 56<sup>b</sup>6, *léicfidir* 'he will be left', etc. Where the spirant represents original lenited *sw* ( § 132 ), either may be used: **tinfed** and **tinphed** 'aspiration' Sg. (for *-sved*). The forms **cammaif** (read *-aif?*) 'however' Wb. 10<sup>b</sup>1, in Sg. always **camaiph**, and **graif** 'grave accent' Sg. 213<sup>a</sup>2 are exceptional.

In Sg., as well as in Mid.Ir. manuscripts, *ct* (*p*) with the suprascript sign of the Greek *spiritus asper* (┆) are sometimes written for *ch th* (*ph*).

The sound-group *cht* is not infrequently represented by *ct*, e.g. **act** beside **acht** 'but' (cp. Lat. *a uctothes* for Gk. *αϰτόχθονες*, etc.).

**29.** For the **voiced spirants** there were no unambiguous symbols in Latin. In Irish the letters for the mediae are also used for the homorganic spirants. Thus *g*, *d*, and *b* represent respectively the (Modern Greek) spirants γ, δ, β. In addition, Irish had a spirant *m*, a nasal in the articulation of which the lips, instead of being closed, formed a narrow friction channel to produce a nasalized β. This sound is not distinguished in

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writing from the pure nasal *m*. In the present work it is denoted by μ where attention is drawn to its pronunciation. **30.** The following **symbols** are accordingly used for the spirants:

	voiceless	voiced
guttural:	<i>ch</i> ( <i>x=chs</i> § 24)	<i>g</i>
dental:	<i>s</i>	--
interdental:	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>
labial:	<i>f, ph</i>	<i>b</i>
nasal labial:	--	<i>m</i>

For variations in spelling see § 123 ff. Like *m*, the letters *n*, *r*, *l* can each represent two sounds, **lenited** and **unlenited** (§ 135); the lenited sounds are, where necessary, denoted by *v*, *ρ*, *λ*. **31.** To represent medial and final **voiced stops** the tenuis symbols *c t p* are used instead of *g d b*:

1. regularly after vowels,
2. optionally after consonants.

An initial voiced stop is represented by the corresponding tenuis only in certain sandhi positions (where the final of the preceding word causes nasalization, § 236). For the origin of this usage see § 915. Thus where Mod.Ir. writes *éag eug* 'death', *céad ceud* 'hundred', *ab* 'abbot' (Lat. *abbas*), O.Ir. writes **éc**, **cét ap**, pl. **apid**. On the other hand, we find constant fluctuation between **condelg** and **condelc** 'comparison', **cumgat** and **cumcat** 'they can', **ord** and **ort** 'rank, grade' (Lat. *ordo*), *scribend* and *scribent* 'writing' (Lat. *scribendum*), *burbe* and *burpe* 'folly', *edbart* and *edpart* 'oblation', etc., where the pronunciation is always *g, d, b*. There are, however, certain deviations from the above rule:

- a. Very exceptionally, where two words are written together, the initial of the second is treated as though it were

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in medial position; e.g. **natiubrad** Wb. 9<sup>d</sup>20 for *na · diubrad* 'let him not defraud'; **atoíri** Ml. 46<sup>a</sup>17 for *a doíri* 'out of servitude'.

- b. The use of single *g d b* to represent stops in true medial position is rare, and may be attributed either to attempts at etymological spelling or to scribal errors; e.g. *ad·obarar* 'is offered' Wb. 10<sup>c</sup>3, 11<sup>b</sup>12 (cp. Ml. 60<sup>b</sup>17, 14<sup>a</sup>16) beside *ad·oparar* Wb. 11<sup>b</sup>15, influenced by *edbart idbart* 'oblation'; *togad* 'luck' Ml. 39<sup>c</sup>16, normally *tocad*.

Collection: Strachan, *ZCP*. IV. 54.

In archaic sources this spelling seems to be more frequent; e.g. *agaldemathacha*, old gloss on *appelatiua* (K. Meyer, *Zur Kelt. Wortkunde* §§ 98, 130), later **ac(c)aldam** 'addressing'; **ro-slogeth** gl. *absorpta est* Wb. I. 13<sup>d</sup>24 (to **slucid**), **adob-ragart** (for later *atob*·) gl. *uos fascinavit* 19<sup>b</sup>5 (cp. *ZCP*. XIX. 208).

- c. In several manuscripts *gg dd bb* are occasionally written after vowels and consonants alike. This spelling is doubtless due to the fact that voiced consonants were originally geminated in all these positions; see § 136. Thus *arggit* 'of silver' Thes. II. 240, 2 (Arm.) beside *argit*; *condeilgg* 'of comparison' Sg. 42<sup>a</sup>4, *con · ñ-delggaddar* 'they are compared' 39<sup>a</sup>11 beside *con·delgatar*; *sacardd* 'sacerdos' 54<sup>a</sup>11, Tur. 49 beside *sacart sacard*; *abbaith* acc. sg. 'abbot' Thes. II. 242, 21 (Arm.). In Wb. there is only one instance: *claindde* 'of children' 28<sup>b</sup>17.

- d. After vowels the etymological spellings *cg td pb* are occasionally found; e.g. **ecguisti** gl. *obtati* Ml. 65<sup>b</sup>2 for **ecuisti** (*eg-guisti*) to *ad · gú(i)si* 'wishes'; *cotdicc* 'he can (do) it' Wb. 5<sup>b</sup>40 for *cot·icc*, because the infix pronoun generally appears as *d*; *nepbuith* 'non-being' 14<sup>a</sup>16 for *nepuith* (*buith* 'being').

**32.** Accordingly the letters *c t p*, *g d b* have the following phonetic values:

1. *c t p* represent voiceless stops in absolute anlaut and after *s*; after other consonants and after vowels they may represent either voiceless or voiced stops.

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2. *g d b* represent voiced stops in absolute anlaut, in cases of gemination, and in the groups *nd ld mb*, but voiced spirants after vowels. After most consonants they may represent either voiced stops or voiced spirants.

In doubtful cases their precise value may be ascertained from the modern pronunciation; failing that, from the etymology or from the interchange of *g* and *c*, *d* and *t*, *b* and *p*. **33.** The *punctum delens* over a consonant is used as a regular symbol in certain positions.

1. It is frequently placed over nasals inserted between a nasalizing final and the following initial ( § 236 ); e.g. *amal ñ guidess* 'as he entreats' Wb. 24<sup>d</sup>19; *fri rainn ñaili (n-aili)* 'to another part' Sg. 212<sup>e</sup>6; *dered mbetho (m-betho)* 'the end of the world' Wb. 10<sup>b</sup>3.
2. It is also found over nasals in medial position between consonants; e.g. *for·ñgaire* 'command', *frec·ñdirc frec·ñdairc* 'present'.
3. In Sg. and later manuscripts it is placed over *f* and *s* to denote the 'lenition' of these consonants. For their pronunciation see §§ 131, 133.

In *mor·ñeser* 'seven (persons)' Thes. II. 241, 17 (Arm.) *f* serves a different purpose: it indicates that *f* has here replaced *s* (*sesser* 'six'): see § 132.

**34. Division of words.** In general all words which are grouped round a single chief stress and have a close syntactic connexion with each other are written as one in the manuscripts. Thus conjunctions and pronouns affixed to them are written with the following verb, the article and attached possessives with the following noun, the copula with the following predicate, prepositions and affixed pronouns or article with the following verb or noun, enclitics with the preceding stressed word, etc. Examples: *actmachotchela* Wb. 5<sup>a</sup>9 for *act ma cho-t chela* 'save that it conceals it'; *innádcualaidsi* 5<sup>a</sup>21 for in *nád cúalaid si* 'have ye not heard?'; *istrissandedesin* 4<sup>d</sup>33 for *is tri-ssan déde sin* 'it is through those two things'; *díarfírianugudni* 4<sup>b</sup>17 for *dí ar fíriánugud ní* 'to our justification';

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*nímcharatsa* 5<sup>c</sup>6 for *ní-m charat sa* 'they love me not'. Occasionally, however, some of these elements are written separately.

This writing of word-groups rather than single words is a characteristic feature of Old Irish.

In the present work, apart from close compounds, words are separated so far as is consonant with general orthographical rules. Certain naturally coalescent groups are, however, written together, e.g. prepositions with a following article or pronoun, conjunct particles ( § 38, 2 ) with an appended pronoun or with forms of the copula. Further, pretonic prepositions and conjunct particles, with or without an infix pronoun, are separated from the following stressed element of the verb only by a turned period ( ` ). A hyphen is inserted between the elements of certain groups and before most enclitics. Thus the above examples are here written *act ma chot · chela*, *in-nád · cúalaid-si*, *ním · charat-sa*, *is trissa n-déde-sin*, *díar fíriánugud-ni*, etc.

The turned period before a verbal form like *· cumgat* ( § 31 ) indicates that pretonic elements have been omitted.

**35. Abbreviations.** Owing to the limited space at their disposal, the glossators often employ quite capricious abbreviations. For certain words, however, stereotyped symbols or suspensions, some of them of Roman origin, are used:

ŕ for Lat. *et*, Ir. *ocus acus* 'and' ( § 878 ).

ŕ + - for Lat. *uel*, Ir. *nō* + *ñū* + 'or' ( § 885 ).

am + ŕ for *amal* (arch. *amail*) 'as' ( §§ 826, 911 ).

dă for *danau dano* 'then, also' ( § 900 ).

dĭ for *didiu didu* 'then' ( § 901 ).

im + ŕ or im + ŕ for *immurgu* 'however' ( § 907 ).

·t· for *trá* 'then' ( § 901 ).

*.i.*, the Latin symbol for *id est*, was often read by Irish scribes simply as *id*, and rendered in Irish by *ed-ón* 'that'. Sometimes, notably in MI., it is followed by a complete sentence prefaced by **sech is** or **noch is**, the Irish equivalent of *id est* ( §§ 883, 880 ); in such cases *.i.* is nothing more than a graphic symbol.

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ZCP. XVIII, 427 ff.; XIX. 132 f. In *idón* Thes. II. 241, 8. 16 (Arm.) the *i* is a Latinism.

*cs.* for **ceist** =Lat. *quaestio*, sometimes placed at the beginning of an interrogative sentence.

*nī* for **ni ans(a)e**, lit. 'it is not difficult', frequently employed to introduce the answer to a question.

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## PHONOLOGY STRESS

Zimmer, *Keltische Studien II.*, 1884; Thurneysen, *RC. VI.*129 ff., 309 ff.

**36. I. Words susceptible of full stress take this on the first syllable**, e.g. *fairsingmenmnaige* 'magnanimity'. The stress is expiratory and very intense, as may be seen from the reduction of unstressed syllables ( §§ 43, 106 ). It is this reduction that enables us to infer the position of the stress in Old Irish; further evidence is supplied by the pronunciation of the modern dialects, although in a few of these the stress has shifted in certain cases.

The above rule holds for all simple words and for nominal compounds, including participles.

### 37. II. DEUTEROTONIC AND PROTOTONIC VERBAL COMPOUNDS

Where one or more prepositions are compounded with a finite verb the stress normally falls on the second element, i.e. in simple compounds on the verb itself (on the first syllable), in multiple compounds on the second preposition. The first preposition, in fact, does not form a close compound with the second element, and may be separated from it by a personal pronoun ( § 409 ff.), in verse even by other words.

Examples: *do · moiniur* 'I think', *ad·rími* 'counts', *ar·éigi* 'complains', *con·rig* 'binds', *cita·bíat* 'they perceive'.

With two prepositions: *do · for-magar* 'is increased', *do · ad-bat* 'shows', *as · in-gaib* 'exceeds', *for · con-gur* 'I command'.

With three: *con · to-chm-airt* (· *to-chom-*) 'thou hast shattered', *du · air-*n*-gerat* (· *air-in-garat*) 'they promise'.

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**38.** On the other hand the stress falls on the **first** preposition in the following cases (**prototonic forms**):

1. In the imperative, except when a personal pronoun is attached to the first preposition; e.g. **to-mil** 'eat!' (sg.), **com-id** 'preserve!' (pl.), **dénad** (\**de-gníth*) 'let him do!'. But with infixed pronoun: *du-m · em-se* 'protect (sg.) me', *atom · ro-choíl* 'determine (sg.) me', *atab · gabed* 'let it reprehend you', *do-s · *n*-gniith* 'make (pl.) them'.
2. After the following conjunctions and particles, hereafter referred to as **conjunct particles** because requiring the 'conjunct flexion' of verbs ( § 542):
  - a. The negative particles *nī + , nī + cōn*, *nā + , nā + d̄* (*nach-*), *nacon* ( § 860 ff.), and their compounds such as *ca-ni* 'nonne?', *ma-ni* 'if not', *ce-ni* 'though not', *co-ni conná cona* 'that not', *arná* 'in order that not.'

Examples: *ní · fo-dmat* 'they do not endure'; *ní · de-rscaigi* (· *de-ro-*) 'it does not surpass'; *nícon · choscram* 'we do not destroy'; *an-nad · com-air-léciub* 'while I shall not permit'; *ma-ni · taibred* (· *ta-berad*) 'if he should not bring'; *arna · tomnammar* 'so that we may not think'.

- b. The interrogative particle **in** ( § 463): *in · co-scram* 'do we destroy?'. Likewise **co** 'how?' ( § 462): *co · acci* (*ad-cī-*) 'how seest thou?'; and *cecha · cacha* 'whom-, whatsoever' ( § 461): *cecha · taibre* 'whatsoever thou mayst give'; sometimes also the interrogative pronoun *cía* (**ce, ci**), see § 458.
- c. Prepositions in combination with the relative particle (**s)a**<sup>n</sup> ( § 492), such as **ar-a**, **di-a** (also for **do-a**), **fu-a**, **oc(c)-a**, **for-a** and **for-sa**, **co-sa**, **fri-sa**, **la-sa**, **tri-sa**; further **i**<sup>n</sup> **hi**<sup>n</sup> 'in which'.

Examples: *fu-a · ta-barr* 'under which is brought', *di-a · n-dí-lgid* 'to whom ye forgive', *i · n-ais-*n*d-ethat* 'in which they expound'.

- d. The conjunctions **ara**<sup>n</sup> 'in order that' ( § 898), **dia**<sup>n</sup> 'if, when' ( §§ 889, 903), **co**<sup>n</sup>, **con**<sup>n</sup> 'so that' ( § 896 f.); e.g. *ara · fu-lsam* 'so that we may support', *dia · n-acomoltar* (*adcom-*) 'if it is added', *con · for-cm-at* 'so that they preserve'.

The prep. **im** (**m**) in the sense of 'mutually' remains unstressed even after conjunct particles; see § 410 a.

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3. (a) On rare occasions a prototonic verb is found introducing a relative clause ( § 493, 5); e.g. *di neuch thór:ither* (*to-fo-rind-*) 'of whatever is denoted' Sg. 59<sup>b</sup>18.

This may also account for the appearance of a prototonic verb in replies, for that such replies can be in relative construction is indicated by the use of the neg. *nā + d̄* and the verbal form **fil** ( § 780, 2). Examples: *Ní · chumci sōn . . . Cumcim écin* (*com-ic-*) 'Thou canst not (do) that . . . I can indeed' LU 5167; cp. **atmu** (*ad-dam-*) 'I consent' 4896; *aicdiu* (*ad-gud-*) 'I invoke (as surety)' *Bürgschaft* p. 15 § 51d.

- b. The archaic construction in which the verb stands at the end instead of at the head of its clause ( § 513) takes a prototonic verb; e.g. *cuicthe* (O.Ir. *cóicthe*) *fri cond cuindegar* (*com-dí-sag-*) 'five days are required for a "head"' Laws 1. 78, 14.

**39. III.** The **verbal particles ro ru** ( § 526 ff.) and **no nu** ( § 538) at the beginning of a word are unstressed just like prepositions; e.g. *ro · gab* 'has taken', *no · gaibed* 'he used to take'.

**ro ru** is stressed when it follows a pretonic preposition, e.g. *as · ru-bart* 'has said'. But after a conjunct particle it takes the stress as a rule only if the particle has a personal pronoun attached, and after *nā + d̄*; otherwise it generally remains unstressed in this position.

Examples: *ní-s · ro-thechtus* 'I have not had them' Ml. 44<sup>b</sup>11, *nad · ro-gnatha* 'which have not been done' 115<sup>b</sup>4; but *ní-ru · tho-gaítsam* (*thógaítsam* MS.) 'we have not deceived' Wb. 16<sup>a</sup>22, *nicon-ru · accobrus* 'I have not desired' Ml. 136<sup>b</sup>7, *na-ro · pridchissem* 'which we have not preached' Wb. 17<sup>b</sup>31, *cona-ru · áigsetar* 'so that they have not feared' Ml. 35<sup>c</sup>4, *in-ru · etar-scar* 'whether it had departed' 91<sup>c</sup>1, *dí-a-ru · chreidsid* 'in whom ye have believed' Wb. 8<sup>c</sup>11, *con-ru · failnither* 'that it may be supplied' 1<sup>a</sup>9.

This rule is not, however, absolute. Before a simple verb, even in the last-mentioned position, **ro** often takes the stress; e.g. *ní · roi-lgius* 'I have not read' Sg. 148<sup>a</sup>10, *cani · ra-lsid* 'have ye not put?' Wb. 15<sup>a</sup>1, *ar-a · ro-gbad* 'for which it has

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been sung' Ml. 74<sup>b</sup>11, *hi · ro-gbath*. 'in which it has been sung' 24<sup>d</sup>10, *con · ro-chra* 'that he may love' Wb. 6<sup>d</sup>1. Conversely, unstressed **ro** is sometimes found after pretonic prepositions also, especially in Ml.; e.g., after **ar-**, where it occurs most frequently: *ar-ru · dí-baid* 'has destroyed' Ml. 99<sup>a</sup>2; after other prepositions: *for-ru · chon-grad* 'has been commanded' 34<sup>d</sup>4, *etar-ru · suidige[d]* 'has been interposed' 27<sup>d</sup>23. Cp. also [§ 493](#), 4.

Cp. Ó Máille, Language of AU., [§ 185](#). In Ml. there are a few instances of two prepositions remaining pretonic; e.g. *ol ad-con · rótaig* 35<sup>b</sup>13, gl. *quod adstrueret*, where the glossator has simply prefixed *ad* to *con · rótaig* 'has built' without shifting the stress.

Sometimes the position of the stress cannot be determined with certainty. For examples of stressed or unstressed **ro** -, see Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society* 1895-8, p. 176 ff.

**40. IV. Words** other than verbs which are **not stressed on the first syllable** would all seem to have originated in the fusion of two or more words. This is undoubtedly true of *alaile araile* 'another' ([§ 486](#)), *immallei immalle* 'together' (*imm-a<sup>n</sup>-le* [§ 845](#)), *calléic calléice*, 'still, however' (from *co · lléic*, *· lléice*, 'till I leave, till thou leavest'), and probably of *innunn innonn* 'thither, yonder' ([§ 483](#)) and *fadéin fadessin* 'self' ([§ 485](#)). For *amin amein amne amnin* 'so, indeed' see ZCP. XIX. 176 (where Pokorny suggests influence of Gk.  $\square\mu\eta\nu$ ).

**41. Unstressed words.** Words which are not themselves fully stressed are attached either (a) to the following word as proclitics, or (b) to the preceding word as enclitics.

- a. includes the article, possessive pronouns, and prepositions before words governed by them; prepositions ([§ 37](#)) and infixed personal pronouns before verbs; the forms of the copula ([§ 791](#) ff.); often also conjunctions before verbs.
- b. includes certain demonstrative particles ([§ 475](#) ff., cp. [§§ 479, 481](#)) and the emphasizing particles ([§ 403](#) ff.). Certain conjunctions used in principal clauses, such as *dano*, *didiu*, *trá* ([§ 900](#) f.) are not fully stressed either.

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The absence of stress is most complete in (1) the article or a possessive pronoun standing between a preposition and the word it governs, (2) infixed pronouns and (sometimes) **ro** between preverbs and verbs, and (3) the copula between conjunctions and the predicate.

## VOWELS QUANTITY

**42.** The mark of length in the written language ([§ 26](#)) enables us to distinguish only two quantities, long and short. According to later bardic teaching there was also an intermediate quantity (**síneadh meadhónach**; see Lia Fáil, No. 4, p. 152; IGT. p. 36 [§ 156](#)). This may have already existed in Old Irish in cases where the mark of length appears only sporadically (cp. [§§ 45 - 47](#)). But no definite conclusion can be reached for our period.

**43.** 1. The original distinction in the quantity of vowels is generally preserved in the first (i.e. the stressed) syllables of words. In post-tonic syllables all old long vowels have been shortened. Long vowels appearing in such syllables are either secondary ([§§ 44, 45, 113](#)), or have arisen from assimilation to the vocalism of stressed syllables; or they occur in compounds formed after the rule as to shortening had fallen into disuse; e.g. **dermár** and **dermār** (both confirmed by rhyme) 'very great', from **már** 'great'; **comlán** 'complete', **forlán** 'overfull', influenced by the simplex **lán** 'full'. To these must

be added certain loan-words like **achtáil** 'actuālis', **enáir** 'ianuārius (ienuārius)', which preserve their Latin quantity. **44. 2. Long vowels appear in place of original short vowels:**

- a. In compensatory lengthening ( [§§ 125, 208, 210, 214](#) ); e.g. **én** 'bird', O.Bret. *etn*; **sét** 'way', Bret. *hent*.

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Even in unstressed syllables vowels are lengthened in the instances discussed [§ 125](#); e.g. **anáil** 'breath', W. *anadl*; **cenél** 'gender, kindred', W. *cenedl*.

- b. Final vowels in stressed monosyllables are lengthened; e.g. **sé** 'six' beside **sëssed** 'sixth'; **mé** 'I', but with emphasizing particle **mësse**; **·gé** 3 sg. beside 1 pl. **·gëssam**, subj. of **guidid** 'prays'; **tó** 'yes', IE. \**tod*; **trú** 'doomed person' (from \**trūk-s*), gen. **troch**.

Certain words which generally occur in unstressed position are not lengthened even when they take the stress; e.g. **co-se** 'till now' (**se** as deictic particle frequently enclitic, [§ 475](#)); **in se, in so** 'this' ( [§ 478](#) ); **immalle** 'together', **ille** 'hither' (**le**, later **la**, as preposition mostly proclitic); **de** 'from him, it' (**dé** only in *MI*. 69<sup>d</sup>3, but later common). **amne** 'thus' also seems to have short *e*.

**45. (c)** Original short vowels are sometimes marked long when followed in the same syllable by unlenited *m, n, l, r* ( [§§ 135, 140](#) ). Accordingly they must have at least, sounded longer than the normal short vowel. Most, though not all, of them are long in the modern dialects also.

Examples: **rán** 'part' *Wb*. 12<sup>c</sup>13, acc. **ráin** *MI*. 16<sup>b</sup>15, usually **rann, rainn**; **ad·gréinn** 'persecutes' 54<sup>b</sup>23, 73<sup>c</sup>1, pl. **·grennat**; **londas** 'fierceness' 18<sup>a</sup>10, otherwise **londas**; **téntide** 'fiery' 96<sup>b</sup>17, from **tëne** 'fire'; **tróm** 'heavy' *Wb*. 17<sup>c</sup>2, otherwise **tromm trom**; **ímdae** 'numerous' *MI*. 62<sup>b</sup>23, otherwise **imd(a)e**; **báil** 'member' *Wb*. 12<sup>a</sup>18, pl. **bóill 11<sup>d</sup>11**, otherwise **ball**; **mílsi** 6<sup>c</sup>7, pl. of **mílis** 'sweet'; **du·árchomraicset** (-*árf* from -*ar-ro-*) 'they have collected' *MI*. 61<sup>b</sup>17; **árt-phersine** 'of a high person' *Wb*. 24<sup>d</sup>9, otherwise **ard art** 'high'.

In unstressed syllables: **du·sesáinn** (read *·sésáinn*) 1 sq. past subj. 'I should pursue' *MI*. 41<sup>c</sup>5, **do·rogbáinn** 'I should commit' 39<sup>a</sup>18, ending otherwise *-ainn -inn*; **erríndem** 'highest' 56<sup>b</sup>22, to **rind** 'peak'; **ingraimmím** 87<sup>c</sup>1, dat. sg. of **ingraimm** 'persecution'; **ubúll** 'of apples' 100<sup>c</sup>21; **adáll** gen. of **adall** 'visit' *Wb*. 14<sup>a</sup>8; **·cáldad** 'he used to address' *MI*. 108<sup>b</sup>9, vb.n. **accaldam**; **·epéltais ·epíltis** 99<sup>b</sup>2, 121<sup>d</sup>16, past subj. 3 pl. 'they should die' (3 sg. pres. subj. **at·bela** ); **hon dedárn-tui** gl. *taciturnitate* 48<sup>a</sup>11.

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For modern dialectal variations in the quantity of vowels before original double liquids, see T. F. O'Rahilly, *Ir. Dialects Past and Present*, 49 ff.

**46. 3. (a)** Vowels are occasionally marked long before *r* + consonant, even where there is no evidence that the *r* was unlenited; e.g. **as·óircc** 'beats' *Wb*. 11<sup>a</sup>11 (stem *org-*), **óin·chórp** 'one body' (*corpus*) 12<sup>a</sup>12, **nom·érpimm** 'I confide' 6<sup>c</sup>3. Modern dialects afford examples of similar lengthening.

(b) In stressed syllables the mark of length is sometimes found, especially in *Wb.*, over any vowel in syllabic auslaut which is followed by a lenited consonant; e.g. **as·rúbart** 'has said' *Wb*. 10<sup>a</sup>26, **dlígéd** 'right' 10<sup>d</sup>16. 19, **ro·chlúinetar** 'which they hear' 11<sup>b</sup>6, **níme** 'of heaven' *MI*. 106<sup>a</sup>3.

Elsewhere, as in **mág** 'field' *Wb*. 12<sup>a</sup>25, the mark of length is probably a mere scribal error.

**47. 4.** There are indications that stressed **long vowels** were shortened in **hiatus**. Thus the plural of **at·tá** 'is' is always **·taam, ·taait, ·taat**, and the relative singular nearly always **ol·daas in·daas**, only once **in·dáas** *MI*. 85<sup>b</sup>11. So also out of thirty-seven instances of 3 sg. consuet. pres. **biid biith** 'is wont to be', only two (both in *Sg.*) are written **bíid**. Cp. further **deu deo**, acc. pl. of **día** 'God', also **deacht** 'divinity'.

As early as *Wb.*, however, marks of length are occasionally found, not merely over original long vowels as in **do·gníam** 'we do' 15<sup>d</sup>9, but also over vowels which were originally short, as in **téit** nom. pl. 'hot' 29<sup>a</sup>1. In later texts the mark of length is common, being found even in nonce formations such as **déainmmnichdechaib** 'denominatiuis' *Sg.* 2<sup>b</sup>1; cp. dat. pl. **déib** 39<sup>a</sup>24, 39<sup>b</sup>14. Within our period, therefore, hiatus-vowels have been lengthened under the accent, though whether they have the full quantity of other long vowels is doubtful.

**48. 5. Vowels in pretonic words** are generally shortened in the same way as vowels in post-tonic syllables; e.g. **ceta·cita·** beside stressed **cét-** ( § 828 ), **cäch** adj. 'every' beside substantival **cäch** ( § 490 ).

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On the other hand, the mark of length is often placed over final, *a, i, u*, less frequently (as a rule only in hiatus) over *e* and *o*, whether the vowel was originally long or short. Examples: **á bíad** 'his food' *Wb.* 6<sup>b</sup>24, **á n-áram** 'their number' *Ml.* 18<sup>d</sup>3, **á cenéle** 'the race' *Wb.* 5<sup>c</sup>16, **á súan** 'out of sleep' *Ml.* 61<sup>b</sup>28. **bá šainred** 'which should be peculiar' *Sg.* 69<sup>a</sup>20, **ará·roét** 'who has assumed' *Ml.* 25<sup>d</sup>10, **atá n-ili** 'that they are many' *Wb.* 12<sup>a</sup>11, **í nim** 'in Heaven' 10<sup>d</sup>21, **trí drochgnímu** 'through evil deeds' *Ml.* 14<sup>c</sup>16, **trimí·berar** 'it is transferred' 31<sup>b</sup>22, **remí·n-etarcnaigedar** 'that it makes known before' 18<sup>c</sup>12, **robú mór** 'it was great' 96<sup>a</sup>10, **ní fú indidit, acht is fo imchomarc** 'not as an assertion, but as a question' 20<sup>b</sup>13, **dú dígail** (MS. *digail*) 'for vengeance' 72<sup>d</sup>12, **remé·erbert** (read **·érbart**) 'which he has said before' 15<sup>b</sup>3, **có Iadomdu** 'to the Edomites' *Ml.* 52, **ró·oirdned** 'has been ordained' 14<sup>a</sup>3; similarly **áréli** 'of the other' *Wb.* 13<sup>a</sup>5, **álaili** 13<sup>a</sup>9.

Beyond doubt, therefore, such vowels were sometimes pronounced longer than normally. But whether this was a purely phonetic development is uncertain. It may be that words with an original long vowel sometimes retained their quantity in pretonic position and at other times were shortened. A clear example of this is the conjunction **cía** beside **ce** 'although'; and there was doubtless the same fluctuation in the negatives **ní** and **nǐ** 'not', **maní** and **manǐ** 'if not'. The influence of such examples may have led to the occasional lengthening of original short vowels also.

In the present work the mark of length is shown in the cases mentioned §§ 45 - 48 only when it is found in the MS. However, the preps. **ó** 'from, by', and **ós** 'above', though the vowel may sometimes have been short, are marked long even where there is no mark of length in the MS.

## QUALITY.

**49.** The quality of the vowels in the Celtic languages is approximately the same as in Greek, Italic, and Armenian. But the great changes that have taken place in the unstressed syllables in Irish make separate treatment of stressed and unstressed vowels desirable.

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## VOWELS IN STRESSED SYLLABLES ORIGIN OF VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS IN NATIVE WORDS

The simple vowels (a + ě + ĭ + ō + ū + )

**50.** ä corresponds to:

- a. IE. ä, e.g.
  - ad·aig** 'drives, moves', pl. **·agat** (for glides like *i* in **·aig** see § 84 ff.), Lat. *agere*, Gk.  $\square\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$ , Skt. *ájati*, ON. *aka*.
  - an(a)id** 'remains', Skt. *ániti* 'breathes', Goth. *uz-anan* 'to exhale'.
- b. European *a* (Skt. *i*, 'schwa Indogermanicum'), which in ablaut represents the reduced grade of *ā*, e.g.

**athir** 'father', Lat. *pater*, Gk. *πατήρ*, Goth. *fadar*, Skt. *pitā* + .  
**maith** 'good', pl. **mathi**, probably cognate with Lat. *mātūrus* and kindred words.

Clear examples of *a* as the reduced grade of *ē* are rare in Irish (cp. W. *had* 'seed', *√sē-* 'sow'). But compare **la(i)the** 'day'. Gaul. abbreviation *lat*, with O.Slav. *lěto* 'year', and Ir. **anál**, W. *anadl*, with Gk. *ἄνεμος*. Further, **do-rat** 'has given' ( § 759 IIb ), beside pres. **-tarti**, presupposes a stem (*to-to-ad-*)*dǎ-*, probably with the old ablaut *dhǎ-* from *dhē* (Gk. *θε- θη-*) and not from *√dō-* 'give'. Poetic **ro-det** 'was granted' ( Bergin, *Ériu VIII*. 169, XI. 137) does not come from this root ( *RC*. XL. 399), but is undoubtedly a by-form of **-dét**, pret. of **daimid** ( § 710 ), the short vowel being derived from compounds of this verb which had *ě* in unstressed syllables.

For *a* in the combinations *ar al am an*, also in *ra la*, see §§ 213, 215. For *a* < *o* see § 81 f., < e§ 83a.51. *á* (where it does not represent secondarily lengthened *ǎ*) corresponds to:

- a. IE. *ā*, e.g.  
**máthir** 'mother', Lat. *māter*, Dor. *μητήρ* + *τήρ*.  
**fás(s)** 'empty', Lat. *uātus*, OHG. *wuosti*.
- b. IE. *ō*, e.g.  
**dán** (masc. *u*-stem) 'gift', Lat. *dōnum*, Gk. *δω + ῥον*.  
**bláth** 'flower', cp. Lat. *flōs*, Goth. *blōma*.

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In the Britannic dialects, too, original *ā* and *ō* have fallen together (cp. *ā* in Latin loan-words > *ō*). The change is apparently common to all the Celtic languages. Cp. Gaul. *-māros Māro-* in proper names. Ir. **már** W. *mawr* 'great', with Gk. *πλαγῆσι-μωρος* 'great at spear-throwing'; Gaul. *Blātomagus*, probably 'field of flowers'.

52. *e* (sometimes written *æ*, § 24, 1) = IE. *ě*, e.g.  
**deich** 'ten', Lat. *decem*, Gk. *δέκα*. OHG. *zehan*.  
**berid** 'carries, bears', Lat. *ferre*. Gk. *φέρειν*, O.Slav. *beret* 'collects'.  
**ech** 'horse', Lat. *equos*.

For *e* < *ī* see §§ 73f., 79; < *īa* § 106.53. The letter *é* (*æ* + § 24, 1) represents two distinct sounds. (a) The first *é* is for the most part a development of the old diphthong *ei*. The transition seems to be early, since in the Britannic dialects old *ei* is treated like the *ē* of Latin loan-words, and *ē* for *ei* is also found in Gaulish dialects, e.g. *Dēuo-gnāta* 'daughter of a god', *Rhēnus* 'Rhine' (Ir. **rían** 'sea'). As a rule this *é* is still preserved in archaic text. But in *Wb.* and later sources it has generally been replaced by the diphthong *ía* when followed by neutral or *u*-quality consonance ( § 156 ff.); hence interchange between *é* and *ía* is found in closely related forms. Examples: **-téged** 'he used to go', **-téig** 'thou goest', beside **tiagu** 'I go', **-tiagat** 'they go' (arch. **-tēgot** Cam. 38 b); cp. Gk. *στείχειν* 'to walk', Goth. *steigan* 'to ascend'.  
**ad-féded** 'he used to tell' beside **ad-fíadar** 'is told', **fíad** 'in the presence of', from *√weid-*, Gk. *εἶδος* 'appearance', Lith. *vėidas* 'countenance', OE. *wītan* OHG. *wīzan* 'to reprove', **réid** 'fit for driving, level, easy', gen. sg. fem. **réde**, beside **riád** 'a ride, drive', **-riadat** 'they ride, drive', OE. *rīdan* OHG. *rītan* 'to ride'.

The same *é*, *ía* corresponds to Lat. *ē* (also *oe*) in loan-words; e.g. **fíal**, 'uēlum', **síans** 'sēnsus' (beside **sens**, in *Ml.sés*), **scíam** 'schema', **riagol** 'rēgula', **pían** (rarely **pén**), gen. **péne**, 'poena'.

As an intermediate form between *é* and *ía* archaic texts sometimes have *ea*, e.g. **Druim Leas** *Thes. II*. 268, 30 ( *Arm.*) for later **D. Lías**. This spelling

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is still retained in *Sg.* and later sources for the word **dea** 'god' when it means 'idol, false god'. The only example of it in *Wb.* is **féal** 13<sup>a</sup>29 for **fíal** 'modest'. In isolated instances the diphthong is written *ie*, e.g. **gríén** 'sun' *Thes. II*. 21, 37 for normal **grían**.

The declension of nom. acc. **día** 'God', in the first instance < \**dēwas -an*, voc. **dé** < \**dēwe*, gen. **dé** < \**dēwi*, dat. **día** < \**dēwu*, shows that the tendency towards diphthongization had begun before the loss of *w* ( § 204 ); the spelling **dea** occurs as early as Cam.

**Final** *ē* has become *ía* in **cía** 'who?' ( § 456 f. ) and **cía** 'although' ( § 909 ), which in general are closely attached to the following word. Elsewhere it does not seem to have been diphthongized; cp. 3 sg. subj. **·té** (in *Wb.* **·téi**, § 56), 1 sg. **·tías** (indic. **tiagu** ) and the like ( § 625 ). For the comparatives **sía** 'longer' (= *W. hwy*) and **lía** 'more' see § 375.

**54.** (b) In all other cases *é* represents *ě* (sometimes *ǎ*) which has been lengthened through loss of a following consonant ( §§ 125, 208, 210, 214 ). This compensatorily lengthened *ē* never becomes *ía*, and thus was distinct from the *é* discussed in § 53.

In *Wb.*, even before neutral consonants, this *é* is often written *ée* or *éi*; e.g. **cenéel** 'kindred, gender', **neph-chenéil** acc. sg. 'non-kindred' 5<sup>a</sup>14 beside **cenél**; **æ + ét æ + it** 'jealousy' 23<sup>b</sup>18, 13 beside **ét**; **bées béesad** 'custom' beside **bés bésad**; **béelre** 'language' beside **bélre**; **do-rigéensat** 'they have done' beside **do-rigénsat**; **céetne** 'first' beside **cétne**; **éicndag** 1<sup>c</sup>6, 29<sup>a</sup>7 'slander' beside **éendach**; **céitbuid** 24<sup>b</sup>4 'sense' beside **cétbuid**. Other sources show only isolated examples of this spelling, such as **chéitbada** (gen. sg.) *Ml.* 98<sup>b</sup>5, **no-déitnaigtis** 'stridebant' 54<sup>d</sup>20.

**55.** On the other hand, in final syllables this *é* is generally written, *éu*, *éo* or *íu* when it precedes *u*-quality or palatal / *r n*. Before palatal / *r n* the spelling *éiu* (cp. *éi* above) also occurs. Thus **cenél** 'kindred, gender', dat. **cenéul ceníul**, gen. **cenéuil cenéoil ceníuil cenéiuil**; **fér** 'grass', gen. **féiuir** ; **én** 'bird', dat. **éun**, gen. **éuin éoin éuín** ; **ad-gén** 'I have known', 3 sg. **ad-géuin -géiuin**.

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A similar development before *t* is confined to a few words (see § 209 ); e.g. **ét** 'jealousy', dat. **éut**, gen. **éuit éoit**.

Such words also show diphthongization in non-final stressed syllables when the following syllable contains *-u* or *-i*; e.g. ace. pl. **éonu, tríunu** from **trén** 'strong', **béolu** from **bél** 'lip'; **do-scéulaim** (for earlier *-lim*) 'I explore' from **scél**, gen. **scéuil**, 'tidings'. Unstressed vowels, on the other hand, are not diphthongized: **ní-toscéli** *Thes. II.* 18, 32; **soscéle** 'Gospel', dat. **soscélu** ; **cenéle** 'kind', dat. **cenélu** *Wb.* 2<sup>a</sup> (recte <sup>b</sup>) 22. Exceptions such as **cenéolu** 3<sup>b</sup>24 (probably attracted by the shorter **cenéul** ) and **dochenéulai** nom. pl. 'degenerate' *Ml.* 122<sup>d</sup>1 (probably attracted by nom. sg. **dochenéuil** ) are rare. Diphthongization does not occur in words which have no form ending in a palatal or *u*-quality consonant; e.g. **do-géni** 'he did' (-*gegn-*), **·dénim** 'I do' beside deuterotonic **do-gníu**.

In the *u* and *o* a trace of the lost consonant appears. Evidently the phonetic distinction between the *é* of § 53 and that of § 54 lies in a tendency towards final lowering (whence *ía*) and raising (cp. *éi* in *Wb.*), i.e., towards *e<sub>e</sub>* and *εe* respectively.

**56.** In *Wb.* *i* is often written after stressed final *é*, *e*; e.g. **do-téi** 3 sg. subj. of **do-tiag** 'I come' (elsewhere **·té** ); **ad-sléi** subj. of **ad-slig** 'induces'; **immallei** 'together', **illei** 'hither', elsewhere **immalle**, **ille** ( § 845 ); **fri dei** (probably **déi** ) 'by day' 9<sup>a</sup>5, but **fri de** 6<sup>a</sup>30 and elsewhere; **dæ + í** 'of God' 22<sup>c</sup>10, otherwise (even in *Wb.*) **dé dée** ; but always **é** 'he, they', **mé** 'I', **ro-bé** 'may he be'.

**57.** *i* corresponds to IE. *i*, e.g.

**fir** 'of a man', Lat. *uir*.

**ibid** 'drinks', Skt. *píbat*, Lat. *bibit*.

**find** 'fair', Gk. *ἰνδάλασθαι* 'to appear', Skt. *vindáti* 'find'.

For *i* < *ě* see § 75 ff., *i* in the groups *ri li* in *im*, § 214 f. **58.** *í*, where it does not represent compensatorily lengthened *ĩ*, corresponds to:

a. IE. *ī*, e.g.

**ro-bith** 'has been struck', O.Slav. *biti* 'to strike'.

**lí** 'colour', *W. lliw*, probably cognate with Lat. *liuor*, *liuēre*.

**rí**m 'number', OHG. *rīm* 'number', Lat. *rītus* 'institution, rite'.

b. IE. ē, e.g.

**síl** 'seed', Lat. *sēmen*, O.Slav. *sěti* 'to sow'.

**rí**, gen. **ríg**, 'king', Lat. *rēx*, gen. *rēgis*.

**mí**, gen. **mís**, 'month', < \**mēns-*, Lesb. gen. *μη* + *ἴνοος* Lat. *mēnsis*, Goth. *mēna* 'moon'.

**fír** 'true', Lat. *uērus*, O.Slav. *věra* 'faith'.

**lín** 'number', **lín(a)id** 'fills', Lat. *plēnus*.

**míl** 'animal', Gk. *μη* + *λον* 'sheep, goat'.

In some words the origin of *í* is not clear. Thus in **íth** gl. *puls* Sg. 70<sup>a</sup>5, 113<sup>b</sup>5 (20<sup>a</sup>2) = Mid.W. *iwt* (Mod.W. *uwd*) 'porridge'. O.Bret. O.Corn. *iot*, Mod.Bret. *ioud iod*, Med.Lat. *iotta*, it seems probable that *í* has not developed from *i* + *u* but has been lengthened by attraction to Ir. **íth** 'fat' (subst.), gen. **ítha**, with original *ī*; cp. Gk. *πι* + *μέλη* 'fat' (subst.), Skt. *pīnáh* 'fat' (adj.).

In **íce** (fem. *ā*-stem) 'healing, salvation' beside W. Corn. *iach*, Bret. *iac'h* 'healthy' the *ī* has certainly not developed from *i* + *a*. Original by-forms with *iakk-* (whence Britannic *iach*) and *ikk-* are possible but by no means certain; cp. Gk. *ἰακος* 'remedy' (see also Sommer, Wörter und Sachen VII. 102 ff.).

Another difficult word is **tír** (neut. *s*-stem) 'land' (Britannic also *tir*), whence the adj. **tírím** 'dry'. A stem \**tēres-* ( Vendryes, *MSL. XIII.* 385) beside *√ters-* (Gk. *τέρσασθαι*, etc.) is not reliably attested in any other language. Perhaps orig. *ters-r.* with *r*-suffix, whence *tēs-* > Ir. **tír** (simplified differently in Osc. *teerūm* 'land' with secondary *ē*); cp. **mír** 'morsel' ( § 216 ) < IE. *mēmsr-*, Lat. *membrum*, Gk. *μηρός* 'thigh', cognate with Skt. *māh*, *māmsām* 'flesh'.

For *íss-* < *iess-*, fut. of the verb 'to eat', see § 658 a.

59. *o* + *̃* corresponds to IE. *o* + *̃*, e.g.

**ocht** 'eight', Lat. *octo*, Gk. *ὀκτώ*.

**roth** (masc. *o*-stem) 'wheel', Lat. *rota*.

**orbe** 'inheritance', Goth. *arbi*, cp. Lat. *orbis*, Gk. *ὀρφανός*, Armen. *orb* 'orphan'.

For *o* < *u* see § 73 ff., < *a* § 80.

60. *ó*.

Collection: Zupitza, *ZCP. III.* 275 ff., 591 ff.

(a) Where *ó* is not due to the contraction of *o* and a following vowel, it frequently goes back either to the (pre-Irish)

diphthong *ou*, under which IE. *ou* and *eu* had fallen together, or to *au* followed by a consonant (other than single *s*, see § 69 ). Whereas this *ó* is preserved in archaic texts, by the time of *Wb.* it has generally been diphthongized to *úa* under the accent, except before a guttural (*g*, *ch*). In *Ml.* and *Sg.* *úa* has developed before gutturals also, though not consistently. The diphthongoization spreads to weakly stressed words like **húare** 'because' *Ml. Sg.* beside **(h)óre** *Wb.*; **(h)úa**, prep. before its case, beside **(h)ó** *Ml. Sg.*, in *Wb.* only *ó*, but *úa* when stressed, as in *úait* 'from thee', **(h)úad** 'from him', etc.; **úas** 'over' *Ml.* as against **ós** *Wb.*, but **t-úas** (stressed) 'up, above', etc., in *Wb.* as in all other sources.

There are traces of a form *óa* intermediate between *ó* and *úa*; e.g. **óas** 'over', **tóare** for **túare** 'food' *ZCP. XVII.* 196, 198.

Examples: Original *eu*: **túath** 'tribe, people' (W. *tud*), Goth. *þiuda*, Osc. *touto*; cp. Gaul. *Teutates* (a god), *Marti Toutati*, *Totatigenus*, gen. *Touto-diuicis*, *Toutillus*, *Matribus Ollo-totis*, etc.; arch. Ir. **Tōthal** (man's name), later **Túathal.srúaim** 'flood, current', Gk.  $\square\epsilon\upsilon + \mu\alpha$ . Original *ou*: **rúad** 'red' (W. *rhudd*), Goth. *raups*, Lat. *rūfus*, Umbr. acc. pl. *rofu*, Lith. *raudà* 'red colour'; cp. Gaul. *Roudius*, *Anderoudus*. Original *au*: **úaithed úathad** 'singleness', Gk.  $\alpha\square\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  'alone, self', ON. *audr* 'desolate'; probably connected with the prep. **ó, úa** 'from, by', Lat. *au-ferre*, O.Pruss. acc. sg. *au-mūsnan* 'washing off'. For **ar-túaisi** 'listen to' see § 69 a.

For  $\bar{o} \acute{u}a < op$  (*ap*) see § 227 (f).

For the fluctuation between  $\acute{o}$  and  $\acute{u}a$  before gutturals compare:

**tróg** 'miserable' *Wb.*, **tróg** and **trúag** *MI.*, **trógán** beside **trúag** *Sg.*; cp. W. *tru*, Gk.  $\sigma\tau\acute{\rho}\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$  'to be exhausted', Gaul. *Trougillus*, *Trogus*.

**slóg**, gen. **slóig**, 'troop, host', more frequent than **slúag** in *MI.* (**slúag** *Sg.*), W. *llu*, Gaul. *Catu-slugi* (Pliny), O.Slav. *sluga* 'servant'.

Final  $\acute{o}$  is not diphthongized, except for the preposition **ó, úa**, which is a proclitic word. Cp. **bó** 'cow', probably  $< *bous$  (orig.  $g^w\acute{o}us$ , Skt. *gauh*), but **búachail** beside **bóchail** 'cowherd', W. *bugail*, Gk. *Βουκόλος*.

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**61.** (b) Medial  $\acute{o}$  before a consonant may also go back to *ow* after which a non-palatal vowel has been elided; e.g. **cór(a)e** ( $*coware$ , § 158) 'peace' from **coir** 'proper, orderly'. Here too diphthongization may take place, but is often prevented by the influence of related words. Thus the prepositions *to + fo-* (*tow*') become *túa-* where they are no longer felt as prepositions (as in **túachil** 'sly', to **fochell** 'heed'). Otherwise they become *tó-*; e.g. **tóbe** 'shortening', vb.n. of **do-fui-bnimm**. **62.** (c)  $\acute{o}$  representing compensatorily lengthened  $\ddot{o}$  (whether original  $\ddot{o}$  or lowered  $\ddot{u}$  § 73) is sometimes diphthongized, sometimes not; the reasons for this variation are obscure. Examples: **cúalae** 'he heard'  $< *cochl.$  .,  $*cu-cl.$  ., reduplicated pret. of **ro-cluinethar**; **dúal** 'plait, tassel' probably  $< *doklo-$ , corresponding to ON. *tagl* OE. *tægl* 'tail'; but **brón** 'grief', W. *brwyn*, probably  $< *brugno-$  (possibly influenced by **broc** 'grief'); **srón** 'nose', W. *ffroen*,  $< *srongnā$  (? Cp. Gk.  $\square\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ ,  $\square\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ ,  $\square\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\chi\omicron\varsigma$  ?). (d) In Latin loan-words also  $\acute{o}$  is often diphthongized; e.g. **glúas(s)** 'glossa'; **úar** beside **hór** 'hora' *Wb.*, but always **fo chét-óir** 'at once' (unstressed). (e) For  $\acute{o} < Ir. \acute{a}u$  see § 69.

$\acute{o}$  beside  $\ddot{o}$  in **ómun** (later also **úamun**) **ömun** (confirmed by rhyme) 'fear', W. **ofn** (with  $\ddot{o}$ ), is probably due to the influence of the synonym **úath** (arch.  $*\acute{o}th$ ) 'terror'. For **coic** 'five' see § 392.

**63.** It might have been expected that  $\acute{o}$  would remain undiphthongized before *u*-quality consonants, as  $\acute{e}$  remains before palatal. Dat. sg. **óthud** 'singular number, singleness' *Sg.* 41<sup>a</sup>8, 92<sup>b</sup>2, 198<sup>b</sup>3 is a possible example of this, but is perhaps more likely to be an archaic form used to denote the grammatical term, for **uathuth** 71<sup>b</sup>3 and conversely nom. sg. **hóthad** 198<sup>a</sup>22, gen. sg. **hódid** 66<sup>b</sup>9, are also found. In this period *u*-quality had already begun to disappear.

**64.**  $\ddot{u}$  corresponds to IE.  $\ddot{u}$ , e.g.

**sruth** (*u*-stem) 'brook, stream', W. *ffrwd*; cp. Gk.  $\square\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$ , Skt. *srutáh* 'flowing'.

**luid** 'he went', Gk.  $\square\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon$ .

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**dub** (*u*-stem) 'black', W. *du*; cp. Gk.  $\tau\upsilon\phi\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$  'blind', Goth. *dumbs* 'dumb', Gaul. *Dubis* (river-name).

For *u < o* see § 75 ff.,  $< a$  § 80; for *ru < ri* § 223, 1.

**65.**  $\acute{u}$ , where it does not represent secondarily lengthened  $\ddot{u}$ , corresponds to IE  $\bar{u}$ , e.g.

**cúl** 'back' (W. *cil*), Lat. *cūlus*.

**rún** fem. 'secret' (W. *rhin*), Goth. *rūna*.

**mūr** (poetic) 'great number', Gk.  $\mu\bar{\upsilon} + \acute{\rho}\iota\omicron\iota$ .

For ú > Ir. áu see [§ 69](#).

### THE TRUE DIPHTHONGS (aí áe, oí óe, ói, áu áo, éu éo, íu, óu)

For ía see [§ 53](#), úa [§ 60 ff.](#)

**66.** *aí áe, oí óe.* In the manuscripts we find not merely *aí* interchangeable with *áe*, and *oí* with *óe* (the spelling with -e is probably modelled on Latin), but also constant fluctuation between *a* and *o* as the first letter of the diphthong. Thus the Irish word for 'people' (collective) is variously written **aís, áes, oís, óes**, sometimes in the same text. In most cases, however, the etymologically correct letter is used, so that the confusion can hardly be very old (although **maidem** for **moídem** 'boasting' occurs as early as *Wb. I.* 17<sup>c</sup>14). The original vowel can often be determined by the aid of Britannic, where *oi* turned into *u*, but *ai* into *oi* (W. *oe*).

It is impossible to decide what was the common phonetic value of the two diphthongs. In modern Irish they have become a monophthong, the quality of which varies in different dialects. In medial position the sound is often represented by *æ* in Mid. Ir. MSS. But that it was still pronounced as a diphthong in Old Irish is shown by the transcriptions of it in other languages; e.g. W. *macwyf* for Ir. **mac-coíim** 'lad', *Mailduf* in Bede for Ir. **Maíldub**, *Mailbricti* in a Runic inscription found in the Isle of Man for **Maíl Brigte** (beside *Malmuru* for **Maíl Muire**); later, however, *Mælcólm* **Maíl Coluim** in Old English chronicles, especially from A.D. 1000 onwards. *Melpatrekr* for **Maíl Pátric** in the Icelandic *Landnámabók* (*RC. III.* 186 ff.).

Forms such as Ogam COLABOT, COLLABOTA beside COILLABOTAS representing the later gen. **Coílbad** are explained, perhaps correctly, by Pokorny (*KZ. L.* 49 ff.) as due to faulty spelling. His explanation of the interchange

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of *aí* and *ái*, e.g. in **failid** 'glad' and **failte** 'gladness' (**faelid** SP., but **lánf + àlid** Sg. 42<sup>a</sup>7), is that before liquids + a consonant the diphthong lost its *i* (hence **faílte**) and that parallel forms with *íi* and *á* then arose by levelling. The evidence is hardly sufficient to warrant a definite conclusion.

**67.** This diphthong corresponds to:

- a. IE. or Europ. *ai*, e.g.
  - gaí gáe** 'spear', **gaíde** 'pilatus', Gallo-Lat. *gaesum* (cp. *Γαισάται, Γαιζάται*), OHG. *gēr* 'spear', Gk. *χαι* + 'shepherd's staff'.
  - cáech** 'one-eyed', W. *coeg* 'empty, vain' (*coeg-ddall* 'oneeyed'), Goth. *haihs* 'one-eyed', Lat. *caecus*.
  - aís áes** (neut. *o*-stem) 'age', W. *oes*.
- b. IE. *oi*, e.g.
  - oín óen** 'one' (gen. fem. **aíne** *Thes. II.* 15, 42), W. *un*, O.Lat. *oino* 'unum', Goth. *ains* 'one'.
  - cloín clóen** 'slanting, iniquitous', Goth. *hlains* 'hill', Lith. *šlaitas* 'slope'.
  - moín maán máen** (fem. *i*-stem) 'treasure, gift', Lat. *moenia munia*, Lith. *mai + ñas* 'exchange'.
- c. The contraction of *o* and *e*, *é*, *i*; e.g. **ar·foímat ar·fóemat** 'they accept' (*·fo-emat*), perf. 1 pl. **ara·roítmair** *·ro-f + ó-étmar*) *Wb.* 9<sup>c</sup>10.
- d. *oí óe*, the reduction of *owi*, *owe* after the loss of syllabic value by *-i*, *-e*; also of the earlier triphthong *auí*; e.g.
  - oí** 'sheep', cp. Lat. *ouis*.
  - toísech** 'leader', gen. on inscription (in Wales) TOVISACI, W. *tywysog*.
  - toíden** 'troop', from *to-* and *fedan* (*wed-*).
  - roída** gen. of **ruud** 'great wood', from *ro-* and *fid* (*wid-*).
  - oí óe**, still **auí** in *Corm.* 44, dat. sg. of **áu** 'ear' ([§ 69 a](#)).

For *oí óe* in **·góet, coíca**, see [§§ 710, 392](#). The Mid.Ir. confusion of *oí* (*aí*) and *uí* already appears in **túissech** *Wb. II.* 33<sup>b</sup>20 and **suír** (*sic MS.*) *Wb.* 4<sup>a</sup>10, nom. pl. of **soír sóer** 'free'.

68. *uí* represents the reduction of *uwi*, e.g. **druí** nom. sg. 'wizard' < \**druwi(d)s*, cp. Gaul. pl. *druides*.

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69. *áu* in the Old Irish period is in transition to *ó* by way of intermediate *áo*, all three spellings being often found side by side. In medial position this *ó* has a tendency to become *ú* (the quantity of which in hiatus is doubtful, § 47). It represents:

- a. Earlier *au* (IE. *ǵu*, reduced grade of *ōu* and *āu*) before a lost *s*, e.g.  
**áu áo ó** neut. 'ear', pl. **au(a)e**, later **oa**; cp. Goth. *ausō*, Lith. *ausis*, Lat. *auris*, Homer. *οἰάρα*.  
**táue** fem. 'silence' *Ériu VII.* 162 § 5, etc., nom. pl. **tuai** (*tu-ai*) *MI.* 112<sup>b</sup>3; cp. W. *taw* 'silence' < *taus-*, Skt. *tūṣṇīm* 'silently', etc., and O.Ir. **ar-túaissi** 'listens' (probably < *taust-*, § 60).
- b. IE. *ōu* in **dáu**, later **dó**, 'two', OW. *dou*, Skt. *dvau* (IE. \**dwōu*).
- c. The contraction of *ā* + *u* and *u*, e.g. **·táu ·tú** 'I am' (§ 778) < \**ta-u*, probably < \**stāi* + *ō*.
- d. Final and prevocalic *ā* + *ū*, e.g.  
**náu** (fem. *ā*-stem) 'ship' SP., cp. Lat. *nāuis*, Skt. *nauh*, gen. *nāváh*, etc., Ir. gen. arch. **náue**, later **noe**, nom. pl. **noa**, dat. **noib** *MI.*  
**gáu gáo gó** fem. 'falsehood', Mid.W. *geu*, Mid.Bret. *gou*, probably < Celtic \**gāwā*; gen. **gue** *MI.* 31<sup>b</sup>12, nom. acc. pl. **goa** *Wb.* 31<sup>b</sup>20, **gua** *Fél. Epil.* 167, adj. **goach** 'mendacious'; in composition: **gáu-forgoll** 'false testimony' *Ériu VII.* 156, § 16 = **gú-forcell** *Wb.* 13<sup>b</sup>15, **gú-brithemnacht** 'false judgement' *MI.*

For the transition of **áue** 'grandson' (Ogam gen. AVI AVVI) to **oa ua** during the 8th century, see § Máille, *Language of AU.*, 49 ff.

(e) Earlier (Irish) *áu*, see § 72.

For *áu* in loanwords cp. **áur**, Lat. *aurum*, *Thes. I.* 5, 10, otherwise always **ór**, gen. **óir**; **Pól** 'Paulus'. Later borrowings have *áu*, e.g. **áuctor áugtor** 'auctor', **cáu(i)s**, Mid.Ir. **cúis**, 'causa', etc.

The triphthong *au* is very rarely found unreduced: **Dau**, man's name, *AU.* 501, in later sources written **Dau** and **Duí** (gen. **Duach**); cp. **au** § 67 d.

70. *éu*, more frequently written *éo* (but always *éu* in *MI.*), represents:

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- a. The contraction of *e* and *u*, e.g. **béu béo** 1 sg. pres. Subj. 'I may be', probably < \**be(s)u*, \**esō* (with *b-*), § 787.
- b. *ew*' (for earlier *iw-* § 73), e.g. **béu béo** 'living' < \**bew[as] \*biwos*, W. *Byw*.
- c. *éu*, *éo* as a development of compensatorily lengthened *é*, see § 55.

This diphthong is also used to represent Lat. *Io-*, e.g. **Euseph** *MI.* 84<sup>c</sup>9 'Ioseph', later attested **Éoïn** 'Iohannes' beside **Iohain** Tur.

71. *íu* represents:

- a. The contraction of *i* and *u*, e.g.  
**·bíu** 'I am wont to be' < \**bi(i + )u -ō*, cp. Lat. *fīō*.  
**clíu** < \**klii + u*, dat. sg. masc. neut. of the adj. **clé** 'left'.  
**bíu** < \**biwu*, dat. sg. masc. neut. of **béu béo** 'living'.
- b. *íu* beside *éu* as a development of compensatorily lengthened *é*, see § 55. In the positions where that *é* is diphthongized, *í* lengthened by compensation becomes *íu*; e.g. **·cíuir** (*ci-cr.* .) reduplicated pret. of **cren(a)id** 'buys', **·giuil** pret. of **glen(a)id** 'sticks fast' (§ 691), **ara-chíurat** (from *-riat*) 3 pl. fut. of **ara-chrin** 'decays' (§ 653).

72. *óu*, from *ow'* (= IE. *ow-* and *ew-*), or from *o + u*, did not long survive, but early in the eighth century fell together with *áu* (§ 69) and shared its subsequent developments.

Examples: **bóu** c. 700 ( Adomnán, *Thess. II.* 278, 2; Bede, *Hist. Eccl. IV.* 4), gen. sg. of **bó** 'cow', cp. Gk. βόος, Lat. *bouis*; but gen. pl. **báu** LU 5373, etc., later gen. sg. and pl. **bó**, dat. pl. **buaiþ**.

**náue** 'new' *Sg.* 5<sup>b</sup>6, 217 < \**nóue*, cp. Gaul. *Neuio-dunum Nouio-dunum*, O.Bret. *nouuid* W. *newydd* < \**nowii* + *θ*-, Goth. *niujis*; but **noe** *Thes. II.* 270, 6 ( *Arm.*), **nuie** (for the *-i-* cp. **aier** *MI.* from Lat. *āēr*) *Wb.* (pl. masc. **nui**), **nue** *Sg.*, **nuae** *MI.* ( § 100 ). Cp. also the compound with **fiadnisse** 'testimony': **nuiednisse** *Wb.*, **nuiadnis(s)e** *MI.* 'New Testament'.

**dóu dáu dó** 'to him, to it', see §§ 435, 452.

In **áugaire úgaire** 'shepherd' *MI.*, as opposed to **of** 'sheep' ( § 67 d ), either the triphthong *au* from *oui* has been reduced to *au* before non-palatal

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*g*, or *owi* has been replaced by *ow-o-* with a different composition-vowel. **óegaire** *SR.* 7716 is a later re-compound.

In **lóu** *Wb.* 6<sup>a</sup>30 beside **láu láo ló**, dat. of **lae laa lá** 'day' ( § 284, 3 ), and in **bóu** 30<sup>b</sup>6, dat. of **bae baa** 'good, profit', *o* is not old: it may indicate that *óu* and *áu* had by then the same phoetic value, or it may be based on assimilation of the *a* to *u* in disyllabic *la-u*, *ba-u*.

## VOWEL CHANGES IN STRESSED SYLLABLES

e AND o FOR i AND u

**73.** Earlier *ī* and *ū* are lowered to *e* and *o* when the following syllable contains or formerly contained *ā* + *˘* or *ö* (or an *ō* which did not become *ū*, § 89).

Examples: **fer** nom. acc. sg. 'man', originally \**wiros* \**wiron*; **betho betha**, gen. of **bith** 'world', cp. Gaul. *Bituriges*; **fedo**, gen. of **fid** 'wood', OHG. *witu*; **fedb** 'widow' (< \**widwā*), pl. **fedba**, cp. Lat. *uidua*; **ro-fess** 'is known' < \**wisso-*; **fert(a)e**, nom. pl. of **fiurt** 'miracle, uirtus' (ending \*-owes).

**cloth** (gen. **cluith**) 'fame' < \**kluton* = Skt. *śrutám* 'what is heard', Gk. *κλυτόν*; **dron** 'firm' < \**drunos* \**drunā*, cp. Skt. *dārunāḥ* 'hard, rough'; **domun** 'world' < \**dubnos*, cp. Gaul. *Dubno-reix Dumno-rix*.

The only exception is *i* before *nd*, which always remains; e.g. **find** 'fair', < \**windos* \**windā*, cp. Gaul. *Πεννοουινδος*; **mindaib** dat. pl. of **mind** (*u*-stem) 'diadem'.

*u* is occasionally retained by analogy before neutral vowels; e.g. **cruthach** 'shaped, shapely' (suffix *-āko-*), from **cruth** 'shape'; **dula**, gen. of **dul** 'going', *Wb.* 5<sup>b</sup>29.

**74.** There are instances of *e* and *o* for original *i* and *u* in other positions also. A number of these can be explained by analogy. Thus **do-feich** 'avenges' *Wb.* 6<sup>a</sup>16 beside more frequent **do-fich** (cp. OHG. *wīgan* 'to fight', Lat. *uincere*) has probably been influenced by forms like 3 pl. \**do-fechat* (original ending *-ont*), on the model of **beir**, pl. **berat** (with original *-e-*) & 558; **croich**, acc. sg. in *Wb.*, replacing arch. **cruch**, has been attracted by nom. **croch** (*ā*-stem), Lat. *crux*; **coin** acc. dat. sg. and nom. pl. of **cú** 'dog' may have taken over *o* from gen. sg. pl. **con** (cp. Gk. *κυνός, κυνω* + *ῥ*) and from the composition-form **con-** (*kuno-*). On the other hand, Pedersen ( §§ 27, 29, 252 2 n. 2 = Ped.<sup>2</sup> §§ 4, 6, 178 n. 1) holds that *i* and *u* in almost every position had

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fallen together with *e* and *o*, being retained only in those positions where original *e* and *o* have become *i* and *u* ( § 75 ); in particular, *i* and *u* do not remain before *e* in the following syllable. Should this view be correct, forms like nom. pl. **coin** (Gk. *κUIF7Bveç*) would be quite regular, not analogical. For *i* there is no

evidence: the assumption that voc. sg. \**wire* first became \**wiri* to give O.Ir. **fir** (Ped. § 354 = Ped.<sup>2</sup> § 90) has no support. As regards *u*, on the other hand, Pedersen's theory would explain the -*o*- in the 3 sg. pres. ind. of verbs with radical *u* ( § 550 ): **con-boing**, **fo-loing**, etc. It is at all events certain that the vocalism of the prefixes **su-** **du-** ( § 365, 1 ), **ro-** ( § 852 ), **fo-** ( § 837 ), and **to-** ( § 855 ) has become completely confused.

The above changes, together with those described § 75 f., make it often impossible, on the evidence of Irish alone, to decide whether a word originally contained *i* or *e*, *u* or *o*.

For the vowel changes in the Ogam inscriptions (the precise relation of which to those described above and in § 75 is not always clear), see Pokorny, *ZCP*. XII. 422 ff.

### i AND u FOR e AND o

Hessen: *Zu den Umfärbungen der Vokale im Altirischen*, *ZCP*. IX. 1 ff. (also Freiburg dissertation, 1912).

**75.** Original *e* and *o* frequently become *i* and *u* when the following syllable contains or formerly contained *i* ( *i* + ) or *u*. As a general rule this change takes place when *e* or *o* is separated from the influencing vowel only by a single (lenited) or geminated (unlenited) voiced consonant, or by *cc*, or by certain consonant groups of which *nd*, *mb*, *mr*, *db* (= β), *ddr*, *ggl* (written *tr*, *cl*) are well attested.

Examples: **mil** 'honey', Gk. μέλι, **milis** 'sweet', cp. Gaul. *Melissus*; **smiur** 'marrow', OHG. *smero* OE. *smeoro* 'fat' (for the *u* after *i* see § 88.); **siun** dat. sg. and **siniu** compar. of **sen** 'old', cp. Lat. *senior*; **mid** 'mead', Gk. μέθυ; **tiug** 'thick' < \**tegu-*, W. *tew*; **ibair** nom pl. 'yews', Gaul. *Eburomagus*, O. Britann. *Eburacum*; **cinn** and **ciunn** gen. and dat. of **cenn** 'head', W. *penn*, Gaul. Πέννο-ουινδοϛ; **mindech** 'needy' from Lat. *mendicus*; **rind** 'star', gen. **renda**, stem \**rendu-*.

**uilen** 'elbow', W. *elin*, Goth. *aleina* 'ell', § \**olīnā*; **fuirib** 'on you' (pl.) beside **foirib** (for 'on'); **muin** 'nape of neck' < *moni-*, cp. OHG. *mana* 'mane', Lat. *monile* 'necklace'; **um(a)e** 'copper', stem \**omii* + *o-*, W. *efydd*, to **om** 'raw'; **mruig**

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'land' (gen. **mrogo**) < \**mrogi-*, W. *bro*, cp. Gaul. *Brogimarus*; **suide** 'sitting, seat', stem \**sodii* + *o-*, cp. Lat. *solium*; **cucann** (-*c* = -*g*-) 'kitchen', W. *cegin*, from Lat. *cocina* (*coquina*); **uilliu** compar. of **oll** 'ample', cp. Gaul. *Matribus Ollo-totis*; **luic** gen., **luc(c)** dat., **luc(c)u** acc. pl. of **loc(c)** (*c* = *g*) 'locus'; **truiop** gen., **trup** dat. of **trop** (*p* = *b*) 'tropus'; **mucc** 'pig', stem *moccu-*, W. *moch*, cp. Gaul. (*Mercurius*) *Moccus*, *Mocco*, etc.; **udbu** LU5261, acc. pl. of **odb** 'knob, excrescence', W. *oddf*; compounds with prep. **co(m)** -: **cubus** 'consience (-fiuss), cuitbiud (*t* = *d*) 'mockery' (-tibiud), cuindrech 'correction' (com-dí-), cuimrech 'fetter(ing)', vb. n. of con-rig, cumbae 'destruction' AU.829 (\**com-bii* + *o-*), **cuimlín** 'equal number' (-lín), **cutrumme** (*t* = *d*) 'equal', **cucligi** *cl* = *gl*) dat. sg. 'shaking' LU7457.

**76.** It is difficult to fix the precise limits of this phonetic change, because there has been a good deal of levelling, e.g. **oillu** Wb. 13<sup>b</sup>2 beside **uilliu**, and further because the mutation *o* > *u* seems to have spread to cases outside those covered by the rule in § 75. Thus **ord(d)** 'ordo' always has gen. sg. **uirdd uirt** (**úirt**) and dat. **urdd urt** (**úrt**), although *rd* otherwise resists the change and the corresponding verb is always **oirnid** 'ordinat'. It is therefore uncertain whether the form **cuis** *Cam.*, dat. of **cois** 'leg', for normal **cois(s)** is analogical, dialectal, or archaic. For there seems to be no doubt that after certain consonants (*c-*, *f-*) *u* develops in other positions also; cp. **cuchtar** *Sg.* 63<sup>a</sup>3 (Mid.Ir. **cuchtair**) 'kitchen', probably from Lat. *coctura*; **cucht** 'external appearance, colour', ON. *h<sub>o</sub>* + *tt<sub>r</sub>* 'manner'; **futhu** *Cam.*, acc. pl. of **foth** 'substitute, equivalent', **fus** beside **fos(s)** as dat. of **fos(s)** 'rest'. That **ucht** 'bosom' goes back to \**poktu-* (cp. Lat. *pectus*) is doubtful.

As for the mutation *e* > *i*, some examples are doubtless due to analogy; e.g. **niurt** in later MSS. for O.Ir. **neurt**, dat. of **ner** 'strength'; pret. sg. I **do-biurt**, 2 **birt**, attracted by pres. sg. I **do-biur** 'I give', 2 **bir**. But **cretid** (*t* = *d*) 'believes' always has *e*, not *i*, although, since it is an *i*-verb, most of its forms must have had *i* after the dental; influenced by Lat. *crēdere* or by Britannic (W. *credu*)? Or perhaps the conditions in which *e* became *i* differed somewhat from those in which *o* became *u*.

**77.** Before an original *e* in the following syllable *o* becomes *u* only when the *e* still remained after the period of syncope ( § 106 ), and then only before certain consonants, viz. (1) before single lenited *b* and *m*, e. g. **as-ru-bart** 'has said' (arch. **·ru-bert** ), but pass. **as-robrad** from **·ro-breth** ; **do-ru-malt** 'has consumed' (-*melt*); **cuman** 'remembered' (*com-* + *men-*, § 830 A, 1); (2) rarely before, *γ*, as in **fo-rui-géni** 'has served'. **78.** In the same position the mutation *e* > *i* appears to be governed by different rules. In forms like **cingid** 'steps' (pl. **cengait** ), **cing** (gen. **cinged** ) 'hero', it may not be due to the original *e* in the next syllable at all; Gaul. *Cingeto-rix*, W. *rhy-gyng* 'ambling pace' suggest rather that *eng* had become *ing* in Celtic, in which case Ir. **cengait** why be due to the lowering of *i* ( § 73 ). Otherwise the mutations are found:

1. Before original *-es-* of the *s*-stems ( § 337 f. ); e.g. **nem** 'heaven' (W. *nef*), gen. **nime** (\**nemesos*), dat. **nim** (\**nemes*); **teg tech** 'house' (Gk. *τέγος*), nom. acc. pl. **tige** (\**tegesa*); similarly **·bir** 'thou bearest', if from \**bheres* (but cp. **do-eim** 'thou protectest' *Ml.* 110<sup>d9</sup> with levelled vocalism).
2. Before the *-ei* + *z* of verbs in original *-ei* + *ō*, 3 sg. *-ei* + *eti*; e.g. **gu(i)did** 'prays', cognate with Gk. *προθέω*; **ad-sudi** 'holds fast' (\**sodei* + *ō*), Goth. *satjan* 'to set'; **fu-llug(a)imm** 'I conceal', Goth. *lagjan* 'to lay'; so too, perhaps, **midjur** 'I judge, estimate', if it corresponds exactly to Latin *medeor*.

On the other hand, we have evidence that, sometimes at least, *es* in middle syllables became *is*; cp. TOVISACI § 67d, from *to-fed-* (earlier *-wed-*) 'to lead'; also **cuimse** 'fitting' *Wb.* 14<sup>a3</sup> (22<sup>a2</sup>), literally 'equally measured' from *com-med-*. So too *ei* + *·* (or (after the loss of *i* + *·*) *e* in hiatus seems to have become *i*; if so, the mutation in the above examples merely reflects the normal influence of *i* in the following syllable.

Beside **menic(c)** 'frequent' (where, despite W. *mynych*, the second vowel was probably *e*) and **meincigiud** 'becoming or making frequent', *Ml.* 36<sup>a40</sup> has perf. 3 sg. **ro-mincigestar** (confirmed by Mod.Ir. **minic** ); apparently the influence of the palatal consonant at the end of the first syllable has dominated here. More remarkable is **inchaib (inhuib)** dat. pl. of **enech ainech** 'face, honour', Bret. *enep*, with non-palatal *ch* (as against § 158 ). This can

hardly have been taken over from **enech**, but an earlier \**enuch-* would account for it; since *ch* goes back to *q<sup>w</sup>*, perhaps a change of quality had taken place in the interior syllable. The variation between **ette** 'wind' *Sg.* 67<sup>a7</sup> and dat. pl. **itib** *Ml.* 80<sup>a7</sup>, adj. **itech** (*MS.* *itech*) 40<sup>a9</sup> (also in later sources), is hard to explain. If, as seems probable, the word is derived from **ethait** 'bird, winged insect' the syncopated vowel was certainly not *i* (more likely *o*).

**79.** Stressed *ě* in hiatus sometimes becomes *i*; cp. **ni(a)e** 'sister's son' (*Ogam* gen. sg. NIOTTA *Macal.* no. 71), cognate with *Mid.W.* *nei*, *Lat.* *nepos*, beside **teë** 'hot'; **iach** gen. sg. of **eo é** 'salmon', Gallo-Lat., *esox*; **siur** 'sister', dual **sieir**. There are also instances of stressed *o* becoming *u* in hiatus; e.g. **fuar**, *vb.n.*, and **fo-ru-ar** perf. of **fo-fera** 'causes' (-*ar* from *-er*, cp. § 77 ); note further **do-ruich** (-*fich*) and **do-ruacht** beside **do-roacht** (-*fecht*, earlier \**-wichto-*), perf. act. and pass. of **do-fich** 'avenges'.

### o, u FOR a, AND SIMILAR MUTATIONS

**80.** (a) An original *a* between a labial (or labial + *r*) and a palatal or *u*-quality consonant appears often, though not consistently, as *o*, which in accordance with § 75 f. may further develop to *u*.

Examples: **marb** 'dead', nom. pl. **moirb** and **mairb** ; **ball** 'member', nom. pl. **boill**, acc. **bullu**, beside **baill**, **baullu** ; **brat** 'cloak', dat. sg. **brot**, diminutive **broitére** : **muig** beside **maig**, dat. sg. of **mag** 'field'. Cp. also **crann** 'tree' (with *c* < *q<sup>w</sup>*-), gen. **cruinn**, dat. **crunn** ; here, however, the *a*, as contrasted with *Britann.* *prenn*, *Gaul.* *prenne* 'arborem grandem' ( *Endlicher Gloss.* ), has not been explained and is doubtless secondary. *Mid.Ir.* **rann** 'strophe', dat. **runn**, acc. pl. **runnu** (originally = **rond** 'chain?') is probably modelled on this.

Some nouns which show the above change of *a* to *u* have *o* instead of *a* in their other cases by analogy with nominal forms in which the alternation of *u* and *o* is regular ( §§ 73, 75 ); e.g. **muig** 'serf' from **maug** (cp. **Maug-dornu** *Thes.* II. 269, 22 ( *Arm.* ), *Gaul.* *Magu-rix*), gen. sg. **moga**, nom. pl. **mog(a)e**,

etc.; **fo**t 'length' influenced by gen. **fuit**, dat. **fut**, probably cognate with Lat. *uāstus* 'vast'; **foss** 'youth, servant', cp. nom. pl. **fuis** TBC.2837, = *Britann. gwas*, Gallo-Lat. *uassus*, *Uasso-rix*, etc.

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The above rule does not account for those words, not yet satisfactorily explained, in which Celtic *o* appears for the *a* of related languages; e.g. Ir. **muir** (*i*-stem) 'sea', W. Bret. *mor*, Gaul. *Are-morici*, *Morini*, Lat. *mare*; **loch** (*u*-stem) 'lake', Gaul. *Penne-locos*, name of place at end (*penne*) of Lake Geneva (Itin. Ant.) = Ir. **Cenn Locho** *Thes. II.* 271, 8 (*Arm.*), Lat. *lacus*, cp. Gk. *λέκκος* 'hole, cistern, pond'; **buide** 'yellow', possibly also contained in Gaul. *Bodio-casses*, Lat. *badius* 'bay-coloured'.

(b) Only before *u*-quality consonance is *o* sometimes found instead of *au*; e.g. **ro-laumur** 'I dare' *Wb.* 17<sup>a</sup>8 and **ro-lomur** *Ml.* 21<sup>b</sup>5 (cp. *Trip.* 166, 2), arch. **ru-laimur** *Wb. I.* 17<sup>c</sup>21; **aub** 'river' *LL* 13<sup>b</sup>7, **oub** *Thes. II.* 340, 54, **ob** *Trip.* 256, 3, etc., acc. **abinn**. On the other hand, there is fluctuation between *au* and *u* in **laugu lugu** 'smaller' (also **laigiu**), cp. **lagat** 'smallness'; in later MSS. **caur cur** 'hero', gen. **caurad curad**, stem \**caruth-*, cp. Germ. *Harudes*, *Χαρου* + *δεξ*; **Caulan(n)** and **Culann**, man's name, Ogam CALUNO-VIC... *Macal. III.* 185; cp. also **for-cun** 'I teach' (**for-chun** *Wb.* 10<sup>a</sup>13), **caunu** 'I sing' *ZCP. XXI.* 283 (*√can-*), beside **ad-gaur** 'I sue' *Thes. II.* 228, 30. These variations in the quality of the vowel are evidently conditioned by the character of the consonant preceding the vowel as well as by that of the following *u*-quality consonant.

(c) In certain other words original *a* and *e* before *u*-quality consonants are represented by *au*, *e*, *i*, more rarely by *u* (which first becomes common in Middle Irish), and quite exceptionally by *ai*.

Thus the prep. **ad-** before the prep. **uss-** (**oss-**) in **audbirt** (acc. sg.) 'oblation, sacrifice' *Thes. II.* 26, 40, nom. sg. in *Wb.* **idbart**, in *Ml.* **edbart**, vb.n. of **ad-opuir** 'offers', **idbarat** 3 pl. *Wb.* 1<sup>b</sup>20, etc. (*ad-uss-ber-*). Cp. also **audsud** 'treasure, treasury' *Trip.* 62, 4 (**autsad?** *Laws IV.* 188, 11), **etsad** *Ml.* 51<sup>d</sup>8, dat. pl. **itsadaibh** *Hib. Min.* 7, 226; later **istad** (not *u-*).

The remaining instances all occur before labials and liquids:

**aupath** (*ad* + *buith*) 'charm, spell' *Thes. II.* 250, 11, adj. **aupthach** *IT. I.* 187, 16; **epaid** *Thes. II.* 248, 7, **ipthach** *Wb.* 9<sup>b</sup>21, **ibdach** *Thes. II.* 248, 12; later **upaid**.

**laubir** (**-buir**, **-bair**) 'labour' *Cam.*, Ériu VII. 172, § le, **lebuir** 142 § 7, 162 § 3, later **lubair**, which does not come directly

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from Lat. *labor*, but from the intermediate Britannic form represented by W. *llafur*.

**taul** (stem \**talu-*) 'forehead, boss', **tel tul**, dat. pl. **tilaib** *LL* (see Miscellany K. Meyer, p. 287). From this probably comes **taulach** (dat. **taulich** *Thes. II.* 266, 41 (*Arm.*), **taulaig** *LL* 301<sup>b</sup>41) 'hill', **telach** *Trip.*, **tailach** *LL* 21<sup>a</sup>10, dat. **telaig** *Ml.* 55<sup>c</sup>1, *Trip.* 154, 11 (rhyming with **feraib**), **tilich** *Anecd. I.* 5, 29; dat. pl. **telchaib** *Ml.* 14<sup>a</sup>11, **tilchaib** 14<sup>a</sup>9; later **tulach**.

Cp. the prep. **aur-**, **ir-**, **er-**, § 823.

**ilach** 'paean' *Thes. II.* 227, 22 etc., acc. **elig** *Fianaig.* 24, 22; later **ulach**; W. (loan-word) *elwch*, which suggests that the original vowel was *e-*.

**aul** 'wall' gen. **elo** (*Contrib.*), with original *el-*? From this, perhaps, comes **aulad** 'grave' *RC. XXV.* 346, 3, **ilad**, dat. **elaidd** **ailaidd**, later **ulad** (*Contrib. s.v. aillad*).

**Craumthan(n)** **Cremthan(n)** **Crimthann**, man's name; cp. Mid.Ir. **crim crem**, gen. **crema**, 'wild garlic'; stem *cremu-*? But W. *craf* 'garlic', Gk. *κρόμμυον* 'onion'.

Evidently we are dealing here with a vowel for which the Irish script had no unambiguous symbol. The fact that it is sometimes written *i* and can rhyme with *e*, as contrasted with its later form *u*, suggests that the sound may have undergone modification, possibly from close to open *ö*. But this vowel has also spread to words where it did not originally belong; e.g. **no-b-irpaid** 'ye shall confide' *Wb.* 8<sup>b</sup>2 (verbal stem *erbi-*); **tecbáil** 'raising' *Trip.* 44, 12; 260, 6 beside, **tocbáil** (*to-uss-gab-*).

In **ó'nn-urid** 'since last year' *Wb.* 16<sup>c</sup>14. later **inn-uraid** 'last year', as against Dor. *νέρυσι* Att. *νέρυσι*, *e* before *r'* seems to have become *u*; for it is improbable that this word had an old *o*-grade (*\*poruti*).

**mór** (never in *Sg.*) beside **már** 'great', Gaul. *-marus*, *Maro-*, is probably due, not to the initial *m* has been suggested, but to the comparative **mó** from **máu** ( § 375 ).

#### a FOR o.

**81.** 1. Between *f* and palatal consonants *a* is often, though not consistently, written for *o*; e.g. **failsigud** beside **foilsigud** 'revealing' from **follus** 'clear'; **fair** beside **foir** 'on him' (prep. **for** ); **fairggæ** *Sg.* 112 ( *Thes. II.* 290, 4) beside **foirggæ** 124<sup>a</sup>1, **foirce** 67<sup>b</sup>9 'sea'; **fadirci** nom. pl. 'visible' *MI.* 40<sup>d</sup>16 (prep. **fo** ).

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In later MSS. *o'* and *a'* (sometimes also *u'*) are completely confused. There is constant fluctuation between *a* and *o* in the later language, even where palatal consonance does not follow.

**82.** 2. The verbal prefix **ro** sometimes appears as *ra* when the following syllable contains or originally contained *a*. In most of the examples the *a* has been syncopated. Thus we generally find *ra* in the prototonic forms of **ro-lā-** 'put' ( § 762 ), e.g. 2 pl. pf. **·ralsid** *Wb.* 15<sup>a</sup>1 < *\*·ro-lāsid* (but 3 pl. **·rolsat** *MI.* 16<sup>d</sup>2), 1 sg. subj. **·ral** *Wb.* 7<sup>a</sup>4, etc.; also in **·ragbtha** *MI.* 35<sup>b</sup>24, prototonic of **ro-gabtha** 'they have been sung', and the like. **·rab(a)e** beside **·rob(a)e** 'has been' has doubtless been influenced by other persons such as 3 pl. **·rabatar** beside **·robatar**. Similarly **·farggaib** 'has left' (deuterot. **fo-rácaib** ), etc.

In the same way the preposition **to-** (**tu-**) may have become *ta* in pf. **·tarat** 'has given' (deuterotonic **do-rat** ), pass. **·tardad** (deuterot. **do-ratad** ), and hence spread to the present **·tabir** 'gives, brings' (deuterot. **do-beir** ), etc. ( § 759, II ); cp. the arch. pret. **·tubert** *ZCP. VIII.* 308, 34, **·tubart** *Thes. II.* 242, 20. Cp. further 3 sg. **·tarla**, deuterotonic **do-rala** (from **·rola**, see above); **targabál** beside **torgabál** 'commission (of a crime)', from **do-ro-gaib** 'commits' (see also § 855 ).

Other instances of *ta-*, however, are doubtless to be explained differently. Thus **tar(a)isse** beside **tor(a)isse** 'firm, faithful', **tar(a)issiu** beside **tor(a)issiu** 'fidelity', **tar(a)isnech** beside **tor(a)isnech** 'faithful', etc. (cp. O.Bret. *toruisiolion* gl. 'fidis') may be ascribed to the influence of **tairissem** (*to-air-sessam*) with the cognate meaning 'standing fast'. Similarly **tasgid** 'sustenance' *Wb.* 29<sup>a</sup>13 beside **toschid**, pf. **do-m-r-oisechtatar** 'they have sustained me', where perhaps *t(o)-ad-* has replaced earlier *to-oss-*. In **taiscélud** *MI.* 90<sup>c</sup>1, otherwise **toscélud**, vb.n. of **do-scéul(a)i** 'explores', and nom. pl. **taiscéltai** 'spies' *Tur.* 130, the prepositions may have been felt to be *to-aith-* or *to-ad-*.

#### INTERCHANGE OF e AND a

**83.** (a) Before palatal consonants *e* is often replaced by *a*. In certain words this change occurs consistently; e.g.

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nom.acc.dat. **daig** 'fire, flame', gen. **dego -a**, Celtic stem *degi-*, cp. Mid.W. *de* 'fiery, hot'; **tailm** (**teilm** only once, *Corm.* 1215) 'sling', gen. **telma**, and similar nouns ( § 302, 1 ); **saidid** 'sits', pl. **sedait**, cp. Lat. *sedere* ( § 549 ); **aisndís** 'exposition' (*ess-ind-*).

In certain other words there is fluctuation between *e* and *a*; e.g. **elit** and **ailit** 'hind'; **enech** and **ainech** 'face, honour' (dat. pl. **inch(a)ib**, see § 78, 2 ), cp. Bret. *enep*; **eirg(g)** and **airg(g)** ipv. 2 sg. 'go' (Gk. *ἰρχεσθαι*); **treit** 'swift' *Wb.* 9<sup>a</sup>6, **trait** *MI.* 104<sup>b</sup>5 and in all later sources; **aip** (**er**) *MI.* 14<sup>d</sup>13 and **eperr**

'is said', Mid.Ir. **·aparr**, vb.n. **aipert** 50<sup>b</sup>8, usually **epert** (*ess-ber-*). Mere sporadic occurrences are **corro·chraitea** 'that he may believe' *Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup>33 from **cretid**; **tainid** *Ml.* 96<sup>c</sup>11, nom. pl. of **tene** 'fire'.

Only rarely does *a* represent the earlier sound: **segait** pl. of **saigid** 'seeks' (subj. stem *sāss-*, Lat. *sagire*); **ega** gen. of **aig** 'ice', *W.* *ia*, Celtic stem *i + agi-*. A probable explanation of such forms is that on the model of examples like **saidid**: **sedait**, **daig**: **dego**, *e* has spread to stems with *-a-*. The converse development is found later in **at·raig** (for O.Ir. **·reig**) 'rise' beside plural **ata·regat**, whence further pret. **at·racht** for O.Ir. **at·recht**.

Collection: *KZ.* *LIX.* 1 f., *LXI.* 253 f.

Apparently there was at one period fluctuation between *e'* and *a'*, due to a tendency to differentiate *e* more sharply from the following palatal sound. In some words the fluctuation persisted until it was eventually suppressed by leveling; but in others the contrast between *a'* and *e* acquired a functional significance, being used to reinforce distinctions of case or number (otherwise Holmer. *Études Celtiques III.* 71 ff.). Whether the nature of the flanking consonants (apart from palatalization) had any influence cannot be ascertained from the examples.

For Mid.Ir. **e(i)le** 'other' instead of O.Ir. **aile**. see [§ 487 d](#). The substitution of **se(i)le** for O.Ir. **sa(i)le** neut. 'spittle' *Thes. II.* 249, 2, etc., (from Lat. *saliva*) may have been due to the influence of some other word, though hardly to that **ele eli** 'ointment' as previously suggested by me, for the existence of this word (= *W. eli*) in Irish is not reliably attested (*O'Mulc.* 378, *Corm. Add.* 541).

(b) The interchange of *a* and *e* before non-palatal consonants may with certainty be ascribed to the influence of other words. Thus **deg-** beside **dag-** 'good' ([§ 364](#)), as in **deg-máini** beside **dag-móini** 'benefits' (cp. *W.* and *Bret.* *da* 'good', *Gaul.* *Dago-durnus Dago-marus*), is due to the influence of **dech deg** 'best' ([§ 373 f.](#)). Beside **tall-** 'take away' (1 sg.

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subj. **·tall** *Ml.* 58<sup>c</sup>6), apparently *to-all-*, there is a form **tell-** (3 sg. pret. **ma du- d'éll** *Wb.* 22<sup>b</sup>7); so too **·tella** 'there is room for' has a by-form **·talla** which is likewise felt to be a compound, i.e. *to-alla* (**du-n-d-alla** *Ml.* 30<sup>c</sup>17). If the second word is cognate with Lith. *telpù til + p̃ti* 'to find room in', it doubtless had original *e*, and the two similar verbs have been confused.

#### GLIDES AFTER STRESSED VOWELS

**84.** In Irish the pronunciation and phonetic quality of every consonant were affected by the flanking, and more particularly by the following vowels. Certain elements in the articulation of neighbouring vowels were carried over into that of the adjoining consonants ([§ 156](#)), which often retained them even after the inflecting vowel had itself disappeared. But this variation in the quality of consonants is not directly expressed in writing; in the older language it can only be inferred from the influence which, in its turn, it exerts on the neighbouring vowels. For that reason it must be briefly discussed in the present context. This variation in the quality of consonants is of particular importance for the history of the language, as it often enables us to reconstruct the vocalism of lost terminations and syllables. **85.** In Old Irish every consonant may have three separate qualities:

1. palatal or *i*-quality,
2. neutral or *a*-quality,
3. *u*-quality.

Modern dialects retain only the first two, the *u*-quality having coalesced with the neutral, for which development see [§ 174](#).

In the present work the quality of a consonant is indicated, where necessary, by the addition of a superior vowel, e.g. *l<sup>h</sup>*, *l<sup>o</sup>*, *l<sup>u</sup>*.

**86. 1. (a)** Where a stressed syllable ends in a palatal consonant or group of consonants, *i* is inserted as a glide after vowels or diphthongs other than *ī +, oí óe, aí áe*. It must have

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been quite audible, since it is rarely omitted in writing. It was not a full vowel, however, for it did not combine with a preceding short vowel to form a diphthong, and the syllable remained short.

It is clear from the above (as well as from § 160.) that a single consonant on the border between two syllables belonged to the **second**. But only the **last** of a group of consonants in a similar position belonged to the second syllable.

Examples: **maith** 'good' for *math<sup>i</sup>*; **clainde** 'of children' for *clan<sup>i</sup>d'e*; **ainm** 'name' for *an<sup>i</sup>m<sup>i</sup>*; **láim** acc. sg. 'hand' for *lā<sup>i</sup>*; **deich** 'ten' for *dech<sup>i</sup>*; **teist** 'testimony' for *tes<sup>t</sup>t<sup>i</sup>*; **léir** 'zealous' for *lé<sup>i</sup>*; **céit** gen. 'hundred' for *kēd<sup>i</sup>*; **béoil béiuil**, nom. pl. of **bél** 'lip' (compensatorily lengthened *é*, § 54.); **doirsib** dat. pl. 'doors' for *dor<sup>s</sup>'iβ*; **slóig** for *slōγ<sup>i</sup>*, gen of **slóg** 'host'; **luid** 'he went' for *luδ<sup>i</sup>*; **súil** 'eye' for *sú<sup>i</sup>*; **úaisliu** 'higher' for *úas<sup>i</sup>l'u*.

Where the glide is not inserted its omission may usually be attributed to the influence of other forms of the same word, an influence which was perhaps purely graphic; e.g. *ro·cretset* 'they have believed', beside **ro·creitset**, after 3 sg. **ro·creti**, where *t* (= *d<sup>i</sup>*) belongs to the following syllable; **sétche** beside **séitche**, gen. sg. of **sétig** 'wife'. But in *Ml.* the omission of *i* after *e* and *é* is by no means restricted cases of such influence; e.g. dat. sg. **leth** (for **leith**) 'side' 128<sup>a</sup>1, **día æs** (for **éis**) 'after him' 57<sup>a</sup>3, 72<sup>b</sup>17, etc.

(b) Where a stressed syllable ends in a vowel and the next begins with a palatal consonant, *i* is sometimes inserted. sometimes omitted.

Examples: **mathi** and **maithi**, pl. of **maith**; **guidid** and **guidid** 'prays'; **súli** and **súili** 'eyes'; **flathemnacht** and **flaithemnacht** 'lordship'. The glide is most rarely found after *e*, e.g. **neime** 'of poison' *Sg.* 112<sup>a</sup>1.

In a few instances *e* occurs instead of *i*, e.g. **buachaele** 'of cowherds' *Thes. II.* 239, 13 (*Arm.*), **huaere** 'because' *Wb. II.* 33<sup>c</sup>6; cp. *Thes. II.* p. xxviii; Ó Máille, *Language of AU.*, 21 f.

The view that already in the O.Ir. period *i* is not a glide, but merely serves (as in the later language) to indicate the palatal quality of the following (or preceding) consonant seems tenable only in regard to (b); here the spellings **guidid**, **flaithem**, might be due to the influence of conjunct **·guid**, **flaith** 'lordship', and so on. In (a) on other hand the existence of an audible sound

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is suggested by the remarkable consistency with *i* is inserted, and still more by the fact that a word like **immalle**, notwithstanding the palatalized *ll*, is written without *i* (as contrasted with **aill** neut. 'other', etc.); in the unstressed pretonic interior syllable full development of the glide could not take place. It is impossible to say how long this pronunciation continued and at what period the spelling became more less historical.

**87. 2. Before neutral consonants** no glide is indicated in O.Ir. (for the development *é* > *ía*, see § 53). The *a* that appears after *ě* in Mid.Ir. is found in *Ml.* once in a stressed syllable: **con·ru·sleachta** 'so that they have been slaughtered' 53<sup>d</sup>11 (it occurs three times, however, in unstressed syllables: **coíneas** 'who weeps' 102<sup>a</sup>23, **aipleat** 'let them die' 104<sup>b</sup>2, **·erladaigear** 1 sg. subj. 'I may obey' 106<sup>c</sup>6).

*ei* for *e* before neutral consonants is peculiar and very rare; e.g. **feir** *Wb.* 13<sup>a</sup>20, 22<sup>c</sup>10, acc. sg. and gen. pl. of **fer** 'man'; **teicht** 'going' *Thes. II.* 296, 3.

**88. 3. Before u-quality consonants** *u* is inserted after *ǎ* *ě* *ĩ* under the same conditions as *i* before palatal consonance. Between *e* and *ch* it is sometimes replaced by *o*.

Examples: **daum** for *dau<sup>u</sup>*, dat. sg. of **dam** 'ox' (cp. § 329, 1B.); **maull**, dat. sg. of **mall** 'slow'; **neuch neoch** for *nech<sup>u</sup>*, dat. sg. of **nech** 'someone'; **neurt**, dat. sg. of **ner** 'strength'; **do·biur** 'I give' for *·bip<sup>u</sup>*; **fiuss** 'knowledge' for *fiss<sup>u</sup>*; **ro·fiugrad** 'figuratium est'.

After *ō* only in arch. **i routh** gl. 'in stadio' *Wb. I.* 11<sup>a</sup>3. from roth (cp. [§ 170 a](#)).

If the *u*-quality consonant belongs to the following syllable the glide is usually omitted, e.g. **firu** acc. pl. of **fer** 'man'. But cp. **fiugor** *MI.* 45<sup>a</sup>3 beside **figor** 'figura' *Wb.* 18<sup>c</sup>10; **ro-laumur** 'I dare' *Wb.* 17<sup>a</sup>8 (3 sg. **ro-laimethar**); **caunu** 'I sing' *ZCP.* XXI. 283 (√ *can-*).

In Mid.Ir. *eo* is written for *ě* in open syllables before *ch* and *γ* where these consonants had *u*-quality in O.Ir.; e.g. **eochu** acc. pl. 'horses' for O.Ir. **echu**; **do-deochuid** **deochaid** 'has come', O.Ir. **dechuid**; **ro-geoguin** 'has slain', O.Ir. **geguin** (**gegoin**).

After long vowels this glide is never found, except that compensatorily lengthened *é* and *í* are represented by *éu*, *íu*, ([§ 55](#), [71 b](#)), and the other *é* by the diphthong *ía* ([§ 53](#)). Consonants in this position lost their *u*-quality at an early period.

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## VOWELS IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLE, OLD FINAL SYLLABLES

**89.** The earlier development of vowels in original final syllables may be summarized as follows:

Particular problems are discussed later under the inflectional endings.

1. IE. *ō* in final syllables became *ū* in Celtic; cp. *Frontu*, *Malciu* on Gaulish inscriptions for Lat. *Frontō*, *Malciō*; acc. pl. *tuddus* (nom. sg. *tuθθos*), *catilus* in the Lat Graufesenque graffiti, < IE. *-ōns*. So too IE. *-ōi* (Gk. *-ωι*) in the dative of *o*-stems appears as Gaulish *-ουω*, *-ui*, *-u* (see [§ 285](#)). W. *lleidr* 'latro', *draig* 'dracō', *Sais* 'Saxō, Englishman' point in the first instance to *\*latrī*, *\*drakī*, *\*Sachsī*, which had developed regularly from *\*latrū*, *\*drakū*, *\*Sachsū*.

In Irish the *u* is either actually retained or can be inferred from the quality of the consonants. In final position it survives not only in the nom. sg. of *n*-stems ([§ 330](#)) and the dat. of *o*- and *u*-stems, but also in the 1 sg. of verbs, e.g. **·bíu** 'I am' (consuet. pres.) = Lat. *fīō*. Before a consonant we find it e.g. in voc. pl. **firu** 'men' < *\*wirōs*; 1 sg. depon. **midhur** 'I judge, estimate', Lat. *medeor* (earlier *-ōr*); **siur**, Lat. *soror* (*-ōr*); acc. pl. **firu** < IE. *\*wirōns*. For old *-ōm* see [§ 93](#).

Ir. **cú** 'dog' *Britann. ci*, assuming it comes, from *\*kwū*, IE. *\*kwō* (Skt. *śvā*), with loss of *w* before *u*, shows that *ō* became *ū* even in monosyllables (cp. also **dū** 'place' [§ 186 b](#)). But this may be due to the influence of polysyllabic *n*-stems, for in Gaul. *curmi da* 'give ale' (Dottin, p. 70) *da* (= *dā*) probably corresponds to original *\*dō* with the usual development of *ō* ([§ 51 b](#)). In IE. *\*dwōu* 'two', O.Ir. **dáu**, *ō* had not become *ū*; cp. [§ 287](#).

**90.** 2. It is not clear to what extent *ē* in this position became *ī*, as in stressed syllables ([§ 58](#)). If the imperative ending 2 sg. depon. *-the* is correctly traced to *-thēs* ([§ 574](#)), then *-ēs* has been retained here. **athir** 'father' and **máthir** 'mother' (cp. Gk. *πατήρ*, *μήτηρ*) could come directly from *-tēr*; but in W. *ewythr* Bret. *eontr* 'uncle', which seem to have taken over the suffix, the umlaut points to *\*awon-tīr* (cp. Lat. *auunculus*); or was the suffix *-tri* + *o-*? That in Ir. **fili**, gen. **filed** (Orgam VELITAS) 'poet' the suffix *-īt* goes back to *-ēt* is uncertain, but in view

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of the name of the Bructerian prophetess *Ucleda* (*-aeda*, *ΟΠελέδα*) not improbable. It has been suggested by Pokorny (*IF.* XXXV. 173) that medial *-ē-* may have here become *-ī-*, which then spread to the ending of the nominative; but this would make it difficult to explain **tene**, gen. **tened**, 'fire'.

3. The original final *i*-diphthongs *oi* and *ai* have in Irish the same effect as *i*; see the nom. pl. of masc. *o*-stems ( § 286.) and the nom. acc. du. of *ā*-stems ( § 298.). They had, accordingly, been monophthongized. For *-āi* see § 296.

4. *ō* in final syllables had become *a* as early as the period of the Ogam inscriptions, which contain several examples of the gen. sg. of consonantal stems with the ending *-as*, see § 315 (cp. Gk. *-oç*); note also the rendering of the composition vowel in CUNAMAGLI Macal. no. 125, CUNAGUSOS no. 139, etc.

In other syllables *ō* apparently remains; cp. BIVAIDONAS, no. 126, NETA-SECAMONAS, nos. 208, 225, etc. but ERCAIDANA, no. 174 (cp. nom. sg. **Hercaith** *Thes. II.* 261, 39, *Arm.*).

**91.** Before the period of the Glosses--and even of the more archaic texts--great changes occurred in final syllables owing to the loss of many of their vowels in the following circumstances:

1. All final vowels, whether originally long, short, or derived from diphthongs, disappeared in every position except after *i* ( § 94.).

Examples: **fir** voc. sg. 'man', < \**wire*; **berid** 2 pl. ipv. 'bear', < \**bherete*; **bered** impf. 'he used to bear', perhaps < \**bhereto*; **muir** 'sea', < \**mori*; **biur bir** 'spit', < \**beru* (Lat. *ueru*); **túath** 'people', orig. \**teutā*; **fiur** dat. sg. < \**wirū* in the first instance; **fir** gen. sg. < \**wirī*; **sluind** 2 sg. ipv. 'name', probably < \**slundī* or \**slondī*; **car** 2 sg. ipv. 'love' < \**karā*; **fir** nom. pl. < \**wirī* (orig. *-oi*), etc.

From the above it may be inferred that long final vowels had become short even before the general shortening of unstressed vowels ( § 43.).

**92.** 2. Short vowels before any of the consonants that were lost in absolute auslaut ( § 177.) also disappeared.

Examples: **fer** nom. acc. sg. 'man', < \**wiros*\**wirom* (\**wiron*), later \**wiras* *-an*; **con** 'of a dog', < \**kunos*; **beir**

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'bears', < \**bheret*; **car(a)it** 'friends', < \**karantes*; **fiuss** nom. acc. sg. 'knowledge', < \**wissus*\**wissun*; **cren** 'buys', < \**qwrinat*; **sail** 'willow', < \**salik-s*; **traig** 'foot', < \**traget-s*. But before such consonants as were preserved in absolute auslaut short vowels remained; e.g. arch. <> **later** *-tíagat*, 'they go', < \*(s)*teighont*; **as-ru-bart** (arch. *-ru-bert*) 'has said', < \**-bheret*; **do-rósat** 'has created' for \**-ro-uss-sēdd* \**-sem-t*. 93. 3. (a) Long vowels before original final consonants were retained as short. Examples: **túatha** nom. pl. 'peoples', < \**teutās*; **bera** 'he may bear', < \**bherēt*, Lat. *ferat*; **firu** voc. pl. 'men', < \**wirūs* in the first instance; **fedo** gen. sg. 'of a wood', < \**widōs* (earlier *-ous*) **oíntu** 'unity', < *-tūt-s*; **fla(i)thi** acc. pl. 'lordships', < \**wlatīs* (earlier *-íns*); **cuirthe** 2 sg. ipv. 'put', probably < *-thēs*, cp. Skt. *-thāh*; **anm(a)e** 'of a name', < *-mēs* *-mens*; **siur** 'sister', < \**swesōr* *-ūr*.

In this position the vowels evidently had retained their length until all unstressed vowels were shortened ( § 43.).

(b) The genitive plural of all nominal stems has lost the vowel, e.g. **fer** 'of men' for \**wiróm*. This suggests that long vowels had been shortened before a final nasal (as in Lat. *duōmuirūm*), and that this change must have taken place before *ō* had become *ū* ( § 89.), for the forms point to a lost neutral vowel. Thus **fer** is derived from IE. \**wirōm* through Celtic \**wirōn*, proto-Irish \**wiran*; cp. Ogam TRIA-MAQA-MAILAGNI 'of the three sons of Mailín' Macal. no. 17. From this it follows that, of the two forms of the 1 sg. subj., absolute **bera**, conjunct **ber**, ( § 600.), only the second represents the regular development of \**bherā-m* (Lat. *feram*). 94. 4. After *i* (whethers consonantal *i* + *h* or syllabic *ii* + *h*, all of which fell together in Irish, § 197.), the vowels of all final syllables, including such as were lost in every other position, were retained as follows:

*i* and *u* (irrespective of origin) unchanged.

*a* (also *a* < *o* § [90, 4](#); [93 b](#)) as *e*,  
ě as *i*.

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Examples: **aile** masc. and fem. 'other', < \**ali* + *os ali* + *ā*; **caire** 'fault', < \**karii* + *ā*, OW. *caed*; **aili** gen. masc. and neut. < *ali* + *ī*, dat. **ailiu** < earlier \**ali* + *u* \**ali* + *ū*; **du(i)ni** voc. sg. 'man', < \**duni* + *e* or \**doni* + *e*; **do·gníu** 'I do', < \**gnīi* + *u*, \**gnēi* + *ō*. Even an *-a* that has been retained in accordance with [§ 93a](#) becomes *e* after *i* in a preceding unstressed syllable, e.g. **áindárbe** (or **·indárbe?** MS. *indurbe*), subj. of **in·árben** 'expels', beside stressed **·bia** (from *-āt*), subj. of **benaid** 'strikes'. In forms such as **·lé(i)cea**, subj. of **lé (i)cíd** 'leaves' ([§ 598](#)), the *-a* was probably taken over from verbs without *-i-*.

The line of development is shown by Ogam genitives such as MAQIERCIAS Macal. nos. 32, 197, MAQQI-ERCCIA no. 31, MAQI-RITEAS no. 89, QVECEA no. 216, MAQI-RIT(T)E nos. 78, 183 (perhaps with *-ē*), but cp. [§ 296](#). In Ogam AVI AVVI, gen. of the word that later appears as *áue* (stem *awio-*) 'grandson' *-ī* (contracted from *-ii*) is probably to be read, since *-i* remains in the later gen. *áui*. In the same way *i* + *u* may have first become the diphthong *íu*. Cp. stressed **clé** adj. 'left' (< \**klii* + *os*, fem. *Klii* + *ā*, like W. *cledd*), dat. **clíu** (monosyll.) fem. **clí**, though here the long vowel could also be explained in accordance with [§ 44 b](#).

**95.** 1. From about the beginning of the eighth century on, retained *-o* is interchangeable with *-a*; e.g. *betho* and *betha* 'of the world', *tricho* and *tricha* 'thirty', *úaso* and *úasa* 'above him'.

2. Occasionally *-o* is found instead of *-u*, especially after *e*, e.g. acc. pl. *dëo* beside *dëu* 'gods', *lëo* and *lëu* 'with them'. In a few other instances, such as a *gnímo-som* 'his deeds' *Wb.* 28<sup>d</sup>29, the neutral *s* of *som* probably accounts for the *o*. But in some texts *-o* appears for *-u* without any apparent reason; e.g. acc. pl. *baullo*, *gnímo* *Thes. II.* 252, 16, *fírto* 'miracles' 253, 4. Cp. also [§ 101](#).

**96.** For **newly developed vowels** in final syllables before *r*, *l*, *n*, see [§ 112](#).

## GLIDES BEFORE FINAL VOWELS

**97.** (a) After palatal consonants final *a o u* are generally written *ea eo iu*, i.e. a palatal glide is inserted; e.g. *aithrea*

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(with *p<sup>i</sup>*) acc. pl. 'fathers'; *toimseo* (with *s<sup>i</sup>*), gen. sg. of *tomus* 'measure'; *ailichthiu* (with *th<sup>i</sup>*) acc. pl. 'changes'.

But the glide may be omitted, particularly when the final syllable is separated from the stress by at least one other syllable; e.g. *íarfaightho* 'of questioning' *MI.* 24<sup>b</sup>10 beside *íarfaichtheo* 35<sup>c</sup>29; *esséirgu* *Wb.* 13<sup>b</sup>26 beside *esséirgiu* 4<sup>a</sup>27 (with *γ<sup>i</sup>*), dat. of *esséirge* 'resurrection'; *didu* beside *didiu* 'therefore' *Wb.*

**98.** (b) In the earliest sources final *e* and *i* after neutral consonants are normally written without an intermediate vowel. On the other hand *-ai* and *-ae* are found occasionally in *Wb.* and more consistently in the later Glosses.

Thus *Wb.* has *cumachte* 'power', gen. sg. *cumachti* (with *t<sup>a</sup>*), but *MI.cumachtae cumachtai*; *Wb.cnámi* (with *μ<sup>a</sup>*) nom. and acc. pl. 'bones', *MI.cnámai*; *díglae* (with *λ<sup>a</sup>*) *Wb.* 17<sup>a</sup>2. gen. sg. of *díglae* 'vengeance', but *díglae* 4<sup>c</sup>21 and always in *MI.*

**99.** (c) The further development of this *-ae* to *-a* and of *-eo -ea* to *-e* is sometimes found in *MI.*, more frequently in *Sg.* and the later Glosses.

Examples: *menma* 'mind' *MI.* 53<sup>c</sup>18 beside *menmae* (*menme Wb.*); *imda* 'many' *Sg.* (*imdae MI., imde Wb.*); *suidigthe* 'of placing' *Sg.* 193<sup>b</sup>4, *Thes. II.* 11, 40 for earlier *suidigtheo -thea* (written *suidigtho MI.* 111<sup>c</sup>4); *do·foirnde* 'defines' frequent in *Sg.* instead of *do·foirndea*.

Collection of examples of *-a* from *-ae* in *MI.* and *Sg.*, Strachan, *ZCP. IV.* 51 f.; 477 f.; in *AU.*, Ó Máille, p. 79 ff. Cp. also the interchange of *lae* and *laa* (*láa*) 'day'.

Apparently the second sound first, became silent where an enclitic was attached to the word, thereby bringing the double sound into medial position. There are instances of this even in *Wb.*, e.g. in *tain díagma-ni* 3<sup>a</sup>15 'when we go' for *díagm(a)e-ni*.

Examples of *-i* for *-iu* like dat. sg. *duini* for *duiniu* 'man' ( § 283 ) are quite exceptional.

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**100.** (d) A similar development is shown by the adj. *naue nuie nue*, nom. pl. *nui* ( § 72 ), which becomes **nuae** pl. *nuai* in *MI.*, and even *nua-* in composition (perhaps indicating a pronunciation *nuw-*). *-e* after *i* becomes *-a* by differentiation; e.g. *lie* 'stone' *Wb.*, *lía* *Sg.* 67<sup>b</sup>12 (cp. medially in *liaig* from *lieig* § 105 ).

## UNSTRESSED VOWELS IN THE INTERIOR OF WORDS

101. The quality of unstressed short vowels in the interior of words is altogether dependent on that of the flanking consonants. There is, however, a tendency for *ǫ* in this position, whatever its origin, to become *u*, and this leads to constant fluctuation in the spelling. In *Wb.* this change is found chiefly when *o* has the minimum amount of stress: the pretonic preverbs **ro no do fo** usually turn into **ru nu du fu** between a particle and the verb; e.g. *ro·pridchissem* 'we have preached' as against *ma ru·predchisem* 'if we have preached'; *do·gniat* 'they do', *a n·du·gniat* 'that which they do', etc. Subsequent levelling obliterated this distinction; thus in *Wb. II.* **ru du** have become the usual forms of these prefixes.

Conversely, *o* sometimes appears for unstressed *u* when the preceding syllable contains *o*; e.g. *·molor* 'I praise' *Wb.* 14<sup>c</sup>18 instead of *-ur*; *lobro* 'weaker' 17<sup>b</sup>29 instead of *-u*; *orgo* 'I slay' *ZCP. XII.* 106 instead of *-u*; *i tossogod* 'in the beginning' *Wb.* 24<sup>c</sup>17 for *tossugud*; *etarrogo* 'selection' *Sg.* 205<sup>b</sup>1, as against normal *rogu* 'choice'.

The interchange of *e* and *i* is rarer; see examples below ( § 103, 1, 4 ).

The treatment of long vowels in unstressed syllables is substantially the same as in stressed. For compensatorily lengthened *é* and *í* see § 55. **102.** (a) **Unstressed vowels in closed syllables.** An unstressed short vowel, whatever its origin, which stands between two consonants belonging to the same syllable is written as follows:

1. Between palatal consonants *i*; e.g. *berid* 'bears' (*U+03C'--ǫ'*), *su(i)digthir* 'is placed' (*ǫ'--γ'--th'--p'*); quite exceptionally *e*, e.g. *soirfed* 'he will free' *Wb.* 32<sup>a</sup>13 (*f'--ǫ'*).

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2. Between neutral consonants *a*; e.g. *teglach* 'household' from *teg* 'house' and *slóg* 'troop'; *as·rubart* 'has said' (*β<sup>a</sup>--r<sup>a</sup>t<sup>a</sup>*); *apstal* 'apostolus' (*t<sup>a</sup>--l<sup>a</sup>*); *acaldam* 'addressing' (*gg<sup>a</sup>--l<sup>a</sup>d<sup>a</sup>--m<sup>a</sup>*).
3. Between *u*-quality consonants *u*; e.g. *cumung* (*μ<sup>u</sup>--η<sup>u</sup>g<sup>u</sup>*), dat. of *cumang* 'power'; *ilur* (*λ<sup>u</sup>--p<sup>u</sup>*), dat. of *ilar* 'great number'; 'exceptionally *o*, e.g. *aidbligod* (*γ<sup>u</sup>--δ<sup>u</sup>*) 'intensification' *Sg.* 216<sup>a</sup>3.
4. Between a palatal and a neutral consonant *e*; e.g. *tuirem* 'enumeration' (*p<sup>i</sup>--m<sup>a</sup>*), *sessed* (*s<sup>i</sup>--δ<sup>a</sup>*) 'sixth', *ro·foilsigestar* 'has made clear' (*γ<sup>i</sup>--s<sup>a</sup>*),

For the rare spelling *ea* in *MI.* see § 87. In archaic 'rhetorical' texts *ia* occurs; e.g. *gabiam* 'let us take' *Auraic.* 5087, later *gaibem*; *Lugthiach* LL 287<sup>a</sup>22, later *Lugdech* (gen. of *Luguid*); cp. *i n·égthiar* 'wherein is cried out' *RC.* XX. 154, later *-éigther* (cp. *ZCP. XIV.* 4, XIX. 208).

5. Between a neutral and a palatal consonant, in the earlier period frequently *i*, later as a rule *ai*; e.g. *fodil fodail* 'share' from *fo* and *dáil*; *rethit rethait* 'they run' (*th<sup>a</sup>--d<sup>i</sup>*); *æcilse æcailse* ( *Wb.* 22<sup>c</sup>20 )

- gen. 'of the Church' ( $g^a--i'$ ).
6. Between a *u*-quality and a palatal consonant *i* or *ui*; e.g. *manchib manchuib* Arm. ( $ch^u--\beta^i$ ), dat. pl. of *manach* 'monk'; *cosmil cosmuil* Wb. 'like' ( $\mu^u--\lambda^i$ ); *senmim senmuim* Wb. ( $\mu^u--m^i$ ), dat. sg. of *senim* 'act of playing (a musical instrument)'.
  7. Between a palatal and a *u*-quality consonant *iu*; e.g. *imniud* ( $v^i--\delta^u$ ) dat. sg. of *imned* 'suffering'; *ancretmiuch* ( $\mu^i--ch^u$ ) dat. of *ancretmech* 'unbelieving'; archaic *u* in *ru·laimur* 'I dare' ( $\mu^i--\rho^u$ ), Wb. I. 17<sup>c</sup>21.
  8. Between a *u*-quality and a neutral consonant *o* or *u*; e.g. *figor fiugor* 'figura' ( $\gamma^u--\rho^a$ ); *flechod fleuchud* 'wetting, rain' ( $ch^u--\delta^a$ ).
  9. Between a neutral and a *u*-quality consonant *o* or *u*; e.g. *dénom dénum* 'doing' ( $v^a--\mu^u$ ); *ad·ágor águr* 'I fear' ( $\gamma^a--\rho^u$ ); *atrob atrub* ( $t^a\rho^a--\beta^u$ ), dat. of *atrab* 'dwelling'.

In 8 and 9 both consonants may have early developed an intermediate, (*o-*) quality.

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**103.** (b) The treatment of **unstressed vowels in open syllables** is similar to that in closed, except that there is more fluctuation in the spelling. They appear:

1. Between palatal consonants as *i*, seldom as *e*; e.g. *foilsigidir* 'makes clear' ( $s^i--\gamma^i--\delta^i$ ); *timtherecht* 'service' Wb. 13<sup>b</sup>28 beside *timthirecht* 10<sup>d</sup>17 ( $th^i--\rho^i$ ).
2. Between neutral consonants as *a*; e.g. *ro·comalnada* 'have been fulfilled' ( $n^a--\delta^a$ ); even where the following consonant has developed secondary *u*- or *o*- quality, e.g. *toglenamon* 'adherence' Sg. 104<sup>b</sup>2 from *-glenamn* (with  $\mu^a v^a$ ), see § [112](#), [173](#).
3. Between *u*-quality consonants as *u*, e.g. *cruthugud* 'formation' ( $th^u--\gamma^u$ ).
4. Between a palatal and a neutral consonant usually as *e*, occasionally as *i*; e.g. *caillecha* 'nuns' ( $l^i--ch^a$ ); *forcetal forcital* 'teaching' ( $k^i--d^a$ ); *do·rolgida* 'have been forgiven' Ml. 32<sup>c</sup>15 beside *do·rolgetha* Wb. 26<sup>c</sup>11 ( $\gamma^i--th^a$ ,  $\delta^a$ ).
5. Between a neutral and a palatal consonant mostly as *i* in the earlier period, later as *ai* and sometimes *a*; e.g. *con·osciget ·oscaiget* 'they move' ( $k^a--\gamma^i$ ); *nos·comalnithe* 'fulfil (sg.) them' Wb. 30<sup>a</sup>1 ( $n^a--th^i$ ) beside *cia chomallaide* 'though ye fulfil' Ml. 95<sup>c</sup>3; *forgare* 'command' Sg. 161<sup>b</sup>12 ( $g^a--\rho^i$ ). otherwise *forgaire forngaire*; *mórate* 'which magnify' Wb, 6<sup>a</sup>9 ( $\rho^a--d^i$ ).
6. Between a *u*-quality and a palatal consonant as *u* or *ui*, rarely as *i*; e.g. *cosmulius* and *cosmulius* 'similarity' Wb. ( $\mu^u--\lambda^i$ ) beside the isolated spelling **cosmilius** 8<sup>b</sup>7; *sochude* and *sochuide* 'multitude' Wb. ( $ch^u--\delta^i$ ) beside **sochide** Thes. II. 17, 33.
7. Between a palatal and a *u*-quality consonant as *i*, rarely as *iu*; e.g. *su(i)digud* vb.n. 'placing' ( $\delta^i--\gamma^u$ ); *inuilliugud* vb.n. 'safeguarding' Ml. 35<sup>d</sup>1 ( $l^i--\gamma^u$ ).
8. Between a *u*-quality and a neutral consonant, as well as between a neutral and a *u*-quality consonant, mostly as *u*, more rarely as *o*; e.g. *cétbutho* Sg. 25<sup>b</sup>7 ( $\beta^u--th^a$ ), gen. sg. of *cétbuith* 'sense'; *dílgutho* Wb. 2<sup>c</sup>17 beside *dílgudo dílgutha dílguda* Ml. ( $\gamma^u--th^a$  or  $\delta^a$ ), gen. of *dílgud* 'forgiveness'; *adbartugud* 'opposition' ( $t^a--\gamma^u$ ) Ml. 26<sup>b</sup>20 beside *ménogud* 'hiatus' ( $v^a--\gamma^u$ ) Sg. 40<sup>b</sup>8; occasionally with mutation of quality in the vowel of the following syllable: *immdogod* (for

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*-gud*) 'enhancement' 216<sup>b</sup>3 (see § [101](#)). Obviously at an early period this became identical in quality with 3.

There are also instances such as *dommatu* (arch. *dommetu*) 'poverty' (from **domm(a)e** 'poor') where the *u*-quality consonant exerts no influence. **104.** But there are frequent exceptions to the foregoing rules, for which two factors are responsible:

- a. In obvious compounds the vocalism of the simplex is retained, e.g. **forloiscthe** 'igni examinatus' Ml. 31<sup>c</sup>28, with *oi* instead of *ai* in the unstressed syllable on the model of **loiscthe** 'burnt'.
- b. The vocalism of one form may spread to another; e.g. *condeilgg* Sg. 42<sup>a</sup>4, *coindeulc coindeulgg* 3<sup>b</sup>1. 25<sup>b</sup>2, gen. and dat. sg. of nom. acc. **condelg** 'comparison' 42<sup>a</sup>6, etc.; *bindiusa* Sg. 23<sup>a</sup>3, gen. sg. of nom. acc. dat. *bindius* 'sonority' though the *s* of the genitive never had *u*-quality.

The rules in § [102 f.](#) apply to the period at which *u*-quality was still largely preserved (cp. § [174](#)). On the other hand, they do not hold good for archaic texts, which often retain an earlier vocalism: e.g. **coicsath** 'compassion' Cam. (*com+céssath*), later **coicsed**; **fugell** 'judgement' Wb. I. 9<sup>c</sup>5, afterwards **fugall** (cp. § [169](#)). Even by the end of the eighth century the representation of earlier *o* often fluctuates; e.g. *U+00W1rusc* and *árasc* (\**ad-ros*c) 'maxim' Ml., *folud* and *folad* 'substance' (from \**fo-lōth*, W. *golud*

'wealth') *Wb., Sg.*; in *Sg.* 28<sup>b</sup>20 both forms occur in the same gloss. Evidently many unstressed interior vowels had become quite indistinct, and the five Latin vocalic symbols did not suffice for their exact representation.

**105.** The quality of **unstressed vowels after other vowels** is often determined entirely by the consonants closing the syllable. Thus they become *a* before neutral consonants; e.g. *líacc*, gen. sg. of *lie* 'stone'; **deac(c)** in numeral adjs. '-teen' ( § 391 ), but *déec* still *Wb.* 15<sup>b</sup>1; arch. *oéc* 'young' *ZCP. XI.* 93 § 22, *óac Sg.* 38<sup>a</sup>7, etc.; *suad* 'of a wise man' (*su-wid-*). Cp. the declension of *biad* 'food', gen. *biid biith*, dat. *biud*.

Unstressed *a* between *i* and a palatal consonant is narrowed only to *e*; e.g. *bieid*, also written *bied*, 'he will be' from *\*biath*' (conj. *-bia*), 3 pl. *bieit biet*; *con-díeig* 'demands' from *dí- saig* (beside *con-daig* with the vocalism of the simplex);

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*iern Thes. I.* 2, 15, gen. sg. of *iarn* 'iron'. Cp. also dat. sg. *lieic* 'stone' § 321.

Subsequently *e* reverts to *a*; e.g. *lieig* 'physician', later *liaig*; *háirn* 'of iron' *Thes. II.* 249, 6. But *liic* also occurs beside *liaic* for *lieic*.

For other vowels, cp. *tëoir tëuir* (fem.) 'three', *díuit* 'simple' (to fot 'length').

## SYNCOPE

Collection: Zimmer, *Keltische Studien II.* ( 1884 ), p. 9 ff.

**106.** Nothing, except the loss of many final syllables, has so altered the form of Irish words as the syncope of interior vowels. This takes place in every word which, after the loss of vowels in final syllables ( § 91 f. ), still had **more than two syllables**. In the normal course of development **the vowel of the second syllable was elided**, and in a word of five or more syllables apparently the vowel of the fourth syllable also.

The rule applies both to simple words and close compounds. This drastic reduction of the second syllable is the counterpart of the strong stress on the first ( § 36 ).

Examples: *námit* 'enemies', acc. *náimtea* for *\*námeta*; *cássath césad* 'suffering', gen. *césto* for *\*céssatho*, arch. **coicsath**, later **coicsed** 'com-passio'; *dligeth dliged* 'law', *dligthech* 'lawful'; *díles* 'own', *dílse* 'ownership'; *follus* 'clear', nom. pl. *foilsí, foilsigidir* 'makes clear'; *tomus (to-mess)* 'measure', gen. *toimseo*; *frecr(a)e* 'answer' for *\*frecare (frith-gaire)*; **apstal** 'apostolus'; *ad-cíat* 'they see', prototonic *-accat*; *toimtiu* 'opinion' (*\*to-métiu*), but *airmitiu* 'honouring' (*\*are-métiu*).

**sam(a)il** 'like' (subst.), *cosmil* 'similar' for *\*cossamil*, but *écsamil* 'dissimilar' for *\*écossamil*, nom. pl. *écsamli* for *\*écossamali* (with syncope of the second and fourth syllables); *-tomnibther* 'it will be thought' for *\*to-monibither*; *centarach* (*\*kinoter + -ach*) 'hither' (adj.), compar. *centarchu*, etc.

For the quality of consonants brought together by syncope see § 158.

The vowel remains only before *cht*, e.g. *cumachte* 'might', *cumachtach* 'mighty'.

Disyllabic **ia** becomes *e* as the result of syncope; e.g.

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*ríam* 'before him', *remi* 'before her'; *no-bíad* 'he would be', pl. *no-betis* for *\*bíatis*.

In *dédenach* 'last' ē is probably modelled on the by-form *dídenach* (from **diad** = \**dī-wed-* beside **dead** 'end'). In *béla*, gen. of *biáil* 'axe', ē is due to tile influence of the ā in the other forms; cp. *dég* from *di-ág* § 858.

**107.** In compound verbs, where the stress alternates in accordance with the rule formulated § 35, the effects of syncope are especially marked. Since, moreover, many prepositions have different forms in proclisis and in close composition (§ 819 ff.), there is often a wide difference between parallel forms of the same word. Compare the following deuterotonic and prototonic forms:

deut.	<b>as·berat</b>	prot	<b>·epret</b>	'they say'
"	<b>con·osna</b>	"	<b>·cumsana</b> ( <i>cum-uss-ana</i> )	'rests'
"	<b>do·róse (a) i</b>	"	<b>derscaigi</b> ( <i>de-ro-uss-scochi</i> )	'surpasses'
"	<b>do·lug (a) i</b>	"	<b>·dílg (a) i</b>	'pardons'
"	<b>do·róna</b>	"	<b>·derna</b> ( <i>de-ro-gn..</i> )	'he may do'.

**108.** Much earlier than the above cases are a few examples in which an unstressed vowel beside *w* in the interior of a word has been elided. Thus the prototonic forms of *in·fét* 'relates' with perfective *co(m)-* (§ 533.) point. not to \**enkwēd-*, but to \**enkwēd-*, whence \**ēg(w)ed-*; e.g. 3 sg. subj. pass. *·écestar* (with palatal *c = g*). So, too, in the corresponding forms of the verb 'to go' (\**di-com-wed-*), e.g. 3 sg. past subj. *·dichsed*, < \**dichesseth*, pointing to \**dik(w)ess-*, not to \**dikowess-*, as against deuterotonic **do·coised** (< \**cowess-*). Similarly *céol* (monosyllabic), gen. *cíuil*, neut., 'music, melody' may go back to \**kiwolo-* or \**kiwala-* through intermediate \**kiw'lo-*. If *fedb* 'widow', W. *gweddw* (< \**widwā*), as against Skt. *vidhāvā*, O.Slav. *vodova* (Goth. *widuwō*), Gk. *□ιθηης* 'bachelor', belongs here, elision of this kind dates from a very early period. Cp. Pokorny KZ. XLVI, 155 ff.

**109.** Such incongruities arising from syncope are still tolerated to a considerable extent in Old Irish, which indicates that the date of syncope was not very remote (in point of fact the interior vowels are shown in most of the Ogam inscriptions). Yet even in our period many adjustments have already been made by levelling.

Thus in *Ml.* nom. acc. dat. *londas* 'indignation' makes gen. *londassa* without syncope. Beside *acus ocus* 'near', *aicse oicse* 'proximity' we find the unsyncopeated compound **comocus**, as well as the abstract noun *comoise* apparently with syncope

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of the third syllable. In nominal compounds the composition vowel is always suppressed, even where it would have belonged to the third syllable; e.g. *húasal-lieig* 'chief physician' *Thes. II. 24, 38*, theoretically < \**ōsselo-l.* . . Cp. also *sochumacht* beside *sochmacht* 'capable' on the model of *cumachte* 'power'; *foditiu* 'endurance' < \**fo-détiu* after the simplex *dé(i)tiu*; *·tomontis* *Wb. 12<sup>d</sup>21* beside *·tomnitis* 3 pl. past subj. 'would think' after deuterotonic \**do·mentis*; *indocbál inducbál* 'glory' < \**ind-uss-gabāil*, attracted by *tucbál tócbál* 'raising'. Beside <TARTISSET< *i*>(\**to-r(o)-ad-daissit*) 'they have given' we find the more common *·tartsat* with apparent syncope of both the second and third syllables, but really modelled on the deuterotonic *do·ratsat*; similarly *·ragbtha* 'have been sung' after deuterotonic *ro·gabtha* (< \**ro-gabatha*). After originally disyllabic prepositions, which were reduced to monosyllables in most positions, the following syllable is occasionally syncopeated by analogy with the true monosyllabic prepositions; e.g. regular *timthrecht* 'service' *Wb. (t(o)-imbi-to-r . .)*, but *timthrecht* *Ml.*, *óin-timthrecht* as early as *Wb. 5<sup>d</sup>1*; *indrisse* and *indirse* (\**indr + se*, § 112), both found in *Ml.* as partc. of **ind(e)-reth-** 'invade'; *do·arrchet*, *tairrchet* 'has been prophesied' from *-are-ró-chét* (where *ró = ro-f + ó*).

In trisyllabic words which received an extra syllable in inflexion or from the addition of a formative suffix, the vowel of the final (third) syllable was often syncopeated by analogy with disyllabic words, where in the same circumstances loss of the final (i.e. second) vowel is quite regular (§ 106). Thus *cumachtach* 'mighty', dat. pl. *cumachtgaib*, compar. *cumachtchu*; *ires(s)* 'faith' (\**iri-ssessa*) makes regular gen. *irisse* in *Wb.* and *Ml.*, but **irse** in *Tur.* and later sources.

*lulgach* 'milch cow' has gen. **lulaice** (< -gche, § 137), the two gutturals having evidently attracted each other (see ZCP. XX. 372). In a *m-brotte* gl. 'momentaneum' Wb. 15<sup>c</sup>6, from **brothad (-ath)** + -(o)de, the influence of gen. **brotto**, nom. pl. **brottae**, etc., has doubtless been operative.

**110.** The second syllable of disyllables is not subject to syncope. An exception to this is *foít* 'sending' for \**foídiuth*, where the two dentals have coalesced (compounded with *to: tooít*). Similarly **taít** 2 pl. ipv. 'come' for \**taítith* (§ § 591, 770).

Cp. however, forms like **ro-foided** 'has been sent', without loss of vowel.

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## DEVELOPMENT OF SECONDARY VOWELS

**111.** A nasal or liquid (*r, l*) which, owing to the loss of vowels in interior or final syllables, comes to stand between consonants or in final position after a consonant, retains its consonantal character only:

1. When it follows an identical consonant, e.g. **do-ar-r-chét** (§ 109).
2. When *n* or *m* is preceded by a vowel + *r, l, n,* or *d*; e.g. *ī + ārn* 'iron' from \**īsarnon*, **form** 'on me', **salm** 'psalmus', *almsan* 'alms', *ainm* 'name', *naidm* 'binding, surety'.
3. When the preceding consonant disappears in accordance with § 125, e.g. *áirme* gen. 'of number' from \**ad-rīme*.
4. When the nasals stand before homorganic mediae; e.g. **frecnd(a)irc** (disyllabic) 'present' (*frith-com-derc-*); *·fulngid* 'ye endure' beside deuterotonic \**fo-lungid*.

For the complete disappearance of the nasal in such cases see § 180.

**112.** Nasals and liquids in this position otherwise assume a syllabic (vocalic) character, and a secondary vowel then develops before them. This development is most clearly shown when the lost vowel originally followed them.

Examples: *domun* 'world', gen. *domuin*, < \**domn* + *·* (in the nom. with neutral, in the gen. with palatal *n* = *v*), < monosyllabic \**domn*, < \**dumnos* \**domnas*, gen. *-mni*, cp. Gaul. *Dubno-*; *immainse* 'bound together' < \**immn* + *se* \**imm-nasse*, past partic. of **im-naisc (imb(i)-** being treated like a monosyllabic preposition, § 109).

*cétal* 'singing', < \**cēddl* + \**cēdl*, < \**kantlon* (W. *cathl*); *ac(c)aldam* < \**aggl* + *dam* \**ad-glādam*, vb.n. of *ad-glādathar* 'addresses'; *ecilse ecolso*, gen. of **ecl(a)is** 'church', W. *eglwys*.

*arathar*, gen. *arath(a)ir*, 'plough' < \**arathr* + *·*, < \**aratron* \**aratri* (W. *aradr*); *immormus immarmus* 'sin' for \**immr* + *mus* (*imm-ro-mess*); *tabarthe* 'given' from \**ta-br* + *the* *-brithe*. In the same way *sonirte* 'strength' (abstract formed from *sonirt* 'strong') comes from \**sonr* + *te* in the first instance, see § 164.

The retention of the interior vowel in *arathar*, *forcetal forcital* 'teaching', and the like, shows that in final syllables too this anaptyxis is later than the syncope of interior syllables. At the period of syncope the scored vowel in

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\**arathr*, \**forcetl*, etc., belonged to the final syllable, and accordingly was not syncopeated. This fact often helps to distinguish primary from secondary vowels in final syllables.

## VOWEL CONTRACTION

**113.** Where two vowels have come together in a word which still has more than two syllables after syncope, these vowels frequently coalesce to form a single syllable. In our texts the uncontracted and contracted forms are sometimes found side by side; e.g. trisyllabic **loathar** 'basin' Sg. 67<sup>b</sup>5 (= Mid.Bret.

*louazr*, Gk. *λοετρόν*) beside disyllabic **lóthor** 49<sup>a</sup>2, **lóthur** *Thes. II. 27, 36*; **impuud** 'turning' Sg. 202<sup>b</sup>8 beside **impúd** 106<sup>b</sup>10 (*imb-šoud*), 3 sg. past subj. **·impád** (*imb-šoad*) *MI. 122<sup>a</sup>4*; **erchoat** and **erchót** 'injury' *MI.*; **estoasc** (*-f + ásc*) and **estósc** 'pressing' *MI.*; **óclach** 'youth' from **óac** 'young'; **núabla** (disyllabic) 'new fames' SP. ( *Thes. II.295, 8*) from **nuae**.

For the form of the prepositions *dí fo ro to* before vowels, see [§§ 831, 837, 852, 855](#).

Other vowel contractions, which date from before the period of the written language, lie outside the scope of the present work.

114. Even disyllabic words are liable to contraction when weakly stressed; e.g. monosyllabic **dóib** 'to them' beside **doaib**, **díb** and **diib díib** 'from them'; monosyllabic **léu** beside **lëu** 'with them'; **dús** from **du f + ius** 'in order to know', which has become petrified as a conjunction ( [§ 463](#) ). So also **hólailiu** *MI. 80<sup>a</sup>2* for **ó alóliu** 'by a certain', and--with short vowel--**fulailiu** for **fu alóliu** 102<sup>d</sup>2; **ó** for **ó-a** 'by his' ( [§ 441](#) ), **ós** for **ó is** 'since (temporal) he is' *Wb. 7<sup>a</sup>3*; cp. **leléle** for **li aléle** 'by the other' 16<sup>c</sup>24.

Accordingly, in verse an unstressed initial vowel after a word ending in a vowel need not count as a syllable. Cp. the spelling **ar n-oís recho manetar** (for **immanetar** ) 'we people of the law mutually' *Wb. 31<sup>d</sup>1*. In such positions the form of the article **na** instead of **inna** ( [§ 467](#) ) may have developed.

Pretonic **dia** (preps. **di** or **do** with possess. or tel. pron. **a** ), **foa fua** and the like appear to be nearly always monosyllabic in verse (cp. the spelling **díar** 'to our' *Wb. 4<sup>b</sup>17*); **ce ci** 'though' with following initial *a* occurs both as a monosyllable and as a disyllable ( K. Meyer, *Hail Brigit*, p. 24).

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Examples of contraction in fully stressed disyllables are still very rare; e.g. **lind te** (i.e. *té*) 'hot water' Sg. 102<sup>a</sup>2 for **lind tee** *Thes. II.231, 23*; **lon** (i.e. *lón*) *MI. 80<sup>a</sup>2*, dat. of **loon loan** 'adepts'; **·díg** 'avenges' 24<sup>b</sup>17 beside ipv. 2 sg. **deich** (= **deich?**) 72<sup>d</sup>11 (*-fich*); **mám** Sg. 77<sup>a</sup>5 for **máam**. 'greatest'; **fót** 'sod' 66<sup>b</sup>6 beside **foot fout** *Anecd. I. 63. 111*; **bíth** 'is wont to be' SP. for **biith bíith**.

## VOCALISM OF PRETONIC WORDS

For the quantity see [§ 46](#).

### 115. 1. CHANGE OF QUALITY

(a) In pretonic words *a* often appears for *e*, occasionally for *o*; this is parallel to the frequent change of palatal to neutral consonants in such words ( [§ 168](#) ). Examples: **as- a** 'out of' beside stressed **es (s)-** ( [§ 834](#) ); **acht** 'except, but', Gk. *ἄκτος*; **la** 'with', (in archaic texts still **le** ); **nach** 'any', pretonic form of **nech** ( [§ 489](#) ); **am** 'I am', IE. *\*esmi*; **ata** 'which are' (ending otherwise *-te, -de*); **ala** (all cases), pretonic of **aile**, gen. **aili**, 'other' ( [§ 486 f.](#) ); **as-** . pretonic form of the preposition which when stressed is **oss-** (**uss-** ) ( [§ 849](#) ); **calléic calléice** 'however', comprising the conjunction **co** <sup>n</sup> ( [§ 896](#) ) and the 1 and 2 sg. subj. of **léicid** 'leaves': **far** 'on' beside **for**, though also conversely for 'your' beside **far** (influence of the *f-*). In **ocus acus** 'and' ( [§ 878](#) ) it is uncertain whether *o* or *a* is the older (the fluctuation spreads to the stressed adjective **acus ocus** 'near', *W. agos*).

Pretonic *in-* ( [§ 842 B](#) ) from *en(i)-* may have been influenced by stressed *in-*. But the contrast between **is (s)** 'is', **it** 'are' and the other persons **am, at, as, ammi, adib, ata** ( [§ 792](#) ) is remarkable. It has been rightly explained as due to the frequent combination of **is, it** with the normative of personal pronouns of the 3rd person, all of which have palatal vocalism: **iss é , is sí , iss ed, it é** ( [§ 406](#) ).

(b) *e* before *a, o* often becomes **i**, e.g. **ci as-bera** 'though he says' for **ce** ; **li-a** 'with his' (primary form **le**, [§ 845](#) ); **ci ó fut** 'how long?' for **ce, cía**, [§ 456 f.](#)

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In the same position *o* occasionally becomes *u*, e.g. **fu-a** 'under his' beside **fo-a** (and **fó**).

Cp. § 79. For other cases of *u* < *o* see § 101.

## 116. 2. LOSS OF VOWELS

(a) It seems probable that original proclitics had lost their final vowels long before stressed words; cp. **to do** 'thy', probably < \**tow*' ( § 446 ); **-bo** 'was' (copula) < \**bow*' beside **boí** (subst. vb.) < \**bowe* (?). This doubtless applies to some prepositions also, but proof is difficult in particular cases.

A few adverbs, however, which in the course of time had come to be used as preverbs, evidently retained their final vowel. In proclisis their first syllable was not strongly stressed, and thus they were not liable to syncope, which normally affects the vowel following a stressed syllable ( § 106 ). Accordingly the old final syllable remained. Cp. **cetú** 'at first' ( §§ 393, 398 ), Gaul. *Cintu-*; the preposition **ceta-cita** ( § 828 ), Gk. *κατά*; **remi** 'before' ( § 851 ) and the like.

So too, in some later Ogam inscriptions where final vowels have otherwise been lost, MAQI 'of the son' is occasionally written between proper names.

117. (b) Proclitic groups of three or four syllables are often reduced to two by dropping the interior vowels; e.g. **mainbed** 'if it were not' (copula) for **ma-ni-bed**; **nirbo** 'has not been' for **ni-ro-bo**, pl. **nirbtar** for **ni-ro-batar**; **armbad arbed** 'so that it might be' for **arim-bad**, 3 pl. **airmdis ardis** for **arim-betis**; **cain-ro-noíbad** 'has he not been sanctified?' for **ca-ni-ro**. ( § 465 ); **cein-ro-nástar** 'though it has not been warranted' *ZCP*. XIII. 23, 33 for **ce-ni-ro**; **lasna** 'with the' (pl.) for *la-sinna* (-*sinda*); **donaib**, arch. **dundaib**, for *du-sindaib* ( § 467 ); **comma-airic** 'so that it suits' *MI*. 133<sup>4</sup> for **co-imma-airic** (or rather, perhaps, for **con-imma**, cp. Windisch, *IT*. I. 431); **nímmalle** *Wb*. 17<sup>d</sup>2 for **ní immalle** 'not together'; **each-la sel** for **each ala sel** 'every other turn' ( § 487 ); **isnanaicci** *Wb*. 5<sup>b</sup>27 for **is inn-a n-aicci** 'it is in their fosterage'.

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# CONSONANTS LENITION

Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk*, I. ( 1897 ).

**118.** Lenition (formerly called aspiration) is the term used to describe a mutation of consonants which normally originated in a reduction of the energy employed in their articulation. It affected not only medial, but also such initial consonants as were closely associated with the preceding word (for the rules governing these see § 232 ff.). It, is earlier than the loss of vowels in final and interior syllables ( §§ 91 f., 106 ), for it presupposes the continued existence of these vowels. A further proof of its antiquity is that parallel mutations are found in the Britannic dialects. **119.** Lenition affected:

- a. All single consonants between vowels, or between a vowel and *w* or *v*; also final *r* after a vowel.
- b. All stops and *m*, *s*, *w* between a vowel and *l*, *r*, *n*.

The rule applies to *dr* only in compounds with the prep. *ad-* ( § 125 ). In non-compound words *dr* seems to have early become *ddr*: **ro-fitir** 'knows' < \**widr-* ( § 703 ), **cretar** (**cret (a) ir**) 'relic', Mid.W. *creir*, < \**kredr-*. Against this view, however, the adj. **odur odar** 'grey-brown', which probably designates the colour of the otter (ON. *otr*, Lith. *údra údras*, etc.; cp. Gk. *ὄδρος*, *□U03B4ρU+03B1* 'water snake'), has been cited. This word is inflected like *bodar* 'deaf'. acc. pl. fem. **bodra** Tur. 11, where W. *byddar*, Bret. *bouzar*, and Skt. *badhiráh* point to a Celtic stem in *-aro-*. Forms with palatal consonance--e.g. acc. sg. fem. **u (i) dir**, gen. sg. fem. **uidre**, dat. sg. **buidir**, abstr. **buidre** (as early as *MI*. 38<sup>e</sup>15, 59<sup>a</sup>12)--are secondary, influenced doubtless by words like **othar** 'sickness, invalid' < \**putro-* (Celt. \**utro-*), gen. **uithir**, etc. Hence **odar odur** also may go back to a form \**udaro-s* (cp. Gk. *ὄδαρής* 'watery').

**120.** Lenition of *l r n* in consonant groups (whether original or resulting from syncope) occurs on a wider scale and under different conditions from the foregoing. They are always unlenited before *t d s l r n*, and after *s l r n*, and lenited before and after all other consonants.

The assumption that the frequent lengthening of a short vowel before *r* + certain consonants ( § 46, 3a ) was due to earlier unlenited pronunciation of the *r* cannot be confirmed.

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Even where *l r n* were geminated before the period of syncope, they seem to have always undergone lenition after consonants other than *s l r n*; on the other hand, when so geminated, they remained unlenited before all consonants throughout the O.Ir. period.

Here it is hard to lay down definite rules, since lenited and unlenited sounds are not distinguished in writing, except that unlenited consonants are sometimes written double ( § 136 ). We are, therefore, confined mainly to inferences from (1) the pronunciation of those modern dialects that still distinguish between lenited and unlenited *l, n*, and to some extent *r* (cp. the summary in Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk.* I. 20 ff., *Vergl. Gramm.* I. 140 ff.), and (2) the orthography of Old Irish. At a later period *r* underwent considerable changes, in that the sound of unlenited palatal *r* was almost completely lost.

Examples of sounds which were lenited before the development of syncope but afterwards delenited are: **accomallte** 'joined' *Wb.* 5<sup>b</sup>25 from **ad-comla** ; **cinnta** *MI.* 62<sup>d</sup>5, nom. pl. of **cin**, acc. sg. **cinaid**, 'fault, liability'; **illdai** 'of plural' 68<sup>c</sup>14 < *i·λ'δ(a)i*; **mad aill dúib** 'if it were pleasing (**áil**) to you' *Wb.* 13<sup>b</sup>3; **annse** 'difficult' 6<sup>d</sup>9 < \**av'se*, cp. **asse** 'easy'; **fellsube** 'philosophy' 30<sup>b</sup>11; **collnide** 8<sup>c</sup>8 adj. from **colin (n)** 'flesh'; **dígallre** 'health' 18<sup>a</sup>1 from **galar** 'disease'; **airnne** 'glandium' *Sg.* 49<sup>b</sup>17, cp. *W.* *eirin* 'plums'; **comairlle** 'counsel' *Wb.* 16<sup>c</sup>12; **ma no-s-comalnnamar** 'if we fulfil them' *Cam.*, to **comlán** 'complete', vb.n. **comallnad** *Wb.* 2<sup>c</sup>15. For **rr** there are no examples in the Glosses, but cp. **errnighth** 'prayer' *Ériu* III. 6, 6.

On the other hand, that *l* and *r* from the earliest times were lenited in speech, even after unlenited consonants, is evident from forms like *cétal* 'singing' (vb.n.) < \**cēdl* or \**cēddl* (\**kantlon*), **comaltar** 'co-fostorage' < \**-altr* (\**-altron*). Here *-l* and *-r*, although their separation from the preceding unlenited consonant is only secondary, are never written double, and so must have been lenited.

It is probable, though not absolutely certain, that original geminates were, as in the modern language, lenited after consonants, for they are never written double; e.g. **foichlid** 'give heed' *MI.* 68<sup>a</sup>15, 2 pl. ipv. of **fu-cíallathar** 114<sup>b</sup>3; **do-foichred** 'it would put' *Sg.* 130<sup>b</sup>21, cp. **fo-cicherr** 'he will throw' *MI.* 87<sup>d</sup>6; **arna-foircnea** 'that it may not terminate' *Wb.* 20<sup>b</sup>13, subj. of **for-cenna**. On the other hand, their unlenited articulation before every class of consonant is indicated by such examples as **collbe** 'pillar' *Wb.* 23<sup>d</sup>31 (later **colbha** ); **arnách-rólca** 'so that it may not swallow him' 14<sup>d</sup>21 (*ll* < *sl*), perfective pr. subj. of *slucid*; **berrthar** 'let her be shorn' 11<sup>c</sup>13, ipv. pass. of **berraid** ; **enncae** 'innocence' *MI.* 41<sup>a</sup>9 from **ennac** 'innocent'; cp. also long *e* in **im-timc [h] élfam** 24<sup>a</sup>7, 1 pl. fut. of **im-timchella** 'surrounds' (cp. § 45 ).

In **cenand** 'white-headed' from *cenn-f* + *ind*, Gaul. *ΠεννοουινδοU+03C2*. *nn* has been lenited (simplified) by dissimilation from the unlenited *n* in *nd*. The same probably applies to **menand** 'clear' for *menn-f* + *ind*.

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Occasionally unlenited consonants seem to have spread to other positions, e.g. **as-lennim** *Sg.* 173<sup>a</sup>4 beside **as-lenaimm** (= **·lénaimm** ) 54<sup>a</sup>8 'I pollute', probably influenced by prototonic **·éilnnim**. So too **linn** 'number' beside **lín** and **finn** 'wine' beside **fin** have been explained as deriving from the acc. (or neuter nom.), where *n* was inserted before the following initial ( § 237, 1 ), thus giving rise to a geminate.

**121.** The following consonants always remain **unlenited** (radical):

- a. All geminated (lengthened) consonants, as a rule even when they lose their length by coming to stand beside other consonants ( § 143 ). For exceptions in regard to *ll, rr, nn*, see § 120.
- b. The early groups *ng* (i.e. *ng*), *nd*, *mb*, *sc*, *st* (**sp** in loan-words).

- c. In early groups (i.e. not arising from syncope): stops after *r* and *l*; *t* after *ch*; *b* and *g* after *d* (= *δ*) < *z* ( § 218.); *m* after *l r n d*; and *n* after *r*.

For the articulation of *l*, *r*, *n* in these groups see § 120. The Mid. and Mod.Ir. rule that *sm* remains unlenited does not apply to the O.Ir. period, see *Gwynn Hermathena XX.*, 63; cp. **led-magtach** 'unequally proportioned (?)' *Wb.* 11<sup>d</sup>16 from **smacht**. The later **do-mblas** 'evil taste, gall' should not be taken as evidence that *ml-* was not limited: it is based on **mblas**, intermediate form between O.Ir. **mlas** 'taste' anal later **blas**.

## I. LENITION OF STOPS

**122.** By lenition the stops *c*, *t* (and *p* in loanwords). *g*, *d*, and *b* are transformed into the spirants *ch*, *th*, *ph* (= *f*), *γ*, *δ*, *β*, the last three of which are written *g*, *d*, *b*, see § 29.

The phonetic values of *ch*, *ph* (= *f*), *γ* and *β* are still directly attested by modern pronunciation.

Neutral *ch* represents the velar voiceless spirant (as in German *ach*), palatal *ch* the palatal voiceless spirant (as in German *ich*).

*γ* (Mod.Ir. *gh*) represents one or other of the two corresponding voiced spirants (the velar or the palatal) according as it is neutral or palatal.

*β* (Mod.Ir. *bh*) was doubtless bilabial *v* (neutral and palatal) in O.Ir., as it still is in some modern dialects, although in others non-palatal *bh* = English *w*.

The modern pronunciation of *th* as simple *h* is well attested from the 12th century on. But two facts show that *th* was not so pronounced in the earlier period: it alternates frequently with *d* (= *δ*) in writing, and it is trans-

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literated *þ* or *ð* in ON., *th* in O. and Mid.E. and Mid.W. sources. It was a voiceless interdental spirant like English hard *th*.

*δ* (Mod.Ir. *dh*) eventually came to be pronounced as *γ*. The earliest examples of this are found (for palatalized *δ*) about the end of the eleventh century, and the fusion must have been complete by the thirteenth. The fact that the interchange of *g* and *d*, so frequent in later times, never occurs in O.Ir. indicates that they still represented different sounds. The representation of *δ* in other languages, e.g. *ð* in ON. sources, shows that it was a voiced spirant (Eng. soft *th*).

Cp. Craigie, *ZCP*. I. 439 ff.; O'Rahilly, *Hermathena xx.* 163 ff.

**123.** In this form the lenited stops have been preserved:

- a. In word-anlaut.
- b. In intervocalic position after stressed vowels; e.g. **bráthir** 'brother', Lat. *frater*; **midíur** 'I judge', Gk. *μέδομαι*; **sechitir** 'they follow', Lat. *sequontur*; *tige* 'houses', Gk.

The standing exception **tuidecht** 'coming', a compound of **techt** 'going', is due to the influence of the unrelated verb **do · dechuid**, prototonic **tuidchid** 'has come'. The gen. sg. **saído** *Thes.* II.296, 4, instead of **saítho**, may have been suggested by nom. **saíd** beside **saíth** 'trouble'. The isolated forms **cedardae** *Ml.* 111<sup>c</sup>9, 133<sup>a</sup>10 for **cethardae** 'four things', and **hóidid** gen. of **úathad** 'singleness' Sg. 66<sup>b</sup>9, are apparently due to some kind of assimilation of the two spirants (which was perhaps confined to writing); cp. conversely **senathartha** 'grandfatherly' *Ml.* 99<sup>b</sup>8 for **-athardae**. **cuide** 123<sup>d</sup>3 for **cuithe** 'puteus' is probably a faulty spelling (but cp. **ó c [h] uidich** gl. *aucupio* *Thes.* II. 38, 14); so too **ídi** *Ml.* 124<sup>c</sup>8, dat sg. of vb.n. **ithe** 'eating' (where the mark of length is also erroneous).

- c. After consonants voiceless spirants remain voiceless.

A few exceptions may be ascribed to analogy. Thus *pecdæ* 'sins' *Wb. II.* 33<sup>b</sup>8, **pecdachu** acc. pl. 'sinful' *MI.* 26<sup>d</sup>14, instead of normal **pecthe**, **pecthach**, have the *d* (δ) which had developed in the auslaut of nom. acc. dat. sg. **peccad** 'sin' ( § 130 ). But forms like **cumachtgaib** *MI.* 26<sup>b</sup>20, dat. pl. of **cumachtach** 'powerful', compar. **cumachtgu** 101<sup>d</sup>7 beside **cumachtchu** *Sg.* 39<sup>b</sup>3a, admit of no such explanation. It is doubtful whether *g* here represents voiced *γ* or merely a weaker articulation of *ch*.

After *s* fluctuation between *ch* and *g* is found in *MI.* (e.g. **grésgai** 89<sup>d</sup>11, acc. of the abstract from **gréssach** 'continuous', dat. pl. **gréschaib** 32<sup>b</sup>12); and in some verbal stems it is universal, with the result that there is often difficulty in deciding whether *ch* or *g* is original; e.g. **todiusgud** *Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup>39 beside **todiuschud** 8<sup>a</sup>4 'rousing', vb.n.; **toschid** 10<sup>d</sup>18 beside **tasgid** 29<sup>a</sup>13 'sustenance'; **do-coisgedar** 'follows' *Sg.* 16<sup>b</sup>2 beside the simplex **·sechethar**. The fluctuation spreads to other forms also, such as **in · coissegar** 'is signified' *MI.* 48<sup>a</sup>11 beside **in · choisechar** (rel.) *Sg.* 198<sup>a</sup>3, cp. 3 pl. act. **in · choisget** 45<sup>b</sup>1. In Mid.Ir. *sch* *sg* everywhere becomes *sc*.

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**124.** In other positions the original form of lenited stops has undergone various modifications.

1. There is clear evidence that **voiced spirants** were **unvoiced after voiceless consonants** ; e.g. **macthi** 'childish' (pl.) *Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup>9, **corpthi** 'corporeal' (pl.) *MI.* 15<sup>a</sup>2, although elsewhere the adjectival suffix is *-ðe* ( § 348 ); **fortchide** *MI.* 29<sup>d</sup>14, partic. of **for · tugim** 'I cover'.

As a rule, however, the voiced spirant has been restored by levelling; e.g. **in chorpdid** 'corporeally' *Wb.* 27<sup>a</sup>12, **neph-chorpde** 'incorporeal' *Sg.* 59<sup>b</sup>16; **muçde** 'suinus' 37<sup>b</sup>9. from **muçc** 'pig'; **in fortgidiu** 'covertly' *MI.* 30<sup>a</sup>3.

For *ð* after *s* see § 139.

In *MI.* and later sources *β* in syllable anlaut sometimes becomes *f* even after voiced consonants: **oín-chétfaid** *MI.* 53<sup>b</sup>20 (with *t = d*), elsewhere always **cétbaid** **cétbuid** 'sense' (*cét-buith*), but Mid.Ir. **cétfaid** ; **findfadach** 'blessed' 56<sup>b</sup>44 beside gen. **findbadaig** 114<sup>b</sup>7; the nom. acc. dat. of the substantive (*find+bi(u)th*) is written **findbuth** 128<sup>d</sup>18, **findbiuth** *Ériu II.* 144 § 159, **findfiud** *ibid.* 108 § 25, [**f + j**] **indfuth** *Trip.* 180, 1. The change is found even in word-anlaut. e.g. **amal fid** 'as it were' *MI.* 34<sup>b</sup>11, 37<sup>b</sup>22, for **bid** (βið); and after a vowel, e.g. **ciafa** 36<sup>a</sup>32 for **cia ba** 'though thou art'; cp. **ba bá** and **fa fá** 'or' § 464.

**125. 2. Spirants before other consonants** undergo the following modifications:

(a) After a vowel the spirants *ch*, *γ*, *ð* **disappear** before *r l n*, also *γ* before *m*, and *th* before *l n*, where the groups have not been caused by syncope. If the preceding vowel was short it is lengthened. It also undergoes a peculiar change of quality in *achr* which becomes *ér*, as evidenced by **dér** 'tear', O.Bret. *dacr*, Gk. *δάκρυ*, Goth. *tagr*. For *achl* and *achn* the evidence is not so definite; **mél (a)e** 'shame' may be cognate with Lat. *macula* (< \**maclā*)), and **mlén** 'groin', misspelt *melen* for *mleen* *Thes. II.* 47, 3, 361, (< \**mlakn-* ?), with Gk. *μαλακός* 'soft', βλ □ + ξ gen. βλα + κός 'slack'. But *agr*, *agl*, *agn* give *ár ál*, *án*.

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Examples:

*chp*: **du · air-chér** 'I have purchased' *Thes. I.* 498, 14 (Arm.), < \**-chechr*, pret. of **crenaid** 'buys'.

*chl*: **mu(i)nél** 'neck', *W. mynwgl mwnwgl* (with *g < k*); **·cúal(a)e** 'he heard' < \**cochlōwe* \**cuchlōwe*. So too original *ksl* > *chsl*, *chl*: **scál** 'phantom', Goth. *skōhsl* 'phantom' (\**skōkslōm* or \**skākslōm*).

*γp*: **úar** 'cold' < \**ōgr* \**ougr-*, *W. oer*, Gaul. *Ogroni*. . . (name of month); **ár** 'slaughter' < \**agr*, O.Bret. *air*, cp. Gaul. *Uer-agri* (Gk. □*γpa* ?).

*γl*: **mál** 'prince' (poet.) < \**magl*, gen. *MAGLI*, *SENO MAGLI* in Latin inscriptions found in Wales.

γν: **ad · gén** 'I recognized', < \**gegn*, pret. of · **gnin** ; **Broccán** (proper name), gen. BROCAGNI (inscription).  
 γμ: **ám [t]hám** 'a moving to and fro' LL 264<sup>b</sup>38, to **agid** 'drives' and **do · aig**.  
 δρ: **áram** 'number', from *ad* and **rím** 'number' (cp. § 119).  
 δλ: **fo · álagar** 'is laid low' < \**ad-logar*.  
 δν: **húan** 'lending' *Ml.* 28<sup>d</sup>12, **ón óin** Laws, vb.n. of · **odar** 'is lent'; **áinsem** 'accusation' < \**ad-nessam*.  
 thλ: **cenél** 'kindred, gender' < \**cenethl*, OW. *ceneti*; **dál** 'assembly' < \**dathl*, OW. *datl*.  
 thv: **én** 'bird' < \**ethn*, O.Bret. *etn*.

The initial of the second element of a compound is often treated as the initial of a word ( § 123a ); e.g. **fognam** 'service' vb.n. of **fo · gní** 'serves', beside **dénium** 'doing' (*de-gním*); **fo-chricc** 'reward'. Occasionally, too, in reduplicated verbal forms a spirant following the reduplication syllable remains; e.g. **ro · cechladar** 'will hear', to · **clu(i)nethar** ; **ro · cechladatar** 'they have dug', to **cla(i)did**.

In the sound groups *thp*, *βp*, and *βλ* the spirants are retained even in the interior of words; e.g. **críathar** 'sieve', **críathraid** 'perforates' < \**crēthr-*, cp. OW. *cruitr*, Mid.Bret. *croezr*; **gabor gabur** 'goat', O.Bret. *gabr*, W. *gafr*, cp. the place-names *Gabro-senti* ( Britain ), *Gabro-magus* ( Noricum ); **mebol mebul** 'shame', W. *mefl*.

Accordingly **nél** 'cloud', nom. pl. **núuil**, cannot come from \**neβλ* \**nebhlos*. It may perhaps go back to \**miglos* (cp. Gk. *μίχλη* 'mist') through

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intermediate \**niglos*, with change of anlaut under the influence of the verb **nigid** 'washes'. It is hardly = Mid.W. *nywl*, later *niwl* (also *nifwl*), 'mist', unless this word has been influenced by Lat. *nebula*.

126. (b) Where, as a result of syncope, spirants have come to stand before other consonants, there is a clearly marked tendency towards levelling in the sense that **voiceless spirants** become **voiced before voiced consonants**, and **voiced spirants** are **unvoiced before voiceless consonants**. But the original sounds are often restored from other forms, and thus both spellings are found in the same word; e.g. **adramail** 'fatherlike' *Wb.* 6<sup>d</sup>6 beside **athramil** 13<sup>d</sup>11, where the *th* of **athir** 'father' has been restored; also pl. **adthramli** 9<sup>a</sup>14, 23<sup>c</sup>27, where it seems more likely that the scribe is hesitating between the two forms than that he is seeking to represent the transition from voiced to voiceless during the articulation of the spirant. So, too, in *Ml.* **adaig** 'night' (with *-g* < *-ch* § 130) sometimes makes acc. and gen. sg. **aithchi aithche**, sometimes **aidchi aidche** with the *d* of the nominative; conversely in *Thes.* II.242, 13 (Arm.) we find **aithgi** with the *g* of the nominative. In *Wb.* the negative prefix ( § 874 ) is always **neb-** before vowels and voiced consonants, but often **neph-** before voiceless consonants: **nebairitiu** 'non-acceptance', **nebmarbtu** 'immortality', but **nephthóbe** 'non-circumcision', although **nebthóbe** also occurs, e.g. 1<sup>d</sup>18. As early as *Wb.* II. 33<sup>b</sup>5, however, we find **nephinotacht** 'nonentrance', and in *Ml.* and Sg. **neph-** is the sole form in all positions, e.g. **nephdénium** 'non-doing' *Ml.* 23<sup>c</sup>20 as opposed to **nebdénium** *Wb.* 5<sup>c</sup>23. Cp. further *dephthigim* 'I contend' *Ml.* 21<sup>a</sup>2 beside 3 sg. ipf. **no · debthaiged** 19<sup>c</sup>13, from **debuith** 'discord'; **ad · áichfer** 'I shall fear' 68<sup>c</sup>17, **ad · r-áichsetar** 80<sup>d</sup>4 beside **ad · r-áigsetar** 124<sup>b</sup>6 'they have feared', fut. and pf. of **ad · ágathar** ; **ainmmnichthe** Sg. 4<sup>b</sup>4 beside **ainmnigthe** 197<sup>b</sup>10, gen. of **ainm (m) nigud** 'naming', and many similar instances. In words containing the prepositions **aith-** , **t-aith-** there is already complete confusion in *Wb.*; cp. **aithgne** 'knowledge' 1<sup>b</sup>13 beside dat. **aidgniu** 1<sup>c</sup>15, **taithchricc** 4<sup>b</sup>16 beside **taidchricc** 2<sup>b</sup>9 'redemption'.

In many cases it is impossible to decide whether the fluctuation was confined to writing or whether it represented differences in pronunciation. But it is certain at least that, owing to the influence of such examples on the

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scribes, the representation of spirants in general became less precise. Thus in *Wb.* 17<sup>a</sup>5 we actually find **irnichthe** 'prayer' for **irnigde** (cp. **guide** 'praying'). Cp. also **adchaib** *Wb.* 22<sup>a</sup>14, dat. pl. of **athach** 'blast of wind', where *δ* cannot be due to the following voiceless *ch*. Conversely **comdíthnatha** 14<sup>b</sup>11, **díthnad** 14<sup>b</sup>15 (twice), where the scribe, who elsewhere always writes **dídnad** (vb.n. of **do-dona**

'consoles'), has written *th* for *d* three times in succession (**comdíthnad** also *Sg.* 90<sup>a</sup>7). It would seem that the pronunciation of spirants at the end of a medial syllable often fluctuated in the same way as in wordauslaut ( § 130 ). For *b* (β) instead of *f* in syllabic auslaut, see § 635.

**127.** (c) In our sources there are as yet but few instances of the reduction of the sound-group *thch* or *δch* to *ch*. It takes place consistently only (before *n*) in **súaichnid** (**súaignid** twice, *Wb.* 8<sup>c</sup>15, 18<sup>c</sup>6) 'well-known' for \**su-aith-gnid*. Apart from this, *Wb.* has the isolated forms **prechite** and **ro-priched** (5<sup>a</sup>5, 23<sup>a</sup>3) beside normal **predchid** **pridchid** 'preaches'. These forms are more frequent in *Ml.*, where we also find **tachur** 34<sup>a</sup>20, **taichur** 115<sup>a</sup>9 beside **taidchor** 'restoration' 117<sup>b</sup>5, 131<sup>a</sup>12; **fris-tuichetar** 'they opposed' 21<sup>c</sup>2, normally **·tuidchetar**. Accordingly this pronunciation had not yet become general.

Cp. also **taibsiu** *Wb.* 6<sup>d</sup>6, *Sg.* 209<sup>b</sup>28 for more frequent **taidbsiu** (-aβs-) 'showing', 3 sg. past subj. **·taibsed** *Sg.* 6<sup>b</sup>25.

**128.** 3. At first sight **single spirants between unstressed vowels** do not appear to be governed by any rules, for voiceless and voiced spirants are often used indifferently in the same word or suffix, e.g. **oirdnithe** and **oirdnide** 'ordained', **·comalnathar** and **·comalnadar** 'completes', **sóinmiche** and **sóinmige** 'prosperity', etc. The fluctuation, however, is almost wholly confined to cases where the voiceless spirant is the original. Of the rare exceptions, some may be explained by analogy; e.g. **cuimrecha** 'fetters' *Wb.* 23<sup>a</sup>5 beside **cuimrega** 27<sup>c</sup>36 (to **con-rig** 'binds'), modelled on the singular **cuimrech**; **ass-indethar** 'is explained' *Ml.* 90<sup>b</sup>18 beside **ass-indedar** 17<sup>a</sup>9 (-*ind-fēd-*), attracted by the frequent passive ending *-thar*; **cúrsachad** beside **cúrsagad** 'reproving' vb.n. (from Lat. *curas agere*), modelled on **maldachad** 'cursing', **bendachad** 'blessing'. Others are doubtless isolated scribal aberrations; e.g. **humaithe** 'brazen' *Tur.* 129 for normal **umaide**; **cubaithiu** 'more harmonious' *Ml.* 145<sup>b</sup>3, compar. of **cubaid** (*com-fid*).

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**129.** Original voiceless spirants between unstressed vowels are in process of becoming voiced, and have already in great measure attained that condition in the earliest manuscripts. Only *-ach-* seems to resist the change. In certain examples the transition can be followed by means of a comparison between *Wb.* and *Ml.* Thus **dílgud** (vb.n.) 'forgiving' (with *-d* from *-th*) makes gen. **dílgotho dílgutha** in *Wb.*, whereas in *Ml.* **dílguda -do** is as common as **dílgutha**; **comalnad** (vb.n.) 'completing' makes gen. **comalnatha** in *Wb.*, **comallada** in *Ml.* Cp. further **atligid** 'give thanks' (ipv. pl.), vb.n. **atlugud** (already in *Wb.*), from **atluchedar** (**ad-tluchedar**); **sechtmogo**, gen. **-ogat**, 'seventy' as opposed to **tricho -a**, gen. **trichat**, 'thirty'; **du-écigi** 'he shall see' for reduplicated *-cichi*; **ad-co-tedae** 'he obtained' *Thes. II.* 240, 23 (*Arm.*) for *-teth.* .; **sechmadachtae** 'preterite' to **tiagu** 'I go'. As a rule *th* at the beginning of a syllable ending in *r* is replaced by *ð* only where it is separated from the stress by at least two other syllables; cp. the equatives ( § 368 ) **suthainidir**, **dínnímidir**, **sonartaidir**, **erlamaidir** beside **dénithir**, **lérithir**, **demnithir**, **soirbithir** (**soirbidir** only once, *Ml.* 75<sup>b</sup>7); or the 3 sg. depon. of verbs with stem ending in *-ig-* ( § 524 ), which always terminates in *-idir -edar* (the only exceptions being **erbirigithir** *Ml.* 35<sup>b</sup>6, **adamrigethar** *Wb.* 5<sup>c</sup>16, **érasigethar** *ZCP. VII.* 481). After monosyllabic stems, on the contrary, *-ithir -ethar* is more common; e.g. always **·cluineathar** 'hears' (6 instances), **·ágathar** (7) 'fears' (beside **·ágadar** once), **midithir** **·midethar** (5) 'judges' (beside **·midedar** once), etc. Here, too, there has obviously been much levelling. Thus **sóinmiche** beside **sóinmige** may have been influenced by the adjective **sóinnech** 'prosperous, lucky'. For *f* in this position see § 635.130. In **final position** (wordauslaut) there is complete confusion between the two classes of spirant. Here the determining factors are the phonetic character of the spirant and its quality ( § 156 f.).

1. (a) The neutral ( §§ 156, 157 ) guttural spirant is nearly always written *-ch*, irrespective of whether it was originally voiced or voiceless; e.g., **iressach hiressac** 'faithful', suffix Gaul. *-āco- ācā-*; **teglach** 'household' from **teg** 'house' and **and**

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**slóg** 'troop'. Instances such as **coibdelag** *Wb.* 9<sup>c</sup>32 'related, relationship', beside **coibdelach**, and **éicndag** 'slander' 1<sup>c</sup>6, beside **Y+00E9cndach**, are rare.

(b) The palatal guttural spirant is generally represented by *-g*, though *-ch* also occurs; e.g. nom. pl. **(h)iressig** (more common than **iressich**), **teglig** 'of a household'; but also **atob-aich** 'which impels you' *Wb.* 9<sup>c</sup>20 beside normal **·aig** (cp. Lat. *agere*).

(c) Examples of *u*-quality are not numerous, but *-g* seems to be more frequent than *-ch*; e.g.

- dat. sg. **teglug**; **errug**, nom. **errach**, 'spring'; **tossug** beside **tossuch**, nom. **tossach**, 'beginning'; **díriug** beside **díriuch** 'straight'; **do-fonug** and **do-fonuch** 'I wash'; **deug** (later also **deoch**) 'drink', gen. **dige**. In all these examples, however, *-g* is original.
2. Dental spirants of whatever quality are more frequently represented by *-d* than by *-th*. Thus **peccad** 'sin' is much commoner than **peccath** (*Wb.* 9<sup>c</sup>19), **sluindid** 'designates' than **sluindith** (ending originally had *-t*), **díltud** 'denial' than **díltuth** (suffix *-tu-*). But there are also sporadic instances of *-th* for *-d*, e.g. (in a fully stressed syllable) **búaith** 'victory' *Wb.* 11<sup>a</sup>7 beside normal **búaid**, gen. **búada**.
  3. For the labial spirants *-b* is almost invariably written, and represents not merely earlier *γ*, as in **atrab** 'dwelling' to **atreba** (*ad-treba*) 'dwells' or in the dat. pl. and du. *-ib*, but also an originally voiceless spirant *ph* (= *f*), as in **felsub** 'philosophus', **angraib** 'exemplar, antioraphum'. Exceptions are very rare: **oíph** 'appearance' *Wb.* and its compound **cammaif camaiph** 'still, however' ( [§ 907](#) ) beside **cammaib** *Wb.* 3<sup>d</sup>16 (where we should perhaps read *-aíf -aíph -aíb*; **camai** *Wb.* 3<sup>d</sup>8 has been attracted by **ar-aí** 'however').

The above rules are often crossed, particularly in monosyllables, by levelling, the influence of other case-forms serving to restore the etymologically correct sound; e.g. **mag** 'field', influenced by gen. sg. nom. pl. **maige**, but. **i-mmach** (i.e. *i<sup>n</sup> mag*) 'out(wards)', where the connexion was less clearly felt. Similarly **lóg** 'pay, price', gen. **lóge**, the usual form, but also **lúach** (acc.) *Sg.* 41<sup>b</sup>6; **teg** beside **tech** 'house', pl. **tige**; **leth** and **led** 'side', gen. **lethe**; **maith** and **maid** 'good', pl. **ma(i)thi**. **oíph** too probably had gen. **oífe** (but Mid.Ir. nom. **æ + bú**, gen. **aíbe** ).

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## II. LENITION OF THE CONTINUANTS

*s, w (f), m, n, l, r*

**131.** Lenited *s* first became the aspirate *h*, which has been preserved down to the present day at the beginning of fully stressed syllables. For its representation by *s, ś*, see [§ 231, 7](#).

In intervocalic medial position it disappears; but at the beginning of the second element of a compound it is sometimes treated as in word-anlaut. Early examples are **fochith fochaid** 'torture, tribulation' from *\*fo-sagith, fotha* (*\*fothae*) 'basis' from *fo+suide* 'seat', **miathamle** 'magnificence' from **miad** 'honour' and **samail**, where the contact with *h* after syncope has caused *γ* and *δ* to become voiceless *ch* and *th*. So also **impu(i)de** 'besieging' from *imb-su(i)de*, etc. ( [§ 187](#) ). Similar treatment is indicated by spellings like **déserc deserc** 'charity' *Wb.* (acc. misspelt **desseirc** 23<sup>b</sup>1) beside **dearc** *Wb.* II. 33<sup>d</sup>6, dat. **deirc** *Wb.* 25<sup>a</sup>36, to **serc** 'love'; cp. **comsuidigud** 'composition' *Sg.*

On the other hand, this *h* has no such effect on non-compound words; thus the dat. pl. of **teg tech** 'house' is **tigib** < *\*tegesobis*, never *\*tichib*. Here, then, it was already silent before the period of syncope. For traces of final lenited *s* see [§§ 240 ff.](#)

Lenition of *s* in the groups *sl sr sn* caused the second consonant to become voiceless; (e.g. **díltud** (Mod.Ir. **diúltadh**) 'denial' < *\*dí-sil(on)duth*, where *d* has become *t* after voiceless *l*. Cp. the spellings of the prototonic forms of **di-sruthaigedar** 'deriuat', from **sruth** 'stream': **·dírrudigeddar**, vb.n. **dírruidiguth dírruidigud dir̄suidigud** (all in *Sg.*); here, however, the influence of **suidigud** 'setting' (vb.n.) plays some part. For *sl, sr, sn* in the interior of words see [§§ 153b, 216, 151a](#), in reduplicated verbal forms [§ 216](#).

**132.** 2. Whereas unlenited *sw* becomes *s* ( [§ 203](#) ), lenited *sw* becomes *f* (< *hw*), which, in accordance with [§ 126](#), can further develop to *b* (β). Examples: **siur** 'sister', Goth. *swistar*, lenited **fiur**; **sesser** 'six persons', but **mór-fesser**

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'seven persons', lit. 'great six'; **do-seinn** 'pursues' (stem *swenn-*), reduplicated pret. **do-sephainn** (written *·sepfainn* *Ml.* 36<sup>d17</sup>), 3 sg. ipv. **toibned** *Ml.* 44<sup>a13</sup> (syncopated from *\*tophenneth*).

**133.** 3. Lenited initial *w* was silent. Since unlenited *w* in this position becomes *f* ( § 202 ), alternation between *f* and zero develops; e.g. unlenited **fer** 'man', lenited *\*er* (basic form *\*wiros*). For the spelling of the lenited forms see § 231, 7.

In medial position after stressed vowels lenited *w*, though frequently silent, is occasionally preserved as *u* or *o*; see § 204 ff.

**134.** 4. Lenited *m* ( $\mu$ , Mod.Ir. *mh*) was a nasalized labial fricative ( § 29 ), a nasalised *v*. In the seventeenth century O'Molloy, *Grammatica Latino-Hibernica* p. 30, describes it: '*mh* sonat quod *v* digamma seu consonans, quasi elata tamen per nares'. By the Mid.Ir. period it has in many cases fallen together with non-nasal *v* ( $\nu$ ); at the present day, where it remains nasal after a vowel, the latter is also nasalized.

**135.** 5. Lenited *n*, *l*, *r* ( $\nu$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\rho$ ) correspond, as is shown by their pronunciation in the modern dialects, to the *n*, *l*, *r* (i.e. the frontal trilled *r*) of most European languages. When unlenited they are articulated with much greater energy: the tongue is tense, with the blade spread out fan-wise, and the other speech-organs also, such as the soft palate, seem to articulate with greatly increased energy. These differences are not expressed in writing, except that the unlenited sounds are often written as geminates ( § 136 ).

The fact that it is their unlenited rather than their lenited sound that has diverged from the original norm may explain why lenition of the above consonants ( § 120 ) is governed by rules somewhat different from those applying to the other consonants.

### III. LENGTHENING OF UNLENITED CONSONANTS

**136.** The unlenited consonants seem to have been sounded longer, as well as more energetically, than the lenited; in the modern dialects they are still so sounded in certain positions.

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Even where they do not derive from earlier geminates, they are often written double (in *Wb.* stops are doubled chiefly in auslaut); e.g. **locc** 'locus' *Wb.* 10<sup>d15</sup>, dat. **lucc** 7<sup>d1</sup>, acc. pl. **luccu** 20<sup>a7</sup> (more frequently **loc**, **luc**, **lucu** ); **sercc** 'love' 4<sup>b10</sup>; **olcc** 'bad' 1<sup>c10</sup>; **corpp** 'corpus' 3<sup>d11</sup>; **cumactte** 'power' 6<sup>a1</sup> beside **cumachte** **cumacte**; **erchisechttæ** 'of compassion' *Ml.* 120<sup>a5</sup> **condeilgg** (gen.) 'of comparison' *Sg.* 42<sup>a4</sup> **forbbart** 'increase' 52<sup>a8</sup>; **armma** 'weapons' *Wb.* 22<sup>d11</sup>. Normally scribes refrain from doubling both consonants in an unlenited group, as in **cossc** 'correction' *Wb.* 9<sup>a23</sup>; instead, they geminate now the one now the other. Examples: **béssti** 'beasts' *Wb.* 31<sup>b21</sup>; **dussceulat (du-scéulat)** 'they experience' *Ml.* 83<sup>b8</sup>; **clainnd** *Wb.* 29<sup>d23</sup>, dat. of **cland** 'children' (gen. **claindde** 28<sup>b17</sup>) **inntsluichto** 'of intelligence' *Sg.* 26<sup>a9</sup>; **immbi** 'about him' *Wb.* 13<sup>d22</sup>; **caimmse** 'camisia' *Sg.* 23<sup>b4</sup>; **melltach** *Wb.* 9<sup>d17</sup> beside **meldach** 4<sup>c19</sup> 'agreeable'; **[de]chellt** 'garment' 27<sup>b16</sup>; **foirce** 'sea' *Sg.* 67<sup>b9</sup> beside **foirggæ** 124<sup>a1</sup>, **fairggæ** 112 ( *Thes. II.* 290, 4). **mescc** 'drunk' *Wb.* 28<sup>b24</sup>; **dob-imchomartt** 'which has constrained you' 3<sup>b21</sup>; **ardd** 'high' *Sg.* 53<sup>a7</sup>; **inndib** 'in them' 198<sup>b3</sup>; *ifurnn* *Wb.* 13<sup>c26</sup>, **iffirn** *Sg.* 41<sup>b12</sup>, dat. and gen. of **ifern** 'hell'.

For the lengthening of short vowels before such groups, see § 45.

### IV. DELETION

**137.** There are no lenited geminates.

1. When two homorganic lenited consonants are brought together by syncope they combine to give the corresponding unlenited geminate, which may be simplified in accordance with § 142 ff.
2. If one consonant is voiced and the other voiceless, a voiceless geminate results in the first instance.

3. The combination of a lenited with a homorganic unlenited consonant gives the same results.

Examples: (1) **tecnaite** (with  $c = g(g)$ ,  $-t- = t(t)$ ) 'domesticus' for *\*tey'ynath'ðe* from **teg** 'house' and **gnáth** 'wont'; **indnite** 'await' (2 sg. ipv.) for *\*ind-nith'the*; **nepuid**

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(with  $p = bb$ ) 'non-being' *MI.* 122<sup>a</sup>11 for *\*neβ'βuith* (written **nepbuih** *Wb.* 14<sup>a</sup>16, **nebud** · 24<sup>d</sup>11); **tairrchet** 'has been prophesied' (*\*t-aiā'-a'-ché*t).

(2) **mitter** 'thou judgest' for *\*mið'ther* (written **midter** *Wb.* 1<sup>c</sup>10); **foitir** 'is sent' for *\*foið'thir*; **rubrícu** for *\*ru-bríγ'chu*, acc. pl. of **rubrígach** 'excellent'; **trócaire** (Mod.Ir. *id.*) 'mercy' for *\*tróγ'chaire*; **túate** 'heathen, gentile' for *\*túath'ðe* from **túath** 'tribe'; **brotte** 'momentary' *Wb.* 15<sup>c</sup>6 from **brothath (brothad)** 'moment' with suffix 'ðe.

(3) **secach n-guidi** 'beyond every prayer' 25<sup>a</sup>28 for **sech cach**; **marcír** 'horse-comb' for *\*marc'chír*; deuterotonic **dí-rósci** 'surpasses' from *\*órósc'chi* beside prototonic **derscaigi** (*de-to-uss-scoch-*); **lotar** ( $t = dd$ ) 'they went' for *\*loð-dar*; **nerta** for *\*nert'tha*, gen. of **nertath nertad** 'strengthening'; **gétte** 'ye would steal' for *\*gēdd'the*; **retae** 'which run' for *\*reth'd(a)e*; **ropia** ( $p = bb$ ) 'ye shall have' for *\*ro-β'-bia* (spelt *robia* *Wb.* 21<sup>c</sup>17).

Attempts at an etymological spelling are not uncommon, as may be seen from the examples **midter**, **nepbuih**, **robia** above. Cp. further **líhtai** 'festive' (pl.) *MI.* 131<sup>d</sup>3 instead of **lítai** for *\*líth'ð(a)i*; **rethae** 'which run' 68<sup>b</sup>10, **rehte** *Thes. II.* 250, 14 (**retae** above), etc.

On the other hand, even in pronunciation, the final of the first and the initial of the second element of a compound may have often been treated as final and initial of two separate words coming together in the sentence ( § 231, 3 ). Thus *fledtigib* *MI.* 86<sup>b</sup>5, dat. pl. of **fleteg** *Wb.* 11<sup>d</sup>16, 'banquet (**fled**)-house (**teg**)'; **ihhtige** 'granaries' *MI.* 98<sup>a</sup>5 (**ih** 'corn') beside **itige** (*sic*, with mark of length) 98<sup>a</sup>4. In *Wb.* 6a compounds of **dag-** 'good' **droch-** 'bad' and **gním** 'doing, deed' are spelt indifferently **dagním** **drogním** and **dagním drogním**, contrasting with *MI.* **drochomairle** 'bad counsel' (**comairle**) 23<sup>c</sup>7, 72<sup>b</sup>2 beside **degcomairli** 54<sup>d</sup>17.

The  $g$  instead of  $c$  in Mod.Ir. **cloigeann** 'skull', earlier *clocenn*, lit. 'stone-head' from **cloch** and **cenn** (cp. *W.* *pen-glog*) may be due to the influence of Mod.Ir. **clog** 'bell', Mid.Ir. **cloc** (OE. *clugge*); cp. Mid.Ir. **clog-at** lit. 'bell-hat,' = 'helmet' ( *Fianaig.* 96, 6; *ZCP.* XIII. 191).

**138.** A standing exception is the group  $\beta'f$ , which always gives  $f$  (not  $p$ ); e.g. **atrefea** 'will dwell' for *\*ad-treβ'fea* *Wb.*

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30<sup>b</sup>18, *MI.* 36<sup>a</sup>19, 107<sup>a</sup>15 (spelt **atrebea** 35<sup>b</sup>24), to **atreba** (*ad-treba*) 'dwells'; **con-tifea** *MI.* 17<sup>a</sup>3, fut. of **con-tibi** 'mocks at'; **doforbad-si** *Wb.* 20<sup>a</sup>15 for **dob-forbad** 'ye have been cut off'.

The reason probably was that, at the time of syncope,  $p$  as the unlenited counterpart of  $f$  did not exist. cp. § 182.

**139.**  $th$  and  $\delta$  are delenited after  $l$ ,  $n$ ,  $s$ , and before  $s$ . In addition  $\delta$  is unvoiced ( $t$ ) before and after  $s$ .

Examples: **ad-comaltar** 'is joined' *Sg.* 148<sup>b</sup>9 from *\*.coμλ'thap*; **accaldam acaltam** 'address(ing)' from *\*aggλ'ðam*, vb.n. of **ad-gládathar**; **do-mointer** 'thou thinkest' *Wb.* 1<sup>c</sup>13 for *\*.moiv'ther*; **conde** 'caninus' for *\*cov'ðe*; **césto** for *\*cés'tho*, gen. of **cés(s)ath césad** 'suffering'; **béste** 'moral' for *\*bés' 'e*; **baitsim** 'I baptize', cp. **baithis** 'baptism'; **ro-ráitsem** 'we have said' *Thes. II.* 2, 34, to **ráidid**.

That  $\mu$  after  $b$  was also delenited is shown by the personal **Corbmac Cormac** (with  $m$ ), where a vowel has been elided before  $m$ .

The transition to  $t$  is sometimes found also where two words are closely joined e.g. **in chrut-so, in chrut-sin** 'in this, that manner (**cruth**)' *Sg.* 211<sup>b</sup>4, 63<sup>a</sup>14; **a buit-sem** 'its being (**buih**)' 216<sup>b</sup>2; **tri-bar**

**nebcongabthetit-si** 'through your incontinence' *Wb.* 9<sup>d</sup>24 (for *-tith*) , **as tech** 'which is best (**dech**)' *Ml.* 37<sup>d</sup>3, 73<sup>a</sup>10; cp. **as-toíther** 'is kindled' (**-doíther**) 38<sup>d</sup>18. More often, however, this change does not take place, or at least is not shown in writing; **in chruth-so**, **-sin**; **as dech**, etc.

Even in non-compound words *th* and *ð* before *s* are sometimes restored through the influence of cognate forms; e.g. **baithsed** 'baptizing' *Tur.* 49; **foíds-i** beside **foits-i** 'he sent him' *Thes. II.* 242, 13, 14 (*Arm.*) (**foídis** 'he sent'). In such cases assimilation to *s(s)* is occasionally found: cp. **fáissine** 'prophecy' *Ml.* 25<sup>b</sup>6 beside more usual **fáithsine**, but in *Wb.* regular **fáitsine** 30<sup>d</sup>23 (**fáith** 'prophet'); **con-dositis** 'so that they should fall' 5<sup>b</sup>11, for **\*dothsitis**. So also **ro-cretsisi** for **-cretsid-si** 'ye have believed' 1<sup>a</sup>3.

In the other groups revisions of this kind are rare, e.g. **génthir** 'it will be performed' *Thes. II.* 30, 32 (*th* after *n*). Archaic **munther** = **muintir** 'familia' *ibid. p. xxxii* may date from a time when delenition had not yet taken place.

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**140.** For the delenition of *l*, *r*, *n* before and after certain consonants, see [§ 120](#).

After short vowels *l* and *n* are also delenited at the end of unstressed syllables beginning with *r*, *l*, *n* or unlenited *m*. Cp. the gen. of *n*-stems like **Érenn**, nom. **Ériu** 'Ireland', as against **Mumen Muman**, gen. of **Mumu** (with *-μ-*) 'Munster' ([§ 327 ff.](#)); arch. **nadmen**, later **nadmann**, nom. acc. pl. of **naidm** 'binding, surety'; personal names such as **Conall**, **Domnall** beside **Túathal**, **Bresal** (arch. **Bresual**, orig. *\*-walos*); imroll 'miss, failure to hit' as against dat. pl. **imrolaib** (where the *l* belongs to the following syllable) *Anecd. I.* 6, 2 and 4; **col(a)inn** 'flesh, corpse', *Mid.W. celein*.

See MacNeill, *PRIA. XXVII*, Sect. C, p. 347. The rule remained in operation for a long time; **inde-l** 'preparation' becomes **innell** after the assimilation of *nd* to *nn* ([§ 151 c](#)). For the exception **menman** see [§ 331](#).

**141.** *cht* (*gt*) is sporadically written for *chth*; e.g. **-dichtim** 'I can go' *LU* 5180, pl. 2 **-digitith** *Wb.* 9<sup>b</sup>19, cp. **-dechuid** 'has gone'; **mochtratae** 'matutinal' *Ml.* 21<sup>c</sup>8, 79<sup>c</sup>7 for **moch-thratae**; **-derlaichta** 'they have been forgiven' *Wb.* II. 33<sup>b</sup>8, prototonic form of **do-rolgetha**; **cumscaichte** 'moved' *Ml.* 33<sup>b</sup>2. Examples like *Mid.Ir.* **machtad** for *O.Ir.* **machthad magthad machdad** 'object of wonder' show that this development is not a mere case of misspellings. On the other hand, *-th-* has often been restored by analogy in *Mid.Ir.* forms.

## GEMINATES

### A. SIMPLIFICATION OF GEMINATES

Collections: Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk*, 84 ff. (*Wb.*); Zupitza, *KZ. XXXVI.* 204 ff.; Strachan, *ZCP. IV.* 478 ff.

**142.** During our period geminates or lengthened consonants are in process of being simplified or shortened. This may be inferred from the fact that all of them are occasionally written single; already in the earlier sources there is considerable fluctuation, often even in the same word.

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**143.** In general it may be said that they are mostly simplified before and after other consonants. Examples: **hiresche** 'faithfulness' from **iressach** 'faithful'; **ecne** 'knowledge' (*eg-gne*), rarely **æcne** (*Wb.* 2<sup>a</sup>17); **atlugud** and **atllugud** (*ad-t-*) 'thanking'; **guidmi** 'we pray', **coínmi** 'we weep', beside **beimmi** 'we may be', **pridchimmi** 'we preach'.

**144.** They are most frequently written double between a stressed short vowel and another vowel, and also in final position after a stressed short vowel, particularly the continuants *nn mm rr ll*; in later sources *ss* appears less consistently. Of the symbols used to represent stops, *cc tt* seem to stand somewhat more

often for double *k* and *t* than for double *g* and *d*; e.g. **macc** 'son' acc. pl. **maccu**, less frequently **mac**, quite exceptionally **macu**; **accaldan** and **acaldam** (*agg.* .) 'address'; **attach** and **atach** (*att.* .) 'entreaty'; **cretem** (*credd.* .) 'belief' much oftener than **creitem**; **·epil** (*ebb.* .) 'dies'; **fiuss fiss** (*Wb.*) and **fius fis** (*Sg.*) 'knowledge'; **nessa**, seldom **nesa**, 'nearer'. In final position the writing even of *m(m)* *n(n)* *r(r)* single is not unknown; e.g. **trom (tróm)** beside **tromm** 'heavy' (but almost invariably **trummae** 'heaviness'); **inn-on** beside **inn-onn** 'thither'; **du·bber** *Thess. II. 239, 4* (*Arm.*), **du·ber** *MI. 77<sup>d</sup>3*, beside **do·ber** 'is brought'.

**145.** After stressed long vowels geminates are more commonly written single; e.g. **béim** 'blow', pl. **bémen** beside **béimmen** **bémmen**; **césad** 'suffering' oftener than **céssad**; **úail** beside **úaill**, acc. dat. sg. of **úall** 'pride'; **(h)ét** oftener than **(h)étt** 'jealousy' (*tt = dd*); **(h)ícc** and **(h)íc** 'healing', gen. **(h)ícce** and **(h)íce** (*kk*); **·rísá** for **·rís-sá** 'I may come'.

In verse words like **úall**, **cíall** may rhyme with words ending in single liquids.

**146.** Geminates are also simplified after all unstressed vowels, especially in final position. It should be noted, however, that in the later Glosses *mm* and *nn* become more frequent, serving more and more to distinguish unlenited from lenited *m* and *n* ([§ 136](#)); e.g. **anmann** *Sg.* for **anman** *Wb.* 'names'. So too *gg dd bb* appear often, especially in *Sg.*, for unlenited *g d b* ([§ 31c](#)).

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Examples: 3 pl. in *-at -it* (= *-add -idd*); **foluss** 'clear' (**foluss** *Sg.* 40<sup>p</sup>14); **is** 'is', seldom **iss**; isolated **tairisem** 'standing fast' beside usual **tairissem**; 1 sg. pres. in *-im* much oftener than in *-imm*; **forcan** **forcen** 'end', more commonly **forcenn**; **cona** 'that not' more frequent than **conna**; **digaim** 'digamma'; **·eper** beside **·eperr** 'is said'; **diil**, gen. of **díall** 'declension'.

So too, where a pretonic word is run on to a stressed word: **isamlid** often for **is samlid** 'it is thus'; **hituilsiu** for **it tuil-siu** 'in thy will' *MI. 59<sup>p</sup>21*; **ocumtuch** for **oc cumtuch** 'while building' 131<sup>e</sup>8; **co-láa** and **co-lláa** 'till day', etc.

**147.** A geminate never appears at the beginning of a word which is written separately from the preceding word (see [§ 240](#)).

## B. ORIGIN OF GEMINATES

**148.** Geminates often arise from a combination of two identical consonants which have been brought together either in composition or through the loss of a vowel. Examples: **ataimet** (*add.* .) 'they acknowledge' (*ad·daimet*); **cretid** (*credd.* .) 'believes', *Skt. śrad dadhāti, W. credu*; **sluinde** 'which designate' < *\*slundidde*; **cummase** 'mixing' (*com-misc-*). For the development of an unlenited double consonant from two lenited or from a lenited and an unlenited, see [§ 137](#).

If one of these consonants is voiced and the other voiceless, the resulting geminate is voiceless when their combination is due to syncope ([§ 137](#)); but in composition the character of the geminate (i.e. voiced or voiceless) is determined by that of the second consonant. Examples: **attach** 'entreaty' with *tt* (*Mod.Ir. atach*) < *\*ad-tech*; **ecal** 'timid' with *gg* (*Mod.Ir. eagal*) < *\*ek(s)-* or *echs- gal*; cp. **ad-droguine-siu** 'thou art a bad man' *Wb.* 1<sup>e</sup>10 for **at...**

For *-ddr-* < *-dr-* see [§ 119b](#); for the doubling of unlenited single consonants, [§ 136](#).

The other ascertainable sources of geminated consonants are given in the following list.

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## I. STOPS

**149.** 1.  $c(c) = kk$

- a. From  $t(d) + c$ ; e.g. **freccor frecur** (with following **céill**) 'cultus' < *fret-* (*frith-*) and *cor*; **rucc(a)e** (neut. and fem.) 'shame', lit. 'redness', < \**rud-k..* .  
b. From *gg* +  $\acute{s}$  (= h): **cuccu** 'towards them', \**cugg-sú* (§§ 433, [451](#)).

2.  $c(c) = gg$

- a. From  $d(t) + g$ ; e.g. **ac(c)aldam** 'address(ing)' < \**ad-gládam*; **frecre** (Mod.Ir. **freagra**) 'answer' < *freth(frith-)* and *gaire*.  
b. From *nc* ( $\eta k$ ), [§ 208](#).

3.  $t(t) = dd$

- a. Probably from  $g(k) + d$  in **etrocht** 'bright' (later *étr..*), dative **etrachtai** 'splendour' *Ml.* 84<sup>b</sup>1, < \**eg-dr..* or \**ey-dr..*, \**ech(s)-dr..*; cp. **an-dracht** 'taeter' *Sg.* 112<sup>a</sup>1.  
b. From *zd*, [§ 218](#).  
c. From *nt*, [§ 208](#).

4.  $p(p) = bb$

- a. From  $d(t) + b$ , e.g. **apaig** (Mod.Ir. **abaidh**) 'ripe' < *ad* and **bongid** 'reaps'; **frepaid** 'healing' < *frith-* and **buith**.  
b. From  $g(k) + b$ ; e.g. **epir** 'says' < \**eg-b..* or \**ey-b..*, \**ech(s)-b..*, deuterotonic **as** **beir**.

**150.** The theory has been repeatedly advanced that in Celtic geminated stops have developed from simple stops + *n* (see Stokes, *Trans. Phil. Soc.* 1891-3, p. 297 ff. = IF. II. 167 ff., *ibid.* XII. 193; Zupitza, *KZ.* XXXVI. 233 ff.; Pedersen, I. 158 ff., etc.). So far, however, not a single example has been found that is in any way convincing. This hypothesis becomes more and more improbable as we examine the doubling of consonants in the various IE. and other languages, particularly in certain affective words indicating tenderness, scorn, etc. Thus Celt. \**buggo-*, O.Ir. **boc** (**c**) Mod.Ir. **bog**, Mod.Bret. *bong bonk*, 'soft' may go back to the root of Skt. *bhugnah* 'bent' without requiring an intermediate Celtic stage \**bugno-*. The geminate in O.Ir. **macc** 'son' (Mod.Ir. **mac**), cp. Pictish *maph-an* (with *ph* < *pp*?) AU. 725, as opposed

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to the single consonant in Britann. *map* (W. *mab*), has long been ascribed to affective intensification. Sometimes gemination is also found in the corresponding word in other languages; cp. Ir. **cacc** 'excrement', Gk. *κάκκη*; **cnocc** 'lump, hill' (W. *cnwch*), cognate with Tyrol. *nock* (< *hn-*) 'rocky top', etc. **brat** (*t*) 'coverlet, cloak' (cp. W. *brethyn* 'cloth') looks like an inversion of Continental *drapp-* (Ital. *drappo*, Fr. *drap*, etc.).

There is a discrepancy between Irish and Britannic in **bec** (**c**) 'small' (Mod.Ir. **beag**) < \**biggo-* beside W. *bychan* (Bret. *bihan*), where the *ch* points to *kk*. Perhaps the influence of some other word has been operative here; cp. W. *bach* 'small', *bachgen* 'boy'.

## II. NASALS AND LIQUIDS

**151.** 1. *nn*

- a. From earlier *sn* ( $\acute{s}n$ ) in medial position; e.g. **bronn**, gen. of **brú** 'belly', < \**brusnos* ([§ 327](#)); **as-roinnea** 'he may escape' < \**ro-snea* (*sní-*); *lainn* 'covetous' < \**lasni-s*, cp. Lat. *lasciurus*, Gk. *λιλαίομαι* (\**λιλαωι* + *ομαι*).  
b. From earlier *ndn*, [§ 548](#).  
c. The assimilation of *nd* to *nn* in proclitic words begins in the archaic period; cp. the article **inna** Cam. beside **inda** Filargirius Gl., *Wb.* I. 20<sup>d</sup>5, **i-snaib** for \**i-sndaib*, beside **du-ndaib** Cam. **dendibh** AU. 726. Already in *Wb.* **inna**, **donaib**, etc., are always written; similarly **in-árbenim** 'I expel' *Sg.* 146<sup>b</sup>10 (vb.n. **indarb** (**a e**)). Otherwise *nd* before vowels and in final position is retained in *Wb.* In **proinn** 28<sup>c</sup>20 (**pron** 31<sup>b</sup>23) beside **proind** 'prandium' Britannic influence may be present (as in many loan-words), cp. Mid.W. *prein* 'feast, banquet'. This may also be the explanation of **Sechnall** *Thes.* II. 242, 11 (Arm.) from Lat. *Secundinus* (-*ll* for -*nn* by dissimilation, cp. [§ 140](#)). The spelling -*n(n)* first becomes common in *Ml.*, not only in **tinnacul**, earlier **tindnacul** 'bestowing', but also in **chláinn** 91<sup>b</sup>17, **chlain** 23<sup>d</sup>12, for **chlaind** (acc. dat. sg. of **cland** 'children'), **conid** for **condid** 'so that it is', etc. It occurs sporadically in *Sg.* (**masculinni** 67<sup>a</sup>17 for -*lindi*) and repeatedly in SP. In the Féilire original *nd* rhymes with double liquids (similarly *Sg.* 112 (*Thes.* II. 290, 5) **minn** : **Lothlind**), and in Mid.Ir. MSS. *nd* and *nn* have the same value.

152. 2. *mm*

- a. From *sm* (also *tsm*, *ksm*) in medial position; e.g. **am** 'I am', IE. \**esmi*; **lomm** 'bare', perhaps originally 'plucked' like Lat. *plūma* < \**plus-m.* .; **réim (m)** 'course' (\**reitsmen*), vb.n. of **réidid**; **céim (m)** 'step' > \**k<sub>1</sub>g-smn* + \**kenk-smen* (Mid.W. *carom*).
- b. From earlier *dm* only in compounds with the prep. **ad-**, obviously by analogy with *abb-* < *ad-b-*, etc.; e.g. **ammus** 'attempt' < *ad* and **mess**. Otherwise *dm* (*ðm*) remains, e.g. **maidm**, vb.n. of **maidid** 'breaks' (intrans.).
- c. The development of *mb* ix similar to that of *nd* ( § 151c ). although examples are rarer. The pretonic form of the prep. **imb-**, which was still retained in **inp-auch** 'ago' Filargirius GI., is always **im (m) -imme-** in *Wb.* But since this preposition, even under the accent, is often simplified to **im** before consonants (e.g. **imthuge** 'covering, raiment' § 180 ), *im(m)* for *imb-* spreads to other positions also; e.g. **imrádud** beside **imbrádud** 'thinking', **immechtrach** beside **imbechtrach** 'external', **timne** beside **timpne** 'injunction', **immunn** 'about us', etc. Initial *b* in pretonic forms of the copula is often assimilated to a preceding nasal, e.g. **commimmis** for **co m-bemmis** 'that we might be'. Otherwise *mb* seems to be retained in *Wb.*, e.g. **cimbid** 'prisoner'. But **camb** 'crooked', gen. sg masc. **caimb** AU. 747, is not only written *camm* in **camm-derc** gl. 'strabo' *Sg.* 63<sup>a</sup>4 and in **cammaib** (dat. pl.) *MI.* 2<sup>a</sup>7, but would also appear to be contained in the adverb **cammaif** *Wb.* 'however' ( § 907 ). In *MI.* further examples of the transition include **cuirre** 'brevity' 14<sup>d</sup>3 as opposed to acc. **cumbri** Thes. II. 15, 44, **dábe mec** (for **m-bec**) 'a little difference' *MI.* 40<sup>a</sup>20, and even the converse spelling **ambus** 75<sup>d</sup>8 for **ammus** 'attempt'. The *m* in the common monastic name **Colmán** (< \**Columb-án*), which is found even in the earliest sources, recalls the *n* in **Sechnall** ( § 151c ); cp. **fiad-cholum** (< Lat. *columbus*) 'wild pigeon' *Sg.* 70<sup>a</sup>16.

The development of *ng* (i.e. *ŋg*) to *ŋ* (Mod.Ir. *ŋ*) must have occurred about the same time. The only scribal evidence of this is that *nc*, *ngg* is never written for it in later documents.

- d. From lenited *b + m* (arising through syncope); e.g. **gammai** 'capiamus' *MI.* 32<sup>a</sup>4, 1pl. pres. subj. of **ga(i)bid**; cp. **adimmaice** *Wb.* 9<sup>a</sup>13 for **adib maicc** 'ye are sons', **cotomélat** LU 5558 for **cotob-mélat** 'they will crush you'.

153. 3. *ll*

- a. From earlier *nl*; e.g. **ellach** 'uniting' < \**en-log* (vb. **in-loing**).
- b. From earlier *sl* (*sl̥*) in medial position; e.g. coll 'hazel tree', OHG. *hasal*, cp. Lat. *corylus*; **fuillecht (a)e** 'smeared' for *fu-slechte* (vb. **fo-slig**).
- c. Probably from *lp*; e.g. **tella talla** ( § 83b ) 'there is room for', Lith. *telpù til + p̃ti* 'to find room'; **cell** 'violation (of a law, etc.)', perhaps cognate with Lat. *culpa*.
- d. From earlier *ls* (also *lks*); e.g. **all** 'rock', probably < \**palso-*, cp. OHG. *felis, felisa* 'rock'; **mell-** < \**melg-s\*melks-*, subj. stem of *√melg-*, pres. ind. **mligid** 'milks'.
- e. From earlier *ln*, e.g. **ad-ella** 'visits', probably < \**pelnā-*, if cognate with Gk. *πίλωμαι*, Lat. *ap-pellere* (otherwise Pedersen II. 353).

Later *ln* arising through syncope is always retained in *Wb.* and *Sg.* But in *MI.* the transition to *ll* has begun; e.g. **éillide** 'polluted' for **éilnithe** (vb. **as-l<sup>1</sup>na**); **comallaid** (MS. *commallaid*) 106<sup>a</sup>2 for **comalnaid** 'fulfils' (**comlán** 'complete'); **builnni** 'blows' *Wb.* 17<sup>d</sup>2, dat. **builib** *Tur.* 92, 93.

- f. *ld*, whether original or secondary, appears as *ll* in Middle Irish; e.g. **meldach melltach** 'agreeable', Mid.Ir. **mellach**; **maldacht** 'curse, maledictum', Mid.Ir. **mallacht**. That this transition, too, occurred about the time of *MI.* is shown by the converse spelling in *MI.* 63<sup>d</sup>15: **lase nad-reildisemni** 'when we have not polluted' for **·réillisem** < **·r-éilnisem**.

154. 4. *rr*

- a. From earlier *nr*; e.g. **i-rrúnaib** 'in secrets' < \**in rúnaib*.
- b. From *rp*; e.g. **serr** (OW. *id.*), gen. **serre**, 'sickle', Gk. *σπηνη*, Lett. *sirpe*.
- c. From earlier *rs* (also *rks*, *rts*); e.g. **forru** 'on them' < \**for-su*; **orr-**, subj. stem of **org (a)id** 'slays', < *org-s-ors* ( § 618, 629 ); **fo-cerr-**, subj. stem of **fo-ceird** 'throws', < *cerd-scers-*. Cp. also **foirrce fairgge** 'open sea', probably < **fairsiung** 'wide' (*for-ess-*).
- d. From *sr* and *r + s̥*; e.g. **dírruidiguth** 'deriuatio' *Sg.* 53<sup>a</sup>11, < *dí-* and **sruth** 'river'; **do-intarraí** (< *-r(o)-sói*)

Wb. 16<sup>b</sup>18, perf. of **do-intai** ( < *ind-soi* ) 'returns'; **airriu erru** 'for them' (§ 437). But in other compounds *s* has left no trace; e.g. **airissedar** (never *airr-*), prototonic form of **ar-sis(s)edar** 'innititur'.

### III. SS

**155.** Except in the groups *sc* and *st*, medial and final *s* in Old Irish always represents earlier *ss*. It arises from:

- a. earlier *ns* (*ms*), § 210.
- b. earlier *ts* (*ds*); e.g. **ress-**, subj. stem of **rethid** 'runs'; **mess-**, subj. stem of **midithir** 'judges'; **aslach** 'inducing' (vb.n. of **ad-slig**).

For *ss* from *th-s*, *ð-s* (after syncope), see § 139.

- c. *ks* (*gs*), § 221b.
- d. *ps*, § 227d.
- e. earlier intervocalic *st*; e.g. **ar-sis(s)edar** 'innititur', **t-air-issedar** 'abides', cognate with Lat. *sistere*, Gk. ἰσταναι; **glass** 'blue, green', Gaul. *glastum* 'woad'; **is** (**s**) 'is', Gk. ἰσι.
- f. earlier *t-t*, *d-t* (also *dh-t*) in the interior of words (but not in composition); e.g. **ind-risse** 'inuasus' < \**ret-ti* + *o-*, partc. of **rethid** 'runs'; **fiuss** 'knowledge' < \**wid-tu-*; **gessi** < \**ghedh-ti-*, verbal of necessity of **guidid** 'prays', Gk. ποθεω.

### QUALITY OF CONSONANTS

Bergin, *Contributions to the history of palatalization in Irish*, Ériu III. 50 ff. (also Freiburg dissertation, 1906); Pedersen § 241 ff. and Gött. Gel. Anz., 1912, p. 39 ff.; Pokorny, *A Concise Old Irish Grammar and Reader I*. § 35 ff.

**156.** As already pointed out in connexion with vocalic conditions (§ 84 f.), every consonant, according as it is palatalized or not, has in the modern dialects two separate values (called **caol** 'slender' and **leathan** 'broad'). The sole exception is unlenited **r**, which in most dialects is no longer palatalized. It has also been pointed out that, in Old Irish, owing to the

influence of consonants on the flanking vowels (§§ 86 ff., 97 ff., 101 ff.), in addition to these two qualities, a third--u-quality--can be clearly distinguished over a certain period.

In Mod.Ir. there are included in the **leathan** class consonants (labials) with *u*-quality, but this is not a survival of the O.Ir. *u*-quality.

These qualities play an extremely important role in the morphology of Old Irish. In nominal inflexion, for example, the varying quality of the final consonant to a large extent constitutes the chief distinction between cases.

In palatal pronunciation the middle of the tongue is raised in the front position, and the lips brought closer together by drawing back the corners of the mouth. The characteristics of *u*-quality may be assumed to be: (a) rounding the lips, (b) raising the back of the tongue. Neutral represents an intermediate articulation (but cp. § 174). These articulations are, of course, possible only within the limits of the basic articulation of each consonant.

**157.** These three qualities have their origin in the fact that at an early period, before the loss of vowels in final and interior syllables (§§ 91 ff., 106 ff.), every consonant was conditioned by the **following** vowel, being

- a. palatal before *ī* + *̃* and *ē* + *̃*,
- b. neutral before *ā* + *̃* and *ō* + *̃*,
- c. *u*-quality before *ū* + *̃*.

The quality of a consonant before a diphthong was determined by the first vowel of the diphthong.

These qualities were retained by the consonants after the loss of the conditioning vowel. Thus the *p* is neutral in nom. acc. sg. **fer** 'man' because it was once followed by *-as -an* (orig. *-os -on*), palatal in voc. gen. sg. **fir** because the endings were formerly *-e* and *-i*, and *u*-quality in dat. sg. **fiur** because the dative once ended in *-u*; nom. sg. **túath** 'tribe' has neutral *-th* because of the former final *-a*.

To some extent, neutral quality may be regarded as the normal quality; consonants which are uninfluenced by any vowel are neutral ( § 175 ).

In the above threefold division the facts have been somewhat simplified for the sake of clarity. Instead of *u*-quality it would sometimes be more exact to speak of *o*-quality ( § 102 f. ). The degree of palatalization seems to have varied; it was apparently strongest when the following vowel disappeared, and thus, as it were, coalesced with the consonant in a single sound.

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To the rule that every consonant takes its quality from the vowel which originally followed it there are certain exceptions:

## 1. QUALITY OF CONSONANT-GROUPS ARISING FROM SYNCOPE

**158.** When, owing to the loss of an intervening vowel, two consonants of different quality are brought together, the resulting group assumes a uniform quality, which as a rule is determined by that of the **first** consonant. But if the first consonant has *u*-quality and the second is palatal, the group becomes palatal.

Thus neutral + palatal become neutral: **·fodmat** (with *ḍαμα*) 'they endure' beside deuterotonic **fo ·daimet** (*d<sup>a</sup>--μ<sup>i</sup>*); **frecre frecrae** (*g<sup>a</sup>p<sup>a</sup>*) 'answer' < \**freggare*, cp. **forngaire** 'command'.

Palatal + neutral become palatal: **aithrea** (*th'ai*) acc. pl. 'fathers' < \**athera* (*th<sup>i</sup>--p<sup>a</sup>*).

Palatal + *u*-quality become palatal: **aingliu** (*g'λ<sup>i</sup>*) acc. pl. 'angels' < \**angelu* (*g<sup>i</sup>--λ<sup>u</sup>*).

But *u*-quality + palatal become palatal: **tuicse** 'chosen' < \**tuggusse*.

In stem syllables *ō* appears to have the effect of *u*, e.g. **éitset** (*t's<sup>i</sup>*) 'let them hear' < \**ē-tō* (*i*)*sset* (**in-túai** 'listens'). Sometimes the affecting consonant has disappeared; e.g. **córae** < \**cow're*\**coware*, abstr. noun from **coir** (\**cowari-*) 'proper' (Welsh *cywair*); **fochaid** 'tribulation' < \**fo-sagith*, where *ś<sup>a</sup>* (= *h<sup>a</sup>*) has timed with *γ<sup>i</sup>* to give *ch<sup>a</sup>* ( § 131 ). For *óí* < *owí owe* in **toisech**, etc., see § 67d. The explanation of forms like **·dímea** (with *μ<sup>i</sup>*) 'he may protect' *MI.* 88<sup>c</sup>2, **·dílle**m (with *l<sup>i</sup>*) 'declinemus' 106<sup>c</sup>4, from *dí-* and *-ema, -ellam*, is perhaps that after *í* a glide *i* + *h* had been pronounced (\**di + ema*) which sufficed to modify the quality. Examples like **·asstai** *MI.* 114<sup>a</sup>19, **·díltai** *Sg.* 201<sup>b</sup>10, prototonic forms of **ad-su (i) di** 'holds fast' and **do ·sluindi** 'denies', presuppose the older vocalism *-sodi, -slondi*. Sometimes the normal development is resisted by the taking over of non-palatal quality from other case-forms of the same word; e.g. **Lugdech Lugdach** beside **Luigdech** (Ogam LUGUDECCAS), gen. of **Lug (u) id Lugaid**; **epthai** (*epthai* *MS.*) 'charms' *Ériu* VII. 168 § 7 beside regular *aipthi* *Wb.* I. 20<sup>b</sup>20 (< \**abbuthi*). For **foigde** 'begging' beside **gu (i) de** 'prayer', see § 549. The archaic spelling **coicsath** 'compassio' (*Cam.*) from *co(m) + céssath*, as against later **coicsed**, does not necessarily prove that at that time *s* had not yet become palatal; it may only mean that the old vowel of the final syllable was still preserved.

Such evidence as is obtainable from written forms suggests that where two consonants brought together by syncope had *a-* and *u-* quality respectively

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or *u-* and *a-* quality, the second consonant normally retained its original quality without infection. Instances like **fursundud** (with *r<sup>u</sup>s<sup>u</sup>*) 'illumination' < \**for-uss-anduth* are too exceptional to permit of any generalization.

**159.** The above adjustments are frequently ignored in compounds where the first vowel of the second element is not syncopated and the second element accordingly continues to resemble the simplex. In that case its initial consonant may retain the quality of the simplex. If the first element ends in a consonant of different quality, then either of the following courses is adopted:

- a. Each consonant retains its own quality, just as, in two successive words of a clause, final and initial of different quality may stand beside each other; e.g. **taid-chur** (*ð<sup>i</sup>ch<sup>u</sup>*) 'restoration', **dag-theist** (*ɣ<sup>a</sup>th<sup>i</sup>*) 'good testimony'; or
- b. The quality of the first consonant yields to that of the second; e.g. **tadchor** *Ml.* 131 <sup>c</sup>11, **ath-maldachad** instead of *aith-m..* 'repeated malediction' 141 <sup>c</sup>3.

In like manner the final of an unstressed word is sometimes assimilated in quality to the following initial; e.g. **adabail** *Wb.* 3<sup>b</sup>7 for **adib baill** 'ye are members'; **dinab gabálaib** 'of the takings' 13 <sup>d</sup>33 for **dinaib**; **donaballaib** 12<sup>b</sup>2 for **donaib ballaib** 'to the members'; cp. however [§ 168](#).

In the interior of non-compound words the rules in [§ 158](#) are rarely departed from, although occasional exceptions are found, e.g. **do · rolgetha** 'they have been forgiven' *Wb.* 26<sup>c</sup>11, where, despite the palatal *ɣ*, the preceding *λ* keeps the non-palatal quality of **do · lugi**.

## 2. ORIGINAL CONSONANT-GROUPS BEFORE PALATAL VOWELS

**160.** Where, at an earlier period (before the loss of final vowels and the development of syncope), a group of two or more consonants of different quality stood before a palatal vowel, the whole group is palatalized when, owing to the loss of the vowel, it comes to stand at the end of a syllabic. On the other hand, when the vowel is retained, thereby keeping the last consonant of the group in syllabic anlaut, the group is as a rule neutral.

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Examples: **serc** 'love' makes dat. sg. **seirc** (*p<sup>i</sup>k<sup>i</sup>*) < \**serki*, but gen. sg. **serce sercae** (*p<sup>a</sup>k<sup>a</sup>*); **delb** 'form', dat. sg. **deilb** (*λβ<sup>i</sup>*), but gen. sg. **delbe delbae** (*λ<sup>a</sup>β<sup>a</sup>*); likewise ainm 'name', gen. sg. **anm (a) e**; **maidm** 'breaking', gen. **madm (a) e**; nom. sg. **orcun** 'slaying', acc. **orcuin orcain** (syllabic division *p-g*), but gen. **oircne** (*pɣ-v*), where in every instance *e* originally stood between *rg* and *n*, stem *orgenā-*, cp. Gallo-Lat. *Orgeno-mescui* (or *-qui*) in Cantabria (for the *u* in **orcun** see [§ 173](#)); **loscaid** 'burns' (*s-k*) beside **loiscthe** 'burnt' (*sk-th*); **do · adbadar** 'is shown' (*ð-β*), pl. **do · aidbdeatar** (*ðɣ-ð*); **cosnam** 'contending' (*com-sním*); **ingn (a) e engn (a) e** 'understanding' (ending *-e*); **Afraicc** 'Africa', etc.

In compounds the rule is not so consistently observed (cp. [§ 159](#)). From **for** and **cenn** (dat. sg. **ciunn**) *Ml.* regularly forms *forcan* 'end' 91 <sup>a</sup>21 with neutral *pk*, dat. **forcunn** 19 <sup>c</sup>12, etc.; but in **forcenn** *Sg.* 28<sup>b</sup>19 etc. neutral *p* and palatal *k* are left side by side; in dat. **foirciunn** *Sg.* 18<sup>b</sup>1 etc. the quality of the initial of the second element has infected the final of the first. Syncopated forms, however, like **foircnea** 'terminates', are regular.

**161.** A few consonant-groups have palatal quality even when the following vowel remains. In early examples *mb mp*, *nd nt*, *ng*, *dc* (= *g*), *ml*, *mr* (= *μλ*, *μρ*) are well attested; e.g. **immbi** 'about him', **impe** 'about her', **clainde** 'of children', **sainte** 'of greed', **daingen** 'firm', **do · bidcet** 'they pelt', **cuimlín** 'equal number' *Ml.* 47 <sup>c</sup>3 (beside **comlín** with the usual form of the preposition), **cuimrech** 'fetter'; **cuimliucht** 'advantage' probably has unlenited *m*.

The groups *thr*, *thl* appear to have been palatalized after palatal vowels and *u*, but not after others; e.g. **bréthre** gen. sg., **bréthir** acc. dat. sg. of **bríathar** 'word' (= *W. brwydr* 'dispute'), **díthle** 'secret

removal', **uithir**, gen. of **othar** 'sickness, invalid'; but **nathrach** ( < *-rech*), gen. of **nathir** 'snake', **tothla** ( < *-thle*) 'bringing in by stealth' Laws. For *chl*, cp. **díchlith díchlid** 'concealment'.

**díthrab** *MI.* 98<sup>d4</sup>, **díthrub** *Tur.* 17, etc., 'desert' (cp. **treb** 'habitation') may have been attracted by **atrab** (*t<sup>a</sup>p<sup>a</sup>*) 'dwelling'. As **tedmae**, the regular gen. sg. of **teidm** 'plague', is confirmed by rhyme in *Fél. Ep.* 200, 518, the

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form **sleidmenaib** dat. pl. 'sputaminibus' *Tur.* 91 has probably been influenced by nom. acc. sg. \***sleidm**. Assimilations of this kind are always to be reckoned with. In **torténe** *Corm.* 1200, diminutive of **tort** 'cake', and **colmméne** gl. *neruus* *Sg.* 221<sup>b2</sup> (cp. Bret. *koulm* 'knot'), the consonant-group, though not strong enough to change the quality of the following long vowel, remains unpalatalized, whereas **fo-ruigéni** 'has served' *Wb.* 13<sup>b7</sup> has palatal *γ* (as against § 166a). For Lat. *articulus* *Sg.* writes **articol** (**artocol** 198<sup>b7</sup>), gem **articuil** (only once **airticuil** 212<sup>b14</sup>). The spelling **oibemandi** (dat. sg. fem.) gl. *hereditariā* *MI.* 48<sup>b10</sup> (from **orbam**, earlier *-em*, 'heir') may be a mistranscription of archaic \***orbemondi** in the scribe's exemplar.

**162.** The group *cht* remains neutral even at the end of a syllable, and thus always resists palatalization. Examples: **secht** (Mod.Ir. **seacht**) 'seven' as against **deich** 'ten'; **deacht**, ace. dat. sg. of **deacht** 'divinity' (fern. *ā*-stem), gen. **deachte deachtae**. For **boicht** see § 351.

**163.** Single *l r n* before which a consonant has disappeared ( § 125 ) have the effect of consonant-groups; cp. **gabálae**, gen. sg. of **gabál** 'taking' ( < \**gabaglā*); **so-scélae** 'gospel', **do-scéulai** 'explores', to **scél** 'tidings', *W. chwedl*; **gíulait** 'will stick fast' (pl.), reduplicated future of **glen (a) id**; **áram** 'number', gen. **áirme**, < \**ad-rím*; **éaic** 'payment' (é < \**ech-* \**echs-*, § 834.); **dénom dénum** 'doing', < \**de-gnīm* (the neutral *v* has spread to the gen. sg. **dénmo**); **sinnchénae** 'little fox' *Sg.* 47<sup>a6</sup> (-*eyv-*).

It would appear from the above that at the time of syncope some trace of the first consonant still remained; not the full sound, however, since consonants which as a result of syncope come to stand before *l r n* do not disappear; cp. **adrad** 'adoration', as opposed to **áram**.

The diminutive **laigéniu** 'minusculus' *Sg.* 45<sup>a13</sup> seems to be a nonce formation from **laigiu** 'smaller'. Eventually *-éne* is pronounced with *v* under the influence of *-(i)ne* ( § 274, 5 ).

On the other hand, geminates arising from the assimilation of different consonants do not operate as consonant-groups; e.g. **as-roinnea** 'he may escape' *MI.* 31<sup>a2</sup> (for *·ro-snea*).

In *MI.* **greimm** 'compulsion, power' makes gen. sg. **gremmae**, dat. **gremmaim**, nom. pl. **gremman**, apparently influenced by the many neuters (e.g. **naidm nadm-**, **ainm anm-**) where neutral consonance is regular ( § 160 ); cp. pl. **ingramman** *MI.* contrasting with **ingremmen** *Wb.* A similar plural **semann**, nom. sg. **seim (m)** 'rivet', is later attested (cp. **semend** O'Dav. 1437).

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**164.** When *r l n* became syllabic as a result of syncope ( § 112 ), they assumed palatal quality before palatal consonants. and ill general retained it even after a vowel had developed before them; e.g. **énirte** *Wb.* 'weakness' (with *r<sup>t</sup>*), < \**énr + te* (**ner** 'strength'); **du-aisilbi** 'attributes' < \**assl + bi* (**selb** 'possession'); **ingain (n)te** 'unusualness' < \**ingn(a)the* (**ingnad** 'unusual'). In the course of time, however, the palatalization was apparently lost in certain combinations of *r + cons.* when the syllable began with a neutral consonant. Examples: **énartae** *MI.*; **tabartae** 'of giving' *MI.* 73<sup>b8</sup> beside **tabairte** 96<sup>a7</sup>; **erdarcaigfes** 89<sup>b4</sup> beside **erdaircigidir** 'makes clear' 28<sup>b15</sup>; cp. also **comard (a) e** 'sign' beside the simplex **airde**; **immormus immarmus** 'sin' (*-mess*).

Partial assimilation to the form with vowel after liquid is found in **coisnimi** *Wb.* 7<sup>d13</sup> for \**coisinmi* < \**cosn + mi* (nom. pl. of **cosnam** 'contention'), beside **cosnama** 7<sup>d12</sup> which is modelled entirely on the singular. Cp. **aitribthid** 'inhabitant.' *Sg.* 57<sup>b3</sup>, to **atrab** 'dwelling' (verb **ad-treba**).

In verbs which have the same syllable sometimes stressed and sometimes unstressed there is frequent confusion; e.g. stressed **fritamm-oirci** 'thou offendest me' *Ml.* 44<sup>6</sup>26 beside regular **fris-orcai** 44<sup>b</sup>31; conversely, with enclitic stem, **frithorcaid** (ipv.) 114<sup>a</sup>9 beside **fridoirced** *Wb.* 14<sup>a</sup>27. Cp. **deirbbæ +** 'Sg. 66<sup>b</sup>15, gen. sg. fem. of **derb** 'certain', suggested by **indeirbbæ +** 'immediately following.

Levelling of this kind may also account for gen. sg. **libuir** for \**libir* < \**liβp<sup>i</sup>*, modelled on nom. sg. **lebor lebur** 'book' (otherwise Pedersen I. 349); **lestair** for \**leistir* < \**lestp<sup>i</sup>*, modelled on nom. sg. **lestar** 'vessel'.

**165.** A **consonant-group in word-anlaut** was probably open to palatalization, even though this cannot be ascertained from the orthography. In Mod.Ir. *sr-* is never palatal, while in *sm, sp, sb* only the second consonant is palatal. But these are doubtless later changes.

The later form **craide croide** (with neutral *cr-*), O.Ir. **cride**, 'heart' is also a secondary development; influenced by **crú** 'blood', **cródae** 'bloody'? In other words *cr-* remains palatal down to the present day.

### 3. SINGLE (INCLUDING ORIGINALLY GEMINATED) CONSONANTS

**166.** (a) As a rule the labials *b, p, f, m* (together with

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*mb*) and the gutturals *g, c, ch* (together with *ng*) are not palatalized in syllabic anlaut when preceded by a stressed *á* or *ō* + *̃*, *ū* + *̃* (also *úa*). Examples: **·rubai**, prototonic form of **ro-bí** 'can be'; **ad-opuir** 'offers' (*-beir*); **cnámai**, nom. pl. of **cnáim** 'bone'; **úama** (later attested, for *-e -ae*), gen. of flare 'cave'; **trummae** 'heaviness' (suffix *-e*); **ad-ágathar** 'fears' (pass. **·áigther**); **ógai** dat. sg. 'virginity'; **ruccae** 'shame'; **ungae** 'uncia'.

(b) Single (and formerly geminated) consonants at the beginning of an unstressed syllable which ends in a non-palatal consonant are not palatalized before (original) palatal vowels, except when (1) they are preceded by a palatal vowel or *u*, or (2) they were originally followed by *i* + *̃* (or *i* in hiatus). Examples: **úasal** 'high' (*W. uchel*) as against **ísel** 'low'; **tabart** 'giving' as against **epert** 'saying' (*-bert*); **sacard** 'sacerdos'; arch. **ached**, later **achad**, 'field'; **adall**, vb.n. of **ad-ella** 'visits', as against **bu (i) den** 'troop' (*W. byddin*); **dorus** 'door', dat. pl. **doirsib** (stem \**doressu-*); **ammus** 'attempt' (*ad+mess*); **·anacht** 'he protected' (*vaneg-*, pres. ind. **aingid**); **calad** 'hard' (*Bret. kalet*); but **cailech** 'cock' (*W. ceiliog*), cp. Ogam gen. CALIACI; **flaithem** 'lord', cp. § 268, 3.

The above rules rest on comparatively slender evidence. There are not many examples in which the orthography of O.Ir. affords definite proof of the quality of the consonants, and in which the older vocalism is known for certain; later sources must be used with caution, for changes of all kinds have taken place in the interval. Exceptions are numerous. To a large extent they may be explained as analogical formations. Levelling has been very frequent, for example, among the inflected forms of verbs and nouns. Thus in the verbal stem *uc(c)-* (*i*-flexion, § 759) the *c* (= *g*) should be non-palatal when the vowel remains anti palatal when it is dropped; instead, its quality fluctuates in all inflected forms of the verb, e.g. 3 sg. **-uicci** beside **-uccai**, pret. **-uc** beside **-uic**, pl. **-ucsat** beside **-uicset**. Even **ad-cí** 'sees' has prototonic 2 and 3 sg. **·aicci** anti **·accai**, 1 pl. **·accam** (**·aciam** Thes. II. 31, 23), 3 **·acat**, despite the fact that in the last two forms, as shown by deuterotonic **ad-ciam**, **ad-ciat**, the *c* was originally followed by *i* in hiatus; the source of the nonpalatal *c* may have been the 1 sg. \***·accu** (cp. **déccu** 'I gaze', regular according to § 167). In gen. sg. **abae** *Ml.* 78<sup>b</sup>4, beside dat. pl. **aibnib** 81<sup>c</sup>3, non-palatal *β* may come from nom. sg. **aub** 'river'. In **muimme** 'foster-mother' change of quality from \***maimme** has been suggested (Pokorny, KZ. XLV. 362 ff.). **claidib** 'sword', where *d* was not followed by *i* + *̃*, may have been influenced by gen. sg. nom. pl. **claidib**, acc. pl. **claidbiu**, etc. In certain borrowed words like **aiccent**, **aiccend** 'accentus' the interior vowel is retained and the preceding consonant palatalized; **cailech** 'calix' seems to have been attracted by **cailech** 'cock'. **luige** 'oath' *Wb.* (Mod. Ir. **luighe**), beside regular **lugae** *Ml.*,

may have been influenced by such frequent compounds as **fír-luige, comluige**, where *u* was unstressed. After *ǔ*, however, there are other examples where the change of quality is difficult to explain by analogy; e.g. **cuicce** 'to her' *Wb.* beside **cucae** *Sg.* (§ 433); gen sg. **suibi** *Ml.* 47<sup>d</sup>2 beside nom. sg. **subae +** 'jubilation', dat. **subu**; **cluiche** 'play' (**cluichech** 'playing' *Sg.*, **cluichigidir** 'plays' *Ml.*). Possibly dialectal differences played some part here. So too in **úathed** 'singleness, singular number' *Wb.* 25<sup>a</sup>38, otherwise **úathad**, the influence of other forms such as gen. *-thid* does not seem likely. Rather, the impression is conveyed of a rising tide of innovation which, however, did not reach every word, or at all events had not yet reached every word in our period. In accordance with this view, **áige** 'pillar' (*Fél.*) may be regarded as a survival from an earlier stage of the language. However, an examination of each separate word and of every possible analogical influence cannot be undertaken here.

It remains to consider a few instances of non-palatal quality which cannot be explained in terms of (b). In **amaires** (*am-iress*) 'unbelief' the neg. particle **am-** is apparently treated as an autonomous member of a compound (cp. § 159); so too **an-** (§ 870) before a vowel does not seem to have been palatalized in O.Ir., cp. **anéolas, anecne**. The neutral quality may actually spread to the following syllable: **amaras** (*Mod.Ir. amhras* in Munster), dat. **amarais** *Ml.* 97<sup>d</sup>13 (**iress** 'faith'). The adjectives **soraid** 'expeditious, easy' and **doraid** 'difficult' are usually regarded as compounds of **réid** 'level' (cp. *W. hy-rwydd* 'expeditious'), although the comparative **soirthiu** 'celerior' *Sg.* 15<sup>a</sup>4 and the abstract **soirthe** *Ml.* 93<sup>b</sup>4 suggest rather connexion with **rethid** 'runs, flows', **riuth** 'running'. The influence of **amraid** 'uneven, difficult', where  $\mu^a p^a$  is easier to explain, could account for the present examples. On the other hand, **so-** and **do-** show a general tendency, the reasons for which are obscure, to take neutral consonance after them; cp. **sonairt** 'strong' (**nert** 'strength'); **solus** 'bright', probably to **lés** 'light'. Forms like **sochenéuil, dochenéuil** (§ 345) are due to the influence of the word **cenél**. In **irar** 'eagle' (*KZ.* XLVIII. 61), which together with *W. eryr* points to a primary form *\*eriros*, the neutral *-p-*, despite the *i-*, is as yet unexplained. Sometimes, too, other consonants besides those enumerated in (a) are nonpalatal after single long vowels; e.g. dat. sg. **dúrai** 'hardness' *Ml.* 62<sup>a</sup>26 (abstr. noun from **dúr** < Lat. *dūrurs*) beside gen. **dúire** *Fél. Prol.* 66; dat. sg. **lán (a) i** 'fullness' *Fél. Dec.* 10; here analogy with long vowels due to compensatory lengthening (§ 163) has been suggested. But under this heading there remains much that is still obscure.

**167.** As a rule, originally palatalized gutturals and labials at the beginning of an unstressed syllable which ends in *u*-quality acquire *u*-quality themselves. Examples: **adamrugur** 'I wonder at' for *\*adamraigiur*, 3sg. **adamraigedar**, vb.n. **adamrugud** from *-ayeth*<sup>u</sup>; **su (i) digud** 'setting'; **ro-laumur** 'I dare' *Wb.* 17<sup>a</sup>8 beside 3sg. **ro-laimethar** (but archaic **ru-laimur**

*Wb.* I. 17<sup>c</sup>21, with  $\mu^i$ ); **temul** *Ml.* 16<sup>c</sup>7, 30<sup>a</sup>3, dat. sg. of **temel** 'darkness'; **impu** 'about them' as against **intiu** 'into them'; **irdorcu irdurcu erdarcu airdircu** 'more conspicuous, clearer' (compar. suffix *-i*u).

There are numerous exceptions, but all of them may be explained by analogy. Palatalization is especially frequent after palatal vowels; e.g. **torisnigiur** 'I trust' *Ml.* 126<sup>d</sup>19 (with  $\gamma^i$ , on the model of the other persons) beside **ísligur** 'I lower', **cairigur** 'I censure'; **tigiú** 'thicker' *Ml.* 20<sup>b</sup>1 (modelled on other comparatives with *-i*u) beside **gliccu** 'acuter' *Wb.* 26<sup>d</sup>26; **imdibiu** *Wb.* 2<sup>a</sup>3 beside more frequent **imdibu**, dat. sg. of **imdibe** 'circumcision' (modelled on other cases with  $\beta^i$ ); **epiur** 'I say' *Wb.* 4<sup>b</sup>26 (modelled on deuterotonic **as-biur**, or the 2, 3 sg. **epir**) beside **epur** 5<sup>a</sup>31. But palatalization is also found after neutral vowels: compar. **laigiú** *Sg.* and *Ml.* beside **laugu lugu** 'smaller'; **dánaigiud** 'bestowing' (vb.n. of **dánaigedar**) *Ml.* 96<sup>a</sup>8.

**168.** 4. In **proclitics** palatalization of consonants is generally abandoned (for the vocalism of proclitics see § 115a). Examples: **am** 'I am' (in other verbs *-im*); **ata** 'which are' (otherwise *-te*); **ad-**, prototonic form of the preposition **aith-** (§ 824); **mad-génatar** 'blessed are they' (§ 384), from **maith** 'good'; **ar** 'before, on account of', prep., but as the conjunction 'for' fluctuating between **air** and **ar**; similarly **in tain** and **in tan** 'when'; arch. **amail** 'as', but **amal** in *Wb.*, *Ml.*, and *Sg.*; **fel** and **fail** beside **fíl feil** 'who is'.

**169.** The most probable explanation of all cases of non-palatalized consonants which originally stood before palatal vowels would seem to be as follows: At one time every consonant immediately preceding a palatal vowel (or *i +* ) was at least in some degree palatalized; hence all the above cases (not merely those in § 167.) would involve the loss of former palatalization. In words like **serce** ( § 160 ) only the **last** consonant of the group was palatalized, not the first, and thus the neutral quality in **serc (a) e** is due to the influence of the first consonant, as in § 158. This theory of former palatalization cannot, indeed, be proved: archaic forms in which the unstressed vowel has been preserved unaltered, such as **toceth** 'luck', **fugell** 'judgement', **ached** 'field', **clocher** 'stony field' (for later **tocad**, **fugall**, **achad**, **clochar** ), give no indication

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of the quality of the preceding consonant. The spelling **fuigial** *RC. XXV. 346, 2* (= *fugell?*) cannot be relied on, for the same word seems to be written **fugiath** in an obscure passage *RC. XIV. 246, 31*.

**170.** 5. REPLACEMENT OF *u*-QUALITY BY NEUTRAL

- a. The consonants *ch*, *cc*, *th* (including 3  $\delta < th$ ), *ss* always have neutral instead of *u*-quality in syllabic auslaut after original *a*; e.g. **cath** nom. acc. dat. sg. 'battle' (stem *cathu-*), compound **cocad** ; **mace** dat. sg. 'son'; **iressach** dat. sg. 'faithful'; **airechas** '(high) rank' (suffix *-assu-*).

Only where the vowel of the preceding syllable is *o* are occasional exceptions found; e.g. **cogud** *MI. 103<sup>d5</sup>*, dat. sg. of **cocad** ; **foscud** dat. sg. 'shade' *MI. 50<sup>d7</sup>* from **scáth** 'shadow'; but later examples like acc. pl. **coicthiu** *ACL. III. 298 § 67* suggest that the above forms may have been influenced by words in *-ad < -eth* like **tocad**, arch. **toceth**. In **cobsud** 'stable' and **anbsud** 'unstable', from **fossad** 'firm', the influence of syncopated *o* is apparently operative.

But *-ch < γ* in arch. **inp-auch** 'ago' *Filargirius Gl.* and old  $\delta$  in **audbirt** 'offering' *Thes. II. 26, 40* (cp. § 80c) have *u*-quality.

Final *-ss* resists *u*-quality after stressed *e* and *o* also; cp. nom. acc. dat. **mes (s)** 'judgment' (stem *messu-*), but in compounds **tomus**, **ammus**, etc.; **ross** dat. sg. 'wooded slope' *Sg. 204 ( Thes. II. 290, 10)*. For certain exceptions, e.g. dat. sg. **fus** 'rest' beside **fos (s)**, see § 76. The archaic spelling **i routh** gl. **in studio** ( § 88 ) shows that at that time *th* still had *u*-quality after *o*.

- b. **After long vowels** the glide *u* does not appear; e.g. **bés** (*u*-stem) 'custom', **gním** (*u*-stem) 'deed'. In syllabic auslaut after long vowels (except, perhaps,  $\bar{u}$ ) consonants which originally had *u*-quality appear to have become neutral. This change is indicated by compounds like **fognam** dat. sg. 'service' *Wb. 4<sup>a</sup>21*, etc., **cosnam** dat. sg. 'contending' 18<sup>c</sup>18, where *u* is plainly neutral as in the simplex **gním**, **sním** ; on the other hand the earlier compound **dénom dénom** 'doing' (*de-gním*) retains the original *u*-quality. In *Sg.* the compound with *imm-fo-* fluctuates between **immognom** and **immf + ognam** 'construction'; this *MS.* also has **frithgnom** 'officium' 106<sup>b</sup>12,

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which is written **frithgnam** in *MI.* (even acc. pl. **frithgnamu** 56<sup>b</sup>4). Cp. also archaic **demure** *Wb. I. 8<sup>d</sup>3*, later **todernam**, 'torment', to **sním**.

**171.** (c) The exact conditions under which *u*-quality was lost or retained in original consonant groups cannot be determined from the examples at our disposal. It would appear from dat. sg. **salm**, **falt**, **corp**, **recht** ( §§ 278, 307 ) that after a stressed vowel *u*-quality was replaced by neutral even at the end of a syllable. But *-r +* consonant has *u*-quality after palatal vowels; e.g. **neurt**, dat. sg. of **nert** 'strength'; dat. sg. **seurc** 'sickness' *MI. 142<sup>c</sup>3*; (**in** ) **deurb** 103<sup>b</sup>11, 138<sup>c</sup>11, advb. from **derb** 'certain'; later attested **fiurt** 'miracle, uirtus' (acc. pl. always **fiurtu** ), cp. also **spiurt** 'spiritus'; but dat. sg. **terc** § 351. So too *cht* after *i*, e.g. **riucht** 'shape'; cp. **mliuchtae** 'milch' *MI. 100<sup>b</sup>15* beside **mlichtae** 100<sup>b</sup>20.

On the other hand, after an unstressed vowel *u*-quality clearly prevails in **do-imm-urc** 'I constrain' (*org-*), **fris-com-urt** 'I have injured', **as-ru-burt** 'I have said' (stem. *bert-*); dat. sg. **ifurnn** 'hell' *Wb. 13<sup>c</sup>26, MI. 130<sup>b</sup>6*, **iffiurn** 23<sup>a</sup>5; dat. sg. **coindeulc coindeulg** 'comparison' *Sg. 3<sup>b</sup>1, 25<sup>b</sup>2*. For interior syllables cp. **irdorcu irdurcu** *Wb.* 'clearer', but **erdarcu** *MI.*; **sonortu** *Wb.* 'stronger' as against *sonartu* *MI.*

**172.** (d) The quality of non-palatal consonants at the beginning of unstressed syllables is largely determined, not by the original quality of the following vowel, but rather by the character of the consonants themselves. Nevertheless the replacement of *u*-quality by neutral is often found in *Wb.* and to a still greater extent in *MI.*

1. Where the syllable ends in a palatal consonant labials and gutturals show *u*-quality in the earlier period. Examples: **cosmuil** 'similar' *Wb.* 12<sup>d</sup>1, 25<sup>d</sup>13, in *MI.* always *cosmail* (already in *Wb.* *adramail* 'fatherlike' 6<sup>d</sup>6, **sainemail** 'excellent' 3<sup>c</sup>33); **menmuin** *Wb.*, **menmain** *MI.*, dat. sg. of **menm (a) e** 'mind'; **cétbuid** 'sense' *Wb.*, **cétbaid** *MI.* (to **buith** 'being'); **dulburiu** (read *dulburi?*) acc. pl. 'ineloquent' *Wb.* 28<sup>c</sup>1, which indicates a nom. sg. **dulbuir** beside **subair** 'eloquent' 8<sup>a</sup>5, 12; **cechuin**

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*Wb.*, reduplicated preterite of **canid** 'sings', but **cechain (n)** **cachain** *MI.*; **doguise** 'sorrow' *Wb.*, **dogaise** *MI.*; **manchuib**, dat. pl. of **manach** 'monk' *Thes.* II. 238, 19 (Arm.). But already in *Wb.* the dat. pl. is always *-aib* (when not *-ib*): **hireschaib**, **noíbaib**, **mogaib**, **lámaib**, etc.

Note that even where the vowel *u* is original, *u* appears in *MI.* after other consonants also; e.g. **con-utuinc** 'builds' *Wb.*, **con-utaing** *MI.*: **in-o-laid** 'he entered' *MI.* 25<sup>a</sup>21, to **luid** 'went'.

**173.** 2. Gutturals and labials (other than unlenited *m*) also have *u*-quality (or *o*-quality, § 102) when the syllable ends in non-palatal lenited *r*, *l*, or *n*. Examples; **anacul anacol** 'protection'; **fogur fogor** 'sound'; **orcun** 'slaying' (**comrorcan** *MI.* 127<sup>d</sup>5); **accobor accobur accubur** 'wish' (vb. **ad-cobra**); **brithemon** (**britheman** *MI.* 104<sup>a</sup>8), gen. of **brithem** 'judge'; **tempul** 'templum'.

The original quality of the vowel is immaterial. In **brithemon** *o* may be original; in such case-forms the spelling *-un* (**súainemun** *Wb.* 26<sup>b</sup>17) is exceptional; **fogur** from *-gar*; for **orcun** see § 160; in **anacul**, **accobor**, **tempul** the last vowel is a secondary development (§ 112). *u*-infection is rarest before an old *e* which has undergone a change of quality in accordance with § 166b: **topur** 'well' *Wb.* 29<sup>c</sup>7 (cp. **inber** 'estuary'); but **óbar úbar** 'vainglory' *Wb.* (cp. adj. **húairech**), **cuman** 'remembered' (*-men*).

But neutral quality is usual before unlenited *r l* and *n* in syllabic auslaut; e.g. **comollnither** 'it may be fulfilled' *Wb.* 2<sup>c</sup>17, much rarer than **comaln-**. Still **domunde** 'worldly' and **brithemonda** 'judicial' *Thes.* I. 4, 19 follow the substantives **domun** and **brithemon** (gen.).

Dentals in this position rarely show *u*- (or *o*-) infection. Almost the only examples among native words occur where the preceding syllable contains *ō + ǰ*; cp. **lóthor** *Sg.* 49<sup>a</sup>2, **lóthur** *Thes.* II. 27, 36, later form of trisyllabic **loathar** 'basin, trough' *Sg.* 67<sup>b</sup>5; **odur** 'dun' *Thes.* II, 9, 28; **do-forchossol** *Wb.* 13<sup>d</sup>27, **fo-rróxl** 27<sup>a</sup>19, **fochsul** *MI.* 93<sup>d</sup>5, **foxol** *Sg.* 216<sup>b</sup>5 beside **foxal** 201<sup>b</sup>7 'taking away'. We find *u*-quality after *eu* in the loanword **neutur** 'neutrum'; but cp. also **metur** 'metrum', **Petor** 'Petrus', where Lat. *-um -us* may have had some influence. Isolated examples are **riathor** *MI.* 134<sup>b</sup>7 'torrent' beside **riathar** 56<sup>a</sup>13, **du-fuisledor** 'slips' *Thes.* II. 24, 34. In dat. pl. **lenomnaib**

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'litoris' *Sg.* 3<sup>b</sup>4<sup>m</sup> has kept the *u*- or *o*-quality of nom. sg. **lenamon**.

In some of these examples *-or -ur -ar, -ol -ul -al* were probably intended to represent syllabic *r + , l + 5* (without preceding vowel).

**174.** From the foregoing (§§ 170 - 173) we may conclude that in the pronunciation of consonants neutral quality began to supplant *u*-quality at a very early period. The fact that certain consonants receive neutral, not *u*-quality, from a preceding *u* (§ 166) points to the same conclusion. Since the presence of *u*-quality can be inferred only from the form of the flanking vowels, it is often impossible to decide with certainty whether a particular consonant still had *u*-quality or whether only the after-effects of a former *u*-infection remained. All trace of such effects has disappeared in *oc du chand* 'reviling thee' *MI.* 58<sup>c</sup>6, for earlier **\*cáiniud**. In the course of time neutral consonants also came to be pronounced with the back of the tongue raised (this has been shown in regard to modern dialects by Sommerfelt, *Bulletin de la Soc.*

*de Ling.* XXIII. No. 70, p. 8). Henceforth, then, *u*-quality consonants differed from them only in being pronounced with rounded lips, and as this can have played but a minor part in the articulation of some consonants, the difference could easily be lost. But the period at which **all** non-palatal consonants began to be pronounced with the back of the tongue raised cannot be fixed with certainty.

## ORIGINAL FINAL CONSONANTS

**175.** Of the consonants that once stood in final position the following have remained: *r* (*rr* < *rs*, etc., § 154c), *ll* (< *lk-s-*, § 153d), *rt*, *lt*, *cht*, *d* or *dd* (written *t*) < *-nt* (*-mt*).

Examples: **siur** 'sister', Lat. *soror*; **·orr**, 3 sg. subj. (*org-s-t*) of **org (a) id** 'slays'; **·tiummell** (MS. *·tuinmell*) 'he may collect' *ZCP*. XVI. 275 (*-mell* = *melg-s-t* with *to-in(d)-uss-*); the *tpreterites* (§ 682 ff.) **·bert** 'bore', **·alt** 'nourished', **ro-siacht** 'has reached', **do-r-ét** 'has protected' (< *dí-em-*); **·berat** 'they bear' (< *-ont*); **dét** 'tooth' (W. *dant*).

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Such final consonants have neutral quality, cp. **·bert**, **·ét**, **·berat**, **fo-cicherr** 'will throw'. Only single *r* (*ρ*) after *u* and *i* (and *e*?) has taken *u*- and *i*-quality; cp. **siur**, **midjur** 'I judge', **bráth (a) ir** 'brother' (cp. § 90, 2).

**176.** Final *-m* became *-n* in Celtic at an early date. Cp. Gaul. accusatives (some of them neuter) like *celicnon*, *cantalón*, *canecosedlon*, *νεμητρον*, *Ucuetin*, *ratin*, *lokan* (probably = *logan*). (The exception *Briuation Dottin* no. 51, as against *ratin*, has not been satisfactorily explained).

Similarly in Irish the preposition which appears as **com-** in composition is written **con** when pretonic (§ 830 B), evidently the form originally used at the end of a clause (the '*pausa-*' form').

**177.** In absolute auslaut single *d*, *t*, *k*, *n* (< *-n* and *-m*), and *s* have been lost; so also--with the exception of *rs*, *ls*--all consonant groups containing *s*. such as *-ks* *-ts* *-ns* *-st*, which had presumably fallen together with single *-s* at an earlier date. In Ogam inscriptions final *-s* is sometimes preserved, sometimes lost.

Examples: **tó** 'yes', IE. *\*tod* 'that'; **·cara** 'loves' < *\*karāt*; **na ná** negative (before appended pronouns **nā + čh-**): **rí** 'king' < *\*rēks*, cp. Gaul. *Εσκιγγο-πειξ* *Dottin* no. 21; **a** 'out of', Lat. *ex*; **cin** 'fault, liability' < *\*q<sup>w</sup>inut-s*; **mí** 'month' < *\*mē(n)s*; **maccu** acc. pl. 'sons' < *-ōns* (*-ūs*); **car (a) e** 'friend' < *\*karant-s*; **ní** 'is not', probably < *\*nēst* (§ 243, 2); **·téi ·té**, 3 sg. subj. of **tíagu** 'I go', < *\*steigh-s-t*; **·fé**, 3 sg. subj. of **fedid** 'leads', < *\*wedh-s-t*.

The complete disappearance of *-d* dates from an early period. This may be inferred from the fact that certain neuter pronouns (e.g. **a**, § 415) have the same effect as words ending in a vowel (cp. also **alail**, § 486 b). For **ed** 'it' and **cid** 'what?' see §§ 450, 466.

On the other hand the remaining consonants, if they are closely associated with the following word, do not disappear. In this position the nasals are represented by *n-* or nasalization

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of the following initial (§ 236), the others by gemination of a following consonant or by *h-* before a stressed vowel (§ 240).

## INITIAL CONSONANTS IN PRETONIC WORDS

**178.** 1. Original *s* has disappeared in the anlaut of pretonic words. Examples: it 'they are', Skt. *sánti*, Goth. *sind*; **amail amal** 'as', petrified dative of **samail** 'likeness'; the article **ind**, **a**, etc., after prepositions still **-sind**, **-sa** § 467.

It has also disappeared in. Britanic; cp. the article, Bret. Corn. *an*; W. *ynt* 'they are'.

2. In archaic texts *t-* is still preserved in the preverb **to- tu-** ( § 855 ) and the possessive pronoun **to** 'thy' ( § 439 ); e.g. **tu-thēgot** 'which come' Cam., **tu-ercomlassat** 'they have gathered' *Wb.* I. 7<sup>a</sup>7, etc.; **to menmme** 'thy mind' *Thes.* II. 255, 14, elsewhere, even in *Wb.*, always **do du**. Similarly we find already in *Wb.* the prep. **dar** beside **tar** ( § 854 ) **dochum** 'towards' (= subst. **tochim (m)** 'stepping towards', § 858 ). The change took place about the end of the seventh century, as may be seen from saints' names in *Tu- To-*, later *Do- DuDa-*; cp. **To-Channu** *Thes.* II. 281, 9, **Du-Channa** AU. 705 (see *ZCP.* XIX. 359 ff.).

Here too the same development is found in Britanic; cp. W. *dy*, Bret. *da* 'thy'. In addition, Britanic shows a parallel development in regard to initial *c*, the prep. *con-* having become non-syllabic *gŭn-*; cp. W. *gwnaf* (monosyllable) Corn. *gwraf* Mid.Bret. *groaff* 'I do', from *con-* (*com-*) + *ag-*; W. *gwnio* Mid.Bret. *gruyat* 'to sew', where the stem goes back in the first instance to *uy(i)-*, cp. O.Ir. **coni + g (a) i** 'sews together'. In Mid.Ir. too, *g-* appears instead of *c-* in pretonic words: **go gu** 'till' and 'wit', O.Ir. **co**; **gach** 'each' before substantives, O.Ir. **cach**; **gé** 'although', O.Ir. **cia ce**; **gan** 'without', O.Ir. **cen**, etc. It has been surmised that this change was contemporary with that of *t* to *d*, though not expressed in writing. But if so, it is difficult to understand why the scribes should have been willing to express the change of *t* to *d*, while at first refusing to express that of *c* to *g*. Further, it is unlikely that in lenited **cho** *Wb.* 13<sup>a</sup>26, 27, *Ml.* 94<sup>b</sup>11, **chen** Sg. 75<sup>a</sup>l, *ch* represents *γ*, for these cases of lenition are too rare to be regarded as a mere traditional scribal convention. Accordingly in Irish this mutation appears to be later than that of *t-* to *d-*. It is possible, however, that some change in articulation had already taken place, perhaps the loss of that strong aspiration of *c* which is still heard in other positions in Mod.Ir.

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## LOSS OF CONSONANTS

### 1. BY DISSIMILATION

**179.** Where two successive unstressed syllables began with the same consonant, and this was lenited at least the first time, the first consonant disappeared completely. This is particularly frequent in reduplicated verbal forms; e.g. **for-roíchan** 'thou hast taught' for *·ro-chechan* (*óí* contracted from *o-e*); **in-roígrain** 'has persecuted' for *·ro-gegrainn*; **asa-toroímed** 'out of which has broken' *Wb.* 11<sup>a</sup>19 for *·to-ro-memaid*; **do-fo-chred** 'he would put' for *·fo-chicherred*; **·féelais** 'thou wilt endure' TBC. 1250 for *·fo-lilais*. But it also occurs in other forms; e.g. **fóesam** 'protection' for *fo-ṣessam*; **coím(m)chloud** 'exchange' for *com-imm-chloud*; **coímthecht** 'accompanying' for *com-imm-thecht*.

A similar development would account for the form *·taít* 'comes', < \**ta-thet* < \**to-thet* (*a* for *o* probably on the model of *ipv.* sg. **tair** 'come', § 588 ), deuterotonic **do-tét** ( § 770 ), where the last *-t* (= *-d*) does not begin a new syllable; this in turn is the source of 3 pl. **·taígat** (deuterotonic **do-tíagat** ), etc.

### 2. REDUCTION OF CONSONANT-GROUPS

**180.** Groups of three or more consonants are frequently reduced by the loss of one in the following positions:

1. Stops between nasals and other consonants; e.g. **im-thecht** 'going about' for \***imb-thecht**; **do-sluinfider**, fut. pass. of **do-sluindi** 'denies'; **ang(a)id** beside **andg(a)id** 'nequam', from **andach** 'nequitia'. Cp. the article **in** before consonants beside **ind** before vowels ( § 467 ).
2. Continuants between nasals or liquids and other consonants; e.g. **·ort** 'he slew' < \**orcht*, *t-*pret. of **org(a)id**; **tart** 'drought, thirst', < \**tarsto-*, cognate with Gk. *τέρσασθαι*; **áildiu** instead of \**áilndiu*, compar. of **áilind** 'beautiful'; **·fulgam** ( *Ml.* ) 1 pl. beside **·fulgat** 3 pl. of **fo-loing** 'supports'; **do-foirde** beside **do-foirnde** 'defines'; **tairgire** beside **tairngire** 'promise'; **arbed** beside **arbad** 'in order that it might be'.

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3. *n* between other consonants also; e.g. **scríbdid** beside **scríbnidid** 'scribe', from **scrí bend** 'writing'; **aisdís** beside **aisndís** 'exposition' (vb. **as-indet**); **frechdaire** beside **frechdairc** 'present'.

In **forngaire**, sometimes **forgaire**, for \**forncgair*, vb.n. of **for-con-gair** 'commands', and **esáigaire** *Ml.* 105<sup>c</sup>6, later **escaire**, vb.n. of **as-con-gair** 'proclaims', four consonants have been reduced to three and eventually to two.

Cp. also **mesbaid** 'quarrel' *Ml.* 19<sup>c</sup>15, 50<sup>c</sup>18 beside **mescbuid -baid** Laws. In **anacul** 'protection' < *anechtlo-* (cp. Gaul. ANEXTLO-MARVS), *-cht* has become *-kkl-*; and in **foirce** 'open sea', to **fairsiung** 'wide', *-rs(n)ghas* has become *-rrg-*. For the loss of earlier final consonants see § 177, of initial *s* in pretonic words § 178, of lenited before other consonants §§ 125, 127, of *n* before *c*, *t* §§ 208, 210; for **·selaig**, **·senaig**, reduplicated preterites of **sligid** and **snigid**, see § 216.

## METATHESIS

**181.** Transposition of consonants is rare, and in some forms it does not occur consistently. Examples: **ascnam** for \***acsnam** (*ad-cosnam*), vb.n. of **ad-cosn(a)i** 'strives after' (*ad-com-sní-*); **eslinn** 'unsafe, dancer' < *ess-inill* (*inill* 'safe'); **luggart** 'garden' *Ml.* 121<sup>c</sup>12, for **lub-gort**, dat. **luggart** SP. ( *Thes.* II. 294, 16) beside **luggartóir** 'gardener' Sg. 92<sup>b</sup>1; **diamuin** 'pure' *Wb.* 6<sup>b</sup>8 beside **dianim** 'unblemished' (**anim** 'blemish'). The following examples occur only once: **bérle** *Wb.* 12<sup>d</sup>14 (a form which later becomes general) for normal **bélre** 'language'; **oslucud** 'opening' *Ml.* 46<sup>b</sup>5 from *oss-olggud*, cp. **túasulcud** 45<sup>d</sup>16, etc. (later **túaslucud**); **desmrecht** 'example' Sg. 213<sup>a</sup>7, usually **des(s)imrecht** (**desmrecht** 66<sup>b</sup>20).

## ORIGIN OF THE IRISH CONSONANTS

**182.** In the Old Irish phonetic system there are eleven pairs of consonants, one member of each pair representing the lenited form of the other, and one single consonant which only occurs unlenited:

- |    |                          |    |                         |
|----|--------------------------|----|-------------------------|
| 1. | <i>k</i> and <i>ch</i> , | 2. | <i>g</i> and <i>γ</i> , |
| 3. | <i>t</i> and <i>th</i> , | 4. | <i>d</i> and <i>ð</i> , |

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- |     |                                     |     |                         |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| 5.  | <i>p</i> and <i>f</i> , <i>ph</i> , | 6.  | <i>b</i> and <i>β</i> , |
| 7.  | <i>n</i> and <i>v</i> ,             | 8.  | <i>m</i> and <i>μ</i> , |
| 9.  | guttural (unlenited only),          | 10. | <i>r</i> and <i>ρ</i> , |
| 11. | <i>l</i> and <i>λ</i> ,             | 12. | <i>s</i> and <i>h</i> . |

Further, each of the above consonants may have three different qualities, making a total of 69 consonantal sounds. But these qualities have no etymological significance; neither have the voiceless variants of *l r n* which were probably pronounced in *sl sr sn*.

It is true that *p* and *f* do not bear the same relation to each other as the other pairs; etymologically they are quite distinct ( § 187 ). But *f* was used to supply a lenited form of *p* in loan-words ( § 231, 5 ).

In native words the consonants correspond to the following Indo-European sounds: **183.** I. *k* (written *c*) and *ch* correspond to:

- a. The three IE. *k*-sounds, Brugmann's *k + ̂*; *q* and *qu + ̂* (in the present work *q<sup>w</sup>*), e.g.  
**cét** 'hundred', W. *cant*, Skt. *sstám*, Lith. *šim + fās*.  
**deich** 'ten', W. *deg*, Skt. *dása*, O.Slav. *desę*.  
**ocht** 'eight', W. *wyth*, Skt. *aštáu*, Lith. *aštuoni*, O.Slav. *osm*.  
**scaraid** 'parts, separates', W. *ysgar*, OHC. *sceran* to shear', Lith. *skiriù* 'I part'.  
**fichid** 'fights', Lat. *uincere*, MHG. *wihen* 'to weaken, destroy', Lith. *ap-veikiù* 'I overcome'.  
**ceth(a)ir** 'four', OW. *petguar*, Lat. *quattuor*, Lith. *keturù*.  
**sechithir** 'follows', Lat. *sequi*, Gk. *ἑπείθει*, Lith. *sekù*. 'I follow';

- Possibly orig. *kh* in **scian** (fem.) 'knife', W. *ysgien*, cp. Skt. *chyāti* 'cuts off', Gk. *σχίζειν*.
- b. *cht* etymologically = *g* (*gh*) + *t*, e.g. **acht**, *t*-pret. of **agid** 'drives', [221a](#). *cht* < *pt* (*b-t*), [§§ 227c, 228](#).
- c. *ch* developed from *γ*, [§§ 124, 130, 131](#).

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**184.** 2. *g* (written *g*, *c*, [§ 31](#) f.) and *γ* (written *g*, [§ 29](#) f.) correspond to:

- a. The palatal and the pure velar **IE**. *g*, Brugmann's *g* +  $\hat{}$  and  $\grave{}$ , e.g.

**ad-gnin** 'knows', **gnáth** 'customary', Gk. *γνωτός*, Lith. *žinó* 'to know', O.Slav. *znati* 'to know'.

**teg** 'house', Gk. *τέγος*, *στέος* 'roof', Lat. *tegere*, Lith. *stógas* 'roof', Skt. *sthaḡayati* 'covers'.

The simplest explanation of the *γ* = IE.*g<sup>w</sup>* (labiovelar) in **nigid** 'washes', Gk. *νίζειν* (*νίπτειν*), *χερ-νίβ-* 'washing water', Skt. *nējanam* 'wash(ing)', is that in Celtic this verb formed a *i* + *present*, like Gk. *νίζω* (*νίλι* + *ω*), in which *g<sup>w</sup>* lost the labial element before *i* + *present*, and that the *g* spread thence to other forms, cp. pret. **·nenaig**, vb.n. **fu-nech**, etc. (Osthoff, *IF*. XXVII. 177; otherwise Vendryes, *RC*. XLVII. 442 ff.)

- b. The three IE. guttural mediae aspiratae, Brugmann's *g* + *h*,  $\grave{}$ *h*, and  $\grave{}$ *h* (in the present work *g<sup>w</sup>h*), e.g.

**gaim**, **gaim-red** 'winter', W. *gaeaf*, Gaul. *Giamon*. (name of month), Lat. *hiems*, Gk. *χειμών*, Lith. *žiemà*, O.Slav. *zima*, Avest. *zyā* +  $\acute{}$ .

**cum-ung** 'narrow', Lat. *angere*, Gk. *□γγιν*, Avest. *azō* 'sore straits', O.Slav. *oz□□* 'narrow'.

**tiagu** 'I go', Gk. *σείχειν* 'to step', Goth. *steigan* 'to climb', O.Slav. *stignō* 'I reach' Skt. *stighnōti* 'climbs'.

**dliged -eth** 'duty, claim', Goth. *dulgs* 'debt', O.Slav. *dl□g□* 'due, duty'.

**fo-geir** 'heats', **guirid** 'warms', W. *gori* 'to hatch' Skt. *gharmáh* 'glow, warmth', Lat. *formus* 'warm', Gk. *θέρεσθαι* 'to become warm'.

**snigid** 'drips' (cp. **snechtae** 'snow'), Lat. *ninguit*, Gk. *νείφει*, OHG. *snīwit*, Lith. *sniñga* 'it snows'.

- c. *g* < (η)*k*, [§ 208](#).

- d. *γ* developed from *ch*, [§ 129](#) f.

**185.** 3. *t* and *th* correspond to:

- a. IE. *t* (also Europ. *t* = Skt. *th*), e.g. **trí** 'three', W. *tri*, Lat. *tres*, Gk. *τρει* +  $\acute{}$ , Skt. *tráyah*.

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**rethid** 'runs', **roth** 'wheel', Lat. *rota*, Lith. *rātas* 'wheel', Skt. *ráthah*, Avest. *rapō* 'car'.

In **art** 'bear', W. *arth*, Gallo-Lat. *Artio* (goddess with bear), Celtic affords a parallel to Gk. *□ρκτος* as against Skt.  $\acute{}$  + *kṣah*, Lat. *ursus*. (The original form has been variously reconstructed;  $\acute{}$ *r* + *tkos*?).

- b. IE. *th*.

Probably in *-the*, the ending of the 2 sg. ipv. depon., cp. Skt. *-thāh* (also Gk. *θης* in the aorist passive?), see [§ 574](#).

- c. *th* developed from  $\delta$ , [§§ 124, 130, 131](#); *t* developed from *th* and  $\delta$ , [§§ 139](#).

- d. *t* < earlier *d* +  $\acute{}$  (= *h*), e.g.

**intam(a)il** 'imitation' for *ind-ṣam(a)il*; **tintúd** 'translation' for *to-ind-śoud*, [§ 842](#) A 2.

**int súil** 'the eye' <  $\acute{}$ *inda*  $\acute{}$  . . ; **int aile** 'the other' <  $\acute{}$ *inda*  $\acute{}$  *a* . . ; see [§ 467](#).

**· cuinteá** **· com-dí-śá**, 3 sg. pres. subj., **cuintehti** verbal of necessity of **con · dieig** (*com-dí-saig*) 'seeks' (prototonic I sg. **· cuintgim**, **· cuingim**, **· cuinchim**).

- 186.** 4. *d* (written *d*, *t*, [§ 31](#) f.) and  $\delta$  (written *d*, [§ 29](#) f.) correspond to:

- a. IE. *d*, e.g.

**daur** 'oak', **deruce** 'acorn' Sg. 113<sup>b</sup>9, W. *dar*, *derwen* 'oak', Gk. *δόρυ*, *δρυ* + *ζή*, Skt. *dā* + *ṛu* 'wood'.

**sa(i)did** 'sits', 3 pl. **sedait**, vb.n. **su(i)de**, Lat. *sedere*, Gk. *ἴδοσ*, Skt. *sádah* 'seat'.

- b. IE. *dh*, e.g.

**denait** 'they suck', **dínu**, dat. **dínit**, 'lamb', **del** 'teat'; Mid.W. *dynu* 'to suck', Skt. *dháyati* 'sucks', Gk. *θήσασθαι* 'to suck', OHG. *tila* 'female breast'.

**mid** 'mead', Skt. *mádhu* 'honey, mead', Gk. *μέθυ*

In two words *d-* seems to represent earlier *gd-*: (1) **dú** fem. 'place', Gk. *χθών* 'earth', against Skt. *kṛāh* (gen. *jmah*, *gmah*, *kṣmah*), Avest. *zā* + 'earth', and Lat. *humus*, Lith. *žēmė* (Tochar. *tkan-*, Hittite *tegan takn-*

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'earth'); (2) **in-dé** 'yesterday', W. *doe*, O.Corn. *doy*, Gk. *χθές*, against Lat. *heri* (*hes-ternus*), OHG. *gestaron*, Skt. *hyah* 'yesterday'. In both words Celtic agrees with Greek.

- c.

*d* < (n)*t*,  
[§ 208](#); <  
*t* in  
pretonic  
words, [§](#)  
[178](#), 2.  
*ḍ* § **IE.** z,  
[§ 218](#).  
*ḍ*  
developed  
from *th*,  
[§§ 126](#),  
[128](#) ff.

- d.

- e.

**187.** 5. *p* and *f*, *ph*:

- a. *p* < *b* + *ś* (= *h*), e.g.

**impude**, vb.n., 'besieging' for \**imb-śude*,

**impu** 'about them' < \**imb-śu*.

- b. *sp* for *sf* in **aspenad** (probably with *é*) 'testifying' *MI.* for earlier **asfē + ñad** ZCP. VII. 488, vb.n. of **as · fē + ñimm**, Mid.Ir. generally **taisbē + ñad** 'showing, demonstrating'.

- c. *f* < initial *w*, [§ 202](#); developed from *β*, [§ 124](#).

- d. *f* (*ph*) < lenited *sw* [§ 132](#), *sp* [§ 226](#) b.

- e. *ph*, lenited form of *p* in loan-words, [§ 231](#), 5.

**188.** 6. *b* (written *b*, *p*, [§ 31](#) f.) and *β* (written *b*, [§ 29](#) f.) correspond to:

- a. IE. *b*, e.g.

**buide** 'yellow', Lat. *badius* 'bay' (if this is a pure Latin word).

**ibid** 'drinks', Skt. *píbati*, cp. Lat. *bibit*.

**slíab** 'mountain' (literally 'slope'), W. *llyfr* 'sledge-runner', OHG. *slipf* 'lapsus', Mid.HG. *slifan* 'to slide', OE. *tō-slīpan* 'to dissolve'.

- b. IE. *bh*, e.g.

**berid** 'bears', Skt. *bhárati*, Gk. *φέρειν*.

**imbliu** 'navel', Gk. *ἰμφ αλαλός*, Skt. *nā* + *ḅhih*.

- c. IE. labiovelar *g* (*g<sup>w</sup>*), e.g.

**béu béo** 'living', W. *byw*, Lith. *gývas*, Goth. *qius*, Lat. *uiuos*, Osc. nom. pl. *bivus*.

**imb** 'butter', Lat. *unguen*, Skt. *anákti* 'anoints'.

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- d. *mb* < IE. *mp*: **camb** 'crooked, wry' (cp. § 152 c), Bret. *kamm* 'crooked', Gk. *καμμή* 'bend(ing)', Goth. *hamfs* 'maimed' (connexion with Gk. *σκαμβός* 'crooked' has also been suggested).

-βρ-, -βλ- < -pr-, pl-, § 227 e.

- e. β < w after ρ v δ, and β < mw, § 201.

- f. β developed from f (*ph*), §§ 130, 635.

**189.** 7. *n* and *v* (both written *n*) correspond to:

- a. IE. *n*, e.g.

**náue nuie nuae** (§ 72) 'new', W. *newydd*, Gallo-Lat. *Nouio-magus*, Skt. *návyah*, Goth. *niujs*, Lith. *naũjas*.

**sen** 'old', W. *hen*, Lith *sėnas*, Skt. *sánah*, Lat. *senex senis*.

- b. IE. final -*m*, § 176.

- c. Earlier *m* before *d* in composition, e.g.

**condelgg condelc** 'comparison', for *com-delg*.

**190.** 8. *m* and μ (both written *m*):

- a. = IE. *m*, e.g.

**máth(a)ir** 'mother', Lat. *mater*, Gk. *μήτηρ*, OE. *mōdor*, Skt. *mātā* + , etc.

**da(i)mid** 'grants, admits', **fo · daim** 'endures', **dam** 'ox', Skt. *dā* + *ṁyati* 'is tame', Gk. *δαμάζω* 'I overcome', *δαμάλης* 'young steer', Lat. *domare* Goth. *tamjan* 'to tame'.

- b. < Celt. *b* (§ 188.) before *n*, e.g.

**slemon slemun** 'smooth', nom. pl. **slemna**, W. *llyfn*, < \**slibno-*, cp. **slíab** 'mountain' § 188a.

**domun** 'world', **domuin** 'deep', Gaul. *Dubno-talus Dumnotalus*, *Dubno-reix Dubno-rex Dumno-rex*, *Dubno-couirus*, etc. (here *b* is the earlier sound, cp. Goth. *diups* 'deep').

**ben** 'woman', gen. **mná** < \**bnās* (orig. labiovelar *g<sup>w</sup>*, cp. Goth. *qinō* 'woman', etc.).

- c. *m* < other nasals before *b*, where the group has not arisen by vocalic syncope, e.g.

**imb**, Lat. *unguen*, § 188c.

**i m-biuth** for \**in-biuth* 'in the world'.

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**191.** 9. η (written *n*):

- a. = IE. η only before Celt. *g*, e.g.

**cumung** 'narrow', § 184b.

**ingen** 'nail', Lat. *unguis*, ep. Gk. *ἄνυξ* gen. *ἄνυχος*, OE. *næ* + *ǵel*, etc.

b. < other nasals before *g*, e.g.

**congnam** 'co-operation, help', from *com-* and **gním**.

**engn(a)e ingnae** 'understanding', to *en- in-* and **gnin** 'knows' ( § 184a ).

192. 10. *r* and *p* (both written *r*):

a. = IE. *r*, e.g.

**rigid** 'stretches out', **at · reig** 'arises', **rog(a)id** 'extends', **recht** 'law', **díriug díriuch** 'straight'; Lat. *regere rectus por-rigere*, Gk. *ῥιγνέειν*, Goth. *uf-rakjan* 'to stretch out', Skt. *r + júh* Avest. *ərəzuš* 'straight', etc.

**car(a)id** 'loves', W. *caru*, Gaul. *Carantius Carantillus*, Lat. *cārus*, Lett. *kārs* 'lustful', Goth. *hōrs* 'adulterer'.

b. *p* < *l* by dissimilation:

**araile** beside **alaile** 'the other' ( § 486b ), similarly W. *ereill*. For *r* in **díbirciud** 'throwing' see § 218.

193. 11. *l* and *λ* (both written *l*):

a. = IE. *l*, e.g.

**ligid** 'licks', Lat. *lingere*, Gk. *λείχεν*, Goth. *bi-laigōn*, Lith. *liežiù* 'I lick', etc.

**melid** 'grinds', W. *malu*, Lat. *molere*, Goth. *malan*, Lith. *malù* 'I grind', O.Slav. *melj<sub>o</sub>*, Gk. *μύλη* 'mill'.

b. < *r* by dissimilation:

**lour** 'enough' (W. *llawer* 'much') from \**ro-wero-*, cp. **ro · fera** 'suffices'.

194. 12. *s* (written *s*) and *h* (written *s*, *ś*, or not indicated at all):

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*h* occurs only at the beginning of a word, and occasionally as the initial of the second element of a compound ( § 131 ). Sometimes it represents a trace of final *-s* in the preceding word. or of lenited *-t* and *-k*; see § 240 ff.

*s* in medial position is mostly simplified from earlier *ss*, for the origin of which see § 155. Otherwise it corresponds to IE. *s*, e.g.

**sruth** 'stream, brook', **srúaim** 'gush'; W. *ffrwd* 'stream', Skt. *srávati* 'flows', Lith. *srave + ' + tí* 'to flow', ON. *straumr* OE. *stréam* 'stream'.

**lestar** 'vessel', W. *llestr*, Goth. *lisan* 'to glean', Lith. *lèsti* 'to pick up', Umbr. *vesklu veskla* 'vessels'. This, however, seems to be a loan-word in Irish (see § 280, 4). But for *-str-*, cp. also **elestar (ailestar)**, gen. **-tair**, 'sword-flag', W. and Bret. *elestr*, and §§ 575, 623.

## SUMMARY OF THE REGULAR DEVELOPMENT OF INDO-EUROPEAN SOUNDS IN OLD IRISH

In general the representation of Indo-European sounds adopted here follows Brugmann *Grundriss*. For vowels in medial syllables, which may vary considerably according to the nature of the flanking consonants, cp. § 101 ff.; for vowels in final syllables, cp. § 89 ff.

### I. PURELY VOCALIC SOUNDS

**195.** IE. *a* and *ə* (IE. schwa) = *a* § 50, = *o* or *u* § 80a, *b*, = *e*, *i* § 80 c (cp. § 83); lengthened to *á* § 125, also § 45 ff.; to *é* § 125, 208, 210. IE. *ā* = *á* § 51a.

IE. *e* = *e* § 52, = *i* § 75 ff., = *a* §§ 83, 115a; *ew* = *ow*, Ir. *au*, etc., cp. **náue nue** § 72; lengthened to *é* (*ée*, *éo*, *íu*) §§ 54 f., 125, 208 ff., also § 44 ff. IE. *ē* = *í* § 58b; in final syllables *e* (?) § 90.

IE. *o* = *o* § 59, = *u* § 75 ff., = *a* § 81 f., 90, 4; lengthened to *ó*, *úa* § 44 ff., 62, 125.

IE. *ō* = *á* § 51b; in final syllables = *u* § 89.

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## II. SOUNDS SOMETIMES VOCALIC, SOMETIMES CONSONANTAL

(*i u n m η r l*)

### IE. *i*

**196.** 1. IE. vocalic *i* = *i* § 57, = *e* § 73 f.; lengthened to *í* § 210 (*íu* § 71b), cp. also § 45 ff. IE. *ī* = *í* § 58a.

#### 2. *i*-diphthongs

IE. *ai* (*əi*) = *ái* *áe* *oí* *óe* § 66 f.; in final syllables, see § 298.

IE. *ei* = *é*, *ía* § 53.

IE. *oi* = *oí* *óe* *ái* *áe* § 66 f.; in final syllables, see § 286.

Long vowelled *i*-diphthongs are rarely attested with any certainty: *ōi* § 285; *āi* (?) § 296; *ēi* (?) § 375.

#### **197.** 3. Consonantal *i*

In **medial position after consonants** unstressed syllabic *i* in hiatus (more exactly *ii* + ) has fallen together with consonantal *i* + , as also with earlier *ei* + . The original presence of one or other of these sounds is indicated chiefly by the palatal quality of the preceding consonant; a further trace may be seen in the glides *i* and *e* before final *u* and *a*. For other effects of their combination with the vowels of earlier final syllables, see § 94.

There is accordingly no distinction between **aille** fem. 'another', orig. *\*ali* + *ā*, (Gk.  $\square\lambda\lambda\eta$ ), and **caire** 'blame' (OW. *cared*) < *\*karii* + *ā*; nor between **gairem** 'we call' < *\*gari* + *omo(s)* (according to others, however, < *\*garī* + *.mo(s)*) and **ad-suidem** 'we hold fast' < *\*sodei* + *omo(s)*.

To some extent they can be distinguished with the aid of Britannic, where *ii* + . becomes *ið* in original penultimate (stressed) syllables; and *i* + . either remains or coalesces with the preceding consonant.

In the present work *ī* and *i* + . are not differentiated in attempted reconstructions of basic forms.

**198. Medial intervocalic** *i* + . seems to have disappeared very early except after *i*; cp.

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**máo mó** 'greater' < \**mō-i* + *ōs* (?). **·táu ·tó** 'I am', probably < \**stāi* + *ō* (but it might also be < \**stāō*).

In Irish it has disappeared after *i* also, e.g. **bíuu, ·bíu:** = **W.** *byddaf* 'I am wont to be' (\**bhii* + *ō*).

**199. Initial i** + *.has* disappeared, e.g.

**oac óac** 'young', Mid.W. *ieuanc*, Bret. *yaouank*, Gaul. *Iouinca Iouincillus*, Lat. *iuuencus*, Goth. *juggs*, Skt. *yuvaśáh*.

**ét** 'jealousy', W. *add-iant* 'longing', cp. Gaul. *Iantumarus Ientumarus Iantullus*.

**aig** 'ice' (§ 302, 1), W. *ia* (stem *i* + *agi-*), cp. **ON.** *iaki* '(ice-)floe'.

**áth** (*u*-stem) 'ford', if cognate with Lat. *iānuā*, Skt. *yā + tí* 'goes' (according to others it is connected with W. *adwy* Bret. *ode oade* 'breach, pass', RC. XXIX. 70).

## IE. u

**200. 1. IE. vocalic u = u** § 64 (lengthened to *ū* § 44b, 46b), = 0 § 73 f. (lengthened to *ó, úa* § 62);

IE. *ū* = *ú* § 65.

2. *u*-**diphthongs**:

IE. *au* = *áu, ó, úa* §§ 69a, 60.

IE. *eu* = *ó, úa* § 60.

IE. *ou*, = *ó, úa* § 60.

IE. *ōu* = *áu (ó)* § 69b (cp. § 60).

**201. 3. Consonantal u (w)** seems to have early become spirant (bilabial *u* = *β*) initially and after consonants; it never causes *u*-quality in the preceding consonant.

(a) *u* remains (written *b*) after lenited *r, l, n, d*, e.g.

**berb(a)id** 'boils', W. *berwi*, Lat. *feruere*.

**tarb** 'bull', W. *tarw*, Gaul. (inscription) *TARVOS*.

**selb** 'possession', W. *helw*.

**banb** 'sucking pig', W. *banw*, cp. Gaul. *Banuus Banuo*.

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**fedb** 'widow', W. *gweddw* (i.e. \**widwā* for earlier \**widhuwā* or \**widhewā*, cp. Goth. *widuwō*, Gk. *□ίθεος*).

**Bodb**, war goddess, Gaul. *Boduo-gnatus Boduo-genus*.

The gen. sg. fem. *deirbbæ indeirbbæ inderbbæ* Sg. 66<sup>b</sup>15. 16. 18, from **derb** 'certain' (Mod.Ir. **dearbh**), is peculiar; despite the repetition it is probably a scribal error.

(b) In the period before *w-* had become *v-*, *m + w* became *w*, which in Irish developed like *-w-* in other cases (§ 205.); e.g. **co(a)ir cóir**, Mid.W. *cyweir*, 'proper' < \**co(m)wari-*; for further examples cp. § 830\_A 1; cp. also Gaul. *Couirus Dubno-couirus* and W. *cywir* 'correct, true' < \**com-wīro-*. After the development of *w-* to *v-* the *m* (μ) of the prep. *com-* coalesced with *v* to give *v* (β), written *b*, e.g.

**culus** 'conscience' < \**com-wissu-s* (**fiuss** 'knowledge').

**cobsud** 'stable', from *com-* and **fossad** 'firm'.

**coblige** 'copulation' for *com-fo-lige* (cp. W. *gwe-ly* 'bed', *cy-we-ly* 'bed-mate').

Sometimes, by analogy with the simplex, *bf* is written, e.g. **cobfodlus** *MI.* 22<sup>b</sup>1 beside **cobodlus** 'fellowship' (**fodail** 'share').

Since *-b-* was here felt to stand for *-f-*, *cob-* is employed to render Latin *conf-* also; e.g. **cobais**, **coibse** (really the dative form) 'confessio'.

**202.** In **absolute anlaut** there is a further development of *v* to *f*; e.g. **fir** 'true', **W.** *gwir*, Lat. *vērus*, etc. (§ 133.).

The pronunciation *v-* is retained only after a nasalizing final (§ 236, 1.).

The only initial groups are *fr* and *fl*; e.g. **fróich** 'heather' (W. *grug* for \**gwrug*), **flaith** 'lordship' (W. *gwlad* 'country'). **olann** 'wool' (the name of an article of commerce) was apparently borrowed from Brittonic \**wlan-*, cp. W. *gwlan*, Bret. *gloan*.

Alternation of *f* and *b* (=β) often accompanies the change of accent in compound verbs; e.g. **for-fen** 'completes', partic. **forbaide** 'completed'; **ad-fét** 'relates', **do-ad-bat** 'shows'.

The transition *v > f* is not early. Ogam inscriptions have the same sign for both initial and medial *w*; and down to the end of the sixth century Latinized names include forms like *Uennianus*, *Uinniani*, *Uinniauo*, where, however, *nn* for *nd* (Ir. **find** 'fair') suggests Brittonic rather than Irish phonology.

*f* (*ph*) also represents lenited *sw*, i.e. *hv*; in syllabic anlaut it becomes β (written *b*), see § 132.

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**203.** (d) After all other consonants *w* disappeared, e. g.

**sīur** 'sister', W. *chwaer* pl. *chwiorydd*, Skt. *svásā*, Goth. *swistar*.

**dáu** 'two', Skt. *dvau* (but *dau* also in W., etc.).

**ard ardd art** (unlenited *d*) 'high', Lat. *arduos*.

**ceth(a)ir** 'four', OW. *petguar*, Skt. *catvā + řah*, Goth. *fidwōr*.

**ech** 'horse'. Lat. *eguos*, Skt. *ásvah*.

**ingen** 'nail' < *ingw...*, W. *ewin*.

For *c*, *ch* < *qʷ*, see § 223.

If **fiadu** 'witness' (§ 330.) and **bibdu** 'culprit' (§ 323, 4, O.Bret. *bibid*) are old perfect participles ending originally in *-wōs*, they show that *w* disappeared early before *ū*. Cp. **cú** 'hound'. W. *ci* (not \**pi*), for \**kwū* ?

Since lenited *sw* and lenited *p* have the same form (i.e. *f*, *ph*), *p* may be used instead of *s* to represent unlenited *sw*. Thus the verb corresponding to **airfítiud** 'entertaining with music' has 3 pl. pres. **ar-pe(i)tet** instead of *·sétet* (simplex **sétid** 'blows'). Forms with *b-* are also found, e.g. **ar-beittet** SP. (Thes. 11. 295, 17), owing to the frequent interchange of *p-* and *b-* (§ 920). The late simplex **peted**, v.g. IT. 111. 193 § 25, seems to have been extracted from the compound.

**204. After vowels** *w* at first remained as a semi-vowel.

(e) It has completely disappeared:

1. In lenited initial position, see § 133.

In the second element of compounds it is sometimes preserved (as *u*) in archaic sources; e.g. **Bres-ual** (later **Bres(s)al**) man's name (Ält. ir. Dicht. 11. 4<sup>2</sup>); **nech dud·uoester** (read *·uoestar*) 'whosoever may have eaten (perfective subj.) it' (de-fo-ed-) Ériu VIII. 146 § 4.

2. After *i*, *í*, *é* (*ía*), e.g.

**bí**, voc. gen. sg. of **béu** 'living', < \**biwe*\**biwi*. (dat. **bíu** < \**bi(w)u*).

**ro·fistar** 'will know', reduplicated future, < \**wiwest(a)r* (§ 659).

If 'colour, splendour', W. *lliw*.

**día**, gen. **dé**, 'God', < \**dēwas*, \**dēwi*; **deacht** 'divinity'.

**glé** 'clear', cp. W. *gloew*.

It has also disappeared after *u*, e.g.

**druí** 'wizard', gen. **druad**, nom. pl. **druid** (stem *dru-wid-*).

**luæ** 'rudder', W. *llyw*.

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**205.** (f) With other preceding vowels *w* often combines to form a diphthong.

1. *ā* + *´* + *w* give *áu*, which however is in transition to *ō*, *ū* + *ˇ*, where the change is not yet complete. See § 69. For **Dauid** (**Dauíd** in SR.) *Ml.* writes **Duid** 14<sup>b</sup>8, **Duaid** 2<sup>b</sup>5, 30<sup>a</sup>9.

In *awi* *awe*, when the last vowel lost its syllabic value, the triphthong *awi* arose, which became *oí* at an early period (§§ 67d, 69e); cp. also **con·oí** 'guards', pl. *con·oat*, Lat. *auere*; oal 'bucca' *Sg.* 22<sup>b</sup>8, gen. **oíle**, W. *awel* 'wind'.

2. Original *ew* and *ow* had fallen together at an early period as *ow*, which then turned into the diphthong *óu*. This, however, is rarely preserved; medially before consonants it has become *ó*, *úa* (§ 60), before vowels and in final position *áu*, which further develops to *ō*, *ū* + *ˇ* as in 1. (§ 72). Cp.

**loor lour** 'enough' < \**lower-* (W. *llawer* 'much'), where the vocalism *-or -ur* shows the influence of former *-w-*

**loathar** 'basin' (contracted: **lóthur lóthor**), Mid.Bret. *louar*, Gk. *λοετρών*.

*owe owi*, when the second syllable is lost, become *oí* (§ 67d); cp. also **·foíret**, prototonic form of **fo·ferat** 'they cause'.

3. Between unstressed vowels *w* in groups 1. and 2. has left no trace, cp.

**tan(a)e** 'thin' < \**tanawio-s*, Mid.W. *teneu*. (Mid. Bret. *tanau*, Corn. *tanow*).

**mad(a)e** 'vain, futile', O.Bret. *madau*.

**-cúala** 'I heard' < \**cochlow(a?)*, § 687.

**-b(a)e**, enclitic form of **boí** (\**bowe?*) 'he was', § 789.

**-com(a)i**, prototonic form of **con-oí**.

**206.** 4. With *e* < *i* (§ 73.) *w* combines in final position to give the diphthong *éu éo* (§ 70b.); medially it disappears as a rule. Examples: **béu béo** 'living, alive' < \**bewas* (earlier \**biwos*), W. *byw*, whwnce **béoigidir** 'vivifies'; **beothu** (read *béothu?*) 'life' only *Wb.* 3<sup>c</sup>2, otherwise **bethu**, gen. and dat. always **bethad, beth(a)id**. Cp. also **dead** and **diad** 'end' = W. *diwedd*, dat. sg. **deud diud**, adj. *dédenach dídénach*.

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### Consonantal Nasals

**207.** IE. *n* = *n* § 189. For lenition (*v*) and non-lenition see §§ 120 f., 135, 140;

*nr* > *rr* § 154a; *nl* and *ln* > *ll* § 153a, e.

IE. *m* = *m* § 190, final -*n* § 176. For lenition (*μ*) see § 134

IE. *η* (guttural nasal) -- *η* (written *n*) § 191.

Before *g*, *d*, *b* all nasals become *η*, *n*, *m* respectively, §§ 189 191; but not where this contact is due to syncope, e.g. **náimdea náimtea** (ace., pl.) 'enemies', **mainbed** (*ma-ni-*) 'if it were not'.

Earlier *nm* and *mn* remain unchanged, e.g. **ainm** 'name', **comnessam** 'neighbour'.

**208.** Nasals are lost before *t-* and *k-* sounds, which become the unlenited (geminated) mediae *d* and *g*. A preceding *ĩ*, *o* + *;* or *ũ* remains unchanged; *ěn* (including *ěn* < IE. *n* + *;*, § 214.) and *ăn* become *é* in stressed syllables (in unstressed we find corresponding short vowels, which may be secondary shortenings of *é*, § 43). Examples:

**ro-icc ric(c)** 'reaches' (**ricc a less** 'needs it'), with *c(c)* = *g(g)*, from \**in̥k-*; cp. Bret. *ren* + *kout ran* + *kout* 'to be obliged to', Mid.W. *cyfranc* 'encounter'.

**tocad (togad** § 31b.) 'luck', with *c* = *g(g)*, Bret. *ton* + *ket* 'fate', TUNCCETACE (Lat. gen. in Wales), Ogam TOGITTACC, Goth. *peihan* 'to prosper'.

**cotlud** 'sleep', with *t* = *d(d)*, for \**con-tolud*, vb.n. of **con-tu(i)li** 'sleeps'.

arch. **tu-thēgot** 'who come' Cam., later **do-thíagat**, < \**teigont*.

**slucid** 'swallows', 3 pl. **slogait** *Ml.* 123<sup>d</sup>3, O.Bret. *ro-luncas* 'has swallowed', Mod.Bret. *loun* + *kā lon* + *kā* 'to swallow'.

**cutrumm(a)e** 'equal', Mod.Ir. **curoma**, for \**cun-trumme* (**tromm** 'heavy').

**sét** 'way' (*u*-stem) < \**scentu-*, W. *hynt* Bret., *hent*, O.Brit. *Gabro-senti* (placename), OHG. *sind* OE. *sīþ* 'journey', Goth. *sinþs* 'time' (e.g. in *ainamma sinþa* 'once'); cp. Goth. *sandjan* 'to send'.

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**cétal** 'song' (**forcetal forcital** 'teaching'), W. *cathl*, < \**kantlon*, Bret. *kentel* 'lesson'.

**carat** (i.e. *-ad*) 'friend's' < \**karantos* (§ 324), acc. pl. *cairtea cairdea* syncopated from \**cared(d)a*.

**cét** (neut. *o*-stem) 'hundred', Mod.Ir. **céad**, W. *cant*, Skt. *śatám*, Lat. *centum*, Lith. *šim + fas*, Goth. *hund*, orig. \**k + ĩn + m* or \**k + ñ + tóm*.

**éc** (*u*-stem) 'death', Mod.Ir. **éag** (Bret. *ankou*, really nom. pl. \**ḡkewes -owes*), cognate with Gk. *vékuç*, etc. ; cp. O.Ir.

**techt do écaib** (dat. pl.) 'dying', lit. 'going to the dead (pl.)'.

The stages of this development were probably as follows. First, *k* and *t* were intensified (geminated), as after *r* and *l* (§ 121). The nasal then coalesced with the preceding vowel into a nasal vowel: *ĩ, ɔ, ʉ, ɛ, ɑ*. After these nasal vowels the geminates became voiced (*gg, dd*). Subsequently *ĩ ɔ ʉ* lost their nasal quality and became *i o u*, while *ɑ* and *ɛ* fell together as the nasal vowel *ɛ̃*. The latter was lengthened, perhaps only when stressed, and later changed into purely oral *ē* (or *e*). If *Andros* (Pliny) and *ἄδρου ἄρημος* (Ptolemy) correspond to later **Benn Étair** 'Hill of Howth' (Pokorny, ZCP. xv. 195), they may be regarded as representing the pronunciation *ɑdr-* (< *antr-*).

The development was complete before the time of syncope; later *nt* remains unchanged, e.g. *cinta* 'faults' < \**cinuth-a*.

For the *ō* in **cóie** 'five' see § 392.

**209.** The above *é*, like compensatorily lengthened *é* in § 125, is never diphthongized to *ía*. In two words it becomes (also like compensatorily lengthened *é*, § 55) *éu éo* before *i-* and *u-* quality consonants, namely in the masculine *o*-stems

**ét** 'jealousy', gen. **éuit éoit**, dat. **éut(t)**, cp. Gaul. *Iantu-marus* § 199, and

**sét** 'chattel, unit of value', pl. nom. **séuit**, ace. **séotu**.

**séotu** is also found later as acc. pl. of **sét** 'path' (*u*-stem), but in view of dat. sg. **séit** (*éi* = *é*, § 54) *Wb.* 24<sup>a</sup>17, the first form is undoubtedly due to the attraction of the other **sét**.

In all the remaining examples this diphthongization never occurs **cét**, gen. **céit; méit** 'size', Mid.W. *meint*; **bréc** 'lie', acc. sg. **bréic**, Skt. *bhramśah* 'fall, desistance'; **rét** (*u*-stem) 'thing', dat.sg. **rét**, acc. pl. **rétu**. cp. Skt. *rátanam* 'property'; **dét** 'tooth', dat. sg. **déit**, W. *dant*; also **cét-** 'first' < \**kentu-* (§ 393).

The presence or absence of diphthongization has been attributed to a difference in the origin of the *é*, but this is not confirmed by the examples. The fact that diphthongization is confined to one particular class of flexion points to analogical formation, for which words like **én** 'bird' gen. **éoin**, **mér** 'finger' gen. **méoir**, etc., probably supplied the model.

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**210.** *n* before *s* and *ch* disappears, but lengthens a preceding short vowel. The *s* is unlenited (= *ss*). Here too *a(n)* gives *é*, which is never diphthongized to *ía* or *éu*. Examples:

**géis** 'swan', OHG. *gan* 'goose', Lat. *anser* (for \**hanser*).

**fés** 'beard', O.Pruss. *wanso* 'first beard', Polish *wąs* 'moustache'.

**cés(s)aid** (weak verb) 'suffers', < *kent-t.* . or *kn + t-t.* . > *kens(s)* . ., Lith. *kenčiù* (č < t) 'I suffer'.

**drésacht** 'creaking of wheels', Lat. *drensare* 'to cry' (of swans).

**éscid** 'alert' (§ 872e).

**mís**, gen. of **mí** 'month', < IE. \**mēns-os* (§ 58b), W. *mis* 'month'.

**ríchtu** 'reaching', vb.n. of **r-ic** (§ 208 above); similarly *s*-subj. **r-ís(s)** -, probably < *iŋchs-* (§ 221); with short vowel in unstressed syllable: **-airecht**, prototonic form of **ar-cht** 'was found' (pres. ind. **ar-ic**), **cumacht(a)e** 'power', cp. **con-ic(c)** 'he can'.

**técht(a)e** 'proper, right', W. *teithi* 'characteristics, qualities', cognate with **tocad** 'luck' (§ 208 above).

But in compounds containing the prepositions *en-* and *com-* the vowel is not lengthened, e.g. **esnaisse** for \**en-snaisse* 'grafted', partic. of **in-snaid** 'grafts'; **dessid** (*de-en-s.*) 'has sat down' (§ 534); **cosnam** 'contending' (*com-sním*).

Here the vowel was short from the earliest period. Cp. W. *eistedd* O.Bret. *estid* 'sitting, seat', probably for \**en-s..deð -ið*, Gaul. *essedum* 'car with seat, chariot'; W. *cyssedd* 'sitting together'.

**211.** The only initial groups beginning with a nasal are *mr, ml*, e.g., **mruig** 'land', **mliuchtae** 'milch'. *mn-* only < *bn-* in **mná** 'woman's' (§§ 190b, 291, 1).

### Consonantal r, l

**212.** IE. *r = r* § 192, = *l* § 193b; final *-r* § 175; for lenition and non-lenition see §§ 119 f., 135.

IE. *l = l* § 193, = *r* § 192b; for lenition see §§ 119 f., 135, 140.

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### VOCALIC (SYLLABIC) NASALS AND LIQUIDS

Under this heading are included all sounds which developed as a result of the reduction of *en, ne. er, re*, etc. in primitive Indo-European.

**213.** 1. These appear before vowels, as well as before earlier *i + .and w*, as *an, am, ar, al* (which suggests an earlier development to *ən, əm, ər, əl*), e.g.

**tan(a)e** 'thin', Gk. *ταναός*, √*ten-*.

**ban**, gen. pl. of **ben** 'woman'.

**-gainethar** 'is born' beside **gein** 'birth', Skt. *jā + ýatē* 'is born'.

**ainb** 'ignorant' (*n + -wid-*).

**sam** (stem *samo-*) 'summer', OHG. *sumar*.

**scar(a)id** 'separates', Lith. *skiriù* 'I separate', beside *scor* 'unyoking', OE. *sceran* 'to shear'.

**marb** 'dead', W. *marw*, < \**mr + wos*.

**talam** 'earth', O.Slav.  $t\bar{a}lo$  'ground', Gk.  $\tauαλός$ , 'enduring'.

The root *men-* 'think' makes pres. **·moinethar** in *Wb.*, **·mu(i)nethar** in *Ml. Sg.* (in occasionally also **·mainethar**) owing to the influence of the initial labial (§§ 80, 549); cp. Skt. *mányatē*, O.Slav.  $m\bar{a}nj\bar{e}$ .

$n + \bar{a}$  becomes *an* before *m* also; e.g. **ainm** 'name', O.Bret. *anu*, later *hano*, O.Slav. *imę*, beside Goth. *namo*, etc.

**214.** 2. In other positions, too, vocalic nasals are always represented in Britannic by *an*, *am* ( $a\eta$ ) or developments of these sounds; but in Irish a front vowel has developed before them. Only in the ending *-a* of the acc. pl. of consonantal stems do we find what is apparently a very early development of original *-n + s* or *-m + s* to *-ās* (presumably through intermediate *-ans*); see § 316.

But original *-n + ts* has become *-e* in nom. sg. **fiche** 'twenty' < *\*wikn + t-s* or *-km + t-s*.

Cp. **deich** <sup>n</sup> 'ten' < *\*dekm + ,* Lat. *decem*, Gk.  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\kappaα$ . The neuter *n*-stems **neim** 'poison' and **gein** 'birth' show clearly that the palatal vowel was *e*, not *i* (*\*nemin* would have given *\*nim*). In medial position *en* and *in* are hard to distinguish, cp.

**ro-geinn** 'finds room', W. *gann-*, < *\*ghn + d-n-* (§ 548).

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**teng(a)e**, gen. **tengad**, 'tongue' (a shorter form **teng** only in verse), Mid.W. *tafawt*; cp.--apart from the initial-O.Lat. *lingua* (later *lingua*), OE. *tunge*.

So too *-ét-*, *-éc-*, *-és-*, < *-n + t-*, *-ηk-*, *-n + s-* (§§ 208, 210.) presuppose intermediate *-ent-*, *-enċ-*, *-ens-*. Cp. also **céim(m)** 'step'. W. *cam*, < *\*kη(g)-smn + .* (§ 735).

But *in*, *im*, *in* are found, not only, (a) where original *e* has regularly undergone the usual change of quality, but also (b) in other cases; e.g.

(a) **bind** 'melodious' (*i*-stem), O.Bret. *bann*, Mid.W. *ban*; cp. Skt. *bhandánah*. 'jubilant',

**ingen** 'nail', W. *ewin* (< *\*aηwīn*); cp. Lat. *unguis*, O.Slav. *nogŋtŋ*, Gk.  $\bar{\iota}vυχ-$  (Skt. *nakhám* for *\*naghukám?*),

(b) **imb** 'butter' (*n*-stem), Bret. *amann*, OCorn. *amen-en*; cp. Lat. *unguen*, OHG. *ancho*.

The negative prefix  $n + \bar{a}$  never appears as *en-*, but as *in-* (§ 872.d), even in forms like **ingnad** 'unusual'.

A possible explanation of the stem *ic(c)-* in **ro-iccu** 'I reach' (§ 208.) is that the pres. ind. originally belonged to the *i + z*-class (§ 549.); in that case *\*-ηki + ō* would have given *\*inki + ū*, whence *\*iggiu* *\*-iggu* (written **·iccu**), and *ink-* would have spread from the present stem to other forms (§ 210.).

**grís**, also **grísad**, 'inflaming, causing to blush', beside Skt. *ghramṣah*. 'blaze of the sun', seems to point to earlier *\*grins-* which, however, cannot be a regular development from *\*ghrn + s-*. Since a primary form *\*ghrēns-* is unlikely (as is  $\bar{e}\eta k-$  for *icc-*), there may have been influenced by a root containing *i*, perhaps *grían* (*ía* < *ei*) 'sun' or Skt. *grīśmáh*. 'summer, heat'. Mid.W. *gwres gwrys* and Bret. *grouez groez* 'heat' (< *\*wriss*) are phonologically too far removed for comparison.

**215.** Before consonants,  $r + \bar{a}$  and similar primary forms are most commonly represented by (a) *ri li* (*re le*), but also by (b) *ar al*, and (c) *ra la*.

(a) *ri re*, *li le*, e.g.

**cride** 'heart' < \*kr + d-; cp. Lat. *cord-*, Gk. Lith. *širdis*.

**breth** and **brith**, gen. **brithe**, vb.n. of **berid** 'bears'; cp. Skt. *bhr* + *tíh* 'sustenance'.

**ren(a)id** 'sells', if < \*pr + n̥ə-, Gk. *πέρνημι* (§ 551).

**mlith** dat. sg. 'grinding', vb.n. of **melid**.

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lethan 'wide', W. *llydan*, Gaul. *Litana silua*, *Litano-briga*, Gk. *πλατύς* (*πλάτανος*), Skt. *pr* + *thúh* 'wide'.

For *ru* < *ri* see § 223, 1.

(b) *ar al*, especially before an original consonant-group, e.g.

**tart** 'drought, thirst', Skt. *tr* + *ṣ* *táh* 'dry', OE. *burst*, beside Gk. *τέρσομαι*, etc.

**art** 'bear', W. *arth*, Gk. *ἄρκτος* (§ 185a).

**im-com-airc** 'asks', W. *arch* 'request', < -*pr* + (*k*)-*sk-*, cp.

OHG. *forskōn* 'to inquire'. But *ar al* are also found in other positions:

**marn(a)id** **mairn** 'betrays', beside pret. **ro-mert**, pres. subj. **·mera**.

**at-baill** 'dies' < *baln-* (§ 552), subj. **·bela**.

(c) *ra (la)*, especially when there are parallel forms with *ar, al*, e.g.

**do-grath** pret. pass. of **do-gair** 'summons', subj. **·gara**.

**mrath** 'treachery', vb.n. of **marn(a)id** above. In other forms:

**frass** fem. 'rain', Skt. *vr* + *ṣ* *táh* past partc. of *várṣati* 'rains', Gk. *ῥοση* 'dew'.

To some extent forms with *ra- la-* may be based on disyllabic roots ('heavy bases'); cp. **rath** 'grace' (W. *rhad*), **ro-rath** 'has been bestowed', pres. **ern(a)id**, subj. **·era** (§ 756), cp. Gk. *πέπρωται, πορει* + *û*. These roots also give rise to forms with *lā rā*:

1. Certainly in **lán** 'full' (W. *llawn*) beside **lín** (< \**plēnu-*) 'number', base *pelē-*, root *pelə-*, *plē-*; the first form probably corresponds directly to Skt. *pūrñāh*. Lith. *pilnas* 'full'. Accordingly *lā* represents de Saussure's *l + ̄ + ̄*.
2. Possibly in **lám** 'hand, arm', Gk. *παλάμη* (here a radical form *plā* is also possible).

Cp. also **slán** 'sound, whole' beside Lat. *saluos* and cognate forms; **grán** 'corn' (hardly a borrowed word), W. *grawn*, Lat. *grānum*, Goth. *kaúrn*, O.Slav. *zrǫno*.

### III. SOUNDS THAT ARE ALWAYS CONSONANTAL

IE. *s, z*

W. Foy, *IF*. VI.313 ff., VIII. 200 ff.

**216.** IE. *s* = *s*, § 194. Initial groups preserved: *sn*, *sm* (and *smr*), *sr*, *sl*, *sc* (and *scr*, *scl*); e.g. **snám** 'swimming', **smiur** 'marrow', **Smrith** man's name, **sruth** 'stream', **slíab**

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'mountain', **scáth** 'shadow, reflection', **scrissid** 'scratches (out)', **scléo** 'misery' (?) RC. V. 43, 1. For **s** < **sw** see § 203. *s* in the anlaut of pretonic words has disappeared (§ 178, 1).

Initial lenited *s* > *h*, § 131; initial and medial lenited *sw* > *f* (β), §§ 132, 202.

Medial *sm sn sl* > *mm nn ll*, §§ 152a, 151a, 153b; but after reduplication syllables *-sn-* *-sl-* gave single *n*, *l*; e.g. **·senaig**, pret. of **snigid** 'drips', **·selaig**, pret. of **sligid** 'fells' (cp. § 658b).

Possibly the second *s* had been lost very early by dissimilation.

*sr* in the second element of compounds > *rr* § 154d. Possibly an earlier development was that the *s* disappeared and the preceding vowel was lengthened; cp.

**cír** 'comb' < \**kesro-* ? Cp. O.Slav. *česati* 'to comb', *kosa* 'hair'. But if OHG. *hār* and its cognates go back to \**kēsó-*, ē (Ir. í) may have been the original vowel.

**mír** 'bit, morsel', < \**mēmsr-* (§ 58).

Medial *s* between vowels has completely disappeared (§ 131); cp. further:

**iarn íarn** 'iron', Goth. *eisarn*, OHG. ON. *īsarn*.

**ad-cíu** 'I see' (pret. pass. **ad-cess**), probably related to **cíall** 'understanding', W. *pwyll* (root *q<sup>w</sup>eis-q<sup>w</sup>is-*).

*rs* > *rr* § 154c, *ls* > *ll* § 153d.

Final *-s* has disappeared (except in some Ogam inscriptions), but a trace of it sometimes remains in the gemination of following consonants or in the prefixing of *h-* to vowels (§§ 177, 230, 240 ff.).

**217.** The treatment of *st* in Celtic presents a number of problems; but, only those affecting Irish are dealt with here.

Collections: Rozwadowski, *Quaestiones Grammaticae et Etymologicae* (1897), p. 22 ff.; Ascoli, *Archivio Glottolog. Ital.*, Supplem. period. II. 100 ff.

Medial *st* > *ss*, § 155e, but *str* remains, § 194; *rst* > *rt*, § 180, 2.

**gíall** 'hostage' beside W. *gwystl* 'pledge, hostage' (cp. Gaul. *Congeistli*, gen.) seems to show that *stl* was treated in Irish like *sl*, unless, indeed, there was an early form without *t*; cp. ON. *gísl*, OE. *gísel*.

Initial *st* does not remain (except in loan-words); here *s*

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has disappeared to a greater extent than in other languages, e.g.

**tíagu** 'I go', **techt** 'going' W. *taith*, as against Gk. *σείχειν*, Goth. *steigan*, Skt. *stighnōti* (§ 184b).

**·tá** (**attá**, etc., § 777) 'is', as against Lat. *stare*, Gk. *στη* + *ῥαι*, O.Slav. *stati*, Skt. *sthā-*.

**tróg trúag** 'miserable', W. *tru*, as against Gk. *στρεύεσθαι* ( § 60 ).

On the other hand, there are some instances of *s-* for original *st-*. Thus certainly before *r*:

**sruith**, gen. **srotha**, 'venerable, venerable elder', OW. *strutiu* (gl. 'beatam antiquam gentem'), O.Slav. *stryj* 'father's brother',

Cp. **srathar** 'pack saddle' from Lat. *stratura*. This reduction can hardly be very early, since the saint's name **Srafán** is still occasionally written with **str-** (e.g. **Strofan**, Martyrology of Tallaght May 23). The same applies to *sl-* < *stl-*: **sliss** 'side, flank', W. *ystlys*.

This may also account for the *s-* of **sern(a)id** 'sternit' which is identical in all forms with **sern(a)id** 'serit' (partc. *sertus*). The two verbs may have fallen together first in the forms with initial *str-* and *sr-*, such as partc. *srithe*, verbal of necessity **srethi**, vb.n. **sreth sreith**, the remainder of their flexion being subsequently assimilated. But another explanation is possible: there are some apparently sound etymological equations which show that *s-* for *st-* appears before vowels also, e.g.

**sab**, gen. **sabad**, 'staff, dignitary', OE. *stæf* OHG. *stap* 'staff'.

*ser* 'star' ( ZCP. XIX. 199 f.), W. *ser-en*; but Bret. Corn. *ster-en*, OHG. *sterro sterno*, Gk. *ἄσῆρ*, Lat. *stella*.

Metathesis of *st* to *ts* is generally assumed to have occurred in such cases.

Final *st* has disappeared ( § 177 ).

**218.** IE. (or at any rate early) *z*, which occurs only before mediae, became *ð* in Insular Celtic, and is preserved as such in Irish (written *d*) before *g* and *b*; with a following *d* it combines to give *dd* (written *t*), cp. § 137. Examples:

**Tadc Tadgg** (i.e. *Taðg*) man's name, cp. Gaul. *Tasgillus*, *Tasgetios*. *Moritasgus*.

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**medg** 'whey', Mod. Ir. **meadhg**, Med. Lat. *mesgus*; O.Bret. *meid* and W. *maidd* apparently with *i + z* suffix.

**odb** 'knob, lump', [Mod. Ir. **fadhb** ], Sc.Gael. *faob*, W. *oddf* 'knob', Gk. *ἄσφύς* 'hip'.

**net** 'nest', Mod.Ir. **nead**, W. *nyth*, OE. *nest*, Skt. *nīḍāh*.-ám, cp. Lith. *lizdas*.

**tris-gata** 'transfixes', Goth. *gazds* 'spike', probably also Lat. *hasta* (\**ghazdhā*).

In **unstressed syllables** the normal development was apparently that *zg* gave Ir. *rg*, and *z* before *d* disappeared; cp.

**bedg** 'leap, start,' **do-bidci** 'pelts', but vb.n. **díbirciud** (pf. **do-rru-bidc** MI. 40d9, but e.g. ipv. **díbaireg** *Anecd. I. 5, 29*).

Others see in these forms the intervention of a different root, W. *bwrw* 'to cast', Mid. W. pret. *byrywawd*, *byrywys* (< \**burg-*).

**cuit** 'part, share', Mod.Ir. **cuid**, as against **sochuide** (*d* = *ð*) 'multitude'.

**sétid** 'blows', Mod. Ir. **séididh**, W. *chwythu*, Skt. *kṣvēḍati* 'hums, buzzes', as against **tinfed tinphed tinfeth** 'inspiration, aspiration', **do-infedam** 'we inspire, blow' (but **air-fitiud** 'entertaining with music', cp. § 203.).

## STOPS

**219.** In Indo-European every unaspirated stop had an aspirated counterpart, though voiceless aspirates are much rarer than voiced; but in Irish, as in Celtic generally, each pair has fallen together in a single sound, viz. *k* with *kh*, *t* with *th* (*p* with *ph*), *g* with *gh*, *d* with *dh*, and *b* with *bh*. Only the aspirated labiovelar media (*g<sup>w</sup>h*), which early lost tire labial element (thus falling together with ordinary *gh*), has remained distinct from the unaspirated (*g<sup>w</sup>*), which as a rule retained it.

Moreover, in Celtic, as in various other Indo-European languages, the old palatal consonants ( Brugmann's *k + ĩk + ĩh g + ĩg + ĩh*) and the velars ( Brugmann's *q qh ǰ ǰh*) have fallen together in a single series, and are therefore treated here as uniform guttural sounds (*k kh g gh*).

The treatment of the labiovelars (*q<sup>w</sup>*, *g<sup>w</sup>*, *g<sup>w</sup>h*) as a separate series is

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without prejudice to the theory of Kuryl + owicz ( *Études Indoeuropéennes* I. ( 1935), 1 ff.) that these represent a development from the pure velars which was confined to certain languages.

### 220. VOICED STOPS FOR VOICELESS

*d* and *g* < *t* and *k* after nasals, § 208. *t* at the beginning of proclitics becomes *d*, § 178, 2.

There are further sporadic cases, some of them common to all Celtic languages, of a media appearing where one might expect a tenuis. Thus **brecc** (not *\*mrecc*) 'speckled, variegated', W. *brych*, Gaul. *Briccus Briccius* (as against Skt. *pí + śnih*) 'speckled', Gk. *περκνός, πρακνός* 'dark-coloured', and *πέρκη* 'perch' : Ir. **orc** 'salmon') shows a treatment of *pr-* that is elsewhere found only in medial position ( § 227e ). For **gabor** 'goat' cp. § 227e.

In other cases an Irish media contrasts with a Britannic tenuis: **géc** 'branch' as against W. *cainc* (cp. O.Slav. *сѣкѣ* 'branch, sprig', Skt. *śaikúh* 'wooden plug') may have been influenced by **gesc(a)e** 'branch'.

The reason for the initial variation in **garmain** 'weaver's beam', W. *carfan*, is obscure. For **bee(c)** 'small' (*c = g*), as against W. *bychan*, see § 150.

**droch** 'wheel', if related to W. Bret. *tro* 'turning', W. *troi* Bret. *trei* 'to turn' ( < *trog-*), shows alternation of *trog-* and *drok-*.

The initial of **dre(it)tell tre(it)tell** 'pet, favourite', W. *drythyll trythyll* 'wanton', fluctuates in both languages. W. *trum* 'ridge' is probably a loan-word from Ir. **druimm** inaccurately reproduced.

### 221. GUTTURALS

(a) Before *t* all gutturals appear as *ch*, e.g.

**ocht** 'eight', W. *wyth*, Gk. *οκτώ*, Skt. *aṣṭáu*.

**in-nocht** 'to-night', W. *peunoeth* 'every night', Lat. *noct-*, Skt. *náktih*, Lith. *naktis*.

**nocht** 'naked', W. *noeth*, Goth. *naqaps*, Skt. *nagnáh*, O.Slav. *nag*.

**·acht** 'he drove' (W. *aeth* 'he went'), pret. of **agid** 'drives', Avest. *azaiti*.

**techt** 'going' (W. *taith*), vb.n. of **tíagu** 'I go', Gk. *σείχειν*.

**snecht(a)e** 'snow' cognate with Lat. *ninguit*, Gk. *νείφει*, etc.

Britannic *ith* goes back to *chtt*, cp. the occasional doubling of *t* in Irish ( § 136 ). The representation of the same group by XT (X = Gk. X) in Gaulish inscriptions shows that this sound change was common to all the Celtic languages, e.g. OXTVMETO[S] 'eighth' (Ir. **ochtmad** ), ATEXTORIC. (Cp. Lat. *ala Atectorigiana*).

For Ir. *cl* < *cht* in **anacul** 'protection', see § 180.

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(b) All gutturals combine with a following *s* to give *ss* (simplified to *s*, § 142 ff.). Here too an earlier development to *chs* may be inferred from Britannic *oh*.

In Gaulish this sound-group is sometimes represented by *xs*, sometimes by *x*. In Ir. *x* stands for *chs* ( § 24, 5 ).

Examples:

**úasal** 'high' W. *uchel*, cp. old place-names like *Οὐξέλλον*, *Uxellodunum*.

**cooss** 'leg, foot', Caledon. 'Ἀργεντό-κοξος', Lat. *coxa* 'hip', Skt. *kákṣah* 'armpit' (W. *coes* 'leg, shank' has been influenced by Lat. *coxa*).

So too the stems of *s*-subjunctives like **tess** - (**techid** 'flees'), **tëss- tías-** (**tíagu** 'I go'), etc., § 613 ff.

## 222. NON-LABIALIZED GUTTURALS

IE. *k* (*kh*) = *c* § 183 ; lenited *ch* § 122, which may become *γ* (written *g*) § 129 f., and in medial position disappears before *r l n* § 125.

*ηk* (also in composition) = *gg*, *g* (written *cc*, *c*), § 208.

Initial groups preserved: *cr*, *cl*, *cn*, e.g. **crú** 'blood', **cloth** 'fame', **cnú** 'nut'.

IE. *g* and *gh* = *g* § 184 ; lenited *γ* (written *g*) § 122, which may become *ch* §§ 124, 130, and in medial position disappears before *r l n* § 125.

*gd*, *gb* > *dd*, *bb* § 149, 3a, 4b ; *ηγ* > *ηη* § 152c.

Initial groups preserved: *gr*, *gl*, *gn*, e.g. **grían** 'sun', **glé** 'clear', **gnáth** 'customary'.

## 223. THE LABIOVELARS

$q^w$   $g^w$   $g^wh$  ( $q^wh$  is not attested).

(a) By the Old Irish period  $q^w$  had completely fallen together with the non-labialized tenuis (see § 183 ), whereas in Britannic it had become *p* before vowels and *r*. But the Ogam script still has for this sound a special symbol which is trans-

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literated Q. Thus the genitive of **macc** 'son' (Britannic *map*) is nearly always written MAQI MAQQI in the Ogam inscriptions. MACI occurs only in four inscriptions; these are doubtless very late, but they show that the loss of the labial element had begun while epitaphs were still being written in Ogam. So too the earliest inscription in Roman characters (*Thes. II. 288, 35*) has MACCI.

Ogam QV for single Q is very rare.

The only clear traces left by the labial element of *q* are:

1. The mutation of following *ri* to *ru* before palatal and *u*-quality consonants, cp.

**cruim** 'worm', W. *pryf* Bret. *pren* + *v̄*, Skt. *kr̥* + *mih*, Lith. *kirmìs*.

**truth** 'shape, appearance' (*u*-stem), W. *pryd*.

**Cru(i)then-túath** 'Pict-folk', **cruithnech** 'Pictish', Mid.W. *Prydyn* 'Britain'.

On the other hand, *re* before neutral consonants is unchanged, e.g.

**cren(a)id** 'buys', W. *prynu*, Skt. *kr̥nā* + *ṭi*, Gk. *πρίασθαι*.

*creth* '(poetic) art' beside W. *prydu* 'to compose verse', *prydydd* 'poet'.

The vocalism of gen. sg. **crotha** (instead of \**cretha*) is due to nom. acc. dat. **cruth**.

That *cru* does not come directly from *qr* + , but represents a mutation of earlier *qri*, is shown by the late Ogam QRIMITIR RONANN MAQ COMOGANN Macal. no. 56. The first word represents later **cruimther** 'priest' which, as pointed out in Cormac's Glossary 211, was modelled on OW. *premter* (*primter*, cp. Corn. *prounder pronter*), a corruption of Lat. *presbyter*.

2. The representation of earlier *q<sup>w</sup>a-* by *co-* in **co(i)re** 'cauldron', Mid.W. *peir*, Provençal *par*, *pairol* (Gaul. \**pari* + *os*); cp. OE. *hwer* 'cauldron'.

224. (b) *g<sup>w</sup>* usually = *b* § 188c, lenited β (written *b*) § 122.

= *g* (γ) before old *i* + *in* *nigid* 'washes', Gk. *νίχειν*, § 184a.

*g<sup>w</sup>n-* > *mn-*, § 190b; in medial position treated as *gn*? Cp. **úan** 'lamb', W. *oen*, and Lat. *agnus*, Gk. *□μνός* (*o-* instead of *a-* in Celtic by analogy with \**owis*, Ir. **oí**, 'sheep?').

For this and related problems see Osthoff, *IF. IV. 265 ff.*, v. 324 ff.

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(c) *g<sup>w</sup>h* falls together with *gh*, *g*, § 184b.

Collection: Osthoff, *op. cit.*; cp. further **ingen** 'nail', W. *ewin*, § 214 (*gh* + *w*).

## 225. DENTALS

(a) In original groups all dentals (*t*, *d*, *dh*) combine with a following *t* to give the geminate *ss* (simplified *s*), § 155 (f); but *tt*, *t* in composition (see preps. **ad** § 822, **frith** § 839).

(b) IE. *t* (and *th*) = *t*, § 185; lenited *th* § 122, which may become δ (written *d*) §§ 126, 128 ff., and disappears before *l*, *n*, § 125.

Old *nt* which is not the result of syncope > *d(d)* (also in composition), § 208; *ts* > *ss* (*s*), § 155b.

For *st* (*str*, *stl*) see § 217.

Initial groups preserved: *tr, tl, tn*; e.g. **tromm** 'heavy', **tlacht** 'garment', **tnúth** 'jealousy, passion'.  
(c) IE. *d* and *dh* = *d* § 186; lenited *ð* (written *d*) § 122, which may become *th* §§ 124, 130, 131, and disappears before *r l n* § 125.

*ds* > *ss* (*s*) § 155b; *dś* > *t* § 185d; *dg db* > *gg bb* § 149, 2a, 4a; for the development of *dm* (*ðm, mm*) see § 152b.

Initial groups preserved: *dr, dl*; e.g. **dringid** 'climbs', **dlong(a)id** 'cleaves'.

226. LABIALS1. IE. *p* (and *ph*) is not preserved in Celtic; but with the aid of reasonably certain etymological equations the following phases of its development in Irish can be reconstructed.

Collection: Windisch, Kuhn *Beitr.* VIII. 1 ff.

(a) Initial and intervocalic *p* has disappeared, e.g.

**athir** 'father', Gk. *πατήρ*, etc.

**il** 'many', Goth. *filu*, Gk. *πολύς*, Skt. *purúh*,

**to**, prep., W. *rhy*, Gk. *πρό*, Skt. *pra*, etc. ( § 852 ).

**lethan** 'broad', W. *llydan*, Gaul. *litano-*, etc. ( § 215a ).

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**tee té** 'hot', nom. pl. **téit**, Skt. *tápant-* 'hot', Lat. *tepere*.

**niæ** 'sister's son', Mid. W. *nei*, Lat. *nepos*, etc.

**fo** 'under', Britann. *gwo-*, < *wo\*uo\*upo*, Gk. *□πό*, etc. ( § 837 ).

In Celtic, as in Italic, initial *p* became *q<sup>w</sup>* if the second syllable began with *q<sup>w</sup>*: **coíc** 'five' (**coíca** 'fifty'), OW. *pimp*, Gaul. *pinpetos* 'fifth', and Lat. *quinque*, as against Skt. *pañca*, Gk. *πέντε* (*\*penq<sup>w</sup>e*).

(b) Initial *sp* (*sph*), like original *sw-* ( § 132 ), gives *s-*, lenited *f* (*ph*), e.g.

**sine** 'nipple', **bó tri-phne** 'a cow with three teats' LU 6249, Lith. *spenỹs* 'nipple', OE. *spanu* 'nipple'.

**selg** 'spleen', Bret. *felc'h*, Avest. *spərəza*, Mod. Pers. *surpurz*; cp. Gk. *σπλήν, σπλάγχνα*.

**seir** 'heel', du. **di pherid** LU 5698, W. *ffer* 'ankle', O.Corn. *fer* gl. 'crus', Gk. *σφυρόν*, 'ankle', (i.e. < *sph-*).

If Pedersen's equation (I. 83) of It. **sluindid** 'designates' (vb.n. **slond**), O.Bret. *istlinnit* gl. 'profatur', with Lat. *splendere* is correct, the group *sp/* became *st/* in Celtic.

227. (c) *pt* > *cht*, e.g.

**secht** 'seven', Mid.W. *seith*, Gaul. SEXTAMETOS 'seventh', Lat. *septem*, Gk. *□πτά*, etc.

**necht** 'niece', W. *nith*, Lat. *neptis*, Skt. *naptī* + *ή*, OHG. *nift*.

**cécht** 'plough', possibly cognate with Gk. *καμπός* 'bent'.

(d) *ps* > *ss* through intermediate *chs*, cp. **lass(a)id** 'flames', **lassar** 'flame', W. *llachar* 'gleaming, flashing', Pruss. *lopis* 'flame', Lett. *lāpa* 'torch', Gk. *λάμπειν*.

It is not quite certain that O.Ir. **tess** (*u*-stem) W. *tes* 'heat' had as basic form \**tepstu-*.

(e) *pr*, *pl* after vowels > *br*, *bl* (βρ, βλ), e.g.

**ad-cobra** 'desires' (vb.n. **accobor**) < *kupr.* . . , cp. Lat. *cupere*, *Dea Cupra* (= *bona*).

**gabor gabur** 'goat', W. *gafr*, O.Brit. *Gabrosenti* (locative), Gaul. *Gabromagus* placename, Lat. *caper capra*, ON. *hafr* 'he-goat' (*g-* instead of *c-* under the influence of **ga(i)bid** 'takes, seizes' ?).

**díabul** 'double', cp. Goth. *tweifl* (acc. sg.) 'doubt', Lat. *du-plus*, Gk. *δι-πλός*.

Cp. also [§ 649](#).

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(f) *opn apn* > Celt. \**oun\*aun*, > Ir. *úan* e.g.

**súan** 'sleep', W. *hun*, < \**sopnos*, Lat. *somnus*.

**clúain** 'meadow' (\**klopni-*), cp. Lith. *šlāpias* 'wet', Gk. *κλέπας* 'swamp' (Hesych.).

**cúan** 'harbour' (\**kapno-*), OE. *hæfen*, MHG. *habene*.

If the equation of **tene** 'fire' (Britann. *tan*) with Avest. *tafnō* 'heat', *tafnuš* 'fever' (*fn* < *pn*) is correct, *p* in *epn* has completely disappeared.

(g) *rp* > *rr*, [§ 154b](#); *lp* probably > *ll*, [§ 153c](#); *mp* > *mb*, [§ 188d](#).

It would seem that *p* (*ph*) in all positions (except, perhaps, after *m*) first, became bilabial *f*, which is possibly preserved in *f*, the lenited form of original *sp-* (cp. Britann. *f-*). Elsewhere *f* developed, sometimes into β or *w*, sometimes into *h*, which as a rule disappeared, but *ht*, *hs* became *cht*, *chs*.

**228.** 2. IE. *b* and *bh* = *b*, [§ 188](#); lenited β (written *b*), [§ 122](#).

*b* + *š* > *p*, [§ 187a](#); *b* before *n* > *m*, [§ 190b](#); *mb* > *mm*, [§ 152c](#).

*b* + *t* had become *pt*, whence Ir. *cht* ([§ 227c](#)), e.g.

**drucht** 'dew', cognate with O.Sax. *driopan* OE. *dréopan* 'to drip', OE. *dropa* OHG. *tropfo troffo* 'drop'.

Initial groups preserved: *br*, *bl*; e.g. **brú** 'belly', **bláth** 'flower'.

## INITIAL MUTATIONS

**229.** A characteristic of all Insular Celtic dialects, Britannic as well as Irish, is that the initial of a word undergoes various modifications within the framework of the clause. These modifications, as linguistic history shows, were originally caused by the final of the preceding word. But even after the final had itself disappeared, its effect often remained. Accordingly, in reconstructing the old endings of Celtic words these mutations may be helpful. It should be noted, however, that they have sometimes spread by analogy.

They occur most consistently within a word-group the members of which, closely connected in speech, form a notional unit. The looser the connexion, the less frequently and regularly do the mutations appear.

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**230.** In Old Irish three types of initial mutation can be distinguished:

**I. Lenition** (formerly called aspiration), originally caused by a preceding final vowel.

**II. Nasalization** (in Mod.Ir. grammar called eclipsis), after words originally ending in *-n* (which also represents IE. *-m* § 176).

**III. Geminatio**, after words originally ending in *-s* or postvocalic *-t* and *-k*.

In the present work leniting terminations are indicated where necessary by <sup>l</sup>, nasalizing by <sup>n</sup>, and geminating by <sup>g</sup>; thus *a<sup>l</sup>* = leniting *a*, *a<sup>n</sup>* = nasalizing *a*, *a<sup>g</sup>* = geminating *a*.

## I. LENITION

**231.** 1. Lenition produces in initial consonants the mutations described §§ 122, 131 ff. Vowels remain unchanged.

2. Lenition does not take place where the O.Ir. final and following initial consonants constitute a geminate (§ 137).
3. There is no lenition of *t* (and doubtless *d*) after final *n*, *l*, *s* (see § 139), *th*, *d*, nor of *c* (and doubtless *g*) after *-ch*, *-g*. In the last four instances the contact of the respective sounds should, according to § 137, produce the geminates *tt*, *dd*, *cc*, *gg*; but even if the final of the first word keeps its usual form, the initial of the second remains unlenited, e.g. **cach céitbuid** (fem.) 'every feeling' Wb. 24<sup>b</sup>4.

On the evidence of the later language *b* and *p* after *m* remained unlenited also.

4. That *n*, *l*, *r* were unlenited in the positions enumerated in § 120 is clear from Modern Irish, but this is not indicated in writing.
5. Initial *p*, which occurs only in loan-words, is sometimes lenited, sometimes not, e.g. **do pheccad** Wb 3<sup>b</sup>15 beside **di peccad** 24<sup>c</sup>18 (*peccatum*). Evidently the process, which had developed by analogy with the other stops, particularly with *b* : *β*, had not yet become universal.
6. The initials of the following words are never lenited: adjectival **cach cech** 'every' (§ 490b); the emphasizing particles **sa**, **se**, **su**, **som**, etc. (§ 403); the demonstrative particles **so**,

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**sin** (§ 475), except when used as substantives after prepositions (§ 480) and in **sunda** 'here' for *sund-sa* (§ 483). For **mo** 'my' and **do**, **t-** 'thy', see § 439.

7. As a rule lenition of *f* and *s* is not indicated in the earlier Glosses. But occasionally lenited *f*, which was silent (§ 133), is omitted altogether, especially when the two words are written as one; e.g. **innalaith** 'into his kingdom' (**flaith**) Wb 31<sup>a</sup>3; **meulae** 'of my flesh' (**féulae** gen. pl.) *MI.* 47<sup>c</sup>4; **faeram** 'we cause it' Wb 15<sup>d</sup>3 (**fo · fera** 'causes'). This omission is frequent in compounds: **immolang** 'causing' (vb.n.) beside **im(m)f + òlang, immfolang**.

In *Sg.* and later MSS. a *punctum delens* is frequently placed over lenited *f* and *s* (§ 33), e.g. *do slund nach f + òlaid* 'to express any substance' *Sg.* 73<sup>b</sup>7. In the present work, too, this symbol is employed to denote lenition of the two consonants in question.

8. Since scribal evidence of lenition is confined to the letters *c t p*, and subsequently *s* and *f*, rules can only be formulated where numerous examples are available.
232. Lenition is attested:

Collection: Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXV. 315 ft.

A. After **declensional forms**. Here it is consistently found only after the article and after pronominals and numerals preceding the word qualified by them. Lenition of the initial in adjectives and nominal genitives standing after their noun is sporadic, being mainly found where they have a close semantic relation to the qualified noun. To some extent, therefore, the rule can be formulated only for the largest of the nominal stem classes, the *o-* and *ā-*stems. The following are the case-forms after which lenition occurs:

1. Dat. sg. of all genders and stems; e.g. **do-n chorp** 'to the body' Wb. 3<sup>a</sup>14; **í cach thír** 'in every land' 1<sup>a</sup>3; **do thaidbse súperlait** 'to show a superlative' *Sg.* 40<sup>b</sup>15; **íar m[adm]aim chatha** 'after

- the defeat' *MI.* 84<sup>c</sup>9; **húait chotarsnu** 'from thee (the) adversary' 108<sup>a</sup>4.
2. Nom. and voc. sg. of all feminines (including **sí** 'she' and **ci-sí** 'which?' fem.); e.g. **int sillab** 'the syllable' *Sg.* 25<sup>a</sup>1; **mo thol cholnide** 'my carnal desire' *Wb.* 3<sup>c</sup>38; **súil**

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- chaírech** 'the eye of a sheep' *IT.* I. 82, 1; **genitiu chintig** 'genitive of a finite' *Sg.* 209<sup>a</sup>7; **is sí chíall** 'that (fem.) is the meaning' *MI.* 94<sup>b</sup>17; **a ingen f + íal** 'O modest daughter' *IT.* I. 07, 4.
3. Gen. voc. sg. and nom. pl. of masculine, gen. sg. of neuter *o-* and *io-* stems; e.g. **alaili thriuin** 'of a certain hero' *Sg.* 96<sup>a</sup>4; **cach f + ólaid** 'of every substance' 200<sup>b</sup>5; **a ch[I]éirchén chochlaich** 'O cowed little monk' *AU.* 758; **in phreceptóirí** 'the teachers' *Wb.* 5<sup>a</sup>2.

Lenition after certain hypocoristic personal names (of monks) like **Mo Lua chráibdech** 'M.L. the pious' (see Bergin, *Ériu XII.* 219) may be due to the fact that these are originally vocative forms which have come to be used as nominatives also.

4. Nom. voc. and acc. pl. of neuters which do not end in *-a*; e.g. **inna gell choíma** 'the dear pledges' *MI.* 123<sup>c</sup>9; **cethir chét** 'four hundred' *Thes. II.* 29, 33; **a huili chenéla** 'O all ye nations' *MI.* 67<sup>b</sup>17; **cen tri chét** 'without three hundred' *Thes. II.* 291, 12.

After nominal forms in *-a* lenition is not consistent; e.g. **arma cholno** 'arms of the flesh' *Wb.* 22<sup>d</sup>13 beside **accobra colna** 'desires of the flesh' 20<sup>a</sup>6, cp. 20<sup>c</sup>1. After pronominals in *-a* there is no lenition ( § 241, 1 ).

**inna chenél, inna chenéla** 'the nations' *MI.* 67<sup>b</sup>24, 103<sup>d</sup>14 are probably scribal errors, like dat. pl. **donaib chenélaib** 119<sup>d</sup>3.

5. Nom. acc. and gen. dual, masc. and fem.; e.g. **di chétbuid** 'two senses' *Wb.* 18<sup>d</sup>9; **dí guttai f + óldaidi** 'two separate vowels' *Sg.* 54<sup>a</sup>14; **etir da son** 'between two words' 150<sup>b</sup>1; **da syl(lab)** 'of two syllables' 220<sup>b</sup>8.
6. Nom. voc. sg. **cú** 'hound' (lenition first attested in later MSS., but undoubtedly old).
7. The neuters **alail** ( § 486b ), e.g. **alail sáin** 'something special' *Sg.* 6<sup>b</sup>24, and **ced cid** 'which?' ( §§ 457, 466 ).
8. The possessive pronouns **mo m-** 'my', **do t-** 'thy', **a** 'his, its'; the infixed personal pronouns **-m, -t,** and 3 sg. neut. **-a -(i)d**. For examples cp. §§ 439, 441, and 415 ff.

Arch. **duun chanisin** 'to us ourselves' *Cam.* 37d is peculiar; but *ch* is frequently written for *c* in this MS.

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### 233. B. After verbal forms.

1. In the earlier Glosses ( *Wb.* ) lenition takes place only after the following forms of the copula:
- Relative absolute forms in certain clauses ( § 495c ).
  - All forms of the imperative, and the 3 sg. past subj. **bad, bed**.
  - Monosyllabic conjunct forms, except 3 sg. **-did -dib -dip** ; but not those forms that have become monosyllabic by shortening such as **-bin** ( < \**beinn* ), **-btis, -btar, -psa**, etc.
  - masu** 'if it is', **cesu** 'though it is', pl. **matu, cetu ceto**.

In *Wb.* lenition after forms in (c) does not seem to be a fixed rule; cp. **ni-tat cosmili** 'they are not alike' 32<sup>d</sup>14 (similarly 7<sup>d</sup>12) beside **bés ni-bat chutrummi** 'perhaps they are not equal' 9<sup>d</sup>27; archaic **ni-tam toirsech** 'we are not sad' *Wb.* I. 15<sup>b</sup>21.

2. In later sources, including *MI.* and *Sg.*, lenition is also found, though not consistently, after any verb, whether the following word be object, subject, or attributive.

Examples: **do-rignius chomgnímu** 'I have done joint deeds' *MI.* 47<sup>a</sup>20; **ni-fil chumtubairt** 'there is no doubt' *Sg.* 154<sup>b</sup>2; **cita-biat chlúasa** 'which ears perceive' 3<sup>a</sup>1; **con-toat chucai** 'who turn to him' *MI.* 46<sup>c</sup>1; **fúachimm chéin** 'I myself point' *SP.* ( *Thes. II.* 293, 23 ); **ní chen dlíged a**

**nephdiall** 'their non-declension is not without rule' *Sg.* 75<sup>a</sup>1. Other words may actually intervene between the verbal form and the lenited initial, cp. *Ml.* 44<sup>c</sup>20. There are also sporadic instances of lenition of the subject after the predicate: **ní gnáth chomsuidigud** 'composition is not usual' *Sg.* 201<sup>a</sup>5; **gním dom-sa thindnacól** 'transmitting is action for me' 209<sup>b</sup>24.

Examples of clearly lenited and unlenited forms have been collected by Hessen, *KZ.* XLVI. 2 ff. In *Ml.* the proportion of lenited to unlenited forms is roughly one to six. In *Wb.* **cháich** 'everyone' occurs three times as subject or object, 9<sup>d</sup>25, 5<sup>d</sup>11, 9<sup>c</sup>23; but these, the only examples, may be mere scribal errors, since dittography of *ch* and *th* is one of the commonest mistakes, cp. **chech** for **cech** 5<sup>c</sup>20, **chrích** for **crích** *Sg.* 66<sup>b</sup>4, **dunaib chethrairib** for **cethrairib** *Thes. I.* 497, 16 (Arm.). According to later bardic teaching the object after the verb may be lenited or not optionally ( *ITS.* XXII. c, cp. *IGT.* Introd., § 81 f.). In the course of time the lenited form of certain adverbs, prepositions and pronouns has been generalized; e.g. **thall** 'there', **thúaid**

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'in the north', **chucam** 'to(wards) me', **ri re = f + ri** (cp. **rinn** 'to us' *Ml.* 54<sup>a</sup>3, re 44<sup>b</sup>4).

### 234. C. After uninflected words.

1. The prepositions **amal** ( § 826 ), **ar** ( § 823 ), **cen** ( § 827 ), **di** ( § 831 ), **do** ( § 832 ), **fiad** ( § 836 ), **fo** ( § 837 ), **im** ( § 841 ), **ó úa** ( § 847 ), and **tre tri** ( § 856 ) lenite the initial of the word they govern. But **tre** followed by the article or the relative makes **tresin tresa** ( § 856 ).

The only example of lenition after **for** ( § 838 ) is **for chenn** *Ml.* 44<sup>d</sup>29.

For lenition of the verb after pretonic prepositions and verbal particles in certain relative clauses, see § 495a.

In **du-t(h)luchedar** 'beseeches' the initial of the second element is generally lenited in *Ml.*, even after *n*: **am(al) dun-thluichiur** 44<sup>c</sup>20.

The following uninflected words also lenite:

2. The verbal particle **ro ru** when unstressed after a conjunct particle ( § 39 ), e.g. **ni-ru-thogaítsam** (*thógaitsam* MS.) 'we have not deceived' *Wb.* 16<sup>a</sup>22.
3. Conjunctions:
  - (a) **acus ocus** 'and' ( § 878 ), **nō + űnū + ű** ( § 885 ) and **fā + űbā + ű** ( § 464 ) 'or'. After the compendia *et* ( *Wb.* ), *τ*, and *t* ( § 35 ) lenition is frequently absent; doubtless in such cases they are to be read as Latin *et* and *uel*.

There is one instance of gemination after **no** 'or', **no-nno-diummussaigtis** *Ml.* 136<sup>b</sup>5, possibly a misspelling.

(b) **mā + űif** ( § 902 ), **cía ce** 'although' ( § 909 ), **co** 'so that' ( § 896 ), **ó** 'since' ( § 893 ), **ama(i)l** 'as' ( § 911 ), except where syntactic nasalization ( § 498 ) prevents lenition.

Examples: **ma chot-chela** 'if it conceals it' *Wb.* 5<sup>a</sup>9; **cía thíasu-sa** 'though I may go' 23<sup>c</sup>31; **co chon-scarad** 'that he should destroy' *Ml.* 23<sup>b</sup>14; **ó chretsit** 'since they have believed' *Wb.* 31<sup>c</sup>7; **am(al) chon-n-oscaighther** 'as it is moved' *Ml.* 38<sup>d</sup>16.

But **cía ce** with the preterite of the copula makes **ce-pu**, pl. **cía-ptar** ( § 810 ). There are other isolated examples of **ma** and **cía** without lenition, sometimes actually with gemination, e.g. **ma-rru-feste** 'if ye had known' *Wb.* 9<sup>c</sup>8.

Lenition after **air** 'for, because' is found only in the later Glosses. Cp. also **ol-šuide**, **ol-šodain**, § 477.

4. The negatives **nī + čon**, **na(d)con**, §§ 861, 864.

For nasalized **nicon-dét** 'does not go' (**-tét**) *Ml.* 53<sup>a</sup>17, see § 861.

For lenition after **nád nad** in relative clauses, see [§ 495a](#).

5. The particle **a (á)** before the vocative, e.g. **a choimdiu** 'O Lord!'.

Deictic **í** after the article ( [§§ 474, 475, 2](#) ), but this lenites verbal forms in the later Glosses only ( [§ 495b](#) ).

The emphasizing particle **su, so** after personal pronouns; e.g. **tussu th'óenur** 'thou alone' *Wb.* 5<sup>a</sup>28, **tussu choimdid** 'Thee the Lord' *Ml.* 36<sup>c</sup>2; also in the dative: **duit-so th'oínur** *Sg.* 208<sup>b</sup>5 (but **tusu t'oínur** *Ml.* 78<sup>b</sup>18, possibly a mistake).

6. On the evidence of later sources, **cóic** 'five' except in the gen. pl. ( [§ 237, 1](#) ); e.g. **cóic thoísig** 'five leaders' *LL* 8<sup>a</sup>20, **cóic f + idchella** 'five chess-boards' 51<sup>a</sup>4.

Collection: Bergin, *Ériu* XI. 226.

- 235.** D. For lenition of the initial of absolute relative verbal forms, see [§ 495b](#). E. The **second element of a compound** is lenited:

1. When the first is a noun, adjective, or numeral, even if it is a consonantal stem; e.g. **ríg-suíde** 'royal seat' (stem *ríg-*); **teglach** 'household' from **teg-** (*s*-stem) and **slóg** 'troop' with silent *s*. In such cases a composition vowel had been early inserted; cp. Gaul. *Rig-o-magus* 'royal field', *Cinget-o-rix* 'king of heroes'.

Traces of the older method of composition are still furnished by numerals ending in a nasal: **nón-bur, deichen-bur** ( [§ 388](#) ), **in spírto secht-n-delbichsin** 'of that septiform spirit' *Thes. I.* 496, 27 (Arm.) (and the placename **Noindruimm** Arm.), beside the later formations **deich-thriub** 'ten tribes', **noídecde** 'cycle of nineteen years'.

Uninflected adjectives prefixed to their noun are included in this rule, e.g. **ilchathraig** 'many cities' ( [§ 363 f.](#) ).

2. After the inseparable prefixes *so-* *su-*, *do-* *du-*, *mí-* ( [§ 365](#) ), and **neb-** **neph-** ( [§ 874](#) ).
3. After the prepositions **aith ath, air er ir, dí de, fo, imb im(m), ind, ol, rem, ro, ta(i)rm, to** (for **trem** there is no clear instance); occasionally after **for** and **etar** in the later Glosses by analogy with **air**. For lenition after **com-, frith-, íarm-, in-**, see [§§ 830A2b, 839A, 840, 842](#).

This rule applies both to nominal and verbal compounds, but not to the latter when the preposition is pretonic ( [§ 37](#) ) and hence does not form a close compound.

## II. NASALIZATION

- 236.** 1. In nasalization *n* is prefixed to an initial vowel or *d*, the homorganic nasal to *b* and *g* (*m-b, n-g = ng*); *c, t, (p)* turn into the mediae *g, d, (b)* ( [§ 208](#) ), and *f* into *v = β* (or rather, earlier *v* remains, cp. [§ 201 f.](#)). *s, r, l, m, n* when preceded by a proclitic vowel are geminated (cp. [§ 240](#) ).

The disappearance of *n* before *v* (*β*) and *m* is peculiar, for *nv* (written *nb*) and *nm* otherwise remain unaltered. The fact that *n* would often disappear regularly when the first word ended in a consonant ( [§ 180](#) ) is hardly sufficient to explain it; perhaps the example of *s r l n* was partly responsible, and, in regard to the preposition **co**, the development of *com + f-* to *coβ* in composition ( [§ 830 A 1](#) ).

2. In writing, nasalization is clearly shown only in the case of vowels and mediae. The gemination of *s r l m n* is frequently omitted ( [§ 146 f.](#) ), and --except in compounds--the mutation of *c t p f* is hardly ever expressed, apart from rare instances of *d* for *t*, especially after *n*; e.g. **con-dánicc** 'until he came' *Wb.* 3<sup>c</sup>27 beside **con-tánic** 3<sup>a</sup>1; **in tain díagma-ni** 'when we go (**tíagmae**)' 3<sup>a</sup>15; **hóre déte** 'since he goes (**téte**)' 11<sup>d</sup>7; **nad-desta** 'that it is not lacking (**testa**)' *Ml.* 94<sup>e</sup>10; stereotyped **oldaas indaas** 'than he is' (**taas**) [§ 779, 1](#); **nach géin** 'for any long time' (acc. sg. of **cían**) *Wb.*

7<sup>a</sup>11, 24<sup>d</sup>11, already to some extent petrified as an adverb. Still, these examples suffice to show that the mutations existed in the speech of the O.Ir. period as in that of to-day.

3. Where nasalization results in the insertion of a nasal between two words which are written separately, the nasal is either written as an independent word or, more usually, prefixed to the second; in both cases a *punctum delens* is often placed over it ( § 33, 1 ). Examples: **dochum á dée** 'to God' *Wb.* 10<sup>a</sup>22, **láa m brátha, lae .m. brátho** 'Doomsday' 26<sup>a</sup>1, *Thes. II.* 239, 14 (Arm.), beside **dochum ndæ +** *Ml.* 54<sup>d</sup>3, **áes áesci** 'the age of the moon' *Thes. II.* 15, 43.

In the present work the second of these conventions is followed, but the nasal is separated from the following initial by a hyphen, e.g. **n-dé** .

Some scribes refrain from inserting *n* before the (purely graphic) *h* prefixed to vowels ( § 25 ), e.g. **dochum hirisse** 'unto

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faith' *Wb.* 10<sup>d</sup>36 beside **dochum n-irisse** 11<sup>b</sup>22. In *Sg.*, however, this convention is not observed, e.g. **cenéle n-hetha** 'a kind of corn' 51<sup>b</sup>6.

It should be noted that the nasal is more frequently omitted in interconsonantal than in other positions. This is due to the fact that the disappearance of a nasal in the interior of certain consonant groups was regular ( § 180 ).

**237.** Nasalization takes place:A. After **declensional forms**. Collection: *ZCP.* v1 ff. Here nasalization was confined in the earlier period to initials of stressed words (except after **a** 'that (which)' and 'while', § 473 ). Only in later Glosses are proclitics occasionally nasalized; e.g. **bec á-di ulc** 'a little of evil' *Ml.* 46<sup>a</sup>1; **trisin n-oipred á-do-gniat** 'through the work which they do' 42<sup>c</sup>2.

1. After the acc. sg. and gen. pl. of all genders and the nom. sg. neuter. The only exceptions are the neuters **alail** ( § 232, 7) and **na** 'any' ( § 241, 2) (presumably also **aill** and **ní**, although there are no certain examples), **ced cid** 'which?' (and probably **ed** 'it', § 450 ), and the infixed personal pronoun 3 sg. ( § 232, 8). On the other hand, neuters which do not belong to the *o-* or *n-* stem-classes, and therefore had no original final *-n*, nasalize by analogy; e.g. **teg n-oíged** 'guest-house' *Wb.* 4<sup>a</sup>7 (*teg* *s*-stem); **mind n-abstalacte** 'the mark of apostleship' 20<sup>d</sup>6 (**mind** probably *u*-stem), **inmain n-ainm** 'dear the name' SP. (**inmain** *i*-stem).

For the voc. sg. neut. the examples happen to occur only later: **a t[h]ír n-álaind** 'O beautiful land!' *AU.* 918 (*tírs*-stem).

The uninflected numerals **cóic** and **sé** nasalize the initial of a following gen. pl., e.g. **na sé m-bó** 'of the six cows'.

Nasalization arising from the above forms is most consistently shown after the article, adjectival pronominals, and numerals. An adjective following its noun shows nasalization regularly in *Ml.* and predominantly in *Wb.* On the other hand, nasalization of a following dependent genitive or an adverbial is not consistently shown; it is, however, more frequent in *Ml.* than in *Wb.* Thus in the latter we find side by side **láa**

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**m-brátha** 26<sup>a</sup>1 and **láa brátha** 29<sup>a</sup>28 'Doomsday', **no-n-guidim-se día n-erut-su** 'that I beseech God for thee' 27<sup>d</sup>19 and **guidid día eruib-si** 'beseeches God for you' 27<sup>d</sup>7.

Nasalization of verbal forms takes place regularly only after **a** 'that (which)'. Elsewhere there are but isolated examples of it, e.g. **a cobás m-ábís** 'the connexion that is wont to be' *Sg.* 2<sup>b</sup>2.

2. Subject to the same conditions as in 1., after the nom. voc. acc. gen. neuter dual, and after the dat. (all genders) of the numeral 'two'; but nasalization is not found after the dat. dual of nominal forms. Examples: **da n-óg** 'two integers' *Sg.* 157<sup>b</sup>6; **dá cét m-béimen** 'two hundred blows' *Ériu I.* 205; **da carachtar** 'of two characters' (*c = g*); **i n-díib á-úarib deac** 'in twelve hours' *Thes. II.* 10, 4; cp. **for**

**dib mílib ech** (not **n-ech**) 'on two thousand horses' *Ml.* 43<sup>d</sup>1.

There are some instances of neuter **da** without nasalization: **in da gné** 'the two forms' *Sg.* 168<sup>a</sup>3 (cp. Sommer, Miscellany K. Meyer p. 141).

3. After the infixed personal pronouns 3 sg. masc. **a, d** (old acc. sg.); optionally after 3 sg. fem. and 3 pl. **s** ( § 415 f.).
  4. After the plural possessive pronouns (old gen. plurals) **ar** 'our', **far** 'your' and **a** 'their'.
- 238.** B. After **verbal forms**.

Here nasalization is found only after absolute relative forms of the copula in nasalizing relative clauses ( § 504d ).

For **cit n-é** 'who are they?' and **sechitat n-é**, see §§ 456, 461b; for **indat m-bríathra**, § 463. In **nidat n-esemana** 'they are not impure' *Ml.* 92<sup>d</sup>13, where lenition might be expected ( § 233, 1c), the nasalization is peculiar; perhaps suggested by interrogative **indat**.

**239.** C. After the following **uninflected words** :

1. The numerals **secht, ocht, noí** and **deich**.

For their effect as the first element in composition see § 235, 1. For nasalizing **cóic** and **sé** see § 237, 1.

2. The relative particle (**s**)**a**, and **i** 'in which' ( § 492 ); the conjunctions **a** 'while' ( § 890 ), **ara** ( § 898 ), **dia** ( §§ 889, 903 ); for **co (con)** see § 896.

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3. The interrogative particle **in** ( § 463 ).
4. The prepositions **co** 'with', **i** 'in', **íar** 'after', **re ri ría** 'before' nasalize the initial of the dependent case; but after the originally nominal prepositions **dochum** 'towards', **in-degaid** 'after', **tar-ési** 'instead of' ( § 858 f.) the initials of stressed syllables only are nasalized.  
D. In certain relative clauses the initial of the verb is nasalized, see § 504.  
E. For nasalization of the second element of compounds after *co(m)* and *e(n)* see §§ 830, 842; after certain numerals, § 235, 1.

### III. GEMINATION

**240.** Gemination originally consisted in the doubling (lengthening) of an initial consonant caused by assimilation of the final of one word to the initial of the following. In our period, however, it is already in decline, being no longer shown after consonants ( § 143 ), and only irregularly after unstressed vowels. Further, since scribes never double the initial of a separate word, the gemination can only be seen where the two words are written together. In the course of time the geminated form is superseded by the ordinary unlenited form.

The geminated and nasalized forms of *s- r- l- m- n-* are identical, cp. § 236, 1.

It is clear from Mid. and Mod. Ir. that, in the same conditions as above, *h-* was prefixed to an initial stressed vowel where the previous word ended in a vowel; but in O.Ir. there was no means of representing the sound ( § 25, cp. § 177 ). That at an earlier period this *h* was also audible after consonants is shown by a few forms such as **int**, nom. sg. masc. of the article before vowels, < \**ind-h* < \**sindos* or \**sindas* ( § 467 ), **nant** 'that (it) is not' < \**nand-h* ( § 797 ), **arimp** 'in order that it may be' < \**arimb-h* ( § 804, cp. § 787 ).

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**241.** Gemination takes place:

- A. . After declensional forms:

1. After **inna na**, gen. sg. fem., acc. pl. (all genders), and nom. pl. fem. and neut. of the article. Examples: *innammraithemnachtae* 'of the treachery' *MI.* 31<sup>b</sup>3, *inna-mmaccu* 'the sons' (acc. pl. masc.) 104<sup>d</sup>5, *inna-mmerbi* 'the debilities' (acc. pl. fem.) 113<sup>b</sup>8, *inna-rríara* 'the modulations' (nom. pl. fem.) *Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup>43, *forsna-mmórchol* 'on the great wickednesses' (acc. pl. neut.) *MI.* 91<sup>a</sup>21, *inna-lláthar* 'the dispensations' (nom. pl. neut.) 91<sup>d</sup>7. Also, on the evidence of the later language, after *cacha cecha* gen. sg. fem. 'each, every'.

The exceptional spelling *inna ingnea mmoítha* 'the soft nails' (nom. pl. fem.) *MI.* 87<sup>b</sup>11 shows that gemination also occurred after other words in the above-mentioned flexional cases. The evidence of the later language makes this quite certain for nom. and acc. masc. **tri**, fem. *téora*, 'three'; acc. masc. *cethri* 'four', nom. and acc. fem. *cethéora*; and **dia** 'day' ( § 340, 3 ), cp. Mod.Ir. *Dé h-Aoine* 'on Friday'.

A placename consisting of two nouns, the first of which is in the gen. sg. with vocalic auslaut, is often written in later MSS. with *h-* prefixed to the initial of the second, especially when the first noun is feminine; e.g. *Cille h-Achaidh* FM. 1393 (**cell** fem. *ā*-stem), *Rátha h-Airthir* 864, *Clúana h-Eoais* 839, 961 (*ráith* and *clúain* fem. *i*-stems), *Maighe h-Aí* 749 (**mag** neut. *s*-stem but later fem.); but also *Locha h-Eathach* 839 (**loch** O.Ir. neut. *u*-stem, later masc.), *Droma h-Ing* 834 (*druimm* O.Ir. neut. *i-* or *n*-stem, later masc.), etc. To some extent at least, these represent survivals of the effect of final *-s*.

2. After nom. acc. sg. neut. **na** 'any' ( § 489b ), e.g. *na-nní* 'anything' *MI.* (beside *naní*), **na-lléd** 'whatever side' *Wb.* 17<sup>d</sup>7.
3. After nom. sg. **ua** 'grandson' (O.Ir. *áue*) *h-* is prefixed to an initial vowel in the later language, e.g. *ua h-Airt*. This suggests that at one time every nom. sg. of the masc. *io*-stems, when closely connected with the following word, could geminate the initial of the latter. Corroboration of this view is supplied by *indala-mmod* 'one of the two manners' *MI.* 45<sup>b</sup>11 (Mod.Ir. **an dara h-**), see § 487.

For *cía* 'who?' see § 466.

4. After **a** 'her', poss. pron. (old feminine genitive), e.g. *a-mmuntar* 'her household' *Wb.* 27<sup>d</sup>12, *Sg.* 32<sup>b</sup>6.

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5. After the infixed personal pronouns 3 sg. fem. and 3 pl. **da, ta, a** ( § 415 ff. ), e.g. *inda-mmoídet* 'on which they pride themselves' *Wb.* 24<sup>a</sup>30.

#### 242. B. After forms of the copula :

1. After preterital and modal 3 sg. **ba** ( §§ 802, 810, 813 ) except in relative clauses, e.g. *ba-mmadach* 'it were vain' *MI.* 135<sup>a</sup>9; cp. **ba-calar** 'it was illness (**galar**)' *Cam.* 37d.
2. After *nī + 'is not'*, e.g. **ni-nnech** 'it is not anyone' *MI.* 54<sup>a</sup>2, *ni-mmárrilliud* 'it is not my merit' (*m'árilliud*) *Wb.* 21<sup>c</sup>20.

#### 243. C. After uninflected words :

1. After the prepositions a 'out of', *co cu* 'to', **fri, la** before their case; e.g. **a-ppacad** 'out of sin' *Wb.* 3<sup>b</sup>3; *co-lláa* 'till day' 5<sup>b</sup>4, *cu-bbráth* 'till Doom' *Thes. II.* 242, 19 (Arm.); *fri-nnech* 'against anyone' *MI.* 23<sup>c</sup>20; *la-ssuide* 'with that (person)' *Wb.* 31<sup>b</sup>8, *la-gglais* 'along the stream' *Thes. II.* 238, 9 (Arm.).
2. In pretonic position all prepositions ending in a vowel, the particles **ro, no**, the interrogatives *cía ce* ( § 466 ) and **co** ( § 462 ), and the negatives **nī + (mani, coní, etc.), na (arna, conna)**, when no infixed pronoun is attached to them, geminate the initial of a following verb or verbal compound, except in relative clauses ( §§ 495, 504 ). Examples: *do-mmuintar* 'they think' *MI.* 49<sup>b</sup>7, *do-rrigéni* 'has done' *Wb.* 30<sup>d</sup>22, *di-rróggel* 'has bought' *Thes. II.* 239, 15 (Arm.), *fu-llugaim* 'I conceal' *Sg.* 22<sup>b</sup>4, *ro-llaad* 'has been put' *MI.* 29<sup>c</sup>1, **roppad** 'it would be' *Sg.* 111<sup>b</sup>2, *nu-ggabad* 'he might take' *Thes. II.* 242, 7 (Arm.), *ni-ssluindi* 'does not, express' *Sg.* 66<sup>b</sup>18, *ní-rrobe* 'has not been' *Wb.* 14<sup>c</sup>31, **manibbad** 'if it were not' *Sg.* 17<sup>b</sup>8; cp. *niténat* 'they do not make' (*-dénat*) *Wb.* 24<sup>a</sup>25, *natiubrad* 'let him not defraud' (*-diubrad*) 9<sup>d</sup>20, where *t* represents *dd*.

But pretonic **ro** after a conjunct particle lenites ( § 234, 2 ).

For exceptional gemination after **ma** see [§ 234, 3b](#).

It is easy to understand the gemination after **na**, the full form of which. **nach-**, is preserved before infixed pronouns and certain forms of the copula

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([§§ 419, 797](#)). But gemination after the other preverbs mentioned is likewise early, certainly after *nī* + *á* and **ro**, where it occurs in Old Welsh also (for the former, cp. *ny chel* 'does not hide', with *ch* < *cc*, as against relative *ny gel* 'who does not hide'). Perhaps the simple negative has been confused with *ní* 'non est'; this goes back to *\*nīs* < *\*nēs(t)* < *\*nē-ést* (cp. the negative relative *nā* + *ch*, which has certainly lost earlier *-est*), so that gemination after it represents a last trace of the verbal form. Confusion between them could easily have arisen through the fact that the 3 sg. of the copula may be omitted at will ([§ 818](#)), and thus there was no difference in meaning between clauses with *ní* 'non est' and those containing the simple negative. The long vowel sometimes found in *ní* might also suggest such confusion, since the earlier form of the negative is generally *nē-* (cp. Lat. *ne-scio*, OE. *ne-*, etc.). It may be assumed that the other preverbs, too, formerly had *-s* (*\*doś*, etc.), for the origin of which see [§ 565](#).

Except after **na**, prevocalic *h* (which was sounded, though not written, in O.Ir.) was retained in Mid.Ir. before passive verbal forms only; in the active, lenition had been generalized from forms with infixed neuter pronoun ([§ 232, 8](#)).

3. After *assa* between comparatives ([§ 377](#)): *messa assa-mmessa* 'worse and worse' *Wb.* 30<sup>c</sup>25.
4. After **na** 'nor' ([§ 865](#)); cp. the net. **na**.
5. After *sé* 'six', which, however, nasalizes in the gen. pl. ([§ 237, 1](#)).
6. After the particle *a* before abstract numerals ([§ 386](#)): Mod.Ir. **a h-ocht** 'eight'

Gemination after 5. and 6. in our period can only be inferred from the evidence of Mid. and Mod.Irish.

**244.** There are sporadic instances where the initial mutation is separated from the inflecting final by one or more words. Cp. *is sí in so chial(l)* 'this is the sense' *MI.* 88<sup>b</sup>11, 90<sup>c</sup>24 (lenition caused by *sí*, not by **in so**); *déde didiu n-and* 'two things, then, there' *Wb.* 1<sup>a</sup>5 (nasalization caused by *déde*); *fis dlíged rechto n-dáe* 'the knowledge of the rules of the law of God' *MI.* 46<sup>c</sup>8 (nasalization caused by gen. pl. **dlíged**, not by gen. sg. **rechto**).

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## INFLEXION AND STEM FORMATION OF NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

Collections other than in the *Grammatica Celtica*: Stokes, *Celtic Declension* (*Trans. Phil. Society* 1885-7, p. 97 ff. = *Bezzenbergers Beitr. XI.* 64 ff., where the personal pronoun is omitted); cp. also Strachan, *Contributions to the History of Middle Irish Declension* (*Trans. Phil. Society* 1903-6, p. 202 ff.).

### GENERAL REMARKS ON DECLENSION

#### 245. GENDER

The three Indo-European grammatical genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter are still distinguished in our period.

The condition of the language in the Glosses would scarcely suggest that the neuter was destined to be largely superseded by the masculine and feminine in the ninth century and to disappear almost completely in the tenth. For conditions in the *Vita Tripartita* (c. 900), see K. Mulchrone, *ZCP*. XVI35 ff. But even in O.Ir. itself some preliminary indications of this change are found. Thus there is no distinction of gender in the 3 pl. personal pronoun ( § 405 f.), in most classes of adjectives ( § 354 ff.), and in the acc. pl. of the article; feminine and neuter are identical in the nom. pl. of the article, and there is a tendency to discontinue the separate masculine form of the nom. pl. of the article and of adjectival o-stems ( § 351). A powerful factor in the loss of the neuter was the disappearance of the typical difference in the vocalism of the nom. acc. sg. of the article, neut. a<sup>n</sup> as opposed to masc. fem. in, during the ninth century, when an obscure neutral vowel came to be used in all proclitic words. As early as the *Vita Tripartita* *inní* is frequently written for *anní* 'that (which)'. Even the Glosses afford occasional examples of change of gender: *in fotha* 'the foundation' (originally neut.) *Sg.* 4<sup>b</sup>3; in *Ml.* verbal nouns of the type described § 724, which are generally neuter, are sometimes treated as masculine.

The earlier gender of words of infrequent occurrence is therefore often difficult or impossible to determine. For a list of nouns which were either certainly or possibly old neuters, see Hogan, *RIA.*, Todd Lecture Series IV. 108 ff., VI. 89 ff.

## 246. NUMBER

In nominal inflexion Old Irish has preserved the three numbers of Indo-European, singular (sg.), plural (pl.), and dual

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(du.). The dual is always accompanied by the numeral 'two' ( § 385 ).

Adjectives and pronouns, on the other hand, have no dual forms distinct from the plural; e.g. *dá druith ægeptacdi* 'two Egyptian wizards' *Wb.* 30<sup>c</sup>17, *etir da ñ-ainmm cosmaili* 'between two similar nouns' *Sg.* 28<sup>a</sup>7, where *ægeptacdi* and *cosmaili* are plural in form. But substantivized adjectives have the substantival dual, e.g. *da n-óg* 'two integers' 157<sup>b</sup>6.

## CASE

In Old Irish five cases can still be distinguished, called by the Latin names nominative (nom.), vocative (voc.), accusative (acc.), genitive (gen.), and dative (dat.).

As in other Indo-European languages, the vocative and accusative neuter are not differentiated from the nominative. So too the nom. and acc. dual of all genders are identical (the dual no longer has a vocative). A voc. sg. form distinct from the nom. is found only in the masc. o-stems.

By a secondary development the acc. and dat. sg. of feminine nouns and adjectives fall together (although differing in their effect on the following initial, §§ 232, 1, 237). Only feminine stems in lenited and unlenited *n* ( §§ 328, 330.) show a separate dative form.

## USE OF CASES

**247. I. The nominative**, besides functioning as case of the subject and as predicative nominative, is also employed where a noun stands in no precise syntactical relationship. Such a nominative is often placed before a clause in which its syntactical relationship is then specified by a pronoun; e.g. *comthinól* (nom. sg.) *inna noíb--as-berr tempul doib hóre atreba Críst indib* 'the congregation of the saints, they are called a "temple" (lit. "temple" is said of them') since Christ dwells in them' *Wb.* 21c7. In poetry a nominative often stands in apposition to an entire clause; e.g. *as-réacht, scél ñ-dermar, Íssu a brú thalman* 'Jesus arose--a mighty tale-out of the womb of the earth' *Fél.* March 27.

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Further, a noun may stand in the nominative when its syntactical relationship is clear from a preceding word. Hence this case regularly appears:

- a. Where a noun stands as second co-ordinate member after a conjugated preposition ( § 432 f.); e.g. **fechta** (MS. *fectha*) *cath Muighe Tuired etorra ocus Fir* (nom. pl.) **Bolcc** 'the battle of Mag Tuired was fought, between them and the Fir Bolg' *RC. XII. 58, § 10*. This applies also where the pronoun is anticipatorily put in the plural, though the first element is singular ( § 402 ); e.g. *comrac dúib ocus C[h]ú-Chulainn* (nom. sg.) an encounter between you [thee] and Cú-Chulainn' *LU 5628*. Exceptions are rare (e.g. *MI. 112<sup>a</sup>8*).
- b. In apposition to *de* 'thereby' after comparatives ( § 378 ); e.g. *ni móiti* (O.Ir. *mó-de*) *eneclann na flatha in céile-sin* (nom. sg.) **aice** (O.Ir. **oco**) 'the honour-price of the lord is none the greater by that client with him (= for his having that client)' *Laws v. 218, 8*.

The following uses of the nominative are rarer:

- c. In apposition to a noun in another case; e.g. *du-tét iar sin dia chennadich, aicme becc* (nom. sg.) *i Clíu, Catrige a ainmm* 'he conies afterwards to his (own) district, a small tribe in Clíu, Catrige (is) its name' *Thes. II. 240, 13 (Arm.)*.
- d. Chiefly in poetry, after a proleptic possessive pronoun; e.g. *is cían ó thánic a-rré, | Eogan, Crimthan, Congal Clé* (all three nom.) 'it, is long since their time came, (the time of) E., C., C.C. *ZCP. VIII. 333, 24*.
- e. Only in poetry, in co-ordinate clauses linked by **ocus** 'and' to a preceding accusative or dative; e.g. *rí do-rigni (-gne MS.) aéar n-úar | ocus tene* (nom.) *réil rorúad | ocus talam* (nom.) *bladmar brass* 'the King made the cold air, and the clear red fire, and the glorious great earth' *SR.313 ff*.

Collections: Baudiš, *ZCP. IX. 309 ff.*; Thurneysen, *KZ. LIII. S2 ff.*; Pokorný, *ZCP. XV. 384 ff.* For similar constructions in other languages cp. Havers, *Glotta XVI. 94 ff.*

**248. II. The vocative**, the ease of address, is always preceded by the leniting particle **a** (á § 48).

In a few early examples **a** is apparently omitted before **mo** 'my'; see *ZCP. XIX. 365*.

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**249. III. The accusative** is used:

1. To express the object (external or internal) of a verb; it may also be used after verbs of coming, etc.

All archaic use of the acc. is that after (**is**) **mairg** 'woe!'; e.g. *mairg ar maccu* 'woe to our children!' *LL 119<sup>b</sup>11* ( K. Meyer, *Bruchstücke der älteren Lyrik Irlands, p. 7 § 5*).

2. Less frequently, to represent an objective predicate qualifying the object of a transitive verb; e.g. *gabsi cadessin abbaith* 'he took him himself (*eum ipsum*) as abbot' *Thes. II. 242, 21 (Arm.)*; *ad · n-didma Fíachna mac n-dóu* 'F. will recognise him as his son' *Imram Brain I. 25, 51*.

The above may also be expressed by *in* with the accusative, e.g. *Wb. 4<sup>b</sup>31, 26<sup>a</sup>8*.

In the Glosses the case-form of predicative adjectives cannot be definitely ascertained for lack of unambiguous examples; e.g. *im · folngi in duine slán* 'it makes the man sound' *Wb. 4<sup>d</sup>33*. It is clearly nominative as early as *Trip.12, 17: do · bert in cú in cáirig slán* (not *sláin*) 'the wolf brought the sheep uninjured'; and this is the rule in later texts. Examples like *co · farcaib Banbai m-brónaig* (acc. fem.) 'so that he left Banba (= Ireland) sad', *Met. Dinds. II. 2, 16*, are rare.

Collection: Dillon, *ZCP. XVI. 348, 351 f.*

3. To denote time, generally duration or period; e.g. *in n-heret-sin* 'during that time' *Sg. 148<sup>a</sup>6*, a *n-gaimred-sa* 'during this winter' *Wb. 31<sup>d</sup>14*, in *n-aithchi n-uili* 'the whole night' *MI. 95<sup>a</sup>9*; but also a point of time: *a-llae-sin* 'on that day' *Wb. 15<sup>c</sup>25*, *in fecht-so* 'this once' (beside the dative, § 251, 3).
4. After **amal** 'as' ( § 826 ) and after the equative of adjectives ( § 366 ), e.g. *sonartaidir slébe* 'as strong as mountains' *MI. 90<sup>b</sup>4*.
5. After the predicative adjectives *túalang* 'capable of' (beside the genitive, § 250, 2 ), *adas* 'proportionate to', *fiu* 'worth'. Examples' **bá túalang cách forcital** (acc. sg.) **alaili** 'let each be capable of teaching the other' *Wb. 6<sup>d</sup>13*, cp. *13<sup>c</sup>15*; **bid adas far m-báich** 'it will be proportionate to

your struggle' 5<sup>d</sup>35; **amal nibimmis fiú ní etir** 'as if we were not worth anything at all' *MI.* 63<sup>d</sup>l.

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6. After the prepositions **al** 'beyond', **cen** 'without', **cog** 'towards', **echtar** 'outside' (**sechtar** 'out of'), **eter** 'between', **fri** 'against', **im(m)** 'about', **inge** 'except', **la** 'with', **sech** 'past', **tar dar** 'over, across', **tri** 'through'.

Alternatively with the dative ( § 251, 4 ) after **ar** 'for', **fo** 'under', **for** 'on', **i** 'into' (with dat. 'in').

The accusative after **ma-ni-bad** 'if it were not (had not been)', but for' may be modelled on that after **cen** 'without'; e.g. **as-roilli a bás manibad trócairi n-dæ** 'he had deserved his death but for the mercy of God' *MI.* 111<sup>b</sup>28, cp. 134<sup>b</sup>3, 136<sup>c</sup>2.

**250.** IV. The **genitive** is used'

1. To qualify another noun; here its uses cover a very wide area and many varieties of meaning. It should be noted, however, that a genitive (or a possessive pronoun, § 438 f.) qualifying an abstract noun which functions as verbal noun of a transitive verb, and is still felt as such, is nearly always objective; the agent is expressed by **do** with the dative, less frequently by **la** with the accusative (or **ó** with the dative). Examples: **sere dé** 'love of God', not 'God's love': **far serc-si do día** 'God's love of' you *Wb.* 18<sup>b</sup>21, **for serc-si lim-sa** 'my love of you' 23<sup>a</sup>27; but *hi tintúd Chirini* 'in Jerome's translation' *MI.* 103<sup>d</sup>26, where *tintúd* is concrete.

In prose the attributive nominal genitive always follows the word it qualifies. But in verse it occasionally precedes the qualified word; e.g. *fairggæ findr + ólt* 'the sea's white hair' *Thes. II.* 290, 4. In such instances prepositions may either precede or follow the genitive: *fri frega fál* 'against the wall's rampart' *SP.* ( *Thes. II.* 293, 22), **gréni** (read -e) *fri turcbáil* 'towards the rising of the sun' *SR.* 4434. But anastrophe is permissible in verse to a still greater degree; e.g. *Márta for slúaig saithiu* instead of *for saithiu slúaig Márta* 'on the swarm of the host of March' *Fél.* March 31.

Certain uses of the qualificatory genitive are more common in Irish than in other languages. They are:

- a. Genitive of apposition; e.g. *senóir clérigh léith*, lit. 'an old man of a grey cleric' = 'an old, grey-haired cleric', *RC.* xx. 72; **epscof Aedáin** 'Bishop Aedán' *ibid.* XIII. 76 § 81;

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*isin deeis nephdenma caíngníma* 'into the sloth (consisting) of not doing good work' *MI.* 35<sup>c</sup>10.

- b. Genitive of verbal nouns; e.g. *díliu thromm tróeta* (gen. of **tróethad**) *trénslúag* 'the heavy deluge that overwhelms (lit. 'of overwhelming of') strong hosts' *SR.* 2626; *fer denma baigine gl. pistor*, lit. 'a man of the making of bread' *Sg.* 184<sup>b</sup>3.

Collection: *Vendryes, RC.* XXXVII. 327 ff.

2. As the complement of adjectives, particularly those meaning 'able', 'ready to', such as **cumachtach** *Wb.* 14<sup>c</sup>41, *túalang* 31<sup>b</sup>11, *irlam* 13<sup>c</sup>8, *essamin precepte* 'fearless in preaching' 23<sup>b</sup>7. In looser construction' **gréssach foigde** 'constant in begging' 31<sup>b</sup>23; *soír me bréthre* 'free as regards my word' 4<sup>c</sup>18; *réil ærsoilcthe béoil* 'manifest in the opening of the mouth' *Sg.* 14<sup>a</sup>16; *toirthrech éisc* 'abounding in fish' *Trip.* 210, 7; *anglése comlán* 'full of darkness' *SP.* ( *Thes. II.* 293, 22). This use is particularly frequent in gnomic sentences, cp. *Tec. Corm.* § 16.
3. As predicative genitive, often with the copula. Here it is found in as great a variety of meanings, though not so frequently, as in 1. Examples **ammi dée** 'we are God's' *Wb.* 6<sup>b</sup>20; *it diil tánaisi* 'they are of the second declension' *Sg.* 107<sup>a</sup>2; *ni torbi* 'it, is of no use'; *ní baí* 'it is of no benefit'; *is cuil* 'it is sinful'; *ammi túailige ar m-bréthre* 'we are able to maintain (lit. 'of the capability of') our word' *Wb.* 17<sup>b</sup>5; *is beic lim in bríg-sin gl. mihi . . . pro minimo est* 8<sup>d</sup>21; *ba méite* 'it were likely', lit. 'of size' or 'amount' ( *Bergin, Ériu* x. 190 ff.).

Collection: *KZ.* XLVIII. 62 ff.

4. As genitive of time in certain petrified forms: the conjunctions **céne** 'so long as' § 892 (from **clan**

'long time') and **(h)óire** 'since' § 905 (from **úar** 'hour'); also **dia** in expressions like **dia domnigh** 'on Sunday', **dia mís** 'this day month', **cach dia** 'daily'. Only after **cach**, **cech** does this construction survive in regular use; e.g. **cach thrátha** 'every hour', **cecha bliadnae** 'every year', **cach óen-laiti** 'on every single day' Sc.M. § 16.

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**251.** V. The dative is used without a preposition only in the following constructions:

1. After comparatives; e.g. **maissiu máenib** 'more splendid than treasures'; **máa alailiu** 'greater than another'; **ferr a sroigled a subugud** 'better to whip them than to humour them' Tec. Corm. § 16, 107.
2. In apposition to personal pronouns in all cases (including possessive pronouns, which are old genitives of the personal pronouns) and to a subject contained in a verbal form. Examples: **hé-som triuss** 'he as third' *Wb.* 7<sup>c</sup>8; **na-nní ad · rochobursam fíriánib** 'whatever we, the just, had wished' *Ml.* 56<sup>b</sup>24' **dín-ni preceptórib** 'of us preachers' *Wb.* 10<sup>d</sup>8.

In this construction the dative is sometimes accompanied by a personal pronoun in the form of the possessive ( § 439 ff.); e.g. **a sóinmigi a cloínaib** 'their, the wicked men's, prosperity' *Ml.* 39<sup>c</sup>34; **lotar dó a triur churad** 'they, the three warriors, went there' LU 9033; **at · taam ar n-díis i cuimriug** 'we twain are in bondage' *Wb.* 32<sup>a</sup>28. Where the copula is omitted the dative functions virtually as subject; e.g. **écríchdaí a n-díis** '(they are) both indefinite' *Sg.* 151<sup>b</sup>6.

The personal numerals **óinar, dias**, etc., ( § 388 ) always take a possessive pronoun, except, where they express plurality but stand in an apposition to a singular; e.g. **at · recht Mongán mórfessiur** 'M. arose seven men', i.e. 'being one of seven' *Imram Brain* 56, 14. They may also be used in apposition to nouns, and even predicatively ( § 816 ). The petrified form **dib línaib** 'both, on both sides,' lit. 'with both numbers', shows a similar construction.

In such combinations the pronoun is not really possessive, but rather an oblique case of the personal pronoun, as in **ar m-béo ocus ar mmarb** 'we in life and in death' *Wb.* 6<sup>d</sup>20 ( *Thes.* 1. 536, note b). **ar n-óis rehto** 'we people of the law' 31<sup>d</sup>1.

Other substantives, too, may stand in the dative of apposition, particularly those denoting persons. Examples: **to · cuitchetar trá huli láechaib ocus cléirchib** 'they have, then, all sworn, laymen and clerics' *Cáin Adamnáin* § 29; **cot · recat isin maig a slógaib ulib** 'they, all their (?) hosts, meet on the plain' LU 5418; cp. **ro · bámar-ni .xu. feraib** 'we were fifteen men strong' BDD. (ed. Knott) 1130; but also *díre a mucr + ólach*,

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*cóic séoit mucaib* 'the penalty for his pig-sty: five *sēts* (payable) in pigs' *Laws IV.* 314, 21.

Collection: Pedersen, *ZCP.* II. 379; Dillon, *ZCP.* XVII312 ff. On the other hand, the adj. *u(i)li* 'all' usually stands in the accusative (same form as nominative), even with dative (and possessive) pronouns; e.g. *dúib uili* 'to you all', *úaidib uli* 'from them all', a *ta[d]chur huili* 'the return of them all' *Ml.* 34<sup>a</sup>20; but also *indib huilib* *Sg.* 216<sup>b</sup>4.

Examples in which the nominative is used instead of the dative, like *is nínni carthaig 'nos amantes' Ml.* 133<sup>d</sup>7 and *os ní erig gl. ut onusti . . . sentiemus* 135<sup>a</sup>3, may be either Latinisms or the forerunners of a change in construction.

3. The dative of the substantivized neuter adjective serves as adverb (see § 379).

As regards nouns, some remarkably free uses of the dative are found in poetic and legal language, e.g. to express the instrument or accompanying circumstances: *láedib* 'by songs', *léir ingnu* 'with diligent

comprehension' SP. ( *Thes. II.* 293, 16), and (still more loosely) *IU+OE1n lubaib* 'full of herbs' *SR.393* (cp. K. Meyer, *ZCP. X.* 351 § 828).

In ordinary prose its use is much more restricted. Frequent instances are **cruth** and words of similar meaning; e.g. *in chruth-so*, *in tucht-sa* 'in this way', *alailiu chruth* 'in another way'; *eregem ind inni-se* gl. *talis causatio* (attributive?); *fib*, *feib* 'as' ( § 911 ). Otherwise it is chiefly found in expressions that have become partly or wholly petrified, such as *dliguth*, *indliguth* 'according to, against the rule'; *écin* 'certainly' (*écen* 'necessity'); *int sainriud* 'especially'; *óenbémmim* 'at one blow'; *coisaib tírmaib* 'with dry feet'; *as-renar lánf + íachaib* 'it is paid with full fines' (i.e. 'in full') *Cáin Adamnáin* § 42 ; *senmesib* 'according to old estimates' *Thes. II.* 239, 18 (Arm.); *fichis dornaib* 'it boiled with (bubbles as big as) fists' LU 5202, *do-tét* (*dothoet* MS.) *dessiul Sencháin* 'he comes, turning his right side to Senchán' *Corm.1059*.

Examples of the temporal dative include: *in tain* 'at the time that', *nach thain* 'at any time' *MI.* 32<sup>b7</sup>; *ind inaim-so* 'at this time'; *ind f + écht-so, -sa* (written *indecht, indect*) 'this once' (beside the accusative, § 249, 3 ); *cách a (h)úair* 'everyone at his own time', *(h)úaraib* 'at times'; *aithirriuch* 'again'; *diud* and *ciunn, cinn* 'at the end'; *matin* 'in the morning'; *nd'ad(a)ig, d'adaig* 'on the (following) night'

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*ZCP. xx.* 356, where (*n*)*d* is the remnant of the article, cp. *ind adaig-sin* 'that night' LU 4780; *cach óen-láu* 'on every single day' SP. ( *Thes. II.* 294, 3, verse); also the petrified forms *in-díu* 'to-day', *in-nocht* 'to-night'. The use of the dative in a locative sense is rare: *clíu do. . .* 'left (north) of . . .' TBC. 3429 (cp. *síu* 'at this side' § 480 ); *in dú-sin* 'in that place' *Trip.* 104, 8, etc. The use of the dative as case of purpose or destination (like the dative in Indo-European and in the Gaulish inscriptions) is archaic and extremely rare. It occurs:

- a. after a noun or adjective; e.g. *lepaid daltu* 'a bed for a foster-son' *Laws IV.* 322, 4; *inmain áui* 'dear to the ear' *Corm.* (Add.) 662 (verse); *nessa comruc* 'nearer to meeting' *ZCP. III.* 451, 9.
- b. predicatively; e.g. *ni rún mnáib* 'no secret to women!' *Ériu II.* 34, 5; *cach fíadain a foirgell* 'to every witness his evidence' *ZCP. XVII.* 48 § 10 (cp. Pokorny, *ZCP. XVI.* 394).

In prose this use is confined to certain combinations like *fris-cu(i)rethar cíill* 'colit' (vb.n. *freccor céill*), in *MI.* sometimes *chéill*, dat. of *cíall* 'sense'; *ar-beir biuth* or *bith* 'enjoys, uses' (vb.n. *airbert, erbert biuth*), with the dat. of *bith* 'world': *oidid menmain* 'gives heed, attends (to)', with dat. of *menm(a)e* 'mind'; *arU+OB7mu(i)nethar féid* 'honours' (vb.n. *airmitiu féid*), with dat. of *fíad* 'respect'. Apart from such combinations. the preposition **do** has everywhere become obligatory.

4. After the prepositions **a** 'out of', **co** 'with', **di (do)** 'of, from', **do** 'to', *fíad* 'in presence of', *íar* 'after', *ís* 'below', *ó úa* 'from, by', *oc* 'at', *ós úas* 'over', *re ri* 'before'.

Alternatively with the accusative ( § 249, 6 ) after **ar, fo, for, i** 'in' (with ace. 'into').

In Irish, accordingly, the dative is a mixed case, combining the functions of the older dative, instrumental, locative, and ablative.

## DECLENSION AND STEM FORMATION OF NOUNS

**252.** Nouns are here divided according to flexion into thirteen main classes; irregular and indeclinable nouns are grouped together in a fourteenth. The classification is based

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on the final of the stem. In Irish this may be either still identifiable or merely inferable; in Gaulish it is still preserved. On the same basis two major groups may be distinguished, vocalic and consonantal stems.

- I. *o*-stems, masc. and neut.
- II. *io*-stems (without distinction of old *-i + o-* and *-ii + o-*, § 197), masc. and neut.
- III. *ā*-stems, fem.
- IV. *iā*-stems (including both *i + ā-* and *ii + ā-*stems), fem.
- V. *i + ā-* (also *i + ē-* ?) stems with nom. sg. in *-ī*, fem.
- VI. *i*-stems.
- VII. *u*-stems.
- VIII. Stems in a lenited guttural (*-ch -γ*), masc. and fem.
- IX. Stems in a lenited dental (*-th -δ*), masc. and fem.
- X. Stems in *-t (= -d) < -nt*, masc. and neut.
- XI. Stems in (lenited or unlenited) *-n*.
- XII. Stems in *-r (-ρ)*, masc. and fem.
- XIII. Neuter *s*-stems.
- XIV. Irregular and indeclinable nouns.

Some instances of variable declension are noted subsequently. The fem. *ā*-stem *adem* 'implement', gen. *aidme*, nom. or ace. pl. *aidme* (from *-ea*) *Ml.* 89<sup>a</sup>9, alternates with an *i*-stem which is masc. in nom. pl. *ind aidmi* 89<sup>a</sup>8 (cp. *Wb.* 3<sup>c</sup>14), nom. sg. **in adim** (read int or ind?) *Ml.* 49<sup>b</sup>7, ace. pl. *aidmi* 75<sup>c</sup>3-4.

## STEM FORMATION OF NOUNS

**253.** For the most part these nominal stems were evolved long before the Old Irish period. Only such formations as were still living in that period will be considered here.

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**254.** The capacity to form compounds of various kinds with substantival stems survives in Old Irish on much the same scale as in Greek and Germanic. Even dvandva-compounds are not unknown; cp. *sall-c[h]arna* 'bacon and fresh meat' *Laws II.* 202, 11, *úacht-gorta* 'cold and hunger' SR. 1478 (Kelt. Wortkunde §§ 1, 130). In verse, as might be expected, compounds are formed more freely than in prose. For the lenition of the initial of the second element, even after stems which originally ended in a consonant, see § 235. 1.

A few nouns become neuter *io*-stems in composition; e.g. *fin-guine* 'kin-murder' (*guin*), *leth-gille* 'hall-pledge' (*gell*).

Feminine personal nouns may be formed from the corresponding masculine nouns by prefixing **ban-**, composition form of **ben** 'woman' (§ 291, 1); e.g. *ban-nám(a)e* 'female, enemy', *ban-dá4lem* 'female cup-bearer, spencer'. *ban-dea* 'goddess' (Sg.); similarly *ban-chú* 'bitch' *Corm.* 883.

The compound may either retain the gender of the second element or become feminine; e.g. *in ban-maicc* (masc.) 'the female children' Féil. July 20, *inna ban-choimded* (fem.) 'of the mistress' *Ml.* 84<sup>c</sup>4 (T. F. O'Rahilly, *Ériu IX.* 16 ff.). The use of the suffix *-ess* (Lat. *-issa*, W. *-es*) to form feminine nouns is rare in Irish; e.g. *laíchess* 'wife of a *laích* (layman, warrior)' or 'lay-woman' *Laws*; *manchess*, feminine of *manach* 'monk'. *Trip.* 104, 22.

**mac(c)-** 'child' and **fer-** 'man' are sometimes used like **ban-**; e.g. *mac-cléirech*, *mac-caillech* 'young monk. young nun' *Ériu VII.* 142 § 11; *fer-mac*, *fer-míl* 'male child, animal' *Laws III.* 38. Cp. *con-bóchail* (Fílargirius Gl.) *con-búachaill* 'herdsman's dog'. from *cú* and *búachaill* 'herdsman'.

**255.** Every **adjective** may be, used as a substantive, occasionally with minor differences in its flexion (see, □+00A7 351, 353, 355, 357)

Examples: *in noíb* (masc.), *ind noíb* (fem.) 'the saint': *nach cumachtaeh* 'any powerful person'; *nammaith* 'something good'; *mór n-amri* 'much that is wonderful' (*amri* gen.)

## FORMATION OF ABSTRACTS (AND COLLECTIVES)

### A. FROM VERBS

**256.** See § 720 ff. In the flexion of these verbal nouns the nominative is sometimes replaced by the dative, owing to

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the very common use of the latter with **do** (§ 720). Examples: *gabáil* beside *gabál* 'taking', *tabairt* beside *tabart* 'giving', *aicsin* beside *aicsiu* 'seeing', *taidbse* beside *taidbsiu* 'showing'. (Collection: Strachan, *ZCP. IV.* 70, 491). There is also a considerable amount of flexional confusion between the various stem classes; see §§ 727, 733, 734. The common suffix of verbal nouns *-ad* (*u*-stem) may also be used to form abstracts from substantives where no intermediate denominative verb exists; e.g. *bés* 'manner, custom': *bésad* 'customary action, behaviour'; *aimser* 'time': *aimserad* 'period, duration'; *litred* 'expression in letters' *Sg.* 144<sup>b</sup>1.

### B. FROM ADJECTIVES

**257.** 1. The largest class is that of feminines in *-e* (= *-iii* + *ā*, *Britann.* *-eð*; cp. *Gk.* *σU03BFφ ia-ia*, *Lat.* *prudent-ia*). They are formed from adjectives of every kind except those ending in *-e*. Examples: *dían* 'swift': *déne* 'swiftness'; *tromm* 'heavy': *trumm(a)e* 'heaviness'; *son(a)irt* 'strong': *sonirte sonairte*; *fáilid fáilid* 'glad': *fáilte failte*; *follus* 'clear': *foilse*; *sochrud* 'beautiful': *sochraide*. This is almost the only method of forming abstracts from adjectives in *-ach -ech*; e.g. *hiressach* 'faithful': *hiresche*; *sóinmech* 'happy': *sóinmige sóinmiche*. **258.** 2. Masculine abstracts with original suffix *-tūt* (*Mid.W.* *-tit*) are also common. This suffix corresponds to the Latin feminine *-tūt-* (*iuventus* = *Ir.* *oítu*), *Goth.* *-dūi* (*mikildūs* 'greatness'). Cp. *béu béo* 'living': *bethu*, gen. *bethad*, 'life'; *sen* 'old': *sentu*; *óin* 'one': *oíntu*; *slán* 'sound': *slántu*; *cád cáth* (*cáid*) 'revered, holy': *cáttu*; *marb* 'dead': *nebmarbtu* 'immortality' *MI*. The disyllabic ending *-etu -atu*, with *t = d(d)*, is found:

- a. With adjectives whose final syllable is liable to syncope; e.g. *úasal* 'high': *úaisletu*; *díles* 'own': *dílsetu* (beside *dílse*); *úalib* 'restless': *úailbetu*.
- b. With adjectives and participles in *-e* (*io*-stems); e.g. *domm(a)e* 'poor': *dommatu* (arch. *dommetu*); *múcn(a)e* 'austere': *múcnatu*; *cotarsn(a)e* 'contrary': *cotarsnatu*; *ild(a)e*

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'multiple': *ildatu*; *armth(a)e* 'armed': *armthatu* 'armatura'; analogically, *ars(a)id* 'old': *arsidetu* 'antiquity' *Sg.* 208<sup>b</sup>15.

In a few cases the primary word is a noun: *saichdetu* 'the quality of striving' from *saigid* 'seeking', *torbatu* 'utility' from *torb(a)e* 'profit'; cp. also *febtu* 'quality', probably from *feib* 'as' (§ 911).

Lenited *t(h)* is found only in *bethu* (and in later attested *mórthu* 'haughtiness' *Tec. Corm.* § 14). Unlenited *t* is regular in *sentu* (§ 139), *cáttu*, etc., but not in *lourtu* *MI.* 98<sup>b</sup>9 from *lour* 'enough' (acc. sg., *lourtain Ériu I.* 199 § 21 shows change of flexion to class XI). It is doubtful whether *nebmarbtu* is based on the adjective *marbd(a)e* 'mortal' i.e. with *t < ð + t(h)*; but cp. *irlatu* 'obedience' from the adjective *irlithe*, where presumably *t* derives from the contact of the two dentals. On the evidence of *Mid.Ir.*, however, *t = d(d)* in the remaining words in *-etu, -atu*; cp. *Mid. Ir.* *dorchadu*, later *dorchadus* (new formation after § 259), from *dorch(a)e* 'dark' In *oítu* 'youth' *-d-* is regular, going back to *-nt*, see § 208 (Celtic primary form \**i + ountūt-*). It would seem as if some similar but unidentified model had influenced the remaining forms with *-d-*, thus leading to the complete supersession of *-th-*.

**259. 3.** A less frequent formation, chiefly used to form abstracts from adjectival *i*-stems and compound adjectives, is that with the masculine ending *-us*, which seems to go back to a suffix *-essu-* or *-issu-* (from *-es-tu-* ?); cp. *innriccso* Sg. 59<sup>b</sup>3, gen. sg. of *inruccus* 'worthiness', from *inricc* 'worthy'; *comIU+0E1inso* 'of completeness' *Thes. II.* 10, 10 (adj. *comlán*).

Further examples are *bind* 'melodious': *bindius* (gen. *bindiusa*, § 104b); *áith* 'sharp, energetic': *áthius* (beside *áithe*); *diuit* 'simple': *diuitius*; *cosm(u)il* 'similar': *cosmuilius* (beside *cosmile*); *cub(a)id* 'harmonious': *cuibdius*; *airdirc erdairc* 'conspicuous': *airdircus erdarcus*; *faitech* 'cautious': *faitigus*; *inderb* 'uncertain': *inderbus* (beside positive *derb(a)e*); *cutrumm(a)e* 'equal' *cutrummus-* *móralus* 'moralitas'.

From a noun: *comarb(a)e* 'heir': *comarbus* 'heritage, heirship': *fine* '(joint-) family': *coibnius* 'kinship'.

4. Monosyllabic adjectives in *-th -d* form abstracts in *-s(s)* (fem. *ā*-stems); e.g. *baíth* 'foolish': *baís* 'foolishness', acc. *baís*, gen. *baíse*; *gaíth* 'wise' *gaísgnáth* 'customary', *gnás*; *seíth* 'weary' *scís*; *tláith* 'soft, limp': *tlás* (beside

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*tláithe*); *deíd* 'inactive': *déess* 'desidia', acc. *deeis*, gen. *déesse*.

This formation probably contains suffix *-tā* (see § 727), and originates with those adjectives in which *-th* was not a suffix but the radical final. The abstracts of this class early adopted the declension of the masculine *u*-stems (cp. 3 above), e.g. gen. sg. **in gaesa** *ZCP. VI.* 266 § 2; cp. also *ba hé lúas* LU 5157.

5. For isolated examples in *-as* see § 261; in *-rad*, § 263.

6. A few nouns in *-et* seem to be formed from adjectives: *tiget* (missplet *teget* *MI.* 48<sup>d</sup>14) 'density' from *tiug* 'thick'; *\*sinet* (dat. *sinit* *Thes. II.* 326, 5) 'old age' from *sen* 'old'; possibly *siccet* 'frost' beside *siccid.*, if from *secc* (*óndí assiccus* *Corm.* 1141). There are other examples which cannot have been formed directly from adjectives, for they do not contain the suffix of the cognate adjective. Thus *lethan* 'broad': *lethet* 'breadth, size'; *remor* 'thick': *remet* (neut., *Met. Dinds. IV.* 242, 21); *trén* 'strong': *treisset* (acc. sg.) *Togail Troi* 199 beside *treisse* (cp. compar. *tressa* § 372); cp. also *lagat* 'smallness, fewness' beside compar. *laugu laigiu* (no positive, § 373). These words appear to have been originally neuter stems in *-t* (= *-d < -nt*) like *dét*, *lóchet* (§ 324 f.); some of them, however, show an early tendency to adopt feminine inflexion. There are but few examples of the oblique cases in other sources: an acc. sg. in *-et* is the most common (also *lagat* *MI.* 80<sup>b</sup>7, etc.); further, dat. *sinit*, *lagait* *Sg.* 26<sup>a</sup>11, but apparently also acc. sg. *lethit* 3<sup>b</sup>13. The precis case of *co-llethet* *Fel. Oct.* 13 is not certain (prep. **co**<sup>n</sup> or **co**<sup>g</sup>?); a gen. sg. *lethet* is found *Thes. II.* 307, 20, *Imram Brain I.* 53, 7. 8. For later forms see *Kelt. Wortkunde* § 198. In some instances, e.g. *sinit*, the suffix seems to have begun with *i* + *l* (as in *W. meddiant* 'possession', etc.), but not in *lagat*, *remet*. *Mid. W. heneint* 'old age' differs in formation from *Ir. sinet*.

### C. FROM NOUNS

**260. 1.** The usual suffix is *-acht* (after palatal consonants *-echt*), which forms fem. *ā*-stems. It corresponds to *Britann. -aith*, *W. -aeth*. Examples: *noídiu*, gen. *noíden*, 'child': *noídenacht* 'childhood'; *día* 'God': *deacht*: *doíni* (pl.) 'men': *doínecht* and *doínacht*: *techtairc* 'messenger': *techtairc* 'mission, message': *fili*, gen. *filed*, 'poet': *filedacht*; *forcitlaid* 'teacher': *forcitlaidecht*; *brithem*, gen. *brithemon*, 'judge': *brithemnacht*; *flaithem* (beside *flaith*) 'lord': *flaithemnacht*. With extension of *-mnacht* from the foregoing: *coimdiu*, gen. *coimded*, 'lord': *coimdemnacht*

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(also *coimdinecht* *MI.* 101<sup>c</sup>7); *bibdu*, gen. *bibdad*, 'culprit': *bibdamnacht*. The form *inderbamnacht* gl. *diffidentia* *MI.* 142<sup>b</sup>3, from *inderb* 'uncertain' (beside *inderbus*), is peculiar.

If this suffix is the same as that of Gaulish *Bibracte*, which seems to mean "beaver colony", its original function may have been collective. Cp. **Éoganacht**, family name, 'descendants of Éogan'; but see *Corm.* 527, 787.

**261.** 2. The masculine suffix *-assu-* (from *-ad-tu-*), nom. sg. *-as*, after palatal consonants *-es*, is also fairly common. It corresponds to Goth. *-assu-*, e. g. in *gudjin-assus* 'priesthood' (for which cp. Wilhelm Schulze, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 572). In Welsh *-as* is feminine, e. g. Mid.W. *teyrn-as* 'lordship'.

Examples: *flaithemnas* 'lordship' (beside *flaithemnacht* above); *aire*, gen. *airech*, 'nobleman': *airechas*, gen. *airechas*; *óclach* 'young man': *óclachas* 'youth', gen. *óclachsa*; *muntar* 'familia': *muntaras* 'familiaritas'; *remthecht* 'preceding' (vb.n.): *remthechtas* 'anteposition, precedence'; *anamchar(a)e* 'spiritual director'; *anamchairtes*, gen. *anamchairtessa*; *lánamain* 'married couple': *lánamnas* 'marriage'; *testas* 'testimonium', gen. *testassa*; *adaltras* 'adulterium'; *ethemlagas* 'et(h)ymologia'.

With adjectives it is seldom found: *lond* 'angry': *londas*, gen. *londassa*, *MI. (luinde Wb.)*; *émech* 'opportune': *émechas* *MI. (beside émige émiche)*; *coitchenn* 'common, general': *coitchennas* *Sg.*

These appear to be early examples of the confusion of this suffix with *-us* ([§ 259, 3](#)), which became universal in Mid. Ir.

**262.** 3. Much less common is the feminine suffix *-(ai)ne* (after palatas *-ine*) or *-s(a)ine* (*iā*-stem). Examples: *gíall* 'hostage': *gíalln(a)e* (*gíallae* *MI.*, cp. [§ 153 e](#)) 'clientship, submission'; *ap* 'abbot', gen. *apad*: *apdaine* 'abbacy'; *car(a)e* 'friend', gen. *carat*: *cairdinne* 'friendship'; *nám(a)e* 'enemy': *náimtine*; *amus* 'hireling, servant': *amsaine* 'service' (*ZCP. VIII. 201 § 13*). With *-s(a)ine*; *clam* 'leper': *clamsaine* 'leprosy'; *mug* 'serf': *mugsine*; *fáith* 'prophet': *fáithsine fáitsine*; *céle* 'companion, client': *céilsine* 'clientship'.

*feochuine* 'ravens' from *fích* 'raven' suggests that this suffix had

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also a collective meaning. Cp. further *féith* 'smoothness': *féithine* 'calmness of the sea' (*O'Dav.* 536), *ainbthine* 'stormy weather'.

4. The neuter suffix *-e* or *-(is)se* (*io*-stem) was apparently obsolete by our period, surviving only in old formations. Examples. *rí*, gen *ríg*, 'king': *ríge* 'kingship, kingdom', *Mild.W. riyđ*; *car(a)e* 'friend': *cairde* 'treaty, armistice', *Mid.W. cerennyđ* 'friendship'; *táith táid* 'thief': *tá(i)the tá(i)de* 'concealment'; *míl*, gen. *míled*, 'soldier': *mílte* 'military service'. With *-(is)se*: *fiadu*, gen. *fiadan*, 'witness' : *fiadnisse* 'evidence'; *sáir* 'artífex': *sáirse* 'art'; *bráthir* 'brother': *bráthirse* 'brotherhood'. Cp. also *desse* 'right side' from *dess* 'right'.

5. For isolated formations in *-us* see [§ 259, 3](#); in *-tu*, [§ 258](#); in *-rad*, [§ 263](#).

**263.** A frequent collective suffix is *-red -rad* (also denoting bulk), which forms neuter *o*-stems. Examples: *lúaithe* 'ashes': *lúaitired* 'ashes'; *aig* 'ice': *aigredid.*; *cnáim* 'bone': *cnáimred* (coll.); *slaid* 'scrap metal': *slaidred* *n-argait* 'silver waste' *MI. 85<sup>b</sup>7*; *gnim* 'doing, deed': *gnimrad* 'activity'; *dám* (coll.) 'suite, guests': *dámradid.*; *ét* 'zeal, jealousy': *étrad* 'lewdness'. Suffixed to *sain* 'separate' it has a different meaning: *sainred sainreth* 'separate thing, speciality' (*W. hanred* 'separation'). It functions as an abstract suffix in *mrechtrad* 'variety' (*W. brithred* 'confusion'), from *mrecht* 'motley', and in *caratrad* 'friendship' (beside *cairdine*, [§ 262, 3](#)).

This suffix, *Mid.W. -ret*, is probably connected with *rethid* 'runs'; cp. *indred* 'incursion', etc. The forms *sam-rad* 'summer(time)' and *gaim-red* 'winter(time)' seem, on the evidence of *Mid.W. gaeafrawd*, to have a different suffix (\**-rāto-*), perhaps connected with *ráithe* 'quarter (of year)'.

**264.** A feminine suffix *-rad* (*ā*-stem) is used to form collectives from nouns denoting living beings; e.g. *láechrad*, dat. sg. *láechraid*, 'warriors, troop of warriors', from *láech* 'warrior'; *macrad* 'boys', gen. *macraide*; *echrad* 'horses', *torcrad* 'boars',

Collection: KZ. XLVIII. 64. This suffix is certainly connected with

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*riád* 'course' and its cognates, *echrad* doubtless serving as model for the other forms, cp. Gaul. *Eporedorix*. In Welsh, *-rwydd* is a masc. abstract suffix.

**265.** Collectives are also formed, though less frequently, from the following suffixes:

- a. *-er, -ar* (neut. *o*-stem); e.g. *cloch* 'stone': arch. *clocher*, later *clochar*, 'heap of stones'; see Windisch, *IF*. IV. 296. If the spelling *saithor saithar* Cam. (coll. from *saith*, 'trouble') is trustworthy, there was also a suffix *-uro-*.
- b. *-bad* (fem. *ā*-stem); e.g. *fid* 'tree': *fidbad*, gen. *fidbaide*. 'wood'; *ócbad*, dat. *ócbaid*, 'young people'; *cloth* 'fame': *clothbadid*. Presumably related to **both** (*buith*) 'being'.
- c. *-t(h)en -t(h)an*, (< \**-tino-*), denoting an aggregate of plants or the place of their growth (see Marstrander, *Une Correspondance germano-celtique, Videnskapselskapets Skrifter II.*, Hist.-filos. Kl., 1924, No. 8). Examples: *rostan* 'rosetum' *Sg.* 53<sup>a</sup>4; *fintan* 'uinetum' 53<sup>a</sup>3; *dristen* 'thorn bushes from *dris* 'thorn'. A further derivative of the last word is *dristenach* 'dumetum' 53<sup>a</sup>5, whose suffix *-ach* (cp. § 347.) is also found elsewhere with a similar meaning, cp. *fásach* 'wilderness' from *fás* 'empty', Gaul. *Uernacum* (*Ir. fern* 'alder'), Bret. (Vann.) *kerh-eg* fem. 'field of oats'.

For collectives in *-ine* see § 262; for the numeral substantives, § 387.

**266.** Nouns denoting place or position are formed from adverbs of place (§ 483) and prepositions by adding the neuter suffix *-ter -tar* (\**-tero-*). Thus *airther* 'the east', *farthar* 'the west', *óchtar úachtar* (arch. *óchter* *Thes.* II. 239, 15) 'the upper part (from *ós, úas*), *íchtar* 'the lower part' (from *ís*), *centar* 'pars ceterior, this world', *alltar* 'pars ulterior, the other world'. A somewhat different formation is *immechtar* 'the outside' (from *echtar*); cp. *nechtar, cechtar*, §§ 489c, 490c.

## NOUNS OF AGENCY, ETC.

**267.** 1. Nouns of agency are usually formed with the suffix *-ith -id* (*i*-stem), which is freely employed by the glossators to coin nonce words. It corresponds to Brittanian *-i + at.*; e.g. *cétl(a)id* 'singer' = OW. *centhliat*; *scríbnid* 'writer' = O.Corn. *scriuiníat*.

This suffix is normally attached to verbal nouns (§ 720 f.); e.g. *serc* 'love' : *serc(a)id* 'lover'; *dígal* 'vengeance': *dígl(a)id*

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'avenger'; *essorcun* 'smiting': *essoircnid* 'smiter'; *línad* 'filling': *línid* 'fator'; *élned* 'defilement'; *élnithid* 'violator'.

A noun of agency formed in this way from one of the numerous verbal nouns in *-ad -ud* (§ 723) bears a certain resemblance to the participle (§ 714); cp. *lín(a)e* 'filled', *élnithe* 'defiled'. In consequence, other such nouns are formed directly from the participle; e.g. *esartae* 'smitten': *esartaid* (beside *essoircnid*); *diachtae* 'avenged': *diachtid* (*diechtaid*) (beside *díglaid*); *tuiste* 'begotten': *tuistid* 'begetter'; *gesse* 'prayed': *gessid*, gen. *gessedo*, 'suppliant'. Or the longer suffix *-thid* is attached to a verbal noun; e.g. *sechem* 'following': *sechimthid* 'sectator'; *fogl(a)imm* 'learning' : *foglimthid* 'pupil'; *gabál* 'taking': *rann-gabáltaid* 'participator'.

On the model of nouns like *íccid* (also *slán-ícid*) 'saviour' from *íc(c)* 'healing, saving', which in form resembles the present indicative *ícc(a)id* 'saluat', the suffix *-id* or *-thid* is occasionally attached to the present stem of a verb. Examples: *tic* 'comes' (vb.n. *tíchtu*): *nuie-thicid* 'newcomer'; *in · túaisi*, *· éitsi* 'listens' (vb.n. *éitsecht*): *héitsid* 'listener'; *in · greinn* 'persecutes' (vb.n. *ingreim*): *ingrentid* *ingraintid* 'persecutor'.

Feminine nouns have the same suffix as masculine, e.g. *ecailsid* 'disceptatrix' *MI.* 133d5. They may also be preceded by *ban-* ( § 254 ), e.g. *ban-terismid* 'obstetrix' *Sg.* 69<sup>a</sup>18.

Besides nouns of agency, other personal substantives are formed in this manner. Examples: *mucc* 'pig': *muccid* (Mid.W. *meichat*) 'swine-herd'; *fuil* 'blood': *comfulid* 'consanguineus'; *recht* 'law': *es-rechtaid* 'exlex'; *litrid* 'litteratus'. From an adjective, *cotarsnae* 'contrary': *cotarsnid* 'adversary'.

Occasionally the same formation is employed to denote an instrument, e.g. *deregtith* 'scalprum' *Thes.* II.42, 18, *scrissid* 'rasorium' *MI.* 72<sup>b</sup>8; or a grammatical case, e.g. *togarhith* 'vocative', *tobarthid* 'dative', *ainmnid* 'nominative', *áinsid* 'accusative'; similarly *forngarthid* 'imperative'. Cp. also *dairt* 'heifer calf': *dartaíd* 'bull calf'.

The insular Celtic suffix *-i + -ati-* recalls Gaulish *-ati- -at-* in *Ναμαυσσας* 'from Nemausus'; *Γαλάται*, cognate with Ir. *gal* 'fighting, valour'; *Atrebatas* (Ir. *atreba* 'dwells', *atrab* 'dwelling').

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**268.** 2. Another suffix is *-aige* (masc. *io*-stem); e.g. *gat* 'theft': *gataige* 'thief'; *scél* 'tidings': *scélaige* 'narrator'; *cís* (Lat. *census*) 'tribute': *císaige* 'tributary'.

Collections : *Ped.* II.23, Marstrander, *ZCP.* XIII.53. Welsh *-ai* (Mid.W. *-ei*), as in *cardotai* 'beggar' from *cardod* 'alms', has *-h- <-s-* before it (i.e. < earlier *\*-saigo-*), and suggests connexion with verbs in *-aig-* ( § 524 ).

3. The suffix *-em* (*n*-stem) is obsolescent. Examples: *breth* 'judgment': *brithem*, gen. *brithemon*, 'judge'; *ar* 'ploughing': *airem* 'ploughman'; *dúil* 'distribution': *dálem* 'distributor'; *mrath* 'treachery': *mrithem*; *flaith* 'lordship': *flaithem*; *dúil* 'creature': *dúlem* 'creator'; *fiach* 'obligation': *féchem* 'debtor, creditor'; *orbe* 'inheritance': *orbam* 'heir'; *lu(a)* 'rudder': *luam* 'helmsman'.

The suffix seems to have been *-iamon-*. Cp. *casamo* 'adsector', e Gallia ductum ( *Quint.* 1, 5, 8), without *i*, as in Ir. *medam.* dat. *medamain*, (poetical) 'judge' (?). *Flaithem*, when used as a proper name, is an *o*-stem, gen. *Flaithim* ( Ogam VLATIAMI, *JRSAL.*, 1903, p. 81); here, however, the suffix may be different, cp. Gaul. *Marti Rigisamo*.

**269.** 4. The Latin suffix *-ārius* appears in two forms (cp. §§ 914, 916 ):

- a. As *-(a)ire* (*io*-stem); cp. *notire* 'notarius', *tablaire* 'tabellarius', *scrínire* 'scriniarius'. Modelled on the foregoing: *techt(a)ire* 'messenger' from *techt* 'going', *echaire* 'groom' from *ech* 'horse', *caírchaire* 'shepherd' from *caíra* (gen. *-ach*) 'sheep', *rech(a)ire* 'steward' from *recht* 'law', *rímaire* 'calculator' from *rím* 'number'.
- b. As *-óir* (*i*-stem); cp. *caindleóir* 'candelarius, candlebearer', *laitnóir* 'Latinist' (Med. Lat. *latinarius*); hence *foichleóir* 'curator' from *fochell* 'caring for', *meithleóir* 'messor' (acc. pl. *meithleórai* *MI.* 135<sup>d</sup>9) from *methel* 'band of reapers'.

5. *-tóir -atóir* from Lat. *-(a)tor*, cp. *preceptóir*, *dictatóir*, *senatóir*; hence *tugatóir* (poet.) 'thatcher' *SP.* ( *Thes.* II. 299, 14) from *tugid* 'covers'; *lubgartóir* 'olitor' from *lub-gort* 'garden' (if not to be classed under 4 b).

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## DIMINUTIVES

**270.** In general diminutives seem to retain the gender of the simplex (but cp. § 273 ). As in other languages, they are used not merely to denote smallness but also for hypocoristic and shortened forms, e.g. *dobrán* for *dobor-chú* 'otter' (lit. 'water-dog').

The commonest terminations are *-án* and *-nat*, the former masculine or neuter, the latter feminine; cp. 'unus ullus' gl. *óenán*, 'una ulla' gl. *óennat* Sg. 37<sup>b</sup>10-11. But longer forms of each of them are sometimes found, and other suffixes also.

**271.** 1. *-án* (o-stem); e.g. *fer* 'man': *ferán*; *noídiu*, gen. *noíden*, 'child': *noídenán*; *lie*, gen. *liac*, 'stone': *lecán*; *bráthir* 'brother': *bráithrán*; *duine* 'person': *duinán*; *uisce* 'water': *usceán*. From adjectives: *becán* 'paululus, pauxillum', *sainemlán* 'bellus' (from *sainemail*). Artificial imitations of Latin are found in *maánu* 'maiusculus' Sg. 40<sup>a</sup>14, 45<sup>a</sup>12, from *máo máa* 'greater', and *in meincán* 's(a)epiuscule' 46a14 from *in menic* 'often'.

Sometimes, particularly in nonce formations, the nominative is made the basis; e.g. *táid* 'thief': *táidán* 'furunculus'; *cú*, gen. *con*, 'dog': *cúán* 'canicula' Sg. 49<sup>b</sup>11 (as a man's name both *Cúán* and *Conán* occur). The suffix is added to the dative in a *óenurán* SP. ( *Thes. II.294, 2* ), etc., from a *óenur* 'he alone' ( [§ 251, 2](#) ), nom. sg. *óenar*.

This suffix, which is common in proper names, appears in an earlier form in (a) the Ogam inscriptions and (b) the Latin inscriptions of Wales; e.g. (a) gen. sg. MAILAGNI, TALAGNI, ULCCAGNI (later *Olcán*); (b) ULCAGNUS, gen. BROCAGNI (later *Broccán*), CORBAGNI, CURCAGNI, ERCAGNI.

A longer suffix *ocán*, *-ucán* is common in masculine personal names like *Cíarocán* (gen. *-cáin* ZCP. VIII.176) beside *Cíarán* (*cíar* 'dark'), *Dubucán* (*dub* 'black'), *Ísucán* 'little Jesus'. It is also found in appellatives, particularly in the vocative; e.g. a *maccucáin* LL 370<sup>c</sup>8 beside a *maccáin* (*macc* 'son'); *crídecán* SP. ( *Thes. II.294, 14*; for *\*crídiucán*, [§ 103, 4](#)) from *críde* neut. 'heart'. This suffix is apparently a development of *-ōc*, which is in origin a Britannic hypocoristic suffix (Mid.W. *-awc*) but is found in the names of Irish monks from the sixth

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century on, these names being often preceded by archaic *to-tu-*, later *do-*, ('thou' or 'thy?') or *mo-* 'my', e.g. *Tu-Medóc*, *Do-Becóc*, *Mo-Chíaróc*. Such hypocoristic names were originally vocatives, and isolated examples retain the vocative form as nominative, e.g. *To-Gíallóic* Cáin Adamnáin p. 16.

**272.** 2. The suffix *-én* is less frequent; e.g. *duinén* (*duinán* [§ 271](#)) acc. pl. *grinnénu* 'fasceolas' MI. 144<sup>c</sup>5 from *grinne* 'bundle', although this form, as well as dat. pl. *maínénaib* gl. *monusculus* (read *mun-*) MI. 69<sup>c</sup>5, could also belong to 5 (b) below. From adjectives: *caích* 'blind': *caíchén* gl. *cerritus*; *laigéniu* gl. *minusculus* Sg. 45<sup>a</sup>13, an artificial comparative form derived from *laigiu* 'smaller'.

For the flexion cp. *cu(i)lén* masc. 'whelp', gen. sg. and nom. pl. *cuiléoin* *culíoin*. Judging from the Ogam gen. CUNIGNI, the suffix is *-igno-*. It seems to be distinct from the Gaul. patronymic *-icno-* in *Oppianicnos*, *Toutissicnos*, *Nantonicnos*, *Lucoticnos*, etc. Later it is replaced by *-ín*, e.g. *Baithín*. presumably on the model of *Áugustín* 'Augustinus' and similar forms.

**273.** 3. The suffix *-nat*, after palatals mostly *-net*, is as a rule feminine; e.g. *brú*, gen. *bronn*, 'belly': *bronnat*, dat. sg. *bronnait*. So also *siur* 'sister': *siurnat*; *bó* 'cow': *bónat*; *fochric* 'renward': *fochricnet*; *altóir* fem. 'altar': *altóirnat*; *derg* 'red': *dergnat* 'flea'; *find* 'fair': *Findnat*, woman's name; with acc.-dat. form instead of nominative (later very frequent) *tonnait* 'cuticula' Sg. 46<sup>b</sup>8 (from *tonn*). Apparently, however, this suffix is also found with other genders. In Sg. 45<sup>b</sup>12, 13 the last two words of the series 'homo--homuncio--homunculus' are glossed *duinén--duinenet*. *talamnat* 'terrula' 48<sup>a</sup>14 comes from masc. *talam*, but may have been influenced by the Latin gender. Cp. also *óthathnat* (MS. *óthathnat*) 'pauculus' 49<sup>a</sup>14, from *óthad* neut. 'small number, few'.

Collections: Marstrander, ZCP. VII. 389, Lohmann, *Genus und Sexus*, p. 35. The suffixes *-nat* and *-that* ( [§ 274, 4](#) ) have probably developed from simple *-at*, the *-n-* and *-th-* belonging to the root word in the earliest examples; cp. *biuc-at-án* (poet., MS. *bíucatan*) 'a little' RC. XVII. 176. The *t* (= *d*) is from *nt*, cp. O.Britann. gen. pl. Γαβραντ-ο-ουικων (Ptol.), cognate with Ir. *gabor* 'goat', O.Slav. *agnę* (stem *agnę-*) neut. 'lamb'. Probably the suffix was originally neuter in Irish also (declined like *dét* [§ 324](#)), but became feminine

as a result of its frequent use to denote females. In in *uigainet* gl. *unciolam* Sg. 49<sup>a</sup>11 (from *ungae*) the use of the article and its form are alike peculiar; if this is a mistake for [o] *in-ungainet* (acc.), it provides an example of neuter flexion retained. Forms inflected as feminine n-stems are sometimes found; e.g. acc. sg. *fraccnatain* 'a little old woman' TBF.378 (from *fracc*); gen. *Becnatan*, etc. (see Lohmann, *op. cit.* 36).

274. 4. *-that* (*-tat*, § 139) is found only with nouns denoting inanimate objects; e.g. *tírthat* 'agellus' Sg. 47<sup>b</sup>11 (*tír* neut.); *centat* 'capitulum' 47a5 (*cenn* neut.); *glainethat* 'maxilla' 14<sup>a</sup>14 (*glaine* fem. 'mala').

5. (a) No such restriction applies to *-ne -ine* (*io-* and *iā-*stems); e.g. *grán* neut. 'corn': *gráinne gránne* (fem. Wb. 13<sup>c</sup>23); *glaine* fem. 'māla': *glainine* 'maxilla' Sg. 45<sup>b</sup>18; *folt* masc. 'hair': *foiltne* masc. 'capillus'; *lúraith* fem. 'ashes': *lúraithne* 'cinder'; *éces* 'poet': *éicsine* masc. 'student of poetry'.

Collection: Marstrander, ZCP. VII.377, n. 2.

(b) *-éne* appears to be a combination of this suffix with 2. Examples: *claideb* masc. 'sword': *claidbéne*; *brat* masc. 'cloak': *broiténe*; *clíab* masc. 'basket': *clébéne*; *láir* fem. 'mare': *láréne*. In proper names: *Ernéne* (from *íarn-* 'iron'). *Baithéne* (*baith* 'foolish').

In Mid.Ir. the endings of (a) and (b) combine into *-íne*; e.g. dat. sg. *glainíni* LU 4883; *slegíne* (from *sleg* 'javelin'). Cp. *-ín*, § 272.

**275.** Hypocoristic names show great variety of formation, especially names of saints, where Britanic influence was also operative (see *-óc* § 271). Thus *Findbarr* can be shortened either to the regular Irish form *Findén* or to *Uinniau(us)* (in the Latin of Adamnan), Ir. *Finnio Finnia*, with the Britannie suffix *i + aw* and the Britanic assimilation of *nd* to *nn* (cp. *Colmán* § 152 c). *Barra, Barre, Barri* can all be used for *Barríind*, and *Mo-Bí* for both *Brénaind* and *Berchán*. On *E(o)chu*, gen. *Echach*, for *E(o)chaid*, gen. *Echdach*, see Bergin, *Ériu* XI. 140 ff. Further particulars will be found in the collections by Zimmer, KZ. XXXII. 158 ff., K. Meyer, *Kelt. Wortkunde* §§ 33, 58, 69, 75 (p. 959), 92, 189, *Ériu* IV. 68 ff., and Thurneysen, ZCP. XIX. 357 ff.

## PARADIGMS

### A. VOCALIC STEMS

#### I. o-STEMS

**276.** Masculine nouns show flexional endings only in the voc. acc. pl. (*-u*) and the dat. pl. and du. (*-aib*). The remaining cases are characterized solely by variation in the quality of the final consonant. This is as a rule neutral in the nom. acc. sg., gen. pl., and nom. acc. du., palatal in the voc. gen. sg. and nom. pl., and has *u*-quality in the dat. sg.

Neuter nouns, in addition to the ending *-(a)ib* in dat. pl. and du., sometimes form their nom. acc. pl. in *-a*. There are no examples of the voc. pl. The final consonant is neutral in the nom. voc. acc. sg. and the nom. acc. gen. pl. and du., palatal in the gen. sg., and has *u*-quality as a rule in the dat. sg.

**277.** Paradigms: masculine, *fer* 'man', *cla(i)deb* 'sword'; neuter, *scél* 'tidings', *accobor -bur* 'wish'.

		SINGULAR	
		masc.	neut.
N	fer	cla (i) deb	scél accobor -bur
V	fir	cla (i) dib	accobor -bur
A	fer	cla (i) deb	accobor -bur

		masc.		SINGULAR	
				neut.	
G	<b>fir</b>	<b>cla (i)dib</b>	<b>scéuil scéoil</b>	<b>accob(u)ir</b>	
D	<b>fiur</b>	<b>cla (i)diub</b>	<b>scéul</b>	<b>accobur</b>	
				PLURAL	
N	<b>fir</b>	<b>cla (i)dib</b>	<b>scél scéla</b>	<b>accobor -bur accobra</b>	
V	<b>firu</b>	<b>claidbiu</b>			
A	<b>firu</b>	<b>claidbiu</b>	<b>scél scéla</b>	<b>accobor -bur accobra</b>	
G	<b>fer</b>	<b>cla (i)edeb</b>	<b>scél</b>	<b>accobor -bur</b>	
D	<b>fer (a)ib</b>	<b>claidbib</b>	<b>scél (a)ib</b>	<b>accobr (a)ib</b>	
				DUAL	
NAG	<b>fer</b>	<b>cla (i)deb</b>	<b>scél</b>	<b>accobor -bur</b>	
D	<b>fer (a)ib</b>	<b>claidbib</b>	<b>scél (a)ib</b>	<b>accobr (a)ib</b>	

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**278.** In the nom. acc. pl. neuter the form without an ending is most frequent in combination with words which themselves indicate the number, such as the article, pronominals, and numerals. The dat. sg. is identical with the nom. acc. where the final consonance resists the change to *u*-quality ( § 170 f. ); e.g. after long vowels or diphthongs, as in *slóg slúag* masc. 'host', *íasc* masc. 'fish', *scáth* neut. 'shadow' (but dat. *fo-scud* *Ml.* 50<sup>d7</sup>), *bás* neut. 'death', *aís áes* neut. 'age'; in some instances after stressed *o*, as in *corp* masc. 'body', *fol* masc. 'hair', *cosc* neut. 'checking' (also *écosc*) after *a*, as in *macc* masc. 'son', *salm* masc. 'psalm', *erchoat* neut. 'injury', *estoasc* neut. 'pressing out'. Under the influence of such examples, the nom. acc. form apparently comes to be used sometimes for the dative in other words also; e.g. *epscop* 'bishop' *Tur.* 49 (gen. *epscoip* *Wb.*, *epscoip* *Ml.*); *sacardd* 'priest'; *galar* neut. 'disease' (due to the first *a*? Cp. the adj. *labar* *Ml.* 58<sup>c6</sup>) *sechmall* neut. 'passing by' 70<sup>b3</sup> (but *diull*, dat. of *díall* 'declension'); in *AU.*, names in *-all* such as *Domnall*, never *-ull*; *forctal* neut. 'teaching' *Ml.* 49<sup>a6</sup>, usually *forctul*; *oscar* masc. 'ignorant person' *Wb.* 12<sup>d16</sup>; *cor* masc. 'putting' *Ml.* 118<sup>a15</sup>. This development is to some extent connected with the disappearance of *u*-quality in consonants ( § 174 ). Cp. *ar chinn* beside *ar chiunn* (dat. of *cenn*) 'before'. **279.** The effects of variation in the quality of consonants on the preceding vowel are further illustrated by the following examples:

*íasc* masc. 'fish', gen. sg. nom. pl. *éisc* ( § 53 ).

*son* masc. 'word', gen. sg. nom. pl. *suin*, dat. sg. *sun*, acc. pl. *sunu* ( § 75 ).

*lebor lebur* masc. 'book', gen. sg. *libuir*, dat. *libur* ( §§ 73, 164 ).

*én* masc. 'bird', gen. sg. nom. pl. *éuin éoin éiuin*, dat. sg. *éun*, acc. pl. *éunu éonu* ( § 55 ).

*nél* masc. 'cloud', gen. sg. nom. pl. *níuil*, acc. pl. *níulu*.

*ball* masc. 'member', gen. sg. nom. pl. *boill* and *baill*, dat. sg. *bull* and *baull*, acc. pl. *bullu* and *baullu* ( § 80a ).

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*crann* neut. 'tree, trunk', gen. sg. *cruinn*, dat. *crunn* ( § 80a ).

*brat* masc. 'cloak', dat. sg. *brot* (gen. *broit* attested later).

*nert* neut. 'strength', gen. sg. *neirt*, dat. *neurt*.

*céol céul* neut. 'music', gen. sg. *cíuil*, dat. *cíul* ( § 108 ).

*día* masc. 'god,' voc. gen. sg. nom. pl. *dé* (gen. sg. *dæi* *Wb.* 22<sup>c10</sup>), acc. dat. sg. gen. pl. *día*, acc. pl. *deu deo*, dat. pl. *déib* ( §§ 53, 47 ).

## 280. IRREGULARITIES:

1. Masculine proper names in *-án* ( § 271 ), like *Colmán*, sometimes have voc. gen. *-án* instead of *-áin*. are treated as indeclinable, particularly in the ninth century. Similarly *siur Binén* (cp. § 272 ) 'Benignus's sister' *Trip.* 98, 4.

Cp. Ó Máille, *Language of AU.*, p. 23 f., where there are also instances of gen. sg. *-éin*; this, however, can hardly be old. The use of the nominative form for the vocative of masculine nouns which seldom occur as vocatives ( Bergin, *Ériu* IX.92) is found as early as *Wb. II: a phopol* 'O people' 33<sup>a15</sup>.

2. demon demun, gen. demuin, masc. 'devil' sometimes models its plural on Lat. *daemonia* (thus gen. pl. *demnae*): it makes acc. pl. *demnai* *Thes.* II. 301, 9 like neuter substantival adjective ( § 355 ).

3. Some neuters in *-ch* (*-g*) can form their plurals like *s*-stems ( § 337 ). Examples: *tossach* 'beginning', dat. sg. *tossuch tossug tossoch*, nom. pl. *tosge* *MI.* 96<sup>b</sup>5, *ochtrach* 'dung', pl. *octarche* *Wb.* 9<sup>a</sup>7; *aslach* 'seduction', acc. pl. *aslaige* *Fél. Epil.* 197; *enech* 'face, honour', acc. pl. *e(i)nige* (*MS. einaige*) *Laws v.* 506, 13 beside nom. pl. *enech* *RC. XXVI.* 36 § 175 (*MS. R*), gen. pl. *enech*; *cúimrech* 'fetter', dat. pl. *cúimrigib* *Wb.* 23<sup>b</sup>11 beside, *cúimregaib* 26<sup>d</sup>21; later *étach*, gen. *étaig*, 'garment', nom. pl. *étaige* (but gen. pl. *étach*), probably influenced by *tech* 'house', pl. *tige*.

Collection: Stokes, *IT. II.* i. p. 138.

4. *lestar* neut. 'vessel' has a plural *lestrai* *MI.* 101<sup>d</sup>4 (cp. 18<sup>b</sup>4), probably borrowed from Brittonic: *W. llestr*, pl. *llestri*.
5. *dún* 'fort' (neut. *o*-stem) adopts the *s*-stem inflexion towards the end of the eighth century (influenced by *glún*

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'knee'): nom. pl. *dúine* *Fél. Prol.* 68, 150 (beside gen. sg. *Dúin* *Jan.* 3), dat. sg. *dúin* *Thes. II.* 269, 11 (*Arm.*).

6. *sét* masc. 'chattel, unit of value' makes acc. pl. *séuti* *Wb.* 23<sup>d</sup>4 instead of *séutu*; possibly influenced by the following word *maíni* 'treasures' (or scribal error?).
7. For confusion between the *o*- and *u*-declensions see § 309.

## II. io-STEMS

**281.** These differ from *o*-stems in that after *i* (*i +*) the vowel of the final syllable has not disappeared ( § 94 ). Hence the following endings are regularly found:

Masculine nouns: *-e* in the nom. acc. sg., gen. pl., nom. acc. gen. du.; *-i* in the voc. gen. sg., nom. pl.; *-(i)u* in the dat. sg., voc. acc. pl.; *-ib* in the dat. pl. and du.

Neuter nouns: *-e* in the nom. acc. sg., pl., and du., voc. sg., gen. pl. and du.; *-i* in the gen. sg.; *-(i)u* in the dat. sg.; *-ib* in the dat. pl. and du.

**282.** Paradigms: masculine, *céle* (*céile*) 'companion', *dalt(a)e* (with non-palatal *t*, § 160) 'fosterling' neuter, *críde* 'heart', *cumacht(a)e* (with non-palatal *t*, § 162) 'power'.

		SINGULAR		
		masc.		neut.
N	<b>céle</b>	<b>dalt (a) e</b>	<b>críde</b>	<b>cumacht (a) e</b>
V	<b>céli</b>	<b>dalt (a) i</b>	<b>críde</b>	<b>cumacht (a) e</b>
A	<b>céle</b>	<b>dalt (a) e</b>	<b>críde</b>	<b>cumacht (a) e</b>
G	<b>céle</b>	<b>dalt(a)i</b>	<b>crídi</b>	<b>cumacht (a) i</b>
D	<b>céliu</b>	<b>daltu</b>	<b>crídiu</b>	<b>cumachtu</b>
<b>PLURAL</b>				
N	<b>céli</b>	<b>dalt (a) i</b>	<b>críde</b>	<b>cumacht (a) e</b>
V	<b>céliu</b>	<b>daltu</b>	<b>críde</b>	<b>cumacht (a) e</b>
A	<b>céliu</b>	<b>daltu</b>	<b>críde</b>	<b>cumacht (a) e</b>
G	<b>céle</b>	<b>dalt (a) e</b>	<b>críde</b>	<b>cumacht (a) e</b>
D	<b>célib</b>	<b>dalt (a) ib</b>	<b>crídib</b>	<b>cumacht (a) ib</b>
<b>DUAL</b>				
NAG	<b>céle</b>	<b>dalt (a) e</b>	<b>críde</b>	<b>cumacht (a) e</b>
D	<b>célib</b>	<b>tdalt (a) ib</b>	<b>crídib</b>	<b>cumacht (a) ib</b>

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**283.** In later sources *-a* is often found instead of *-ae* ( § 99 ). *-i* for *-iu* is very rare, and to some extent perhaps a mere scribal error, e.g. dat. sg. *du(i)ni* for *duiniu* 4<sup>b</sup>3, *MI.* 49<sup>b</sup>8 (collection: Strachan, *ZCP. IV.* 52). For *esséirgu* beside *esséirgiu* and *imdibu* beside *imdibiu*, see §§ 97, 167. The forms dat. sg. *du chumachtae* *MI.* 74<sup>b</sup>14 and acc. pl. *fiadnissai* 'testimonies' 46<sup>c</sup>12 are probably mistakes for *-tu* and *-isse* respectively. 284. Irregularities :

1. du(i)ne masc. 'person' forms its plural from a different stem with i-inflexion: nom. voc. acc. doíni, gen. doíne, dat. doínib.

In poetry a singular form doín dóen (in composition dóen-) is also found; the only example where the -n is clearly palatal is in Fianaig. 14 § 24.

2. 'Jew' (Iudaeus) has singular nom. Iudide, gen. Iudidi; plural nom. Iudei, voc. acc. Iudeu Iudeiu Iudeo, gen. Iud(a)e, dat. Iudeib Iudéib. The model was geintlide 'gentilis, Gentile' ( § 926.) beside plural genti geinti masc. 'gentes' (but pl. also gentlidi).
3. la(i)the neut. 'day' (gen. laithi, dat. laithiu, etc.) has also a shorter form: nom. acc. lae laa láa, gen. lai (laí ?), dat. láu láo ló, lóu, pl. nom. acc. gen. lae lá, dat. laïb. This may have originated in the frequent combination la(th)e brátho 'Doomsday' (with the main stress on brátho) by dissimilation of the th-s.

The declension is the same as that of *baa* 'benefit, profit', gen. *bái* (= *baí* ?) *Wb.* 11<sup>d</sup>4, dat. *bóu* 30b6.

### CASE-FORMS OF o- AND io-STEMS

**285. Singular.** Nom. masc. The neutral quality of the final, together with the gemination of following initial after *io*-stems ( § 241.3 ), points to the old ending *-os* (whence Ir. *-as*). This is often retained in Gaulish inscriptions, e.g. *ICCAUOS*, *OPPIANICNOS*, *Σεγομαρος Ουιλλονεος*, *Uirilios* (Gk. *Ουιλλιο*), *ANDECAMULOS*, *TOUTISSICNOS*, names of deities like *Cernunnos*, of months like *Equos*, *Cantlos*, *Cutios*, and ordinals like *allos* 'second', *decametos* 'tenth', etc.

Nom. voc. acc. neut., with neutral final, nasalizing, point to *-on* (Ir. *-an*) < IE. *-om*; cp. Gaul. *celicnon* (whence Goth. *kēlikn* '□νώγαιον') *Dottin* no. 33, *νεμητον* (= Ir. *nemed* 'fanum') no. 7.

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Voc. masc. Palatal final, corresponding to *-e* in the cognate languages, (□νθρωπε, *domine*), Gaul. *nate* (Lat. *fili*) in Endlicher's Glossary (cp. *IF. XLII.* 145).

Acc. masc. The neutral final, nasalizing, points to earlier *-on* (Ir. *-an*) < IE. *-om*; see nom. acc. neut.

Gen. The palatal final, leniting, corresponds to the earlier ending *-i*, common in Ogam inscriptions and in Gaulish; e.g. Ogam MAQQI MAQI 'of the son' (later **maicc**), NETACARI, QENILOCI, COIMAGNI; Gaul. *Segomari*, *Dannotali*, Ateknati Trutikni (North Etrusc. Alphabet, CIL. I<sup>2</sup> no. 2103), names of months *Equi.*, *Cantli*; cp. Lat. *-i*. Genitives of *io*-stems: Ogam AVI AVVI 'of the grandson', CELI 'of the companion' (see § 94).

Dat. *u*-quality final, leniting. In Gaulish the older ending is apparently *-ui*, e.g. *Μακκαριουι*, (*Marti*) *Cicollui* (nom. probably *-ollos*), going back to *-ōi* (Gk. *-ωι*, Osc. *-ūi*); but *-u* is more frequent, e.g. *Alisanu*, *Anualonnacu*, *Eluontiu*, *Magalu*, where *-i* has presumably become silent, and this is also the form required to explain the Ir. dat.

**286. Plural.** Nom. masc., palatal final, leniting. In Gaul. *casidani* (stem *cassidanno-*, *ZCP. XVI.* 288) we find *-i* (probably *-ī*), which, like Lat-*ī*, doubtless goes back to *-oi* (Gk. *-οι*, Goth. *-ai*). In Celtic, therefore, as in Latin and Greek, the pronominal ending has spread to the noun. For the old nominal ending see the vocative below.

Nom. voc. acc. neut. The shorter form of the *o*-stems, with neutral final, leniting, has dropped the ending *-a*, the original quantity of which is no longer ascertainable. Cp., perhaps, Gaul. ace. pl. *καντενα* on votive inscriptions (*Dottin* no. 2, cp. no. 1); although, if the reading *καντεν* in two other inscriptions (*Dottin* nos. 28, 32) is correct, which is very doubtful, the first form is more likely to be the plural of an *n*-stem.

The longer by-form in *-a* has probably been taken over from the adjectives and pronominals (see § 469.), although it sometimes lenites by analogy with the shorter form.

Voc. masc. Ending *-u* like the acc. pl. This seems to be the old nom. voc. pl. nominal ending *-ōs*, corresponding to Skt. *-āḥ*, Osc. *-ūs -us*, Goth. *-ōs*. Since the pronouns have no vocative (see Mahlow, *Die langen Vokale A E O*, p. 129 f.), the pronominal ending *-oi*, which came to be used in the nom. pl., did not spread to the vocative.

It was apparently as a result of this entirely fortuitous falling together of the voc. and acc. pl. in the flexion of *o-* and *io-* stems that the voc. pl. of all masculine nouns adopted the ace. pl. form ( § 316 ).

Acc. The ending *-u*, probably with original gemination (cp. the acc. pl. of the article), points in the first instance to *-ūs--cp.* Gaul. *catilus* (= Lat. *catillos, catinos*), *tuddus* (nom. sg. *tuθθos* ZCP. XVI. 295, 303)-- from IE. *-ōns*; ep. Skt. *-ān*, Lith. *-us*.

Gen. The neutral final, nasalizing, goes back to IE. *-ōm*. (Gk. *-ων*) through intermediate *-ōn* (Ir. *-an*). A remnant of the old ending (*-a*) is found in Ogam TRIAMAQAMAILAGNI 'of the three sons of Maílán' Macal. no. 17, where the nasal has been absorbed by the following *m*.

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Dat. Ending *-(a)ib*, which neither lenites nor nasalizes. The same suffix, palatal *-β*, is common to all declensions, and probably represents an earlier *-bis*, identical with the Skt. instrumental suffix *-bhih*. In the *o-* stems, it is preceded by a neutral vowel, i.e. *-o-bis* (or originally, perhaps, *\*-oi-bhis*).

The last part of the Ardmore Ogam inscription (Macal. no. 208), which has been deciphered as DOLATIBIGAISGOB., may well contain this suffix; so also Gaul. *gobedbi*. (Dottin no. 33), and--less probably--*suiorebe* ( *ibid.* no. 48 ). Examples of *-bo* in Gaulish are *ματρεβο Ναμαυσικαβο* ( *ibid.* no. 19 ), *Ανδοουνναβο* ( *ibid.* no. 32 ), and perhaps *tecuanbo-ebo* ZCP. XV. 381. It is uncertain whether these endings have lost *-s* or indeed ever had it (cp. Gk. *-φί*; the former is more likely. With *-bo* compare Lat. *-bus*, Venet. *Andeticobos*).

**287. Dual.** Attempts to reconstruct the early history of the dual endings are very uncertain, for no precise knowledge of the original formation, particularly that of the oblique cases, can be obtained from cognate languages, and in Irish itself the vowels of the final syllables have disappeared. Cp., besides the grammars already cited, Sommer, *Miscellany Kuno Meyer*, p. 129 ff.

Nom. acc. Neutral final, leniting when masculine. Gaulish has two apparent examples of *-o*, probably=*ō*: *uercobreto, cassidanno* ( ZCP. XVI. 288). A possible explanation of the Irish form is as follows: The IE. ending was *-ōu* (beside *-ō*), Skt. *-au*, which shows regular development in Ir. **dáu** 'two'. OW. *dou*, etc. In polysyllabic words *-ōu* may have fallen together with old *-ōu*, whence *-ō* (which was shortened to *-ō* in Irish and then disappeared). This explanation, however, implies that W. *wyth* Bret. *eiz* 'eight', the vocalism of which points to an ending *-ī < -ū* (Celt. *\*ochtū*), goes back, not to *\*ok + tōu* (Skt. *aṣṭau*, Goth. *ahtau*), but to the *by-*form *\*ok + tō* (Skt. *aṣṭā + ṣ*).

The neuter has the same form, but causes nasalization. The original IE. ending appears to have been an *i-* diphthong: Skt. and O.Slav. *-ē < -oi* or *-ai*. But in a number of languages it has adopted the form of the masculine, e.g. Lat. *duo*, Gk. *-ων*, and this may also have happened in Celtic. If so, the Irish neuter dual would have fallen together with the nom. sg., from which it may have taken over the nasalization of the following initial in order to differentiate the neuter from the masculine form.

Gen. It seems probable that originally a genitive and locative dual were distinguished as in Avestan; but in other languages, e.g. Sanskrit, the two cases fell together. One ending of the locative was apparently *-ou* (O.Slav. *-u* for loc. and gen. of all stems; Lith. *pusiaũ* (adverb) 'in two', from *pūsé* 'half'). The Irish masculine forms of the gen. du. could be explained, like those of the nom. acc., by postulating an ending of this kind. In that case the nasalization after the neuter must have been taken over from the nom. acc. This explanation would not, however, account for gen. **dáu** (all genders). Here the original form may have been *\*dwoi + u* (fem. *\*dwi + ou?*), cp. O.Slav. gen. *dŏvoju* (Skt. gen. loc. *dváyōh*), from which, with early loss of the *-i + ṣ*, Ir. **dáu** could have arisen. But all this is purely conjectural.

Dat. The ending *-(a)ib* is the same as the plural, but there is nasalization,

at least after the numeral, in all three genders, which suggests that the preceding stage was something like *-bin*. A nasal is also shown in the Skt. suffix *-bhyām* (dat. abl. instr. dual), although in other respects this suffix does not quite correspond to the Irish. Gk. *-φ IV* beside *-φ I* is probably not connected.

### III. ā-STEMS

**288.** As a class these are feminine, and remain so even when they denote male beings, e.g. **techt** 'messenger' as well as 'going', **cerd** 'craftsman' as well as 'handicraft'. But this probably does not apply to men's names, e.g. **Congal**, gen. **Congaile**, lit. 'dog's fight' or 'wolf's fight'; consequently such names often form a masculine accusative (**-gal**) and occasionally a masculine genitive (**-gail**).

There are also other names of men in this class, e.g. **Bécc**, ace. **Béicc**, gen. **Béece**. But as their etymology is obscure, it is impossible to decide whether they are to be explained like **Con-gal** or whether there were always masculine ā-stems.

The inflexional endings are *-(a)ib* dat. pl. and du., *-e* gen. sg., and *-a* nom. voc. acc. pl. In the other cases the final consonant has neutral quality in nom. voc. sg., gen. pl. and du., and palatal in acc. dat. sg., nom. acc. du.

**289.** Paradigms : **túath** 'tribe, people', **delb** 'form' (for the variation in consonantal quality see § 160) **deacht** 'divinity' (*-cht* never palatal, § 162) ; **bu(i)den** 'troop'.

SINGULAR				
NV	<b>túath</b>	<b>delb</b>	<b>deacht</b>	<b>bu (i)den</b>
A	<b>túaith</b>	<b>deib</b>	<b>deacht</b>	<b>bu (i)din</b>
G	<b>túa (i)the</b>	<b>delb (a)e</b>	<b>deacht (a)e</b>	<b>buidne</b>
D	<b>túaith</b>	<b>deilb</b>	<b>deacht</b>	<b>bu (i)din</b>
PLURAL				
NVA	<b>túatha</b>	<b>delba</b>		<b>buidnea</b>
G	<b>túath</b>	<b>delb</b>		<b>bu (i)den</b>
D	<b>túath (a)ib</b>	<b>delb (a)ib</b>		<b>buidnib</b>
DUAL				
NA	<b>túaith</b>	<b>deilb</b>		<b>bu (i)din</b>
G	<b>túath</b>	<b>delb</b>		<b>bu (i)den</b>
D	<b>túath (a)ib</b>	<b>delb (a)ib</b>		<b>buidnib</b>

Later sources show *-a* as well as *-ae* in gen. sg., and *-e* as well as *-ea* in nom. voc. acc. gen. pl., § 99. **290.** For the variation in the quality of interior vowels cp. **ciáll** 'sense', acc. dat. **céill**, gen. **cé(i)lle**, nom. acc. pl. **ciálla** (§ 53). **bríathar** 'word', acc. dat. **bréthir**, gen. **bré(i)thre**, nom. acc. pl. **bríathra** (§ 161). **tol** 'will', acc. **toil**, gen. **tuile**, dat. **tuil toil**, nom. acc. pl. **tola** (§ 75). **gáu gáo gó** 'falsehood', acc. dat. **goí**, gen. **gue.**, acc. pl. **goa** (§ 69 d). **náú** 'ship', acc. dat. **noí.**, gen. **noé** (arch. **naue**). pl. nom. **noa**, dat. **noib**. 291. IRREGULARITIES:

- ben** 'woman' is inflected with old ablaut (*ben-*, *bn* + or *bən-*, *bn-*): acc. arch. **bein**, but from Wb. on **mnaí** (dative form), gen. sg. **mná** (§ 190 b), dat. **mnaí** (rarely arch. **bein**); pl. nom. voc. acc. **mná**, gen. **ban**, dat. **mnáib** (sometimes disyllabic in verse); du. nom. acc. **mnaí**, gen. **ban**, dat. **mnáib**. The composition form is **ban** - (§ 254).
- persan** 'persona', gen. **persine**, changes to the *n*-flexion (§ 327) in the plural: nom. pl. **persin** Sg. 203<sup>b</sup>10, etc; sometimes also with *-nn*: gen. pl. **persann** (beside nom. sg. **persan**) Tur. 86, dat. pl. **persannaib** M1. 25d13, also dat. sg. **persainn** 72<sup>c</sup>10a.

### IV. ORDINARY iā-STEMS

#### V. i + ā-STEMS WITH OLD NOMINATIVE IN -ī

**292.** These are all feminine. The two classes differ only in the nom. voc. sg. and nom. acc. du. Class IV has the endings *-e* in the nom. voc. gen. sg., pl. du., *-i* in the acc. dat. sg., nom. (voc.) acc. pl., nom. acc. du., *-ib* in the dat. pl. du.

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In class V the nom. voc. sg., nom. acc. du. have palatal quality in the final consonant and no ending; the other cases have the same endings as IV.

**293.** Paradigms of IV: *soilse* 'light', *ung(a)e* 'ounce' (with neutral consonance, § 166 a); of V: *sétig* 'female companion, wife', *blíad(a)in* 'year'.

	IV		SINGULAR		V	
NV	<b>soilse</b>	<b>ung (a) e</b>	<b>sétig</b>		<b>blíad (a) in</b>	
A	<b>soilsi</b>	<b>ung (a) i</b>	<b>séitchi</b>		<b>blíadn (a) i</b>	
G	<b>soilse</b>	<b>ung (a) e</b>	<b>séitche</b>		<b>blíadn (a) e</b>	
D	<b>soilsi</b>	<b>ung (a) i</b>	<b>séitchi</b>		<b>blíadn (a) i, blíad (a) in</b>	
			<b>PLURAL</b>			
N	<b>soilsi</b>	<b>ung (a) i</b>	<b>séitchi</b>		<b>blíadn (a) i</b>	
V	<b>*soilsi</b>	<b>*ung (a) i</b>	<b>*séitchi</b>		<b>*blíadn (a) i</b>	
A	<b>soilsi</b>	<b>ung (a) i</b>	<b>séitchi</b>		<b>blíadn (a) i</b>	
G	<b>soilse</b>	<b>ung (a) e</b>	<b>séitche</b>		<b>blíadn (a) e</b>	
D	<b>soilsib</b>	<b>ung (a) ib</b>	<b>séitchib</b>		<b>blíadn (a) ib</b>	
			<b>DUAL</b>			
NA	<b>soilsi</b>	<b>ung (a) i</b>	<b>sétig</b>		<b>blíad (a) in</b>	
G	<b>soilse</b>	<b>ung (a) e</b>	<b>*séitche</b>		<b>*blíadn (a) e</b>	
D	<b>soilsib</b>	<b>ung (a) ib</b>	<b>*séitchib</b>		<b>*blíadn (a) ib</b>	

Later sources show *-a* besides *-ae*, § 99.

**294.** (a) The number of words whose declension is well attested in O.Ir. texts and which are uniformly inflected like V is not large. Among appellatives are **adaig** 'night', acc. dat. *aidchí*, gen. *aidche aithche*; *rígain* 'queen' Féil. Prol. 125. *Mor-[r]ígain Thes. I. 2, 7, acc. rígni Imram Brain I. 42, 7, gen. pl. rígnæ SP. (Thes. II. 295, 15); lánam(a)in* 'married couple', acc. sg. *lánamni lánamnai* Imram Brain I. 53, 10. 14. The dat. sg. is sometimes found without an ending: *blíadin Thes. II. 17, 29 and 27, 38, rígain* Ml. 65<sup>d</sup>13; this is not necessarily an innovation, for the petrified dative (**n**)**d** 'ad(a)ig 'this

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(following) night' ( § 251, 3 ) perhaps indicates that there was an early by-form of the dative without *-i*. On the other hand, confusion with the feminine *i*-stems (VI) occurs at an early period; cp. *inis* 'island', acc. dat. *insi* and *inis*, gen. *inse* and *inseo*; *féil* 'festival', acc. dat. *féil* as a rule in Féil., but *féli* twice Oct. 2, Dec. 30; among loan-words in *-óit*, dat. sg. *tríndóiti 'trinitati'* Ml. 15<sup>b</sup>4, beside *humaldóit omal(l)dóit 'humilitati, -tem'* Wb. 28<sup>d</sup>29, Ml. 54<sup>a</sup>6, Tur. 60.

(b) In particular there is a group of words which, except for their genitive in *-e*, are indistinguishable from *i*-stems in the singular (cp. the substantival adjectives § 357). Examples: nom. acc. dat. *luib* 'plant', gen. *lub(a)e* (nom. acc. pl. *lubi*): *méit* (in Ml. also *mét*) 'size, quantity', acc. dat. *méit*, gen. *mé(i)te*; nom. acc. dat. **a(i)this** 'reviling, disgrace', gen. **a(i)thise**; nom. acc. dat. **int(ḡ)** amail 'imitation', gen. *intamlae* Ml. 56<sup>b</sup>33; nom. acc. dat. *canóin* 'canon, scriptural text', gen. *canóne*; nom. acc. dat. *epistil* 'Epistle', gen. **epistle**. nom. pl. *epistli* (alternating with the *i*-declension: nom. acc. dat. *ec(a)is* 'church', gen. *ec(a)ilse* and *ecolsa æccalsa*). Mid.W. *meint* (= Ir. **méit**), which implies a primary form *\*mantī*, shows that at least some of these words originally belonged to class V.

A very large proportion of this group consists of verbal nouns whose original flexion is sometimes doubtful owing to the difficulty in deciding whether they are *i*-stems or *ā*-stems in which the dative form has replaced the nominative, ( § 256 ). Examples: **buith** 'being' (rarely **both** ), acc. dat. **buith**, gen. **buithe**

(the compound **cétbuih** 'sensus' has also gen. *cétbutho* Sg. 25<sup>b</sup>7, etc., like an *i*-stem): **brith** and **breth** 'bearing', acc. dat. **brith breith**, gen. **brithe** ; **gabáil** beside **gabál** 'taking'. acc. dat. *gabáil*, gen. **gabál(a)e**.

In later texts confusion between classes V. III. and VI spreads in all directions: e.g. nom. sg. *rígan* (like III) or acc. sg. *lungai* from **long** (*ā*-stem) 'ship'. As early as Sg. 20<sup>b</sup>3 we find nom. sg. *tris litir* 'tertia littera' 20<sup>b</sup>3 beside acc. pl. *litre* (from *litrea*) 17<sup>b</sup>1.

Collections: KZ. XXVIII. 145: Stokes, Bezzenbergers Beitr. XI. 81 f., KZ. XXVIII. 289 f., XXIX. 376. Cp. Ó Máille. *Language of AU*. 144. Lohmann, *Genus und Sexus* 32 ff.

**295.** Nom. acc. dat. *ré fem.* 'space, period' (pl. also

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'celestial spaces'), gen. *rée rehe*, pl. nom. acc. *reï*, dat. *réib*, probably belongs to this class. But it occurs as neuter in *ré n-Iuil* 'lunar space of July' *Thes. II*. 18, 33; so also pl. **ree** 'spatia' [ibid. 12, 31](#). Cp. *do rea rúasat* 'who created the (celestial) spaces' Imram Brain I. 23 [§ 48](#) (see Bergin, *Ériu VIII*. 99).

*fetarl(a)ic* 'Old Testament' sometimes makes a neuter gen. *fetarl(a)icci* (instead of *fetarl(a)ice*) on the model of *nuf* + *íadnisse* 'New Testament'.

#### CASE-FORMS OF *ā*- AND *iā*-STEMS

**296.** The flexion of these stems presents a number of problems for which no definite solutions can be obtained from the very scanty material hitherto provided by Gaulish and Ogam inscriptions in which the earlier endings are retained. For the most recent discussions see Pedersen, *La cinquième déclinaison latine* ( 1926), p. 78 f., Lohmann, *Genus und Sexus* ( 1932), p. 28 ff.

**Singular.** Nom. In the *ā*-stems the neutral final, followed by lenition, shows that the earlier ending *-ā* had been kept; cp. Gaul. *Buscilla* Dottin no. 47, Ogam INIGENA 'daughter' (later **ingen** ), in the Eglwys Cymmun ( Wales) bilingual inscription (as corrected, *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th series, vol. VI., p. 224 ff.). The *-e* of the *iā*-stems may go back to *-iā*, cp. AVITORIA (in Roman characters) on the same inscription. On the other hand, the palatal final in V (**sétig** ), points to *-ī* i.e. to a class of feminines which in various IE. languages form their nom. in *-ī*, but most of the other cases from a stem in *-i* + *ā*-, e.g. Skt. *br* + *hātī* + (gen. *br* + *hātīyā* + *h*) fem. 'the exalted one' (= Ir. **Brigit**, personal name), Lith. *marti* (gen. *marčiōs*, from *-ās*) 'daughterin-law'.

Voc. Like the nom. It is impossible to decide whether or not the *ā*-stems once had short *-a* (Gk. *vuῦ φ + 03B1*); cp. Gaul. *gnatha, nata* 'girl', Dottin no. 59 and p. 70.

Acc. Palatal final, nasalizing. From arch. **bein** (not *\*bin*), [§ 291, 1](#), it appears that in Irish the lost ending was *-en*. The same conclusion is suggested by the fact, noted by Pedersen ( 1. 363), that in Wb. the ace. of **tol** 'will' is always written **toil**, but the dat. more often **tuil** than **toil** ; accordingly the earlier ending must have contained *e* in the ace., *i* in the dat. So too *-i* in IV and V may go back to *-ien*. The ending *-en* may represent either earlier *-ēm* or an Irish development of IE. *-m* + *,* as in the ending of consonantal stems. It has replaced original *-ām*, whence Celt. *-an*, which probably survives in Gaul. lokan (North Etruscan Alphabet, apparently = *logan*) 'grave' (?) CIL. I<sup>2</sup> no. 2103 (although *-an* could also represent a Gaulish development of *-m* + *,*). Cp. further the ending of the suffixed personal pronoun **-(s)e** [§ 451](#) (probably < *\*sian*). Since the consonantal stems had the same ending in the acc. pl. (*\*-ās*), and probably in the dat. sg. (*\*-ī*), as the *ā*-stems, the latter may

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have also taken over *-en* from them. But this theory is open to objection, and other solutions have been advanced. Pedersen suggests that *ē*-stems. as in the Latin fifth declension, were formerly found in Celtic also and later became confused with *ā*-stems. On the other hand, Lohmann sees the origin. of the ending *-en* in a class of feminine nouns (best preserved in Vedic) with nom. sg. in *-īs* but with most other cases

formed from a stem in *-ii + ̄* with consonantal flexion, so that the acc. sg. ended in *-ii + m + ̄*, ([r. \**-ii + en*); through confusion of these stems with those of V, the ending spread to the latter class, thence to IV, and finally to III (pure *ā*-stems). No conclusive explanation has yet been put forward.

Gen. The old ending of the *ā*-stems was *-ās* (Gk. *χώρας* Lat. *pater familiās*, Goth. Lith. *-ōs*). The regular development of this is found in **mná** ( § 291, 1 ), perhaps also in the article *inna* ( § 469 ). On the other hand, *a* in the pronominals *nacha*, *cacha cecha* ( § 489 f. ) goes back to *-e*. as is shown by **cache** *Thes. II.* 255, 4. The usual ending in III, IV, and V is *-e*. In IV and V this can be explained as coming from *-iās* (*-i + ās*), which would be the regular ending, but in III it is peculiar. Already in the Ogam inscriptions there are certain genitives in *-ia(s)*, *-eas* which have been, rightly it would seem, ascribed to *ā*-stems (III); e.g. ERCIAS Macal. nos. 32, 197. ERCCIA no. 31 (later nom. sg. **Erc**, man's name, probably = **erc** 'spotted or dark red cow'); GOSSUCTTIAS no. 41, GOSOCTEAS no. 108. It is not quite certain that survivals of *-a < -ās* are preserved in ERCA no. 23, GOSOCTAS no. 223, and *Máela Dúin* (instead of *Máele-*, from **máiel** fem. 'baldness', closely cropped man) in genealogies (Kelt. Wortkunde § 15 ). On the other hand, in the above-mentioned EglwyCymmun bilingual inscription the gen. of Lat. AVITORIA is written AVITTORIGES in Ogam. The *g* may stand for *i + ̄*, but even *-ii + es* as against *-ias* (and more particularly *-eas*) above is peculiar. That originally there were nouns in *ī*, gen. *-i + ēs*, beside those in *-ī*, gen. *-i + ās* (class V), is possible but cannot be proved: that Lat. AVITORIA was written for Celt. *-ī + ̄* is improbable. Perhaps, then, *-iges* represents rather the transition from *-ās* to *-e*. Ogam ..TORIGAS Macal. no. 33 hardly belongs here, for it is more likely to be part of a name with *-rīg-*. The spread of the ending *-iās* to class III has not yet been satisfactorily explained (cp. also Pokorny, *KZ. XLVI.* 281 ff.). According to a suggestion made by Dr. Hertz (in a letter to the author). *Sullias* in Gaul. REXTVGENOS SVLLIAS (cp. SACRILLOS CARATI) may be the gen. of *Sulla*. It so, the spread of *-ias* must be very early; it seems to have no immediate connexion with the introduction of *-en* into the acc. sg.

Dat. Palatal final, leniting. The fullest ending is shown in **mnái** ( § 291 ). In the remaining *ā*-stems *-i* seems to be required (see **tuil** above under acc. sg.). Gaulish inscriptions show various endings: *Βηλησαμι* Dottin no. 7, Lat. nom. *Belisama*; similarly *Brigindoni* no. 38, assuming that the nom. ended in *-ona*; in *Alixie* no. 47; in *Alisiia* no. 33; *Εσκεγγαί Βλανδοουικουνιαί* no. 10; *..αιουνιαι* no. 8. The inscriptions with *-ai* are perhaps Greek (*-αι*) rather than Celtic; in *-iia* the possibility of a Latinism is not excluded. On the other hand *-āi*, later *-ā*, could be Celtic and correspond to the old form of the dat. (Gk. *χώραί*, O.Lat. *Meneruai*), though it is doubtful if the datives in *-a* in Latin inscriptions in Gaul (e.g. *Minerua*, *Sequana*) are due to Celtic influence

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(cp. Weisgerber, *Germania XVII.*, 11 ff.). In that case *-i* (*e* after *i*) could not go back to *-āi*, and it would be necessary to assume another, perhaps a locative, form in *-ai* (cp. Boeot. *θεική* from *θήκη*). There is no means of deciding whether Ir. **mnái** goes back to *-āi* or *-āi*.

**297. Plural.** Nom. voc. The ending of *ā*-stems is *-a* (with gemination after the article § 241 ), long in **mná**, representing earlier *-ās* (Osc. *-ās*, Skt. *-āh*, Goth. *-ōs*, etc.). On the other hand, *-i* in classes IV and V, cannot go back to *-iās* (or *-iēs*). It is improbable that this ending has been taken over from the *i*-stems (VI), for the confusion between V and VI, although it has already begun in the O.Ir. period, has not yet progressed so far that an *-i* borrowed from VI by V would be likely to spread to IV also. In Sanskrit, nouns belonging to V make nom. acc. pl. in *-īh* (from *-īs*), and such forms would provide a satisfactory explanation of O.Ir. *-i*. Some scholars, however, are inclined to regard this not as an original but rather as a secondary formation peculiar to Sanskrit, based on analogy with sg. *-ā*, pl. *-āh*. But even if that be so, the possibility of a parallel development in Irish (or Celtic) is not excluded; the spread of *-i* to IV would then be easy to explain, since IV and V fell together in most of their cases. It is true that in Welsh, nouns belonging to V have the ending *-ed* from *-ii + ās*; e.g. *rhiain* 'maiden' (= Ir. **rígain**) : *rhianedd*; *blwyddyn* 'year' (= Ir. *blíadain*): *blynedd*; but this may have been the original ending of IV. It is impossible to say whether the stem of Gaul. nom. pl. fem. *trianis* ( *ZCP. XV.* 379) belongs to V or VI.

Acc. In the *ā*-stems the *-a* (with gemination after the article, § 241 ), long in **mná**, points to a preceding stage *-ās*. It may represent either the old ending *-ās* (Skt. *-āh*, Goth. *-ōs*), or the secondary formation found in some languages: *-āns* with the *-ns* of the other stem classes. The second alternative is perhaps indicated by the peculiar sibilant in Gaul. *artuas* (North Etruscan Alphabet) CIL. I<sup>2</sup> no. 2103.

For the *-i* of IV and V see the nominative.

Gen. Neutral final, nasalizing. The *ā* of the stem had accordingly coalesced with the vowel of the ending *-ōm* (cp. Lith. *raiñkū žė + ñmiū*, O.Slav. *řakō*), which was subsequently shortened. In combination with a preceding *i* it became *-e*.

Dat. Ending *-(a)ib -ib*, probably from *.ābis -iābis*, etc.; see [§ 286](#); cp. Gaul. *Μαμαυσικαβοιβιδ*.

**298.** Dual. Nom. acc. In the *ā*-stems palatal final, leniting. Cp. **di dí** 'two', and **mnaí** which shows the old diphthong *-ai* (= Skt. *-ē*). The unstressed form of the latter, *-ī*, shortened to *-i*, has spread to the numeral. In unstressed final syllables *-i* was lost or, in Class IV, combined with *i* to give *-i*.

On the other hand, Class V has the same form as the nom. sg., probably on the model of the *i*-stems.

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The gen. has the same formation as that of the *o*-stems (I and II), and probably had the same ending. So too the numeral *\*dáu dó*, before a substantive **da dá** (leniting), is identical in form with the masc. and neut. ([§ 287](#)).

The dat. has the same form as the dat. pl., but there is nasalization after the numeral **did** (see [§ 287](#)).

## VI. i-STEMS

**299.** All three genders are found, but there are not many neuters.

Masculines and feminines are declined alike and have the following endings: gen. sg. du. *-o -a*, nom. voc. acc. pl. *-i*, gen. pl. *-e*, dat. pl. du. *-ib*. In the remaining cases, nom. voc. acc. dat. sg. and nom. acc. du., which have no ending, the final consonant is palatal.

The neuters appear to have *-e* as the regular ending of the nora. (voc.) acc. pl. (see [§ 301](#)); otherwise they are declined like the masc. and fem. nouns.

**300.** Paradigms: **súil** fem. 'eye', **saigid** fem. 'making for, seeking', **enáim** masc. 'bone' (for the quality of the *-m*. see [§ 166](#)); *muir* neut. 'sea'.

	fem.	fem.	SINGULAR masc.	neut.
NVA	<b>súil</b>	<b>saigid</b>	<b>cnáim</b>	<b>muir</b>
G	<b>súlo súla</b>	<b>saichtheo -ea</b>	<b>-ea cnámo -a</b>	<b>moro mora</b>
D	<b>súil</b>	<b>saigid</b>	<b>cnáim</b>	<b>muir</b>
			<b>PLURAL</b>	
N	<b>sú (i)li</b>		<b>cnám (a) i</b>	<b>mu (i)re (drummai)</b>
V	<b>sú (i)li</b>		<b>cnám (a) i</b>	
A	<b>sú (i)li</b>		<b>cnám (a) i</b>	<b>mu (i)re (drummai)</b>
G	<b>sú(i)le</b>		<b>cnám(a)e</b>	<b>mu (i)re</b>
D	<b>sú (i)lib</b>		<b>cnám (a) ib</b>	<b>mu (i)rib</b>
			<b>DUAL</b>	
NA	<b>súil</b>		<b>cnáim</b>	<b>muir</b>
G	<b>súlo súla</b>		<b>cnámo -a</b>	<b>moro mora</b>
D	<b>sú (i)lib</b>		<b>cnám (a) ib</b>	<b>mu (i)rib</b>

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For later *-e* from *-eo*, *-ea* see [§ 99](#); there happens to be no example of *-a* for *-ae* in the gen. pl. **301**. Examples of the neuter plural are rare, apart from *mu(i)re* and *gra(i)ge* (see [§ 302](#), [1](#)) which occur frequently. Otherwise there is only the acc. pl. of *druimm*, gen. *drommo*, 'back', which occurs twice as *drummai* Ml. 26<sup>c</sup>8, 100<sup>b</sup>2. Later sources show forms in *-a*, like *gona* from *guin* 'wounding' (as early as LU

4952) and *mara* 'seas'. The same formation, perhaps, is found in nom. acc. pl. *richsea* 'live coals' Ml. 40<sup>c</sup> 5, 6, assuming that the nom. acc. sg. *richis(s)* Sg. 47<sup>b</sup>3, 5 was neuter. Although a feminine *ā*-stem **riches** appears in the later language, the word can hardly have been feminine in O.Ir. to judge from the diminutive *richisán* Sg. 47<sup>b</sup>4. For feminines with gen. sg. in *-e*, but otherwise declined wholly like *súil*, see § 294.

It is doubtful if *búade* is occasionally gen. sg., not gen. pl., of *búaid* neut. 'victory'; see Wb. 24<sup>a</sup>17, Féil.

### 302. IRREGULARITIES:

1. The alternation of *a* and *e* described § 83 is seen in the following examples:

Nom. acc. dat. *aig* fem. 'ice', gen. *ega*.

*daig* (later fem.) 'flame, fire', also man's name, gen. *dego dega*.

*fraig* (later fem.) 'wall', gen. *frega*.

*graig* neut. (collective) 'horses', gen. *grega*, nom. acc. pl. *gra(i)ge*.

*tailm* (*teilm* only in Corm. 1215) fem. 'sling', gen. *telma*.

So also *lieig*, later *liaig*, masc. 'physician', gen. *lego lega*, nom. pl. *legi*, dat. pl. *legib*.

On the other hand, *bíáil* fem. 'axe' has long *ē* in gen. *béla*.

2. Some loan-words remain unchanged throughout the singular, even in the genitive. Thus *abbgítir* *apgitir* fem. 'abecedarium', pl. *apgitri*, dat. *apgitrib*; similarly *argumint* *argumeint* fem. 'argumentum' (dat. pl. *argumentaib* Ml. 74<sup>b</sup>1);

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*sapait sabbait* (fem.?) 'Sabbath', pl. *sapati*; *testimin* masc. (also feminine? cp. Ml. 38<sup>c</sup>9-9a, as against 38<sup>c</sup>8, Tur. 39) 'testimonium', pl. *testimni*; *grammatic* fem.; *digaim* fem. 'digamma'; *tabernacuil* (fem.? cp. Ml. 40<sup>c</sup>15); *stoir* fem. '(h)istoria'.

3. The neuter *druimm* 'back' has begun to change over to the *n*-flexion (§ 332): dat. sg. *cindrummaim* beside *cindruim* (probably *cín-*) 'river bed' Ml. 78<sup>b</sup>4. *cuirm coirm* neut. 'ale' seems to have undergone a similar change (dat. sg. *cormaim* SP.= *Thes.* II. 295, 16), for the corresponding Gaulish word is *curmi* (Holder; Dottin p. 70).

So too *accuis* fem. 'cause', from late Lat. *accasio* (= *occasio*) probably through Britannic, fluctuates between the *n*- and *i*-declensions: acc. dat. sg. *aicsin* and *accuis*, nom. pl. *aicsin* (*a(i)csi* Corm. 1082), dat. pl. *aicsenaib*. Cp. also *aisndís* § 730.

### CASE-FORMS OF i-STEMS

**303.** Singular. Nom. masc. fem. The palatal final points to earlier *-is*, cp. Gaul. *Ναμαυσσας* Dottin no. 7, *Martialis* no. 33.

Voc. Not distinguished from the nominative, but originally without *-s*; cp. Gaul. *uimpi* (fem. adj.) Dottin p. 70 = W. *gwymp* 'fine, fair' (but W. fem. *gwemp*).

Nom. acc. neut. Palatal final, nasalizing. The primary form probably ended in *-i* (cp. Skt. *śuci*, Gk. *□δρι*), the nasalization being borrowed from the much larger classes of the *o*- and *n*-stems.

Acc. masc. fem. Palatal final, nasalizing. Gaulish has *-in*, cp. *Ucuetin* Dottin no. 33, *ratin* no. 51; the original ending was therefore *-im* (Skt. *śucim*, Lat. *febrim*).

Gen. The ending *-o -a* may go back to IE. *-ois* if one assumes that in *-ois* the treatment of the diphthong was other than in *-oi* (which becomes *-ī -i*, § 286). Some of the Ogam genitives in *-os -o* belong to *i-*

stems; e.g. DEGO Macal. nos. 88, 193, DEAGOS (read *Degos?*) no. 222, gen. of the name which later appears as **Daig** ( § 302, 1 ); ALLATO no. 69, ALLOTO no. 115, ALATTO no. 106, cp. *allaid* 'wild'; SUVALLOS no. 15, cp. *suail* 'small, insignificant'? On the above assumption, this -ōs would correspond to earlier -ois (cp. Goth. *anstais*), which appears as a genitive ending beside -eis (Osc. *aeteis*), and the coincidence with the ending of the *u*-stems would be purely accidental. It is doubtful whether there are any *i*-stems among the Ogam genitives in -ias; for ANAVLAMATTIAS Macal. no. 196, = *Aufolmithe Thes.* II. 238, 16 (Arm.),

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a nom. \**Anfolmith* (cp. *Fedelmith*) has been suggested, but it is written *Anblamath* ZCP. XXI. 312. In IE. there were certain *i*-stems with genitive in (i)j + ōs, cp. Skt. *āvih* 'sheep', gen. *āvyaḥ*, Gk. πόλις, gen. (Homer.) πόλιος; on the basis of these some of the feminine nouns with gen. in -e ( § 294 b ) could also be explained.

Dat. Palatal final, leniting. In Gaulish one certain example of the dative of an *i*-stem is provided by *Ucuete* (see acc. *Ucuetin* above; cp. Lat. *deo Ucueti*), and a probable one by τιορει (Harvard Studies in *Class. Phil.* XLIV. 228). This, in accordance with what is subsequently suggested about the corresponding case of the *u*-stems ( § 311 ), would seem to be an old locative in -ei; cp. Osc. dat. and loc. in -eí, Umbr. -e (*ocre*). It is uncertain whether the lost ending in Irish was -e or -i; to judge from the *u*-stems, the original ending is more likely to have been -ī (instrumental) than a diphthong.

**304. Plural.** Nom. voc. masc. fem. Ending -i, stressed in **trí** masc. 'three', which geminates, as does Britann. *tri*. So, too, after substantives there is at all events no lenition, if the spelling in **taiscéltai tall** 'those spies of old' Tur. 130 is reliable. This suggests -īs as the most likely ending; Gaul. masc. neut. *tri* (ZCP. XVI. 288) is doubtless meant for \**tris*, cp. also *trianis* (ZCP. XV. 379). The original ending was -ei + es (Skt. -ayah), which on the analogy of the *u*-stems would be expected in Celtic also. Assuming that -ei + es became -ii + ... in Celtic ( § 78, 2 ), Ir. -i could go back to -ei + es. But whether Gaul. and Britann. \**i* + s could go back to this is at least doubtful. It is likewise doubtful if a trace of -ii + ... is shown in *W. gwledydd* (beside *gwladoet*) 'lands', corresponding to Ir. **fla(i)thi**, nom. pl. of **flaith** 'lordship'. Perhaps, therefore, the ending implies an early re-formation of the nominative.

Nom. voc. acc. neut. The ending -e goes back to -ia or -iā, cp. Lat. *mari-a*. The form **tre** 'three' occurs in *Cam. and ZCP.* III. 453, 23; but later we find **tri** with assimilation to the masculine. It is uncertain whether **drummai** (Ml.) is to be explained in the same way or is modelled on substantival adjectives like **fudumnai** 'depths' ( § 357 ).

Acc. masc. fem. Ending -i, < -īs < -īns; cp. Skt. *āvīn*, Goth. *gastins*, Umbr. *auēif*, *auif*.

Gen. The ending -e, nasalizing, may represent original -iōm (Lat. *ciuium*) or -ei + ηm (Gk. πόλεων); cp. Gaul. *Briuatiom* Dottin no. 51, if this, notwithstanding the peculiar -m, is really gem pl. of *Briuati-* and not an abbreviation; Ogam TRIA-MAQA ( § 286 ), arch. **tre n-gnīm[e]** Bürgschaft p. 28 *ávī 76a* (later **tri** ).

Dat. Ending -ib, cp. **trib** ; preceding stage -i-bis, see § 286.

**Dual:** Nom. acc. The palatal quality is doubtless due to the old ending -ī, cp. Skt. *āvī*, O.Slav. *kosti*.

Gen. Same form as gen. sg., as in the *u*-stems. It cannot be derived from any IE. form of the dual of *i*-stems, cp. § 313.

Dat. as in the plural ( § 287 ).

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## VII. u-STEMS

**305.** Masculine and neuter.

Masculines have the following endings: gen. sg. du. *-o -a*; nom. pl. *-e* (preceded by neutral consonant) or *-a* or *-i* (usually preceded by neutral consonant); gen. pl. *-e* (preceded by neutral consonant); dat. pl. du. *-ib* (preceded by neutral consonant); (voc.) ace. pl. *-u*. In the nom. voc. acc. dat. sg. and the nom. acc. du., which have no ending, the final consonant has *u*-quality.

Neuters have the same inflexion except in the nom. voc. acc. pl. which either show *u*-quality in the final consonant or have the ending *-a*.

**306.** Paradigms: **mug** masc. (cp. § 80a) 'serf', **giun** masc. 'mouth', **ammus** masc. 'attempt' (ad-mess); **dorus** neut. 'door'.

<b>SINGULAR</b>			
	<b>masc.</b>		<b>neut.</b>
NVA	<b>mug</b>	<b>giun (gin )</b>	<b>ammus</b>
G	<b>mogo -a</b>	<b>geno -a</b>	<b>aimseo aimsea</b>
D	<b>mug</b>	<b>giun</b>	<b>ammus</b>
			<b>PLURAL</b>
N	<b>mog (a )e</b> <b>moga</b> <b>mog (a )i</b>	<b>gen (a )e</b> <b>genem (a )i</b>	<b>aimsi aimsea</b>
V	<b>(*mugu )</b>		<b>dorus doirsea</b>
A	<b>mugu</b>	<b>ginu</b>	<b>aimsiu</b>
G	<b>mog (a )e</b>	<b>gen (a )e</b>	<b>aimse</b>
D	<b>mog (a )ib</b>	<b>gen (a )ib</b>	<b>aimsib</b>
			<b>DUAL</b>
NA	<b>mug</b>		<b>ammus</b>
G	<b>mogo, moga</b>		<b>aimseo, -ea</b>
D	<b>mogeem (a )ib</b>		<b>aimsib</b>

Later also *-e* for *-eo -ea*, *-a* for *-ae* (§ 99).

Later also *-e* for *-eo -ea*, *-a* for *-ae* (§ 99).

Collection of all the examples of the nom. pl. masc. in the Glosses: Strachan, *Ériu I.* 1 f.; of the nom. acc. pl. neut., Trans. Phil. Society, 1903-6, p. 229; of all genitives in *-o* and *-a* (including those of *i*-stems) in Wb. and Sg., *ZCP.* IV. 472 f. The voc. sg. masc. is attested by a **deichthriub** *MI.* 66<sup>c</sup>13, **á aís** *ibid.* and 66<sup>d</sup>9, the voc. pl. neut. by **a doirsea** 46<sup>a</sup>14.

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**307.** Neutral in place of *u*-quality in the final consonant is regular in stems with a long vowel such as **gním** masc. 'deed', **dán** masc. 'gift', **aís áes** masc. 'people', also **rát** masc. 'thing' (§ 170 b); further, in certain consonants after old *a*, e.g. nom. acc. dat. **cath** 'battle'; in abstract nouns in *-ad* (§ 723) and *-as* (§ 261); in *ss* and *cht* after stressed *e*, e.g. **mes(s)** masc. 'judgement' (but **to-mus, ammus**), **tes(s)** masc. 'heat', **recht** masc. 'law'; and in *nd* after *i*, e.g. **rind** neut. 'star' (dat. pl. **rendaib**), **mind** neut. 'diadem' (dat. pl. **mindaib**), **lind** lieut. 'liquid' (written **lend** *Thes.* II. 42, 21), see § 171.

On the model of such forms, neutral quality came to replace *u*-quality on a wider scale, particularly in the nom. acc. sg., less frequently on the whole in the dat. sg., where the analogy of the *o*-stems helped to retain the *u*-quality. Hence the masculines nom. acc. **giun** and **gin** 'mouth', dat. **giun**; nom. acc. **bith** 'world', dat. **biuth** (gen. **betho betha**); nom. acc. **fid** 'wood' (gen. **fedo feda**, dat. pl. **fedaiB**); nom. acc. dat. **riuth** and **rith** 'running'; nom. ace. dat. **fius(s)** and **fis** 'knowledge'.

**308.** Feminine nouns which show *u*-quality in the nom. sg., and thus were originally *u*-stems, are declined like *ā*-stems (§ 289):

**mucc** 'pig', acc. dat. **muicc**; pl. nom. acc. **mucca**, gen. **mucc**.

**deug** (later also **deoch**) 'drink', acc. dat. **dig**, gen. **dige**, later nom. pl. **deoga** (cp. Mid.W. *diawt*, Mid.Bret. *diet*, O.Corn. *diot* later *dewes*, *dywes*).

Collection: Stokes, *KZ*. XXVIII. 291. In the flexion of **mucc** the *u* is retained even before *-a*, whereas **deug** shows the same lowering in the nom. sg. as old *ā*-stems. It is unnecessary to assume (as some have done) that there was a special class of feminines with nom. sg. in *-ū*, gen. *-wās*, parallel to those in *-ī*, gen. *-i + ās*, but not attested in any IE. language; the small group of feminine *u*-stems has modelled its flexion on that of the numerous *ā*-stems. W. *moch* Bret. *moc'h* 'pigs' (collective) could go back to *\*mokkus*, but not to *\*mokkū* (cp. Gaul. *Mercurius Moccus*).

**findbuth** 'bliss' *MI*. 128<sup>d</sup>18, which corresponds to W. *gwynfyd* and is thus a compound of the masc. *u*-stem **bith**, makes gen. sg. **inna findbuide** 14<sup>b</sup>4, adopting the gender and inflexion of **both** fem., gen. **buithe**, 'being'.

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## IRREGULARITIES

**309. 1. Confusion between the *u*- and *o*-declensions.** Those *u*-stems in which *u*-quality had either always been absent in the final consonant or had gradually yielded to neutral quality were identical with the *o*-stems in all cases of the singular except the gen.; in the acc. dat. pl. the two declensions had already fallen together much earlier. As a result, we find early examples of original *u*-stems forming their gen. sg. with palatal final and their gen. pl. du. without any ending. Thus **tomais** *MI*. 20<sup>a</sup>21 beside **toimseo** *ibid.* and 35<sup>c</sup>23, gen. sg. of **tomus** 'measure'; **coibnis** *Sg.* 9<sup>b</sup>9, 28<sup>a</sup>19, gen. sg. of **coibnius** 'kinship'; gen. pl. **ammus** *Fél. Jan.* 30; gen. du. **da loch** 'of the two lakes' *Thes.* II. 332, 1. It would seem, however, that this confusion was also aided by the existence of doublets of the same word, a masculine *u*-stem beside a neuter *o*-stem. Thus **torad** 'fruit' is a neuter *o*-stem in *Wb.* and *Sg.*, whereas nom. pl. **toirthi** *MI*. 46<sup>c</sup>14 is a masculine *u*-stem (cp. **riuth** and **ind-red** § 737); this explains gen. pl. **torud** 99<sup>b</sup>5, 123<sup>c</sup>8. As early as *Wb.* (and frequently later) **fiuss (fis)** masc. 'knowledge' makes gen. sg. **fis(s)** beside **fesso, fessa**; that the word was inflected as a neuter *o*-stem is clear from pl. **fess**, found three times as a gloss on *scita*.

This confusion of masc. and neut. probably also explains nom. pl. **na recte** *Wb.* 29<sup>a</sup>16, **na sothe** *Sg.* 64<sup>a</sup>14 (from **recht** masc. 'law' and **suth** masc. 'foetus'), where we seem to have the neuter article rather than an example of the rare use of **na** for the masculine (§ 468). *Sg.* 181<sup>a</sup>6 has **in n-imthánad** 'the alternation', acc. sg. masc., whereas **imthánad** *Wb.* 13<sup>a</sup>10, *MI*. 93<sup>c</sup>7 is neuter; on the other hand **in n-imthánud** *MI*. 42<sup>c</sup>2 is inflected as a masc. *u*-stem. So too **lín** 'number' gen. **lína**, fluctuates between masculine and neuter, and **fír** 'true, just' is a masc. *u*-stem when used substantivally; cp. **mes(s) fíra** *MI*. 26<sup>c</sup>12, 103<sup>c</sup>15, acc. pl. **fíru** *Anecd.* III. 25, 6.

The acc. pl. **il-gotha** *Sg.* 197<sup>a</sup>11 (nom. sg. **guth** masc. 'voice') and a few similar instances in *MI*. (**degníma** 81<sup>d</sup>1, cp. 99<sup>d</sup>1, 107<sup>a</sup>3) are early examples of the spread of the nominative ending *-a* to the accusative, a development which was doubtless furthered by the confusion between masculines and neuters.

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**310. 2.** In *Wb.* the loan-word from Lat. *spiritus* is inflected nom. acc. dat. **spirut**, gen. **spirito spiruto spirto**; in *MI.* and *Tur.* nom. sg. **spiurt** (cp. **fiurt** 'uirtus, miracle'), gen. **spiuerto** *Tur.* 86.

**crú** (neut.?) 'blood' makes acc. dat. **crú**, gen. **cróu cráu cráo cró**; in composition **cráu-** (*ZCP.* XIII. 376, 13), later **crö-** (*Ériu XII.* 136).

**cnú** fem. 'nut' (also vocative), acc. dat. **cnóí**, gen. **cnó**; pl. nom. **cnóí**, gen. **cnáo** (*ZCP.* XII. 366, 9) **cnó**, dat. **cno(a)ib**; in composition **cnó-** (see Meyer, *Contr.* s.v.).

To acc. gen. pl. **forbrú** 'brows' *MI.* 39<sup>c</sup>12, 13, 15 belong later attested nom. pl. and du. **broí braí bráe**, gen. du. **bró**, dat. sg. **broí** *LL* 166<sup>b</sup>34 (the nom. sg. is not found in reliable sources; later **brá** fem.).

## CASE-FORMS OF u-STEMS

**311. Singular.** Nom. masc. The *u*-quality of the final consonant goes back to *-us*, cp. Gaut. τοουτιους Dottin no. 7; it is uncertain whether *ociomu*, *diuertomu* in the Coligny Calendar have lost *-s* or are neuters.

Nom. voc. acc. neut. *u*-quality final, nasalizing. The old ending was *-u*, cp. Skt. *mádhu*, Gk. μέθυ; the nasalization has been taken over from the *o*- and *n*-stems.

Voc. masc. Like the nominative, but cp. the *i*-stems [§ 303](#).

Acc. masc. *u*-quality final, nasalizing; hence going back to earlier *-un* = original *-um* (Lat. *senatum*, Skt. *sūnám*).

Gen. Ending *-o -a*, apparently without lenition, since the Annals of Ulster always have **Atho Truim** (gen. of **áth** 'ford'); cp. also **Locha h-Eathach** [§ 241, 1](#). In Ogam inscriptions *-os* is still frequent: BRUSCCOS Macal. no. 35 beside BRUSCO (?) no. 129, CUNAGUSOS no. 139 (later nom. sg. **Congus**), TTRENALUGOS no. 191, MUCOI-LITOS no. 214; but *-u* appears to occur twice in inscriptions found in Wales: TRENAGUSU (Lat. *Trenegussi*), NETTASAGRU (Rhys, Lectures<sup>2</sup> 275. 274, cp. Macal. no. 160?). Gaulish forms are *Pennelocos* ([§ 80](#) = O.Ir. **locho**), *LVXTOS ZCP*. XVI. 289 = gen. of the word corresponding to Ir. **lucht** 'load, cargo'. The ending may represent either old *-ous* or *-eus*, more probably the former if *-o* in the *i*-stems has been rightly explained as coming from *-ois*; cp. Osc. *castrous*, Lat. *portūs*, Goth. *sunaus*, Avest. *mainyā + ūš, rašnaoš*.

Dat. *u*-quality final, leniting. The Gaul. dat. in *-ou*, ταρανοου Dottin no. 1 (cp. *deus Taranucus; wu ibid.* no. 35 is doubtful), is probably an old locative in *-eu* or *-ou*; cp. Umbr. dat. *trifo* 'to the tribe', Lat. dat. *senatū, cornū*, Umbr. *manuv-e* 'in the hand' (= *manov-e*). In Irish, however—assuming that the ending of the nom. acc. du. has been rightly traced to *-ou* ([§ 287](#))—this would have given neutral quality in the final. On the other

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hand, the form βρατου-δε occurs repeatedly in Gaulish votive inscriptions; if this has been correctly equated with Ir. **bráth**, gen. **brátho**, 'judgment' and rendered *ex iudicio*, then there was also a Celtic case in *-ū*, probably an old instrumental, to which the Irish dative may correspond.

**312. Plural.** Nom. masc. The ending nearest to the original is probably *-e* preceded by neutral consonance, which goes back to *-owes*, for earlier *-ewes*; cp. Gallo-Lat. *Lugoues*, a name for certain gods (Ir. **Lug**, name of a deity), Skt. *sūnāvah*, O.Slav. *synove*, Goth. *sunjus*, Gk. πήχεις from *-ε□ε□*. The development of *-owe* to *-(a)e* is regular; cp. **·cúal(a)e** 'heard' < \**cochloue*, unstressed **-b(a)e** beside stressed **boí** (\**bowe*?) 'was'.

We also find *-i*, in Ml. the most frequent ending. The preceding consonant is mostly neutral, e.g. **gnímai, mesai, bésai, rétai, síansai**; but it is occasionally palatal after an unstressed syllable, e.g. **senchaissi** Wb. 31<sup>b</sup>25a, **coisnimi** 7<sup>d</sup>13 (apart from forms like **aimsi** Ml. 127<sup>c</sup>25, where the palatal consonance is the result of syncope). This ending may be due to the influence of *io*-stems like **dalt(a)e** ([§ 282](#)), which were identical with the *u*-stems in all the remaining plural cases. If so, the rare instances of palatalization are modelled on the *i*-stems; cp. also the adjectival *u*-stems ([§ 358](#)).

In later sources the third ending *-a* could be easily explained as a development from *-ae* ([§ 99](#)). But already in Wb. it occurs twelve times, e.g. **gníma** beside **gníme gními gnímai, senchassa** beside **senchaissi**. Yet it is difficult to suggest any other origin. Elsewhere in Wb. *-a* for *-(a)e* is found only in interior syllables, i.e. before enclitics, and it was probably in this position that *-a* first appeared in the present ending, its use in absolute auslaut being a subsequent extension; cp., for instance, **ar pectha-ni** 'our sins' 2<sup>a</sup>6, a **m-bésa-sa** 'their customs' 9<sup>b</sup>17. The development was doubtless aided by the frequent occurrence of *-a* as the ending of neuter and feminine nouns in other declensions; under their influence even forms like **cosmailsea** 'comparisons' Ml. 51<sup>d</sup>5 (despite palatal consonance) are found.

Nom. voc. acc. neut. The form without any ending (**dorus, mind, rind**) could, indeed, go back to earlier  $\bar{u}$  ( $<-u\bar{a}$ ), cp. Skt. *mádhū*. More probably, however, it is due to the fact that in the neuter o-stems, from which the ending *-a* has certainly been borrowed, singular and plural have the same form. The form **beura** Sg. 67<sup>b</sup>11 has taken over *u* from singular **biur (bir)** 'stake, cooking spit', cp. **deoga** § 308.

Acc. masc. Ending *-u*  $< -ūs < -ūns$ ; cp. Skt. *siūnū + ḥ*, Goth. *sununs*, Cret.  $u\bar{\omega}\bar{\upsilon}\nu\varsigma$ . For the acc. pl. in *-a* see § 309.

The vocative was presumably, is in the other masculine stems, the same as the accusative (§ 286).

Gen. The ending *-e* cannot be explained from the old *u*-declension. It is more likely to have been borrowed from the *i*-stems (which are identical with the *u*-stems in the gen. sg.) than from the *io*-stems (see nom. pl.), although it agrees with the latter in showing neutral quality in the preceding consonant.

Dat. Ending *-(a)ib*, which has the effect of a neutral vowel on the preceding syllable and thus cannot go back directly to *-u-bis*. Either *-o* was

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taken over from *-owes* etc., so that the ending fell together with that of the o-stems, or it must have developed from earlier *-ow-o-bis*; cp. the consonantal stems, **cnoaib** § 310, and Gallo-Lat. dat. *Lugouibus*.

**313. Dual.** Nom. acc. The *u*-quality of the final comes from the original masculine ending  $\bar{u}$ ; cp. Skt. *sūnū +* (but. neut. *urvī +*), O.Slav. *syny*. Neuter and masculine have fallen together, as in the o-stems (§ 287).

Gen. Ending *-o -a*, as in gen. sg. Of the two forms provided by cognate languages, Skt. *sūnvō + ḥ* and O.Slav. *synovu*, the second, if it represents original *-ew-ou*, would suffice to explain the Irish. In that case, the coincidence with the gen. sg. was accidental, though responsible for the adoption of the sg. form in the gen. du. of *i*-stems also (§ 304). This explanation is, however, by no means certain.

Dat., as in the plural (§ Y+00A7 287).

**314.** The monosyllabic stems enumerated in § 310 are generally declined as consonantal stems: gen. **\*cnóu \*cnáu cnó**, from *\*know-as*, earlier *\*knuw-os*. With **\*brú** cp. Skt. *brūh*, gen. *bhruváh*, Gk.  $\square\varphi\rho\upsilon\omicron\varsigma$ . In Irish, on the analogy of the *u*-flexion, *-ow-* spread to all the case-forms except acc. pl. **forbrú** (the acc. pl. of **cnú** is not attested); cp. the declension of **bó** (§ 340). The gen. pl. **forbrú** Ml. 39<sup>c</sup>13 is more likely to be a mistake for *-bró* or *-bráu* than a levelling under other case-forms.

See Lohmann, *ZCP*. XIX. 62 ff.

## B. CONSONANTAL STEMS

Collection: Hessen, *IF*. XXX. 225 ff. (Ml.).

**315.** The declension of these stems is fairly uniform, except for the nom. sg. which, as a rule, has lost the final of the stem. The nominative form cannot always be ascertained from the extant material, and examples from later sources prove little for the O.Ir. period owing to the great amount of levelling that had taken place in the interval.

The remaining cases have the following features in common:

For exceptions see below under the various classes.

**Singular.** The vocative has the same form as the nominative.

The masculine and feminine accusative has no ending, but shows palatal quality in the stem final and nasalizes the initial of the following word. The old ending -m + (shown in Gk. νόδ-α, Lat. *ped-em*) had become -en in Irish ( [§ 214](#) ).

Sometimes the shorter form of the dative (see below)

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appears in the accusative also. This may be due to the fact that the longer dative form is always identical with the accusative. Furthermore, since the shorter dative form often coincides with the nominative, the spread of this form to the accusative may have been assisted by the fact that in most vocalic stems the nominative and accusative are identical.

For the neuter nom. acc. without case-ending: see [§§ 214, 324, 332, 339](#).

The genitive, as a rule, has no case-ending and shows neutral quality in the stem final. This points to the ending -os (cp. Gk. κув-ός) which is confirmed by many Ogam forms in -as ( [§ 90, 4](#) ), e.g. GLASICONAS, LUGUDECCAS (LUGUDECA), NETASEGAMONAS, INISSIONAS, etc.

The dative usually has two forms, both of which lenite: (1) a longer form without an ending, in which the stem final is retained and shows palatal quality; (2) a shorter form where the stem final has disappeared. The first points to a lost front vowel, which goes back either to the diphthong of the original dative ending (Skt. *pad-ē*, Osc. *pater-ei* + 'or Gk. πᾶν-αι) or to the *i* of the locative (Skt. *pad-í*, Gk. νοῖ-ι).

The shorter form never had an ending; it corresponds to the endingless locative of Skt. *n*-stems (*kárman*, *mūrdhán*); cp. the dat. sg. in -ou of Gaulish *u*-stems ( [§ 311](#) ). It often falls together with the nom. sg. The lenition after it is due to the analogy of other datives.

There is no certain example of the dative form of a consonantal stem in Gaulish. For *Brigindoni* see [§ 296](#).

**316. Plural.** The masculine and feminine nominative has no ending, but the stem final has palatal quality. Hence the lost ending was probably -ēs (cp. Gk. νόδ-εσ). Only in rare instances do we find the ending -a, which has spread from the accusative.

The neuter nom. acc. pl. have no ending, but the stem final has neutral quality. The preceding stage, therefore, had the ending -a (see [§ 286](#) ). A longer form with the ending -a only occurs later, e.g. acc. pl. **anmanna** 'names' Trip. 106, 26.

There are no examples of the vocative of feminine or neuter nouns. For masculine nouns the only examples in the Glosses

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are **á ascadu.i. a naintea** (read **náimteá** ) gl. (*a*)*emuli* Ml. 134c5; here the second form is identical with the accusative. This identity is also found in the later examples **a uile** (read -*li*) **flaithemna** 'O all ye lords' ZCP. XI. 97, § 56 and **a bráithre** (from -*ea*) 'O brothers' Hib. Min. p. 12, 406 (cp. [§ 286](#) ). The form **ascadu** is either misspelt for **ascatu** from the substantival adjective **ascat(a)e** (*io*-stem) 'aemulus', or, if it is based on the noun **asc(a)e** 'rival', has adopted the form of the *o*-stems (as do many later examples, e.g. **a bráthriu** SR. 3113).

The masculine and feminine accusative has the ending -a. This suggests a preceding stage -*ās*, apparently an early development from -*n* + *s* (or *n* + *s*), which is generally postulated as the original ending on the strength of Goth. *fadr-uns*, Skt. *pad-áh*, Gk. *νόδ-ασ*, Lat. *ped-ēs*, Umbr. *man-f*, etc.

It has been suggested that the same ending also occurs in the accusative of Gaulish proper names like *Allobrogas* in Caesar, which look like Greek formations, as well as in later petrified forms like *Biturigas* *Betoregas*. *Catur(r)igas*.

The genitive as a rule has no ending, but the stem final has neutral quality. It thus falls together with the gen. sg., except that it nasalizes the following initial. This suggests an original ending *-ōm* (Skt. *pad-ā + ṁ*, Gk. *ποδ-Υ+03C9 + ῥ*) which, with shortening of the long vowel (§ 93 b), gave Celtic *ōn*, Ir. *-an*.

The dative has the ending *-ib*, with neutral quality of the stem final. Hence a neutral vowel (probably *o*), like that found in composition forms, had been inserted before the *b*-suffix (§ 286); thus *\*rig-o-bis* like Gallo-Lat. *Rig-o-magus*. In Gaul. *tecuanbo* (ZCP. XV 381), *gobedbi* (Dottin no. 33) the vowel has apparently not yet developed.

**317.** The **dual**, as might be expected, is scantily represented.

The nom. acc., masc. and fem., have the same form as the nom. pl. in **da druith** 'two wizards' Wb. 30c17 and many later examples (see Gramm. Celt.; Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society 1903-6*, p. 239 f.). On the other hand they are identical with the nom. sg. in a few instances: **da mí** 'two months' Thes. II. 33, 23, Laws IV. 88, 24 (pl. **mís**), and some later examples like **da ara** 'two charioteers' LU 4729 (gen. **arad**). The nom.

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acc. du. of neuter *n*- and *s*-stems invariably have the same form as the singular.

An earlier ending *-e* (as in Gk. *πόδ-ε*) may be postulated for those masc. and fem. forms that are identical with the nom. pl. The use of the singular form is due to the falling together of singular and dual in the *o*-, *i*-, and *u*-stems.

The gen. (except in *r*-stems, § 335) is not distinguished from the gen. pl. and sg. The lost ending may have been the same as that of the *o*-stems (§ 287), cp. O.Slav. *kamen-u*, etc. The form of the nom. acc. masc. **da mí** appears once (Thes. II. 33, 25) as gen.; this may be a scribal error, (cp. **da mís** AU. 967), although similar examples occur later.

The dat. form, as in vocalic stems, is the same as that of the plural.

### VIII. STEMS IN A LENITED GUTTURAL (ch, γ)

**318.** Masculine and feminine. Paradigms: **cathir** fem. 'town', **aire** masc. 'noble', **rí** masc. 'king'.

		SINGULAR	
NV	<b>cathir</b>	<b>aire</b>	<b>rí</b>
A	<b>cathr (a )ig cathir</b>	<b>airig</b>	<b>ríg</b>
G	<b>cathrach</b>	<b>airech</b>	<b>ríg</b>
D	<b>cathir cathr (a )ig</b>	<b>airig</b>	<b>ríg</b>
		PLURAL	
N	<b>cathr (a )ig</b>	<b>airig</b>	<b>ríg</b>
V			
A	<b>cathracha</b>	<b>airecha</b>	<b>ríga</b>
G	<b>cathrach (a )ib</b>	<b>airech (a )ib</b>	<b>ríg (a )ib</b>
		DUAL	
NA	<b>cathr (a )ig</b>	<b>airig</b>	<b>ríg</b>
G	<b>cathrach</b>	<b>airech</b>	<b>ríg</b>
D	<b>cathrach (a )ib</b>	<b>airech (a )ib</b>	<b>ríg (a )ib</b>

The dat. sg. is written **caithir** Wb. 13<sup>b</sup>1, showing that *th* is palatal. In **ríg** the quality of the *γ* is neutral in the gen. sg.

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pl. du., palatal in the acc. dat. sg., nom. pl. du. Composition form **ríg-**, e.g. **ríg-suide** 'royal seat'.**319.**

The following forms of the nominative sg. are found:

1. No ending, as in **cathir** :

**nathir** fem. 'snake', gen. **nathrach**.

**sail** fem. 'willow', gen. **sailech** (later also **salach**), cp. Lat. *salix*.

**Echuid -aid** and **Lug(u)id** (men's names), gen. *Echdach, Lugdech Luigdech* (later **Lugdach**, Ogam LUGUDECCAS); cp. **Dáui** (monosyll., arch.) man's name, gen. **Duach**.

**coí** 'cuckoo', gen. **cuach**.

2. A final vowel:

- a. -e, as in **aire** : **Ainmire** man's name, gen. **Ainmirech** (arch. **Ainmurech -reg** *Thes.* II. 277, 2; 279, 45).

- b. -a: **caíra** fem. 'sheep', gen. (later) **caéarach**, acc. pl. **caírcha** *Thes.* II. 335, 2, dat. pl. **caírchaib** *MI.* 100<sup>b</sup>15; cp. adj. **caírhuide** 'ouinus' *Sg.* 37<sup>b</sup>8 and the Gaulish tribal name *Caerac-ates*.

It is uncertain whether **mala** fem. 'eyebrow' *Corm. Add.* 919 belongs here, or whether -a represents earlier -(a)e. It makes gen. sg. pl. *malachibid.* 920 and *Laws*, while dat. sg. and nom. du. *malaig malaich* are attested later; but the acc. pl. is *mailgea* *MI.* 30c11 (dat. pl. later *mailgib*), as if a palatal vowel had been syncopated. Accordingly the stem-form is not clear; cp. the declension of **foil** and **rail** (§ 320) and *Bret. malven(n)* 'eyebrow'. It is possible that the word did not originally belong to this class and that all the case-forms, other than the nom. sg., are analogical.

- c. -u: *Cúanu, Echu*, men's names, gen. *Cúanach, Echach*.

Cp. **éo éu** masc. 'salmon', also **ee** *Corm. Add.* 570, *é hé hæ* *ZCP.* X. 201, *Ériu.* II 32 z, *Laws V.* 482, 23, etc.; acc. **iich** *RC.* XXV. 348, 2, later *ích*; gen. *iach*.

Gallo-Lat. *esox isox*, acc. *ěšōem*, but *Mid.W. ehawc*. The examples cited *ZCP.* XX. 484 in favour of disyllabic Ir. **ēo** are not genuine. An early ablaut -ōk- -ōk- is improbable; *Mid.W. -awc* seems to be the result of suffixcontamination, as in *hebawc* 'hawk' from OE. *heafoc*. The Irish forms can all be explained as < *esōk-*, except **é (ee)**, which has either borrowed the ending (cp. **nie** for **nio**, § 323, 3) or modelled itself on **scé**, gen. **sciach**.

3. Monosyllabic like **íi**, but with short stem vowel: **brí** fem. 'hill,' acc. **brig**, gen. **breg**, dat. **brí**, acc. pl. **brega**.

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**trú** masc. 'doomed man'; pl. nom. **troich**, acc. *trocha*, gen. **troch** (cp. Lat. *trux*).

**320.** This flexion, with its clearly defined endings, began to spread early. Thus **scé** fem. 'whitethorn' makes dat. **scí** *Thes.* II. 240, 26 (*Arm.*), and so was probably an *iā*-stem; but it also makes gen. **sciach** *LU* 5920 beside **sciad** (with dental flexion, § 322 f.) *Trip.* 78, 8 (cp. *W. ysbyddad*). *céu céo* fem. 'mist, haze' is found also as acc. dat. sg., but in verse **cía** occurs as gen. and even as acc., so that the basic form is doubtful; the usual inflexion is acc. dat. **ciaich ciaig**, gen. **ciach** (see *Contrib.* pp. 344, 363).

Nouns with nom. sg. in -r and -l are especially prone to adopt this inflexion. Thus **nathir**, to judge from *W. neidr* (< *\*natri*), was originally a fem. of class V (§ 293). **ail** 'rock', gen. **alo** (*i*-stem), also makes a gen. *ailech* (nom. pl. **ailig** occurs already in the *Laws*). **daur**, gen. **daró -a**, 'oak' has a by-form **dair** fem. (**Dair-mag** as early as *Adamnán, Thes.* II. 273, 2; adj. *dairde* beside *daurde* *Sg.* 33<sup>b</sup>13, 38<sup>a</sup>10), with gen. **darach. Tem(u)ir**, placename, gen. *Temro* later *Temrach*, dat. *Temraig* already in *Fél. Epil.* 552. **foil** fem. 'bracelet', acc. sg. *Sg.* 64<sup>a</sup>17, nom. du. *LU* 10992 (probably an *i*-stem, cp. *Bret. gwal-en(n)* 'finger-ring'); but also acc. sg. *falaig*, gen. sg. pl. *folach falach*, dat. pl. **failgib** (*Windisch, IF.* III. 76; *Aisl. MC.* p. 176; *LU* 9273), adj. **failgech**. Similarly **rail** fem. 'oak, large tree' (*ZCP.* XII. 402), acc. sg. **rolaig** *LU*

7210, adj. **roilgech** Trip. 256, 15. This flexion also spreads to *r*-stems (§ 334); e.g. **úasal-athir** 'patriarch', nom. pl. *húasalathraig* Féil., dat. *húasalathraich* Wb. 30<sup>d</sup>1, and many later instances.

The converse development is found in dat. pl. **di chaírib** 'from sheep' *Thes.* II. 239, 19 (Arm.) RC. X. 72, perhaps by dissimilation; cp. the later acc. pl. **caithre** (*-ri* MS.) 'cities' *ZCP.* VIII. 198 § 18.

**321.** There is one example of a stem in unlenited *c* (= *gg*) viz. *lie lia* masc. 'stone', gen. **liac(c)**, acc. dat. sg. nom. pl. *lieic* (later *liaic*, *liic*), acc. pl. *lec(c)a*.

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#### IX. STEMS IN A LENITED DENTAL (th, ð)

**322.** Masculine and feminine. Paradigms: **traig** (fem. in Mod. Ir.) 'foot', **fili** masc. 'poet', *teng(a)e* masc. (later fem., but cp. gen. **in tengad** Ml. 31<sup>b</sup>24) 'tongue', **óintu** masc. 'unity'.

SINGULAR				
NV	<b>traig</b>	<b>fili</b>	<b>teng (a )e</b>	<b>óintu</b>
A	<b>tra (i )gid,</b> <b>traig</b>	<b>filid</b>	<b>teng (a )id</b>	<b>óint (a )id,</b> <b>óintu</b>
G	<b>tra (i )ged</b>	<b>filed</b>	<b>tengad</b>	<b>óintad</b>
D	<b>tra (i )gid,</b> <b>traig</b>	<b>filid</b>	<b>teng (a )id</b>	<b>óintu</b> <b>óint (a )id</b>
PLURAL				
N	<b>tra (i )gid</b>	<b>filid</b>	<b>teng (a )id</b>	
V	( <b>rigthe,</b> § 323, 1)	( <b>ascadu?</b> , § 316)		
A	<b>traigthea</b>	<b>fileda</b>	<b>tengtha</b>	
G	<b>tra (i )ged</b>	<b>filed</b>	<b>tengad</b>	
D	<b>traigthib</b>	<b>filed (a )ib</b>	<b>tength (a )ib</b>	
DUAL				
NA	<b>tra (i )gid</b>	<b>filid</b>	<b>teng (a )id</b>	
G	<b>tra (i )ged</b>	<b>filed</b>	<b>tengad</b>	
D	<b>traigthib</b>	<b>filed (a )ib</b>	<b>tength (a )ib</b>	

It may be noted that in the largest class, nouns with nom. sg. in *-tu*, the ending of the dat. sg. is usually *-tu*, in Wb., *-t(a)id* being less frequent, whereas in Ml. the converse is found. The spread of the acc. pl. to the nom. pl. is shown in *tengtha* Féil. Epil. 125, and *cinnta* Ml. 62d5 beside **cinaid** from *cin* masc. 'fault' (stem *\*cinuth-*). In composition either the stem or the nominative form may be used: *traiged-dub* 'black-footed' beside *traig-lethan* 'broad-footed'. **323.** There are various forms of the nom. sg. In the acc. dat. pl. unscopated forms are sometimes found.

1. Nom. sg. without ending, like **traig**, e.g.

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**cing** masc. 'hero', gen. **cinged cingeth** (acc. dat. pl. not attested).

**eirr** masc. 'chariot-fighter', gen. **erred**, dat. pl. *erred(a)ib erreth(a)ib*.

**geir** fem. 'tallow, suet', gen. *gered gereth*.

**míl** masc. 'soldier', gen. **míled**, dat. pl. *míled(a)ib* (but *mílte* 'military service').

**rig** fem. 'forearm, wrist', gen. **riged**, nom. du. **rigid**, voc. pl. (late) a **rigthe** (Zu ir. *Hss.* I. 70 § 183).

**seir** fem. 'heel', acc. du. **di pherid** § 226 b.

**ap abb** masc. 'abbot', gen. **apad**, dat. pl. **apth(a)ib**.

**cin** masc. 'fault, liability', acc. sg. **cin(a)id** and **cin** ; acc. pl. *cin(n)ta*, dat. *cintaib*.

*druí* masc. 'wizard', gen. *druad*, nom. du. *druith*.

**suí** masc. 'sage', gen. *suad*, dat. pl. *suidib* (probably = *suídib*); similarly *duí* 'simpleton'.

\**íi* (monosyll., Mid.Ir. **áí**) fem. 'poetic art. metrical composition', acc. **uith**, gen. pl. *uath uad*.

**cré** fem. 'clay', acc. dat. *crieid* (*cried*), gen. *criad*; cp. W. *pridd*, Bret. *pri*.

**dé** fem. 'smoke', gen. *diad*; cp. Mid. Ir. *dethach* 'smoke, vapour'.

**luch** fem. 'mouse', acc. dat. *lochaid*, gen. *lochad*, acc. pl. *lochtha*.

The change of vowel is peculiar, as the original stem is *lukot-*; cp. W. *llygod* Bret. *logod* 'mice', Gaul. *Lucotios*, *Λουκοτικνος*. The primary form of the nom. sg. is not clear; *-ōts* or *-ōt* would have given *-u*, and from *ōts* \**loch* might have been expected. Perhaps it had been attracted to the feminine *u-* stems (*-ūs* instead of *-ōs*).

2. Nom. sg. in *-i*, like **fili** (cp. Ogam gen. sg. VELITAS Macal. no. 70), e.g.

*oígi óegi* masc. 'guest', gen. *oíged*, acc. pl. *oígetha* Wb. 28<sup>d</sup>28 (*oígedacht* 'hospitality' 26<sup>b</sup>24).

3. Nom. sg. in *-e*, like *teng(a)e*, e.g. *asc(a)e* 'rival', gen. *ascad*, dat. pl. *ascad(a)ib* (voc. pl. *ascadu?* see § 316).

**ar(a)e** 'charioteer', acc. *arith araid*; acc. pl. later *aradu* for O.Ir. *-ada*.

**tene** masc. 'fire', gen. **tened**, dat. **tenid**, **ten** Ml. 31<sup>d</sup>4 (read **tein** as in later examples), dat. pl. **tein(n)tib**.

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It is doubtful if dat. **tein** is a short form from the stem *teneth-*, for in the language of poetry at least there is a noun **ten**, which also occurs in composition: **ten-lach** 'hearth' (beside **tene-folt** 'fire-hair'); cp. W. and Bret. *tan* 'fire'. For nom. pl. *tainid* Ml. 96<sup>e</sup>11 see § 83 a.

*nie*, later *nia*, masc. 'sister's son', gen. *niath niad*, arch. **nieth AU. 692** (plural not attested).

Since the stem was originally \**nepot-* *-pōt-*, the *-e-* cannot be old, but must be borrowed from other stems. The homonym **nie** (Corm. 973) **nia** 'champion' is still *nio* in **Cath-nio AU. 769** and **Mac-nio 779**. In Ogam inscriptions the gen. is NIOTTA NIOTT and -NETAS NETTA; in the literature *nioth niod*, *niath niad*, and *neth nad* (as proclitic form in proper names).

4. Nom. sg. in *-u*, like **oíntu**, e.g. all abstracts in *-tu -thu* (§ 258). Further:

*bibdu* 'culprit, defendant', gen. *bibdad*, nom. pl. *bibd(a)id*. *coimdiu* masc. 'lord, (the) Lord', acc. dat. *coimdid*, gen. *coimded*.

**rú** 'reddening, plant for red dye' (Laws, Corm. 532), dat. **roid**, originally belonged here, but later changed its declension (gen. *roide* instead of \***rod**.)

For the flexion of **gléo** 'fight', gen. **gliad** and **glee**, see ZCP. XX. 364 ff.

**X. STEMS IN -t (= -dd < -nt)**

324. Probably all three genders.

Paradigms: **car(a)e** masc. 'friend', **fiche** masc. 'twenty', **dét** neut. 'tooth'.

		<b>SINGULAR</b>		
		masc.	masc.	neut.
N	<b>car (a )e</b>		<b>fiche</b>	<b>dét</b>
V	<b>car (a )e</b>			<b>dét</b>
A	<b>car (a )it</b>		<b>fichit</b>	<b>dét</b>
G	<b>carat</b>		<b>fichet</b>	<b>dét</b>
D	<b>car (a )it</b>		<b>fichit</b>	<b>déit</b>
		<b>PLURAL</b>		
N	<b>car (a )it</b>		<b>fichit</b>	<b>dét</b>
V	<b>cairtea -dea</b> (§ 316)			
A	<b>cairtea -dea</b>		<b>fichtea</b>	<b>dét</b>
G	<b>carat</b>		<b>fichet</b>	<b>dét</b>
D	<b>cairtib -dib</b>		<b>fichtib</b>	<b>dét (a )ib</b>

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		<b>DUAL</b>	
NA	<b>car (a )it</b>		<b>fichit</b>
G	<b>carat</b>		<b>fichet</b>
D	<b>cairtib -dib</b>		<b>fichtib</b>

For later *-a* beside *-ae* see § 99. Voc. sg. **a dét** occurs *ZCP*. X. 41, 20. Composition form: *carat-nám(a)e* 'enemy who pretends to be a friend', cp. *Wb.* 23c28; *dét-bán* 'white-toothed'. **325.** There are very few examples of the neuter: in addition to **dét**, poetic *lóchet lóchat*, gen. **lóchet**, 'flash, lightning'; cp. also *lethet, lagat* (§ 259, 6), and the diminutives in *-nat* (§ 273).

Beside nom. acc. pl. *dét* later also *déta*; the dat. sg. *dét* *MI.* 117<sup>d</sup>5 (beside *déit* *Sg.* 67<sup>b</sup>10) is a faulty spelling (§ 86).

**326.** The nominative sg. masc. (and fem.) has various endings:

1. *-e* as in **care carae**, e.g.

**nám(a)e** masc. 'enemy'.

**brág(a)e** (later fem.) 'throat'.

**doë** 'upper arm', acc. sg. **doit**, gen. pl. **doat**. This seems to have been already fem. in O.Ir., cp. nom. du. **dí dóit** (rhyme: **cóic**,) *Corm.* 398.

**ainmne** (gender uncertain), 'patience', gen. **ainmnet**, (**ainmnetea** gl. *patientias* *MI.* 99<sup>a</sup>5 is an artificial formation).

2. *-o -a*, e.g.

**tricho tricha** 'thirty', gen. *trichot trichat*; *cethorcho* 'forty' gen. *cethorchat*, pl. nom. *cethorchuit*, acc. *cethorchota*, and the other multiples of ten (§ 390).

*fíado* (*Thes.* II. 353, 1), **fíada** (*Fél.*, etc.) '(the) Lord', arch. **fēda** (*Cam.*), gen. **fíadat (fēdot** *Cam.*), dat. *fíadait*.

**cano -a** 'poet of the fourth grade', gen. *canat*.

3. *-u*: *dínu* 'agna' *Sg.* 49<sup>a</sup>1, dat. *dínit* 39<sup>b</sup>11.

With regard to 1. cp. Gallo-Lat. *Carantius Carantillus*, W. *breuant brefant* 'windpipe'; *-ant-s* (nom. sg.) has become *-e*, just as *-ant-* becomes *-ēd(d)-*

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(§ 208). The neutral quality of the *r* in **carae** may have been taken over from **car(a)id** 'loves', or may be due to the influence of **nāmae** (§ 166). In 2. we have stems in *-ont-*; cp. Bret. *tregont* = Ir. **tricho**, also Lat. dat. **Nodonti** CIL VII. 138 (beside *Nodenti*, gen. *Nodentis*, *ibid.* 140), Ir. nom. **Núado** *-a*; thus *-ont-s* had become *-ōs*, whence O.Ir. *-o*, *-a*. The ending *-u* is found rather early in place of *-o*, e.g. **fiadu** *Thes.* II. 351, 3; it is uncertain whether this is due to faulty spelling or to analogy with other masculine nouns in *-u* (§§ 323, 4; 330).

In *táith táid* 'thief', gen. *táthat* (ZCP. XV. 318 § 11) later *tádat* (Laws), dat. pl. *táitib*, this flexion is secondary, since the word was originally an istem, cp. O.Slav. *tat*□ and the Ir. abstr. *tá(i)the táide*.

#### XI. n-STEMS

327. All three genders.

These fall into two classes: stems with (a) lenited, and (b) unlenited *-n*. Class (b) has a twofold origin. A few nouns contain earlier double *n*; e.g. *brú* fem. 'belly, womb', gen. *bronn* (with *nn* from *sn*), from *\*brusŭ* (*-ō*), gen. *\*brusnos* (like Lat. *caro, carnis*), cp. Goth. *brusts* (pl.) 'breast' and Ir. *bruinne* 'breast'; the stem **gobann** - 'smith' (from *\*gobenn-* according to the rule in § 166 a, cp. *goibnecht* 'smith-craft'), cp. Gaul. *Gobannilo* (man's name), O.Britann. *Gobannio* (placename). But most of the nouns in this class had original single *-n* which was delenited because the syllable began with *r*, *l*, or unlenited *m* (§ 140), and is therefore often written double in later sources. All the neuters belong to this category.

328. Paradigms:

(a) *brithem* masc. 'judge', *toimtiu* fem. 'opinion', *tíchtu* fem. 'coming', *cú* masc. 'hound'.

	SINGULAR			
N(V)	<b>brithem</b>	<b>toimtiu</b>	<b>tíchtu</b>	<b>cú</b>
A	<b>brithem (o)in -main</b>	<b>toimtin (-tiu )</b>	<b>tícht (a )in (-tu )</b>	<b>coin</b>
G	<b>brithemon -man</b>	<b>toimten</b>	<b>tíchtan</b>	<b>con</b>
D	<b>brithem (o)in-main</b>	<b>toimte</b>	<b>tícht (a )e</b>	<b>coin</b>
	<b>*brithem</b>	<b>toimtin (-tiu )</b>	<b>tícht (a )in (-tu )</b>	

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	PLURAL	
N	<b>brithem (o)in -main</b>	<b>coin</b>
V	<b>brithemna</b>	
A	<b>brithemna</b>	<b>cona</b>
G	<b>brithemon -man</b>	<b>con</b>
D	<b>brithemn (a)ib</b>	<b>con (a)ib</b>
	DUAL	
NA	<b>brithem (o)in-main</b>	<b>coin</b>
G	<b>brithemon -man</b>	<b>con</b>
D	<b>brithemn (a)ib</b>	<b>con (a)ib</b>

(b) *Ériu* fem. 'Ireland', *brú* fem. 'belly, womb', **céim(m)** neut. 'step', **ainm(m)** neut. 'name'.

	SINGULAR	
	<b>feminine</b>	<b>neuter</b>

N(V)	Ériu	brú	céim (m)	ainm
A	Érin (n)	broinn	céim (m)	ainm
G	Éren (n)	bronn	cé (i)m (m)e	anm (a)e
D	Ére	brú	cé (i)m (m)im (m)	anm (a)im (m)
	Érin (n)		céim (m)	ainm
<b>PLURAL</b>				
N			cé (i)m (m)en (n)	anman (n)
A			cé (i)m (m)en (n)	anman (n)
G			cé (i)m (m)en (n)	anman (n)
D			cé (i)m (m)en (na)ib	anman (na)ib
<b>DUAL</b>				
NA			céim (m)	ainm
G				
D			*cé (i)m (m)en (na)ib	anman (na)ib

Examples of *-mun* for *-mon* are rare, e.g. gen. pl. *súainemun* Wb. 26<sup>b</sup>17; for *-ae* (neut. gen.) also *-a* (§ 99). In Wb. the dat. sg. in *-te* is much commoner than that in *-tin* or *-tu*, whereas in Ml. *-tin* has become the usual ending. The acc. sg. in *-t(i)u* is rare. In feminine nouns the form of the acc. pl. occasionally spreads to the nominative: *tepairsnea* gl. *fluanta* Ml. 123<sup>d</sup>1, from *tepairsiu*; *létena* 16<sup>c</sup>2, from *létiu* 'daring'; *genitne* (from *-ea*) Sg. 200<sup>a</sup>14, from *genitiu* 'genitive case'.

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**329.** The nominative sg. masc. and fem. assumes various forms:

1. Without a final vowel:

A. With *u*-quality in the final consonant, e.g. nom. dat. *Miliuc(c)* man's name, acc. **Milcoin**, gen. **Milcon. derucc** 'acorn' Sg. 113<sup>b</sup>9 (later **dircu dercu**, as in § 330), gen. **dercon**, dat. pl. **dircnaib**.

**escung (escung IT. n. ii. 246, 65)** fem. 'eel' (beside **escunga**, probably = *-ungu*, TBC.1713), acc. **escongain** LU6207.

**drauc (drec dric)** 'dragon', nom. pl. **drecain**; acc. sg. **drauc** Ált. ir. *Dicht.* II. 16.

(**h**) **uinnius** fem. 'ash' (also **uinnsiu** *Auraic.* 1153), dat. **uinnsinn**.

*-nn* instead of *-n* is peculiar; it may be due to assimilation to the *nn* of the first syllable.

Cp. **bráu bró** (also **broe**, as in § 331), later fem., 'quern', ace. dat. (late, contracted) **bróin**, gen. **brō + òn**; cp. Skt. *grā + vān* masc. 'pressing-stone'.

B. With neutral quality in the final consonant: **brithem** and the other nouns of agency in *-em -am* (§ 268, 3); likewise **súanem** masc. 'rope'.

nom. dat. **talam** masc. 'earth', acc. **talmain** (*-muin* Ml. 89<sup>d</sup>18), **talam Féil. Prol.** 216, gen. **talman** (never **-mon**), acc. pl. **talmana**.

A and B are doubtless the same formation, with original nom. sg. in *-ō* (whence *-ū, -u*), like Lat. *homo*. It is probable that *-am* (and *-em* from *\*-iam*) resists *u*-quality, so that **daum** Wb. 10<sup>d</sup>8 (dat. sg. of **dam** 'ox') is analogical, not regular.

**330.** 2. Ending *-u*, the largest group. Besides **toimtiu, tíchtu**, and other verbal nouns (§ 730), the following examples occur:

**noídiu** 'child', gen. **noíden** (later fem., but perhaps common gender in *O.Ir.*, to judge from the diminutive **noídenán** *Thes.* II. 291, 10. 16).

**ord (d)u** fem. 'thumb ', acc. **ordain**.

**Mumu** fem. 'Munster ', gen. **Muman** (arch. **Mumen** ).

**íriu** fem. 'land', gen. **írenn**.

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**rétglu** fem. 'star' dat. pl. **rétglannaib**, nora. **du. di rétglainn** (obviously a compound, declined like **brú** ).

**dú** 'place, land', usually found only in the nom. and dat., makes gen. **ala-don** (*alladon* MS.) *Anecd.* I. 13, 17, like **con**.

In most of these examples nom. sg.  $-(i)u$  goes back to  $-iō$  (cp. Lat. *ratio*, etc.). In the oblique cases the form of the suffix was  $-iōn-$  (whence dat.  $-e$ ); cp. the W. plural ending  $-i + on$ , Ogam gen. sg. INISSIONAS Macal. no. 18, arch. *Ir. Hērion* = **Ēren (n) Ēriu** II. 4 (cp. W. *Iwerddon*) and *Colgion* *Thes.* II. 275, 36 (man's name, later nom. **Colg (g)u**, gen. **Colg (g)an** ). On the other hand,  $-iō$  is excluded by the vocalism of the stem syllable in

**fiadu** masc. 'witness' ( *LU9010*, otherwise mostly written **fiado fiada** ), acc. **fiadain** *MI.* 38d11, acc. pl. **fiadna**.

Goth. *weitwōds* 'witness', = Gk. εἰδῶς 'knowing', suggests an earlier Irish nominative ending  $-(w)ūs$  ( [§ 203](#) ), so that the n-flexion of **fiadu** is probably not original; **noídiu** may be an old compound with the IE. negative **ně** -.

**331.** 3. Ending  $-e$ , e.g.

**menm (a)e, menmm (a)e -ma** masc. 'mind', acc. dat. **menmuin -main**, gen. **menman** ; pl. acc. **menmana**, dat. **menmanib**.

As  $-m-$  is unlenited, unlenited  $-n$  might have been expected. But the gen. sg. is spelt with  $-nn$  only once (**menmann** *Sg.* 50<sup>b</sup>16), and the later language always has lenited  $-v$  in the singular (but plural **menmanna -mannaib**, attracted to the old neuters). There may have been assimilation to the first syllable (*mev-*).

**gob (a)e** masc. 'smith', gen. **gobann**, see [§ 327](#).

**bar (a)e** fem. 'wrath', acc. dat. **barainn** (cp. the adj. **bairnech** ).

It seems unlikely that nom. sg. **dile** 'deluge' *MI.* 48<sup>d</sup>17, with gen. **dilenn**, dat. **díle** *Fél. Epil.* 452, is an old dative like **taidbse** ( [§ 256](#) ). More probably its inflexion in this class is secondary; cp. **tuile** and **tól (a)e** 'flood' (neut. *io*-stems). The other examples cited were probably  $-en-$  ( $-enn-$ ), not  $-on-$  stems; nom. sg. perhaps in  $-ens$ , whence  $-ēs$ , *Ir.*  $-e$ .

**332.** The neuter class consists mainly of the numerous verbal nouns with suffix  $-men-$  ( [§ 735](#) ). **senim** 'sound(ing)' (perhaps with  $-\mu$ ) is similarly inflected: dat. sg. **senm (u)im**, nom. pl. **senman** ; further **gein** 'birth', gen. **gene**, dat. **ge (i)nim** (the later nom. pl. **geine** 'children', e.g. *Trip.* 86, 16, apparently follows the *i*-declension). There are a few other examples like **imb** 'butter', gen. **imbe**, dat. **imbim** (Lat. *unguen*); **mír** 'morsel',

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gen. **míre**, nom, acc. pl. **mírenn**. Here, however, the flexion appears to be secondary; compare Lat. *membrum* with *Ir.mír*, which may have been attracted to **boimm** 'morsel' or **loimm** 'draught'.

This flexion shows some striking divergences from the other consonantal declensions. In Irish the suffix has the form *-(m)en-* throughout; **anman (n)** is merely older **\*anmen** (with change of quality, § 160); cp. arch. nom. acc. pl. **nadmen**, dat. **nadmenaib** *ZCP*. XVIII. 104, for later **nadman (n)**, etc., from **naidm** 'binding, surety'. For acc. pl. **gremman** *MI.*, with *-an* instead of *-en*. see § 163. Apparently *Ir.en* sometimes represents earlier *n + ,* and sometimes is original.

The nom. sg. with palatal final, nasalizing, points to the ending *-en* from *-n + ;* cp. Gk.  $\square\nu\omicron\mu\alpha$ , Skt.  $n\bar{a} + \acute{m}a$ , Lat. *nomen*.

The *-e* of the gen. sg. goes back through intermediate *-ēs* to old *-en-s*. for *-n + s* would have given *-a* (see § 316). For the shorter genitive ending *-s* beside *-os*, see Brugmann, *Grundriss* II. 2<sup>2</sup>, § 141.

In the dat. sg. the longer form in *-im(m)* is much commoner than the short form without an ending. The latter may have originally had the ending *-en* (= Skt. *-an*). In the former the *m(m)* instead of *n(n)* is difficult to explain. It has been suggested that the palatal unlenited *-m* in the short dative (and nom. acc.) of most of these stems may have led to the substitution of *-m* for *-n*<sup>i</sup>. As the ending is never written *-mb*, it is unlikely that there was a Celt. affix *-bi* (cp.. Gk.  $-\varphi\iota$  in  $\sigma\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\varsigma-\varphi\iota$ ).

There is no example of the gen. du. in early texts. It is very doubtful if **dá chomainm** *Met. Dinds.* III. 34, 10 represents the older formation.

### 333. IRREGULARITIES:

1. The flexion of **aub oub ob** ( § 80 b) fem. 'river' is peculiar: acc. sg. **abinn** *Thes.* II. 242, 3 (*Arm.*), later **abuinn abainn**, gen. **abae** *MI.* 78<sup>b</sup>4 (**Abae** *Thes.* II. 275, 28), dat. pl. **aibnib** *MI.* 81<sup>c</sup>3.

The gen. sg. has accordingly the same ending as neuter nouns. The oblique cases could all be derived from a stem *\*aben-*, for the non-palatal *b* could have spread from the nom. sg., but perhaps there was also an ablaut form *\*abōn-*, (cp. O.Britann. *Abona*, W. *afon*, O.Corn. *avon*, Mid. Bret. *avon aven*, 'river').

The unlenited *-n* in *abinn*, etc., which is later found in all case-forms (e.g. gen. sg. *abann*), cannot be original. Possibly the gen. sg. in *-(a)e* gave rise to a gen. pl. in *-ann* modelled on the neuter flexion, and the *-n(n)* then spread to the remaining cases.

2. An archaic neuter type--an *r*-stem in the nom. acc. sg., and an *n*-stem in the remaining cases--is preserved in *arbor arbur* 'corn', gen. *arb(a)e*, dat. *arb(a)im (m)*.

Cp. Lat. *femur feminis*, Skt.  $\bar{u} + \acute{d}har \bar{u} + \acute{d}hnah$ , etc.

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3. The neuter *n*-stem *neim* 'poison', gen. *neime* (cp. adj. *neimnech*), has nom. pl. **neimi** *Sg.* 139<sup>b</sup>6, i.e. like a masc. or fem. *i*-stem; perhaps modelled on *aipthi* 'charms' (nom. sg. *aupaid*).

4. *anim(m)* fem. (*ainim* *Wb.* 3<sup>d</sup>11, *MI.* 130<sup>c</sup>9. as against *anaim* *MI.* 116<sup>b</sup>9) 'soul' is always inflected as an **n**-stem in the plural: nom. *anm(a)in*, acc. *anmana*, dat. *anmanaib*. In the singular it fluctuates: acc. dat. *anita(m)* and *anmuin anmain*, gen. *anme*; composition form *anam-chare* 'soul-friend, spiritual director'.

Cp. Mid. Bret. *eneff*, pl. *anavon*. The loan-word *anima* seems to have been confused with a native stem *ana-mon-* (nora. sg. *\*anamū*. which would give Britann.  $\bar{u}\alpha\upsilon\mu\iota + \bar{i}n$  in the first instance).

5. The loan-word **léo** 'lion' has gen. pl. **león** *Ml.* 75<sup>b</sup>2; but nom. pl. **inna leomain** (fem. ?) 80<sup>a</sup>10, gen. pl. **léoman** (disyll.) *Fél. Epil.* 500 (but **léoman** *SR.* 900, 5720, etc.); a nom, sg. **leom**, corresponding to these forms, occurs in later sources.

Collection of the later forms: Zimmer, *KZ.* XXVIII. 331, note 1.

## XII. r-STEMS

**334.** Only masculine and feminine nouns denoting kinship. Paradigm: **ath (a)ir** masc. 'father'.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	DUAL
N	<b>ath (a)ir</b>	<b>a (i)thir</b>	<b>*athir</b>
V	<b>ath (a)ir</b>	<b>*aithrea (bráithre)</b>	
A	<b>ath (a)ir</b>	<b>aithrea, athra</b>	<b>*athir</b>
G	<b>athar</b>	<b>aithre, athr (a)e</b>	<b>athar</b>
D	<b>ath (a)ir</b>	<b>aithrib, athr (a)ib</b>	<b>aithrib, athr (a)ib</b>

Composition form usually **athar-** or **athr-**; cp. **athargein** 'begetting' *Thes.* II. 291, 5, **athramil adramail** 'fatherlike' (-*samail*). Note, however, **athiroircnid** 'parricide' *Sg.* 12<sup>b</sup>6 as against **atharoircnid** *Ml.* 18<sup>c</sup>15.

**335.** Like **ath (a)ir** are declined: **bráth (a)ir** 'brother' and **máth (a)ir** fem. 'mother'; **amnair** 'auunculus' *Sg.* 61<sup>a</sup>21, *Rawl. B.* 512, 31<sup>a</sup>1, is found only in the nom. sg.

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The *th* is apparently always neutral in the singular; in the plural *thr* is normally palatal, much more rarely neutral. The palatal quality of the *th* in the nom. pl. is clearly shown in **aithir** *Ml.* 44<sup>b</sup>29, 96<sup>b</sup>5.

For the change of such stems to the *ch*-flexion see [§ 320](#).

Neutral quality is regular in gen. sg. **athar**, from \*[*p*]atros (Gk. πατήρ), and in the composition form **athar** - from \*[*p*]atro-. Its presence in the nom. voc. acc. sg. also is probably due to levelling. In the plural the usual palatal quality points to the suffix form *-ter-*, i.e. **aithir** = πατέρες, **aithrea** = πατέρα. The dat. pl. **aithrib** from \*[*p*]ater-o-bis (or *\*atribis* from *patr* + *-*?) falls together with the dat. pl. of the *i*- and *io*-stems and has given rise to the gen. pl. **aithre** on the model of those declensions. In later MSS. **aithre** is sometimes replaced by **athar** after the form of the gen. sg. For the gen. du., which is quotable only from later sources, **athar** may be postulated with certainty for our period also, since the ending *-e* nowhere makes its way into the dual.

MacNeill, *PRIA.* xxix. Sect. C, No. 4, p. 83, sees an *r*-stem in Ogam AVI AXERAS (X = c), later **Hí** (= **auí**) **Aicher** (also **Aichir**).

**336.** *siur* fem. 'sister' (with lenited initial **flur** or **phiur**, [§ 132](#)) has acc. dat **sieir sier**, later **siair**, gen **sethar**; pl. nom. **se (i)thir**, acc. **sethra**, dat. **sethraib** *Fél.* Aug 30; nom. acc. du. **sieir sier**, later **siair** Composition form: **sethar-oircnid** 'sororicide' *Sg.* 13<sup>a</sup>1.

The *th* in the gen. sg. and the whole of the plural has been taken over from **bráthair**, **máthair**.

## XIII. NEUTER S-STEMS

Collection: Stokes, *KZ.* XXVIII 292 f., XXIX. 379, XXXIII. 80.

**337.** Paradigms: **slíab** 'mountain', **glenn** 'valley'.

	SINGULAR			PLURAL
NA	<b>slíab</b>	<b>glenn</b>	<b>slé (i)be</b>	<b>glinne</b>
V	<b>slíab</b>	<b>glenn</b>		
G	<b>slé (i)be</b>	<b>glinne</b>	<b>slé (i)be</b>	<b>glinne</b>
D	<b>sléib</b>	<b>glinn</b>	<b>slé (i)bib</b>	<b>glinnib</b>
			<b>DUAL</b>	
NA	<b>slíab</b>		<b>glenn</b>	
G	<b>slé (i)be</b>		<b>glinne</b>	
D	<b>slé (i)bib</b>		<b>glinnib</b>	

The voc. sg. is attested by **a mag, a t [h]ír** *AU.918*.

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**338.** For the change of vowel in the stem syllable cp. further:

**nem** 'heaven', gen. **nime**, dat. **nim** ( § 78 ).

**teg tech** 'house', gen. **taige**, dat. **taig tig**, nom. pl. **tige taige**.

The forms with *a* have probably been influenced by **maige, maig**, from **mag** 'plain'.

**leth** 'side', gen. **le (i)the**, dat. **leith**.

**og** 'egg', gen. **ug (a)e**, dat. **uig** ( §§ 73, 166a ).

**mag** 'plain, open field', dat. **maig** and **muig** ( § 80a ).

**áu áo ó** 'ear', gen. **ae**, dat. **áui** (monosyll.) **oí óe**, dat. pl. **au (a)ib** ( § 69a ).

The neuter noun **gné** 'form, species' possibly belongs here, if the later attested gen. sg. **in gnee**, *Goidelica*<sup>2</sup> p. 67, is old. But in our texts **gné** is invariably found, not merely as nom. acc. dat. sg. (acc. sg. **gnei** once, *Sg.* 166<sup>2</sup>) and nom. du., but also as nom. pl., where one would expect a disyllabic form **gnee** (this form actually occurs later, e.g. as acc. pl. in *Érin* VI. 149, 72); dat. pl. **for-gnéib** *IT.* III. 7 § 6. W. *gne* 'hue, complexion' is probably a loan-word from Irish.

Nom. acc. dat. **clú** neut. 'fame' undoubtedly belongs to this class: gen. sg. **clóe clue** *IT.* III. 38 § 27, **clua** *ibid.* II. i. p. 25, 760; cp. Gk. κλέος, Skt. śrávah. -ú instead of -ó is perhaps due to the attraction of **ro · clu (i) nethar** 'hears'.

**339.** Since old intervocalic *s* leaves no trace in Irish, the description of the above nouns as *s*-stems rests entirely on the analogy of cognate languages.

The neutral quality of the nom. acc. sg. points to earlier -*os*; the gen. sg., nom. acc. pl., and gen. pl. ending -*e* to -*esos*, -*esa*, -*eson*; the dat. pl. -*ib* presumably to -*esobis*.

Nouns of this class have only the shorter form of the dat. sg., originally -*es* without any case-ending; cp. Lat. *penes*, old locative of *penus*.

#### XIV. IRREGULAR AND INDECLINABLE NOUNS

**340.** 1. **mí** masc. 'month' (stem *IE. \*mēns-*) has acc. gen. dat. sg., nom. gen. pl. **mís**, acc. pl. **mísa**, nom. acc. du. **mí** (also gen. ?, § 317). In somewhat later texts **mí** appears as acc. and dat. sg. also, e.g. *Corm.687, Liadain and Curithir* (ed. K. Meyer) pp. 20, 21.

2. **bó** fem. 'cow', acc. dat. sg. **boin**, gen. sg. pl. du. arch.

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**bou**, later **báu bábó** ; pl. nom. **baí** , acc. **bú** , dat. **buaib** ; du. nom. **baí** *MI*. 2<sup>b</sup>11, dat. **buaib**.

The acc. dat. sg. is probably modelled on **coin**, acc. dat. of **cú** 'hound'. The nom. pl. and du. **baí** , for earlier \***boí** , seems to have taken over *a* from **báu, bábó** ; the acc. pl. follows the *u*-declension. The acc. du. **da boin** *Corm.* 1082, beside **dí bábé** *TBF.5*, is probably a neologism.

3. An old word for 'day', cognate with Lat. *dies*, survives only in a few forms whose interrelationship is difficult to determine: nom. sg. and gen. sg. (used adverbially) **die dia**, acc. dat. sg. (mostly after prepositions) **dé** (**dei** *Wb.*); further, **in-díu** 'to-day'.

Cp. *W.* *dydd* Bret. *deiz* 'day' Mid.*W.* *dyw llun* 'on Monday', Mid.*W.* *heđiw* Mid.*Bret.* *hiziu* 'to-day'. The former point to *dii* + *z*, the latter probably to *diw*-; cp. further Mid.*W.* pl. *dieu* from \**dii* + *ow*-. Irish nom. gen. **die** points to something like \**diēs*; the basic form of acc. dat. **dé** is not clear; (**in-**)**díu** may be the dative (instrumental) of a neuter stem *diwo*-, cp. Skt. *divā* + 'by day'.

**341.** 4. Indeclinable nouns are numerous, for they include, in addition to certain Hebrew names which remain uninflected, as in Latin, other personal names such as **Ísu** 'Jesus', **Pátric (c)** 'Patricius', and obsolete native names in the sagas. Cp. further § 302, 2 for loan-words which are not inflected in the singular. The common nouns **togu, rogu, uccu**, neut., 'choice, wish' ( § 737 ) are also indeclinable; cp. gen. **maice togu** *Wb.* 20<sup>d</sup>10. But as early as Féil. Jan. 6, Nov. 7 we find nom. sg. **togae** (*io*-stem); gen. **togai** *Trip.* 256, 20.

## DECLENSION AND STEM FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

**342.** By our period adjectives are almost entirely confined to vocalic stems; there are but few survivals of consonantal flexion. As in Indo-European, feminine *ā*- and *iā*-stems correspond to masculine and neuter *o*- and *io*-stems. *i*-stems are also numerous, *u*-stems somewhat rare. Accordingly five classes may be distinguished

- I. *o*- *ā*-stems,
- II. *io*- *iā*-stems,

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- III. *i*-stems,
- IV. *u*-stems,
- V. consonantal stems.

The flexion of adjectives differs in some particulars from that of nouns.

## STEM FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

**343.** There are four ways of forming new adjectives in the Irish of our period:

- 1. From transitive verbs: the passive participle in *-the* (*-te -de -se*), the formation of which is described § 714 f.
- 2. From nouns and adjectives:
  - A. a suffixless formation by composition,
  - B. with suffix *-d(a)e* (*io*- *iā*-stems),
  - C. with suffix *-ach* (*o*- *ā*-stems).

### A. SUFFIXLESS FORMATION BY COMPOSITION

Collection: Vendryes, *RC.* XXXII. 476.

**344.** Examples: **dub-glass** 'dark blue', **calad-gel** 'hard and white' (dvandva, a common type), **in-derb** 'uncertain'.

Here the following points should be noted:

1. When a suffixless adjective is formed from an adjective and a noun, the adjective is usually placed second without regard to the logical relationship between the two elements; e.g. **cenn-mar** 'large-headed' (**már-chenn**, **mór-chenn** means 'large head', § 363.), **ucht-lethan** 'broad-chested', **foit-buide** 'yellow-haired'. This usage is apparently common to all the Celtic languages; it is found, not only in Britannic, but also in Gaulish proper names. Cp. Gaul. *Nerto-marus*, W. *nerthfawr*, Ir. **nerymar** 'of great strength (**ner**)'; Gaul. *nevvo-ouivδoc*, W. *penwyn*, Ir. **cenand** 'white-headed' (cp. gen. QVENVENDANT *Inscr. Brit. Christ.* no. 91).

It is rarer to find the adjective placed first. In proper names like **Barr-f + ind** beside **Find-barr** (from **barr** 'head of hair' and **find** 'fair') the second form might be regarded as *pars pro toto* 'Fairhair'; cp. Gaul. *Dago-durnus* (from *dago-* 'good' and

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*durno-* 'fist'). But there are also adjectives with this formation, e.g. **nocht-chenn** 'bare-headed' (as against W. *pen-noeth*), **ard-chenn** 'high-headed' beside **cenn-ísel** 'with drooping head' *Tec. Corm.* § 33, 12, *fliuch-derce* 'blear-eyed', **cóem-aínech** 'pleasant-faced', **dupall** (*dub-ball*) 'dark-limbed', **lán-brón** 'full-sad' *Sg.* 42<sup>a</sup>8.

345. 2. When an adjective is formed by compounding a noun with a flexionless particle like **so- do-** (§ 365) or a preposition, most *o-* and *ā-*stems change over to the *i-*flexion. Examples: **cenél** 'kindred': **so-chenéuil**, **do-cheníuil** 'well-born, low-born'; **cosc** 'correction': **so-choisc** 'docile'; **ner** 'strength': **son (a) irt** 'strong', **énirt** 'infirm'; **adbar** 'material': **saidbir** 'rich, solvent', **daidbir** 'poor'; **accobur** 'wish': **suaccubuir** 'desirable'; **aithber** 'reproach': **deithbir deidbir** (*di-aithb.* . .) 'excusable, appropriate', lit. 'blameless'; **folud folad** 'substance': **déol (a) id** 'gratis'; **fot** 'length': **diuit** 'simple'; **áram** 'number' (*ā-*stem): **díárim** 'countless'; **galar** 'disease': **íngalair** 'sick'; **cíall** 'understanding', **fochell** 'heed': **túachil** 'sly' (with *to-fo-*) *Sg.* 60<sup>a</sup>7 (as an adverb, *in túachall Ml.* 103<sup>d</sup>23, misspelt for *-chail?*). Substantival: **cenn** 'head' (*o-*stem): **inchinn** 'brain'; **format** 'envy': **Díarmait** man's name.

In such compounds *o-* *ā-*flexion is very rare: **gal** (fem. *ā-*stem) 'valour': **ecal** 'timid, afraid' (nom. pl. masc. **ecil** *Wb.* 29<sup>d</sup>16), **ocal** 'vehement, angry'. Compounds of **cond** 'reason, rational person' seem to be always nouns, e.g. **sochond**, **dochond**, **écond**, **escond** 'a fully sensible, senseless etc. person'.

*i-*stems remain unchanged, e.g. **anim** 'blemish': **díanim** 'flawless'. *u-*stems fluctuate; e.g. **cruth** 'shape': **so-chrud**, **do-chrud** 'well-, ill-shaped' (later **so-**, **do-chraid**); but **fid** 'letter (of alphabet)': **cub (a) id** 'rhyming, harmonious'.

It is uncertain whether the compounds of the neuter *io-*stem **cumacht (a) e** 'power' are *i-*stems: **sochumacht sochmacht** 'possible, capable', **dochumacht** 'hardly possible', **éemacht** 'impossible, incapable', where *cht* may have resisted palatalization (§ 162). On the other hand, **trechenéle** 'threegendered' (*Sg.*), from **cenéle** neut., and substantival **comarpe** 'heir, successor', from **orb (a) e orpe** neut. 'inheritance', are *io-* (*iā-*) stems.

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Collection: Marstrander, *Une correspondance germano-celtique*, p. 47 f. *The formation of such compounds with i-flexion is common to all the IndoEuropean languages (see Brugmann, Grundriss II<sup>2</sup> i, p. 112), being especially productive in Latin: inermis, imberbis, etc.*

In **etargn (a) id etarcnaid** beside **etarcnad** 'known, usual', an adjectival *o-* *ā-*stem has become an *i-*stem in composition.

It is questionable whether **sulb (a) ir**, **dulb (u) ir** 'well-, ill-spoken' are derived from **labar** 'talkative, arrogant' or rather from **labr (a) e** fem. 'speech'. **cutrumm (a) e** (*io-*stem) 'equal', from **tromm** 'heavy', is obviously modelled on **cumm (a) e** 'equal'.

**346.** 3. In the rare instances where a suffixless adjective is formed from two nouns the change to *i*-flexion is not obligatory; e.g. **cor-thón** 'round-bottomed' Sg. 56<sup>b</sup>7, from **cor** 'curve' and **tón** (*ā*-stem) 'bottom'; **túag-mong** 'bow-maned' (**mong** fem. *ā*-stem); but also **ubull-ruisc** 'round-eyed' TBC. (ed. Windisch) 5385 (**rosc** *o*-stem).

Some compounds of **sam (a)il** 'likeness' still retain their original meaning: **athram (a)il adram (a)il** and **máthram (a)il** 'fatherlike, motherlike'. But in **sainemail** 'excellent' (from **sain** 'special') and **miathamail** 'magnificent' (from **miad** 'honour') the second element has become a mere adjectival suffix, which in Middle Irish replace earlier *-d(a)e*.

### B., C. THE SUFFIXES *-de* AND *-ach*:

**347.** Of the two living adjectival suffixes *-de* and *-ach*, the former denotes quality, kind, appurtenance, origin, material, time, etc., whereas *-ach* denotes possession or--when added to words descriptive of place--residence or situation in the place in question. Thus **corp(d) (a) e corpth (a) e** glosses 'corporalis', but **corpach** 'corpulentus'; **rómánd (a) e** means 'Roman' in kind or origin, substantivally 'a Roman', but **tír rómánach** Sg. 33<sup>a</sup>11 'the land about Rome' (both of them adapted from Lat. *romanus*).

Cp. further **nemd (a) e** 'heavenly', **domund (a) e** 'worldly', **doínde** 'human' (**doíni** 'persons'), **órd (a) e** 'golden', **daurd (a) e dairde** 'oaken', **cond (a) e** 'canine', **bráthard (a) e** 'brotherly', **coibnest (a) e** 'related' (*coibnius* 'kinship'), **bást (a) e** 'deadly', **míst (a) e** 'monthly'.

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Derivatives of this kind may also be formed from adjectives; e.g. **marbd(a)e** 'lifeless, having the character of a dead (*marb*) thing', and 'mortal'; **béod(a)e** 'uiuidus' from **béu béo** 'living'; **arsat(a)e** 'antiquarius' from **ars(a)id** 'ancient'; **nu(a)ide** 'nouellus' from **nu(a)e** 'new'; **ild(a)e** 'multiple' from **il** 'many'; **aicside** 'visible' from **aicse** 'seen'.

In poetry such derivatives often have the same meaning as the primary word.

Examples of the suffix *-ach* are:

**bennach** 'horned', **cnocach** 'humped', **lethan-scáthach** (poet.) 'with broad shield(s)', **clothach** 'famous' (cloth 'fame'), **cumachtach** 'powerful' (**cumacht(a)e** 'power'). Derivatives from verbal nouns have sometimes an active, sometimes a passive meaning; e.g. **létenach** 'daring' (**létiu** 'audacity'), **loingthech** 'gluttonous' (**longud** 'eating'); but **cinntech** 'definite' ('having definition') from **cinniud** 'definition'.

**airtherach** 'eastern' (**airther** 'the east'); **centarach** 'hither' (adj.); **immedónach** 'internal' (but **medóndae** 'of intermediate quality' Sg. 10<sup>a</sup>2, 3, 5); **albanach** 'dwelling in Scotland (*Albu*)'.

In some examples, however, the above distinction is not consistently observed. Thus **anmand(a)e** (from **anim** 'soul') is used to translate, not merely Lat. *animalis* in the sense of 'animate', but also *animal* 'living creature, animal', where *-ach* might be expected. This may be due to a misunderstanding of the Latin. On the other hand, in imitations of Latin compounds, *-de* is sometimes found where one would expect suffixless formation (or *-ach*); e.g. **déchorpdae** 'bicorpor' Sg. 65<sup>a</sup>13, **glanchoste gl. merops** (taken to be a compound of **merus** and **pes**) Thes. II. 227, 24.

**348.** The suffix *-de* has neutral *ð* when the preceding vowel is syncopated; hence the frequent spelling *-dae*, later also *-da*. It has unlenited *d* after *l* and *n*, *t* after *s* (§ 139); e.g. **coldde** 'of hazel wood (*coll*)' Sg. 35<sup>b</sup>10; **geinddae (sic)** 'genitalis' Sg. 64<sup>a</sup>16, from **gein** 'birth'; **bést(a)e** 'moral'. For occasional *-th(a)e* see § 124. The *ð* combines with preceding *t*, *th*, *d* to give *t(t)*, *dd* (§ 137); e.g. **túat(a)e** 'gentilis' from **túath** 'gens'; **úathat(a)e** 'singular' from **úathad** 'singular number'.

In consonantal stems the final of the stem appears before *-de*. Examples: **aire**, gen. **airech**, 'man of rank': **airechdae airegde**; **rí**, gen. **ríg**, 'king': **rígd(a)e**; **talam**, gen. **talman**,

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'earth': *talmand(a)e*; *cú*, gen. *con*, 'hound': *cond(a)e*; *mí*, gen. *mís*, 'month': **míst(a)e** ; *fili*, gen. *filed*, 'poet': *filet(a)e*. *crú*, gen. *cráu cró*, 'blood' makes *cród(a)e*.

The vowel before *-de* remains when the preceding syllable has undergone syncope; e.g. *blíad(a)in* 'year': *blíadn(a)ide*; *colín(n)* 'flesh': *coln(a)ide*; *nám(a)e*, gen. *námat*, 'enemy': *náimtide*; *cáera*, gen. *cáerach*, 'sheep': *caírch(u)ide*. It is also retained in derivatives of *io-* and *iā-*stems; e.g. *la(i)the* 'day': *lathide*; *um(a)e* 'copper': *um(a)ide*; occasionally in derivatives of other stems, e.g. *recht* 'law': *recht(a)ide*, *fuil* 'blood': *fulide*; but not in adjectives formed from *s-*stems, e.g. *nem* 'heaven': *nemd(a)e*.

*cré* 'clay' (dat. sg. *crí*) makes *créodae* *MI.* 18<sup>a</sup>11; *trí* 'three': *tréodae* *gl. tricuspis*, *Sg.* 67<sup>b</sup>2 (but *tréde* 'three things', §387); *día* 'God': *déod(a)e* *Fél.*, etc., (but *díade* *Wb.*).

These forms seem to indicate that the suffix (as also the corresponding Mid.W. *-eid*, Mod.W. *-aidd*) originally contained the vowel *-o-* (*-odi + o-*, *-odi + ā-*); cp. Gallo-Lat. *Carant-odius*, *-odia* (*Ir. cairdide* 'friendly').

**349.** As might be expected, *-ach* is replaced by *-ech* when preceded by a palatal consonant. Examples: *cretem* 'belief' : *cretmech*; *cubus* (*com-wiss-*) 'conscience': *cuibsech*; *teched* 'flight': *teichthech*; *longud* 'act of eating': *loingthech* (from such examples *-thech* occasionally spreads further: *tecmairigthech* 'accidental' *Sg.* 29<sup>a</sup>1, from *tecmang* 'chance'). Also in derivatives of *io-* and *iā-*stems; e.g. *bu(i)de* 'contentment': *bu(i)dech*; *gu(i)de* 'prayer': *guidech* 'supplex'.

In derivatives of *i-*stems both *-ach* and *-ech* are found, e.g. *búadach* 'victorious' from *búaid* (probably the older formation) beside *súilech* 'having eyes' from *súil*.

*fochrach* 'mercennarius' *Sg.* 35<sup>a</sup>2, from *fochric(c)* 'pay', points to an earlier form *\*fochre*; cp. *W. gobr*, *gobrwy* and § 737. But *srúamach* 'streamy' *Fel.* beside *srúaimnech* *O'Dav.* 1438, from *srúaim(m)* (*n-*stem), seems to be a late formation; cp. the late nom. pl. *srúama* *LU* 2187.

Of the suffixes corresponding to *-ach* in other Celtic languages, *Britann. -ōc* (Mid.W. *-awc*, Mod.W. *-og*) has the same meaning. On the other hand, *Gaul. -āco-* can be used to form placenames, e.g. *Nouiacum castrum* from *Nouius*, *locellus Luciacus* from *Lucius*.

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In *airchinnech* 'princeps' (from *cenn* 'head'), = Mid.W. *arbennic*, the ending *-ech* represents earlier *-īko-* or *-īko-*. Cp. *clérech*, *mindech* from *Lat.B clericus*, *mendicus*.

## DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

### I. o- ā-STEMS

**350.** Paradigms: *bec(c)* 'small', *cumachtach* 'powerful'.

masc.		fem.		neut.	
N	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>
V	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>
A	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>becc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>
G	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>	<b>bicce</b> <b>cumachtch (a)e</b>	<b>bicce</b> <b>cumachtch (a)e</b>	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>
D	<b>biucc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>	<b>biucc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>	<b>biucc</b> <b>cumachtach</b>
<b>PLURAL</b>					
masc.		fem.		neut.	
N	<b>bicc</b> <b>cumacht (a)ig</b>	<b>becca</b>	<b>becca</b>	<b>cumachtcha-ga</b>	<b>cumachtcha-ga</b>
V	<b>biccu</b> <b>cumachtchu-gu</b>	<b>becca</b>	<b>becca</b>	<b>cumachtcha-ga</b>	<b>cumachtcha-ga</b>
A	<b>biccu</b> ,	<b>cumachtchu-gu,</b>	<b>becca</b>	<b>cumachtcha-ga</b>	<b>cumachtcha-ga</b>

PLURAL

	masc.		fem. neut.	
	becca	-cha -ga	becc	cumachtach
G	becc	cumachtach	becc	cumachtach
D	becc (a) ib	cumachtch (a) ib -gaib	becc (a) ib	cumachtch (a) ib -g (a) ib

351. The above paradigms show two points of difference from the corresponding substantival flexion ( § 277 ):

1. In the nom. acc. pl. neut. the longer form in *-a* (for the origin of which see § 469 ) is exclusively used. But substantival adjectives may have the shorter form, e.g. *inna ole* 'mala' *MI.* 89<sup>a</sup>2; cp. *Sg.* 217<sup>a</sup>8.
2. The acc. pl. masc. has a by-form in *-a*, which has spread from the feminine and neuter, influenced to some extent by the article *inna* ( § 468 ). But in substantival use the *-u* of the substantival flexion is retained, except in *inna oína oína-sa* 'these same' *MI.* 70<sup>a</sup>4 ( § 484a ) and *cecha oína* 56<sup>a</sup>20 ( § 490b ).

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The gen. sg. neut. *beic(c)* *Wb.* 8<sup>d</sup>21, 21<sup>c</sup>12 is apparently substantival.

Collection: Strachan, Ériu I. 4.

The Glosses have only three examples of *-a* in the masculine nom. pl.: *maice*, *coíma* 'dear sons' *Wb.* 27<sup>b</sup>16 (possibly an error), and the predicatives *fíra* *MI.* 51<sup>b</sup>8, *móra* 98<sup>c</sup>5. In the dat. sg. masc. neut. the absence of *u*-quality is determined by the same conditions as in substantival flexion ( § 278 ). Thus it is absent in all adjectives in *-ach*; in *már mór* 'great', *noíb* 'holy', and similar adjectives; further, in *labar* 'arrogant' *MI.* 58<sup>c</sup>6, *tere* 'scanty' 118<sup>a</sup>10, and *bocht* 'poor' 61<sup>a</sup>5. Where *-ach* has become *-ech*, *u*-quality is sometimes found; e.g. *ancretmiuch* *Wb.* 10<sup>a</sup>5 as against *ancreitmech* 'unbelieving,' *Wb.* 28<sup>d</sup>23; cp. *MI.* 40<sup>d</sup>4, 65<sup>b</sup>10. Since *cht* as a rule resists palatalization ( § 162 ), gen. sg. neut. *andracht* gl. *tetri* *Sg.* 112<sup>a</sup>1 is quite regular. But *nocht* 'naked' has acc. sg. fem. *nocht* with subscript *i* *Wb.* 11<sup>c</sup>18, and *bocht* has gen. sg. *bocht* with suprascript *i* *MI.* 27<sup>d</sup>7, 36<sup>a</sup>34 (once *boicht*, 31<sup>c</sup>1). In the pronunciation of the latter word in present-day Munster Irish only the *t* (not *ch*) is palatal.

352. For changes in the vocalism cp. further: *dían* 'swift'; gen. masc. neut. *déin*, fem. *déne*; dat. masc. neut. *dían*, fem. *déin*, etc. ( § 53 ). *olc* 'bad'; masc. gen. *uilc*, dat. *ulc*; pl. nom. *uilc*, acc. *ulcu*, gen. *olc* ( § 73 ). *mall* 'slow'; masc. gen. *maill*, dat. *maull*. *marb* 'dead' nom. pl. masc. *mairb* and *moirb* ( § 80 ). *trén* 'strong'; masc. pl. nom. *tréuin tríuin*, acc. *tríunu* ( § 55 ). *béu* *béo* 'living'; masc. voc. gen. *bí*; dat. *bíu*; pl. nom. masc. *bí*; acc. *bíu* (§§ 204, 206 ), fem. *béoa* *Thes.* I. 4, 31 (possibly a later form); (gen. *béo*).

353. Disyllabic adjectives with palatal consonance resulting from syncope have the ending *-i* in the nom. acc. pl., like the *i*-stems ( § 356 ) and the *io*-stems ( § 354 ):

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*ísel* 'low'; dat. *ísiul*; pl. nom. *íslí*, dat. *íslib*; but gen. pl. *hísel* *MI.* 40<sup>c</sup>20 (substantival). *(h)úasal* 'high'; pl. nom. acc. *(h)úaislí*, dat. *(h)úaislib*; but substantival nom. pl. masc. *húasail* *Sg.* 200<sup>b</sup>2. *díles(s)* 'own'; dat. *dílius*; nom. acc. pl. *dílsi*.

So also *daingen* 'firm', pl. *daingni* *MI.* 78<sup>b</sup>19; *anbal* 'shameless': *anbli* *Fél.* Nov. 9; *adbul -bal* 'mighty': *aidbli* *ibid. Prol.* 81; *amnas* 'sharp': *amainsí*. Even *ingnad* 'unusual' has nom. pl. masc. *ingainti* *MI.* 115<sup>b</sup>4, although an originally neutral vowel (*gnáth* 'usual') has been syncopated; cp. abstr. *ingainte*, where the palatalization is regular ( § 164 ).

II io- iā-STEMS

354. Paradigms: *u(i)le* 'all, whole', *nemd(a)e* 'heavenly'.

		<b>SINGULAR SINGULAR</b>					
		<b>masc.</b>		<b>fem.</b>		<b>neut.</b>	
N	<b>u (i )le</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>	<b>u (i )le</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>	<b>u (i )le</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>
V	<b>u (i )li</b>	<b>nemd (a )i</b>	<b>u (i )le</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>	<b>u (i )le</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>
A	<b>u (i )le</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>	<b>u (i )li</b>	<b>nemd (a )i</b>	<b>u (i )le</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>
G	<b>u (i )li</b>	<b>nemd (a )i</b>	<b>u (i )le</b>	<b>nemd (a )e</b>	<b>u (i )li</b>	<b>nemd (a )i</b>	<b>nemd (a )i</b>
D	<b>u (i )liu</b>	<b>nemdu</b>	<b>u (i )li</b>	<b>nemd (a )i</b>	<b>u (i )liu</b>	<b>nemdu</b>	<b>nemdu</b>
		<b>PLURAL PLURAL</b>					
		<b>masc.</b>		<b>fem.</b>		<b>neut.</b>	
NVA	<b>u (i )li</b>			<b>nemd (a )i</b>			
G	<b>u (i )le</b>			<b>nemd (a )e</b>			
D	<b>u (i )lib</b>			<b>nemd (a )ib</b>			

Later *-a* is often found for *-ae*; *-i* for *-iu* is very rare, e.g. dat. sg. masc. *huli* *MI.* 53<sup>a</sup>2 ( § 99 ).

**355.** This flexion differs from the substantival in that *-i* has become the universal nom. voc. acc. pl. ending, probably under the influence of the *i*-stems. But in substantival use masculine adjectives have acc. pl. in *-(i)u*, e.g. *remeperthiu* 'the aforesaid (persons)' *MI.* 69<sup>a</sup>4.

On the other hand, the neuter nom. acc. pl. usually ends in *-i*, even in substantival use, e.g. *inna cotarsnai* 'aduersa'

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*MI.* 46<sup>c</sup>9. The only plural form in *-e* is *dorch(a)e* 'tenebrae'; e.g. *MI.* 54<sup>b</sup>20, nom. sg. *dorch(a)e* '(the) dark';

Collection: Strachan, Ériu I. 5.

*nuie* (Wb.), *nu(a)e* 'new' (§§ 72, 100) has gen. masc. *nu(a)i*; dat. *nuu*, fem. *nu(a)i*, etc. *clé* 'left' has dat. sg. masc. *clíu*, fem. *clí*.

### III. i-STEMS

356. Paradigms: *maith* 'good', *sainem(a)il* 'excellent'.

		<b>SINGULAR SINGULAR</b>			
		<b>masc. neut.</b>		<b>fem.</b>	
NVA	<b>maith</b>	<b>sainem (a )il</b>	<b>maith</b>	<b>sainem (a )il</b>	<b>sainem (a )il</b>
G	<b>maith</b>	<b>sainem (a )il</b>	<b>ma (i )the</b>	<b>saineml (a )e</b>	<b>saineml (a )e</b>
D	<b>maith</b>	<b>sainem (a )il</b>	<b>maith</b>	<b>sainem (a )il</b>	<b>sainem (a )il</b>
		<b>PLURAL PLURAL</b>			
		<b>masc.</b>		<b>fem. neut.</b>	
NVA	<b>ma (i )thi</b>			<b>saineml (a )i</b>	
G	<b>ma (i )the, maith</b>			<b>saineml (a )e, sainem (a )il</b>	
D	<b>ma (i )thib</b>			<b>saineml (a )ib</b>	

**357.** The gen. sg. is formed like that of the *o-* *ā*-stems; hence the whole of the singular masc. neut. is uninflected. Possibly *-e* in the feminine represents an earlier *i*-stem ending ( § 303 ), which happened to coincide with that of the *ā*-stems and eventually gave rise to *o*-stem forms for the masculine and neuter.

This formation is also found in substantival use, e.g. in maith 'of the good'; but proper names in *-am(a)il* ( § 346 ) have gen. sg. *Conamlo, Fíannamlo* AU. 704, 740.

To the above flexion belong several substantival adjectives such as *posit, comparit, superlait* 'positive, comparative, superlative', *infinít* 'infinitive', which in turn have attracted other loan-words; see § 302, 2.

In the gen. pl. a shorter form with no case-ending, perhaps also suggested by the *o- ā*-stems, is found beside that in *-e*. In substantival use the longer form alone seems to be employed.

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Both forms are found with attributive adjectives, e.g. *inna n-dam n-altae* 'of the stags' *MI.* 121<sup>c</sup>19 beside *inna n-damán n-allaid* 'of the spiders' 59<sup>d</sup>1 (from *allaid* 'wild').

Collection: Strachan, *ZCP.* IV. 64, 489.

In substantival use the nom. acc. pl. neut. have the ending *-e* in *réde* (rhyming with *péne*) 'plains' *Fél.* Prol. 120 (from *rédi*) and *fudumne* 'profunda' *Wb.* 5<sup>c</sup>16, 8<sup>b</sup>6; but *fudumnai* *MI.* 81<sup>a</sup>4, 138<sup>d</sup>9.

Nom. dat. sg. *glé* 'clear' may belong to this class, although it has nom. pl. masc. *ruclé* (= *rug-glé*) *MI.* 36<sup>a</sup>10, not *-gléi*; cp. O.Bret. *gloiu, W. gloew.*

#### IV. u-STEMS

**358.** These are not nearly so numerous as the classes already described. Besides a few simple adjectives like *dub* 'black', *tiug* 'thick', *fliueh* 'wet', *ac(c)us ocus* 'near', there are a number of compounds like *so-chrud, do-chrud* 'beautiful, ugly'; *solus* 'bright' (from *lés* 'light'), *follus* (\**fo-solus*) 'clear'; *fossad, cobsud* 'firm', *anbsud* 'unstable'; *cumung* 'narrow'; *díriug díriuch* 'straight'.

They can still be distinguished as *u*-stems only in the nom. sg. of all genders and the acc. dat. sg. masc. neut. (there are no examples of the vocative). Like the *i*-stems, they have adopted the form of the *o*-stems in the gen. sg. masc. neut. The fem. sg. is inflected like the nouns described § 308. The nom. acc. pl. has the ending of the *i*-stems (and of the *io- iā*-stems). *il* 'many' (cp. Goth. *filu, Gk. πολύς*) has gone over completely to the *i*-flexion.

**359.** Paradigms: *dub* 'black', *follus* 'clear'.

		SINGULAR		SINGULAR	
		masc. neut.		fem.	
N	<b>dub</b>	<b>follus</b>	<b>dub</b>	<b>follus</b>	
A	<b>dub</b>	<b>follus</b>	<b>duib</b>	<b>foill (a) is</b>	
G	<b>duib</b>	<b>foill (a) is</b>	<b>dub (a) e</b>	<b>foille</b>	
D	<b>dub</b>	<b>follus</b>	<b>duib</b>	<b>foill (a) is</b>	

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		PLURAL		PLURAL	
		masc. fem. neut.			
NA	<b>dub (a) i</b>		<b>foillsi</b>		
G	(later <b>dub</b> )		(later <b>follus</b> )		
D	<b>dub (a) ib</b>		<b>foillsib</b>		

*dochrud* has gen. sg. fem. *dochuirde* *Sg.* 203<sup>a</sup>4, but nom. pl. *doraidi* *MI.* 68<sup>d</sup>2 (probably an error for *dochraidí*).

## V. CONSONANTAL STEMS

**360.** *éula éola* (with negative prefix: *anéola*) is the older nom. sg. corresponding to nom. pl. *éul(a)ig éol(a)ig* 'expert, knowing' (*ch*-stem), dat. pl. *éulachaib* *MI.* 131<sup>c</sup>15, *anéulchaib* 42<sup>c</sup>4. But as early as *MI.* there is a by-form with nom. sg. *éulach* (acc. pl. *é[u]lachu* 145<sup>b</sup>1), which belongs to the *o*-flexion.

Nom. sg. *tee té* (all genders) 'hot' has nom. pl. fem. *téit* (probably disyllabic) *Wb.* 29<sup>a</sup>1 (originally an *nt*-stem).

Nom. pl. masc. *deeth* 'desides' *MI.* 120<sup>b</sup>3, if it stands for *deeith*, may also be a survival of consonantal flexion. Otherwise the word seems to be inflected as an *i*-stem: nom. *deid* 35<sup>c</sup>25, acc. *déed* *Wb.* 25<sup>c</sup>19, gen. *deeid* *MI.* 82<sup>c</sup>5; pl. nom. *deedi* *Thes.* II. 4, 29, dat. *déedib* *MI.* 131<sup>d</sup>11.

*ainb* (*ainib* *MI.* 30<sup>c</sup>2 is probably an error) 'ignorant' (*an-wid-*) has abandoned its consonantal flexion: nom. pl. *ainbi* *MI.* 51<sup>c</sup>14. Other adjectives which probably belong to this class occur only in the nom. sg.; e.g. compounds of *teng(a)e* 'tongue' (§ 322): *sothnge suithnge*, *dothge*, *étnge* lit. 'having a good, bad, no tongue' i.e. 'well-spoken', etc. (for the later flexion of *Bricriu nemthenga* 'B. poison-tongue' and *Dubthach dóeltenga*, see *IT.* I. 871, 873); and compounds of *\*á4ui* (§ 323, 1) 'poetic art': *soí*, *doí*.

## USE OF INFLECTED AND UNINFLECTED ADJECTIVES

**361.** When used as predicative nominative an adjective is inflected and agrees with the subject in gender; e.g. *it móra na bretha* 'the judgements are great'; *do-adbat ara-n-ecatar inraicci* 'he shows that they are found worthy' *MI.* 19<sup>d</sup>21. There are instances, however, of a neuter adjective predicating a feminine verbal noun: *ba erchóitech n-doib toimtiu nad*

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*ráncatar les dénma maith* '(the) thought that they had no need to do good was hurtful to them' *MI.* 35<sup>b</sup>25. Further, the neuter sg. is used in such sentences as *uisse in boill do áss ón chiunn* 'it is proper for the members to grow from the head' *Wb.* 22<sup>a</sup>17 (§ 720).

For the subsequent loss of concord, first in gender, then in number also, see Dillon, *ZCP.* XVI. 322 ff. For the form of predicative adjectives qualifying the object of a transitive verb, see § 249, 2.

In attributive use the inflected adjective follows its noun, with which it agrees in gender, number, and case; e.g. *serce móre* 'of great love' *Wb.* 24<sup>c</sup>2; *don choimdid nemdu* 'to the heavenly Lord' 27<sup>c</sup>18; *arnaib grádaib nemdib* 'for the heavenly ranks' 21<sup>a</sup>13.

For the attributive dative standing in apposition to a pronoun in whatever case, cp. § 251, 2; for defective concord in *u(i)li*, *ibid.*

Where a quality alone is predicated, the adjective is used independently, not attributively; e.g. *is maith in muce* 'the pig (before us) is good' *LL* 112<sup>b</sup>22, where in English one would say rather 'that is a good pig'. On the other hand, *is lestar fás* 'he (the man) is an empty vessel' *Thes.* II. 294, 28, where the predicate is not *fás* alone, but the group *lestar fás*.

**362.** In prose, only the following adjectival words may stand inflected before the word they qualify:

1. The cardinal numerals 2, 3, 4 (§ 385; *óin* is inflected only when it means 'same', e.g. *inna óena méite* 'of the same size' *Sg.* 203<sup>a</sup>26; cp. § 484 a).
2. All the ordinals (§ 393 ff.) except *tán(a)isse* 'second', which follows the word qualified (occasionally also *aile* 'second').
3. The definite article (§ 467 ff.) and the pronominals *cach cech* 'each', *nach* 'any'. For *alaile* 'other', see § 486 b.
4. *u(i)le* 'all, whole' and *sain* 'separate' may stand before or after. Examples: *int huile talam* 'the whole

earth' *MI.* 45<sup>d</sup>8 beside *arm duiniu huiliu* 'for the whole man' 54<sup>b</sup>11; *huili doíni talman* 'all the men of the earth' 61<sup>a</sup>16 beside *Israheldai hull* 'all the Israelites' 34<sup>d</sup>20; *saini ríaglóri* 'different regulars' *Thes.* II. 19, 34, beside *hi personaib sainib* 'in different persons' *Sg.* 28<sup>b</sup>2. *sain* may also be used in composition, like the adjectives of § 363.

Only in poetry can other inflected adjectives stand before their nouns.

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The cardinal numbers 5-10 ( § 385 ) stand uninflected before the word they qualify, but do not compound with it. The ordinals, too, are sometimes uninflected; e.g. *cétn(a)e cétna* as gen. sg. neut. *Sg.* 76<sup>b</sup>4, as dat. sg. fem. *MI.* 115<sup>a</sup>14, *Sg.* 18<sup>b</sup>2; *cethramad* dat. sg. neut. *Thes.* I. 497, 13 (Arm.); cp. later examples like *na sechtmad blíadna* 'of the seventh year' *IT.* III., 1, 39. There is one example of *ule* as acc. sg. fem., *MI.* 25<sup>a</sup>8.

No trace of inflexion survives in *ind-ala* 'the one (of two)' and *each-la* 'every other' ( § 487 ).

**363.** Other simple adjectives, except those formed with the suffixes *-de*, *-ach*, or participial *-the*, may also precede the noun they qualify. In that case, however, they form a compound with it, i.e. remain uninflected, lenite the following initial, and take the stress. Examples: *ilchathraig* or *cathraig ili* 'many cities'; *fírbrithem* 'just judge', and *bretha fíra* 'just judgments'; *co nóebairbrib aingel* 'with holy cohorts of angels' *Fél.* Ep. 344, and *húanaib aidmib noíbaib* 'from the holy instruments' *MI.* 74<sup>a</sup>13; *in nuaethintúd-sa* 'this new translation' 2<sup>a</sup>6, and *á cétal nuae* 'the new song,' 60<sup>a</sup>12.

Cp. Gaulish placenames like *Nouiudunum* 'New-fort', *Marioalus* 'Greatfield'.

**364.** To express certain qualities different roots are used according as the adjective precedes or follows the qualified word:

'good': preceding, **dag - deg** - ( § 83 b ); following (and predicative), *maith*; e.g. *dagf + ér* and *fer maith* 'good man'.

'bad, evil': preceding, **droch - drog** -; following (and predicative), *olc(c)*; e.g. *drochdoíni* 'evil men' beside *béssti olca* 'evil beasts'.

The only instance in prose where *droch* is apparently inflected, acc. pl. *isna drocho doíni* *MI.* 24<sup>b</sup>4, is possibly an error. In Brittonic, on the other hand, W. Bret. *da* 'good' and Mid.W. *drwc* Bret. *drouk* 'bad' are used after the noun, and also predicatively, whereas in Irish such uses are confined to poetic language.

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**365.** Certain attributive words occur, like prepositional preverbs, only in composition; they lenite the following initial.

1. *so- su-* 'good' and *do- du-* 'bad'; e.g. *so-chor*, *do-chor* 'good, bad contract'; *dodcad* 'misfortune' from *tocad* 'fortune'. More frequently they serve to form adjectives from nouns; see § 345; cp. further *suaitribhthide* 'habitable' (*aîtrebad* 'act of dwelling', later form of *atrab*).

These prefixes (= W. *hy-* and *dy-*, and probably contained in Gaul. *Su-carius -ia*, *Su ratus*, gen. sg. *Du-rati*) correspond to Skt. *su-* and *du-* (Gk. *δυσ-*), but the final of the second has been assimilated to that of the first. In hiatus the vowel *u* prevails; otherwise *so- do-* and *su- du-* alternate without regard to the quality of the following vowel (cp. further § 166 ).

2. *mí-* 'ill-, mis-, wrong'; e.g. *mí-thol*, *mí-dúthracht* 'ill-will', *mí-gním* 'misdeed', *mí-thoimtiu* 'wrong opinion', *mí-fogur* (*f = f +* ) 'dissonance', *mí-desmrecht* 'bad example'. This prefix is also found before verbs ( § 384 ).

Connexion with Eng. 'mis-(deed)', Goth. *missa-* cannot be proved. It would seem as if the prohibitive negative Gk. *μή*, Skt. *mā* had become a compositional prefix (otherwise Pedersen II. 10). There is

- no by-form *mis-*, as has sometimes been assumed; *miscuis* 'hate' is not a compound of *cais* 'love', 'hatred', for the adjective *miscsech* presupposes an original palatal vowel in the second syllable.
3. *bith-* 'lasting, permanent'; e.g. *bithphennit* 'lasting penitence', *bidbethu* 'everlasting life'. It is frequently used as an adverb before adjectives: *bithbéo bidbéo* 'eternal', *bithf + ótae* 'ever-long'.

The phonetic relation to W. *byth* 'ever, forever', Corn. *byth, by, bythqueth*, Mid. Bret. *bez-goaz, bezcoaz, biscoaz* 'ever (never)' can only be explained by assuming that the Brittonic word is borrowed. There is a rare word Ir. *bith, ro-bith* 'long period' or the like ( *ZCP. XII. 363, 21, 27* ), which is probably not to be separated from *bith* 'world'

4. *sith-* 'long', e.g. *sith-long* 'long ship', not attested in the Glosses; often compounded with adjectives, as in *sith-ard* 'long and high'. It has an equative *sithithir sithidir*. Cp. W. *hyd* 'length'.
5. The numeral *óin-óen-* 'one'; e.g. *óen-chíall*, gen. *óen-chéille*, 'one sense'.

Only in two expressions, where its original sense is somewhat weakened, does *óen* follow the noun: *fecht n-óen* 'once upon a time', *láa n-óen* 'one day'.

6. For the negative prefixes see [§§ 869](#) ff.

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## COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

Collections: Ascoli, Archivio Glottologico Italiano, Supplem. period, I. 53 ff., 97 ff. (equative); Sommer, *IF. XI. 218* ff., 234 f. (comparative and superlative).

**366.** The Old Irish adjective has three degrees of comparison:

1. The **equative**, denoting that the person or thing referred to possesses a certain quality in the same degree as that with which he or it is compared. The latter is put in the accusative ( [§ 249, 4](#) ), or expressed by a conjunctionless clause, e.g. *soilsidir bid hi lugburt* 'as bright (as if) it were in a garden' *SP. (Thes. II. 294, 16)*, *is firithir ad-fíadar* 'it is as true (as) is reported' Liadain and Cuirithir, p. 24, 9.
2. The **comparative**, denoting that the person or thing referred to possesses a quality in a higher degree than that with which he or it is compared. The latter is put in the dative ( [§ 251, 1](#) ), or expressed by a clause with *ol* or *in* ( [§ 779, 1](#) ).

*ol* without a verb is quite exceptional: *ba córu bid for náimdeb imma-bertha ol for legi* 'it were more fitting that thou shouldst take action against enemies than against physicians' *TBC. 2863* f.

3. The **superlative**, denoting possession of a quality in a higher degree than anything comparable of the same species. In the course of time it is superseded by the comparative; already in the Féilire (p. xxx.) comparative forms are more numerous than superlative.

Except in artificial renderings of Latin forms, the superlative does not seem to be used for merely heightened emphasis. This is expressed rather by means of prefixes like *ér-*, *der-* ( [§ 852 A](#) ), and *rug-*, e.g. *rug-solus* (*s = ś*) 'very bright', *ruclé* (*rug-glé*) 'very clear', *rug-il gl. nonnullo* *ZCP. VII. 481, 74a*. The origin of the prefix in *drúailnithe -ide*, from *éilnithe* 'defiled', is not certain.

For 'too, excessively', **ro-** is used ( [§ 852 A](#) ).

**367.** All the forms of comparison are uninflected, and show no difference of number or gender.

Syntactically they always appear in nominative construction (for the adverbs see [§ 382](#)). 'To the just as strong, stronger, strongest man' are rendered 'to the man who is as strong, stronger, strongest'. In prose they are not used attributively, even where the qualified word

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is in the nominative. Nor are they ever substantivized; e.g. 'the older' is rendered *intí as siníu* 'he who is older'; *innahí ata nessa* 'the nearer (things)'.

The compound *comnessam* 'nearest' (i.e. 'neighbour' in the Christian sense) is substantival and is inflected as an *o*-stem: gen. sg. *comnessim* Wb. 23<sup>b</sup>1, *comnissim* 1<sup>c</sup>6. There are also special words for substantival 'the elder (eldest), younger (youngest)', the *o*-stems *sinser* and *ós(s)er*, *óssar*; cp. Lat. *sinister*, *magister*, Gallo-Lat. *Senister*.

The renderings of *acceptissimi tui* (gen. sg.) by *du thuichsimem* Ml. 71<sup>b</sup>21 and of *peruersissimi homines* by *doíni saíbibem* 3<sup>a</sup>5 are Latinisms.

### NORMAL FORMATION OF THE EQUATIVE, COMPARATIVE, AND SUPERLATIVE

**368.** The equative suffix is *-ithir*, *-idir*, the former as a rule after monosyllables, the latter after polysyllables ( § 129 ). Examples: *dían* 'swift': *dénithir* 'as swift': *léir* 'eager, diligent': *léirithir*; *demin* 'certain': *demníthir*; *soirb* 'easy': *soirbithir* *soirbidir*; *suthain* 'lasting': *suthainidir*; *erlam* 'ready': *erlamaidir*.

In poetry there are a few forms (confirmed by rhyme) in *-ther* and *-thar -dar*: *amraither* (*sic leg.*, MS. *-rathor*) Fianaig. p. 14 § 31, *amradar* [ibid. p. 16 § 39](#) (corrupt form in FM.845). These may be examples of poetic licence at a time when the formation was no longer living. Others, such as *luathaigther* RC. XII.426 § 10, are probably mere scribal errors.

**369.** The normal comparative suffix is *-u*, with palatalization of the preceding consonant except where palatalization is resisted or lost in accordance with Irish sound laws. Examples:

*dían* 'swift': *déníu*  
*sen* 'old': *siníu* (*sinu*)  
*oll* 'ample': *uillíu*, *oill(i)u*  
*tiug* 'thick': *tigiú*  
*inill* 'safe': *inillíu*  
*áilind* 'beautiful': *áildíu*  
*fáilid* 'glad': *fáiltíu*  
*uisse* 'right': *uissíu*  
*dímicthe* 'despised': *dímicthíu*.

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But *ard* 'high': *ardu*

*fudum(a)in* 'deep': *fudumnu*  
*lobor*, *lobur* 'weak': *lobru* (*lobro* Wb. 17<sup>b</sup>29, see § 101 )  
*cumachtach* 'powerful': *cumachtchu* (*cumachtgu* Ml. 101<sup>d</sup>7)  
*tromm* 'heavy': *trummu* ( § 166a )  
*tan(a)e* 'thin': *tanu*  
*ass(a)e* 'easy': *assu*.

Cp. also *son(a)irt* 'strong': *sonortu* Wb., *sonartu* Ml. Further, *toísech* 'leading': *toíseehu*, *toísegu* beside *toísigiu* (*toísegiu*), cp. § 167.

*bu(i)dech* 'contented': *buidechu* beside *budigiú* *buidichíu*  
*irlam* 'ready': *irlamu*  
*fírián* 'just': *fíriánu*.

**370.** The normal superlative suffix is *-era* with palatalization of the preceding consonant, *-am* after consonants which resist palatalization. Examples:

*cóem* 'lovely': *cóemem*  
*sen* 'old': *sinem*  
*toísech* 'leading': *toísigem*, *toísechem*  
*follus* 'clear': *faillsem*  
*réil* 'clear': *rélem*.

But *ard* 'high': *ardam*

**déod(a)e** 'divine': *déodam* (Fél.)  
*ans(a)e* 'difficult': *ansam*.

Arch. *deamrem* (for later *-ram*), from *deamir diam(a)ir* 'hidden, secret' ZCP. VII.481 (73b).

**371.** In *MI.* the superlative is often found with a double suffix *-imem*, occasionally *-amam*; e.g.  
 (*h*)úasal 'high': *húaislimem* beside *húaislem*  
 somm(a)e 'rich': *sommaimem*  
 fírián 'just': *fíriánamam*.

*saíbibem MI.* 3<sup>a</sup>5, from *saíb* 'false', and *foirsingigem* 67<sup>d</sup>4, from *fairsiung* 'wide', are probably scribal errors.

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### OTHER FORMATIONS

372. An archaic type is represented by a few examples in which the forms of comparison have the same root as the positive but are formed without its suffix. In the equative some of them have the ending *-r'* instead of *-ithir*, in the comparative *-a* instead of *-(i)u*.

POSITIVE	EQUATIVE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE
<b>il</b> 'many'	<b>lir</b>	<b>lia</b>	
<b>lethan</b> 'broad'	<b>lethithir, -idir</b> (le (i)thir)	<b>letha</b>	
<b>már mór</b> 'great, much'	<b>móir</b>	<b>mó móo máo</b> <b>móu máa</b> (má) <b>móa</b>	<b>máam (mám)</b> <b>moam</b>
<b>oac óac</b> 'young'		<b>óa</b> (also 'less')	<b>óam</b>
<b>remur</b> 'thick'	<b>remithir</b>		
<b>sír</b> 'long'		<b>sia sía</b>	<b>siam</b>
<b>trén</b> 'strong' (*treksno-?)	<b>tresithir</b>	<b>tressa</b>	<b>tressam</b>

For *móir* (*moir MI.* 55<sup>d</sup>11) see Zimmer's collection in *KZ.* XXVII.370, n.l.

In *BDD.* §§ 58, 61, 128 what appears to be the equative of **sír** is variously written in the (late) MSS. *sithir* *siathir*, and *sithithir -idir* (cp. § 365, 4).

**373.** A few adjectives form their comparative and superlative (the equative is not found) from roots altogether different from those of the positive:

POSITIVE	COMPARATIVE	SUPERLATIVE
<b>accus ocus</b> 'near'	<b>nessa</b> <sup>1</sup>	<b>nessam</b>
<b>bec(c)</b> 'small, few'	<b>laugu lugu, laigiu</b>	<b>lugam, lugimem</b> (MI.)
<b>maith, dag</b> - 'good'	<b>ferr</b>	<b>dech, deg</b>
<b>olc, droch</b> - 'bad'	<b>messa</b>	<b>messam</b>

<sup>1</sup>With **assa** (§ 377): **nesso assa nesso** Wb. 12<sup>b</sup>34a (cp. RC. IX. 474, 6).

### ANALYSIS OF THE FORMS OF COMPARISON

**374.** In the normal comparative *-u* is the remnant of a Celtic ending *-i + ūs*, < *-i + ōs*. This, on the evidence of Lat. *-ior*, Avest. *-yā*, was formerly the ending of the nom. sg. masc. (and perhaps fern.) of the comparative; in Irish it became the universal form. A trace of the final *-s* survives in the

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non-lenition of **de** when attached to a comparative ( § 378; written *-te*, *-ti* in Mid.Ir.).

In the superlative the Britannic ending--OW. *-ham* (*hinham* 'eldest') Mid. W. *-haf--* and the vowel of Ir. *-em* point to an earlier suffix *-isamo-*, *-isamā-*, which, like the ending of Lat. *facillimus* < \**facil-(i)sumo-s*,

derives from a primary form *-ism* + *o-*; cp. also *-issimus*. This suffix is clearly seen in Gaul. (Marti) Riginamo, and *Οξισάμη* (Strabo), name of the Île d'Ouessant. Bret. *Eussa* (9th cent. *Ossam*) = W. *uchaf* 'highest'.

The formation of the degrees of comparison directly from the root ( § 372 ) represents the older method, usual in Sanskrit and found also in Greek. Cp. further the similarly formed abstracts *lethet*, *remet reme*, *treis(s)et treisse*. *lagat* (*meiss* 'evil' (?) *Met. Dinds. III.382, 23*). Originally *dech* (also *deg* by analogy with *dag-* 'good') may well have been a noun = Lat. *decus* 'ornament, glory'. Cp. the corresponding use of *forg(g)u* 'choice object', 'the best of', from which the superlative *foircimem*, *forrcimem* 'best' in *MI.* is apparently formed. The form **ferr** has been compared with Lith. *viršùs*, O.Slav. *vr̃nchŃ* 'summit', and cognate words; but the corresponding Brit. *well-* (W. *gwell*, etc.) 'better' suggests rather that both represent a derivative of *wer* (the earlier form of the Ir. prep. **for**, § 838 ), perhaps *\*wer-lo-s*, with different assimilation of *rl*. A plural form *ferra* sometimes occurs later, e.g. *Anecd. II. 62 § 22. nessam*, W. *nesaf*, appears in Osc. *nessimas nora. pl. fem.* '(the) nearest', Umbr. *nesime* adv. 'next to'. *messam* is equated with Osc. *messimass* 'medioximas' (?) by Pedersen (II. 120).

**375.** The comparative ending *-a* (already found in *Wb.*, hence not *\*-e*, *\*-ae*) is difficult to account for. It is not found in the corresponding Britannic forms: Mid. W. *llet* (superl. *llettaf*) = *letha*, *ieu* = *óa*, *hwy* = *sia*. *trech* = *tressa*, *nes* = *nessa*. It might, indeed, have been lost by these; on the other hand, the fact that the Mid. W. comparatives *uch* 'higher' and *i~* 'lower' are paralleled by suffixless forms in Irish (*ós*, *ís* 'above, below' §§ 850, 844, *úais*, adj. and noun, 'high, very high, too high', superl. *úaissem* *Ált. ir. Dicht. I.29, 1*) suggests that the ending *-a* represents a secondary development in Irish. The starting-point of this development has been sought in *lia* 'more' and *sia* 'longer'. The latter and W. *hwy* could both go back to *sei(s)* < *sē-is*, with the weak grade of the comparative suffix, *-is* (beside *-ios*, *-i* + *ōs*); Mid. W. *llet* may also have lost *-is*. So too *lia* could go back to *\*plē-is*. In Irish, according to this view, *\*sē*, *\*lē* were diphthongized to *sía*. *líá*, and owing to the tendency of diphthongs and long vowels in final syllables to disyllabic pronunciation, *-a* came to be felt as an ending, like the *-u* of other comparatives. Then, on the model of *sía* 'longer', forms like *letha* 'broader', etc., developed.

It is very doubtful, however, if final *ē* was normally diphthongized ( § 53 ). Hence other possible explanations must be considered. The variation between *-u* and *-a* found in *mó máo* (< *\*máu*) and *máa má* appears to be old (in *móu MI.* etc., the *-u* has been freshly added); for to the former was probably due the change of quality in the positive *már* > *mór* (already in

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*Wb.*), and the latter survives in the petrified expression *nammá* 'only' (lit. 'not more'). The explanation may be that beside the masc. fem. form *\*mái* + *ōs* (> *māūs*) there was also a neuter form *\*mā(i + )os* (whence Ir. *má*). A trace of the ending *-i + os* may also survive in *ire* (*íre*) 'farther' (the longer form *ireiu* or *irea* *Thes. II.30, 33* is probably artificial; cp. *iru* *Laws I.120, 20*, superl. *hírem* O'Dav. 1066). As the pronunciation of *má*, *máa* was almost disyllabic, the ending *-a* could equally well have been taken over from this word, where it would have been supported by the disyllabic superlative *máam*.

See further Sommer, *IF. XI.232 ff.*, Osthoff (and Brugmann), *Morpholog. Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogerm. Sprachen VI.263 ff.*

**376.** The Irish equative is doubtless connected with the Britannic (as to which see Loth, *RC. XVIII.392 ff.*, *'Remarques et Additions à l'Introduction to Early Welsh de Strachan'*, pp. 56 ff.). The latter is normally formed by prefixing the prep. *cyn-* to the adjective and adding the suffix Mid.W. *-het*, e.g. Mid.W. *kynduhet* 'as black (*du*)'. Forms without *cyn-* are sometimes used, e.g. *gwennet gwanec* 'as white (fem.) as a wave'. But such forms usually have exclamatory force, e.g. Mod.W. *dued y nos* 'how black the night is!', 'what a black night!'; cp. Mid.Bret. *cazret den* 'what a fine (*cazr*) man!'. That the *-h-* is the same as that of the superlative, i.e. represents original *-is-*, the weak grade of the comparative suffix *-i + os-*, is suggested by the fact that adjectives with 'irregular' comparative stems usually form their equative from these stems also; e.g. Mid.W. (*cyn-*)*nesset*, cp. compar. *nes* 'nearer'; *hawssset*, compar. *haws*, from *hawd* 'easy', etc. The normal suffix was therefore *-iset..*. As intervocalic *s* completely disappears in Irish, the suffix *-ithir*, which on the evidence of *dénithir* began with a palatal vowel, may contain *-iset..*. The vowel before *th* is never elided. This might be regarded as a further indication that the medial syllable represents an original disyllable; on the other hand, it may be explained on different lines by assuming an ending *-tri-* (with no intervening vowel between *t* and *r*) to have been the older form. But the Britannic

forms show no trace of *-r-*, and cannot have lost it by a secondary development. Irish *lir* and *móir* have the ending *r* without *t(h)*. It is doubtful whether *le(i)thir* (e.g. *ZCP. XVIII.296*) also belongs here or is merely a shortening of *\*lethithir* (*lethidir* LU 5866). In *lir* the short *i* is difficult to account for; the radical form of the comparative was originally *plē-* (cp. Skt. *prāyah* 'mostly'), and the equative is not to be separated from the comparative. Perhaps *lí-* spread from the comparative in place of earlier *\*lír*. The latter may be compared with Lat. *plērus* 'for the most part', *plēri-que*, and Armen. *lir* (*i*-stem) 'plenty'. It seems probable that W. *mor*, Bret. and Corn. *mar*, used before adjectives in the sense of 'as' or 'so very', correspond to Ir. *móir*. To these models the *r*-ending of the Irish forms in *-ithir* may perhaps be ascribed. There are, in fact, isolated examples of such equatives formed from nouns. That *métithir* should have displaced earlier *móir* is not surprising, for *méit* 'size, quantity' is itself used for 'as great, as much' (cp. § 876); but *némithir* 'as bright', from *níam* 'brightness', also occurs (*RC. XXIV.56*).

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A different explanation of the Irish equative (without reference to the Britannic forms) is offered by Krause, *ZCP. XVII.33 ff.* He takes the forms in *-ithir* to be petrified denominative verbs (deponent 3 sg. pres. ind.). But it is unlikely that the two branches of Celtic should have independently evolved different formations for the equative (which is not one of the original IE. degrees of comparison). Britann. *-et* could, it is true, represent a verbal ending, and the use of the accusative after the equative in Irish might be explained by assuming the verb to have been transitive. Still the whole theory remains unconvincing.

**377.** To express continuous increase ('more and more') *assa* (geminating, cp. § 243, 3) is inserted between two comparatives; e.g. *móo assa móó*; *messa assa-mmessa* 'worse and worse' *Wb. 30<sup>c</sup>25*. Cp. W. *ysywaeth* 'more's the pity' (from *gwaeth* 'worse'), Bret. *siouaz*, Corn. *soweth* 'alas!'.

More rarely the comparative followed by *ar chách* (lit. 'for each', i.e. 'every time') is used for this purpose, e.g. *Wb. 13<sup>d</sup>29*, *MI. 71<sup>c</sup>1*.

**378.** Adverbial 'the' with the comparative (Lat. *eo*) is expressed by enclitic **de** (lit. 'therefrom', § 435) attached to the comparative; e.g. *áigthidiu-de* 'the more dreaded' *Wb. 23<sup>d</sup>23*.

The actual degree of more or less is preceded by the prep. **i**<sup>n</sup>; e.g. *máa i n-óensill(aib)* 'greater by one syllable' *Sg. 40<sup>b</sup>7*; *a cóic indid óa* '(the) five by which it is less' *Thes. II.20, 40 f.*

## FORMATION OF ADVERBS FROM ADJECTIVES

Collection: Ascoli, Glossar. palaeohibern. ccccxvi f.

**379.** 1. To form an adverb, the dat. sg. of the adjective preceded by the article--or at all events by a word identical in form with the article--is generally used; e.g. *in biucc* 'little' (from *becc*); *in már*, *in mór* 'greatly', *ind erdairc* 'conspicuously'; *in tánisiu* 'secondly'; *ind ainb* 'ignorantly'. In forms where *u*-quality would be regular, it is occasionally absent; e.g. *ind utmall* 'restlessly' *Wb. 26<sup>b</sup>10*; *ind oll* gl. *ultra* *Sg. 220<sup>a</sup>6*; *ind immdae* 'abundantly' 26<sup>a</sup>5 beside normal *ind imdu* *MI. 35<sup>b</sup>5*; *in madae* 'vainly' (cp. *techt mudu* 'going astray' *Wb. 16<sup>d</sup>4*, later *i mudu*).

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This formation is common to all the insular Celtic languages; e.g. O.Bret. *in mor*, Mid.W. *yn vawr*, = Ir. *in már*; O.Bret. *in madau* gl. *pessum*. On the other hand, Britannic has also forms with O.Bret. *int*, Mid.Bret. *ent*, OW. *int* (*int couer* 'all in order' *Bull. Board Celt. Studies VI.223 f.*), Corn. *ynta* (from *da* 'good'). Hence it has been suggested that *in* (*yn*) and *int* (*ent*) are prepositional forms, possibly two separate prepositions; cp. Morris-Jones, *Welsh Grammar* p. 439; Vendryes, *ZCP. XVII73 f.* But *int* (*ent*) may equally well be a petrified oblique case of W. *hynt* (Bret. *hent*) 'way, journey' in proclisis.

There are also a few instances without **in(d)**. These include not only *alailiu araillu* 'otherwise' *Wb. 9<sup>a</sup>23*, 21<sup>a</sup>13 (this word never takes the article, § 486b), but also such forms as *gair biuce iar tain* gl. *paulo post* *Sg. 147<sup>a</sup>7*, *includiu* 'secretly' *MI. 50<sup>c</sup>13*. In the legal language they occur more frequently, e.g. *étéchtu*

'unlawfully', *ci[u]rt cóir* 'properly and rightly', etc. Cp. also *nach mór* 'to any (great) extent' *Wb.* 11<sup>d</sup>5, *MI.* 65<sup>d</sup>16.

**380.** 2. On the other hand, adjectives in *-de* and participles in *-the* generally use a form in *-id -ith* in place of the dative; e.g. *ind oínd(a)id* 'singly', from *oínd(a)e*; *ind aicnetid* 'naturally', from *aicnet(a)e*; *in túasailcthid* 'absolutely', from *túasailcthe* 'detached'.

A few such adverbs are formed from nouns: *in díglaid* gl. *ulciscenter* *MI.* 62<sup>d</sup>3, *ind áirmith* gl. *summatim* *Sg.* 27<sup>a</sup>17, *ind frithoircnid* gl. *affectuose* *MI.* 127<sup>c</sup>23; cp. *dígal* 'revenge', *áram* 'number', *frithorcun* 'affectus'. Hence the basis of this formation should perhaps be sought in nouns like *díglaid* 'avenger' ( § 267 ), since in Welsh a noun in predicative use is preceded by leniting *yn*. But another possible source is *samlith saml(a)id* 'thus, like him (it)' ( §§ 434, 826 ), which may represent a modification of \**samith* = *W.* *hefyd* 'also' under the influence of *sam(a)il* 'likeness'.

**381.** 3. There are only a few examples of an adverb being formed with the preposition *co* 'until' ( § 829 ) followed by the neuter accusative of the adjective: *co-mmór* *MI.* 38<sup>c</sup>12, 61<sup>b</sup>17, literally 'up to a high degree', beside *in mór*; *co-mmenic* 'often' 39<sup>a</sup>11 beside *in menicc*; *co-mmaith* *Wb.* 7<sup>b</sup>15 'well'; *co cóir* 'properly' *MI.* 69<sup>d</sup>12, 77<sup>a</sup>7. Later on this becomes the usual formation.

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The following forms are exceptional: *di léir* 'diligently' *MI.* 68<sup>a</sup>15 (later *do léir*) beside *co léir*, *co-lléir* 'carefully' 14<sup>d</sup>3, 21<sup>a</sup>8; *each □-díruich* 'quite straight' *Thes.* II.13, 30, *berit díriug* 'they carry off, obtain' (vb.n. *brith díriug*).

**382.** 4. In the Glosses Latin adverbs are often rendered by the uninflected forms of the comparative and superlative with *in(d)*. Examples: *ind luindiu* 'more angrily' *MI.* 32<sup>d</sup>1 (from *lond*); *int serbu* 'more bitterly' 24<sup>c</sup>10 (*serb*); *ind íchtarchu* 'lower' 24<sup>d</sup>30 (*íchtarach*); *in dumaichthiu* 'more cumulatively' 35<sup>d</sup>17 (*dumaichthe*); *ind lugu*, *ind laigiu*, *ind óa* 'less'; *in máam* 'most greatly' *Wb.* 1<sup>c</sup>20. Such forms, however, are never found in a clause, but occur only as isolated glosses, the language of which is probably somewhat artificial; the normal construction is that described in § 383. Still the *Vita Tripartita* has *in mó* 'more' 222, 5 and *in mó ocus in mó* 180, 10 in continuous sentences.

**383.** An adverb formed from the dative of the adjective cannot be used in periphrasis with the copula before its clause, like other parts of speech ( § 513 ). Where this construction is used, the adverbial form is replaced by the nominative sg. neuter of the adjective (without the article), and a nasalizing relative clause follows. This is the normal construction with adverbial forms of comparison. Examples: *arndip maith n-airlethar* 'so that he may care well' *Wb.* 28<sup>b</sup>32, lit. 'so that it may be a good thing how he cares'; *is léirithir in so no-nguidim-se día n-erut-su* 'as zealously as this do I beseech God for thee' 27<sup>d</sup>19; *is dínínimu do·n-gní alail* 'it is more carelessly that he makes the other' 4<sup>c</sup>33. For the construction in *Wb.* 31<sup>a</sup>6 see § 508.

But cp. *is ind il as ferr Iudeus* 'it is greatly that *Iudaeus* is better' *Wb.* 2<sup>a</sup>4, where the construction seems un-Irish.

**384.** Certain adjectives, when used adverbially, are prefixed to the verb like prepositions; but the verb is apparently never attached to them in enclisis.

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Examples: *caín·rognatha* 'well have they been done' *MI.* 39<sup>a</sup>24, *mani caín·airlither* 'unless thou take good heed' *Wb.* 5<sup>b</sup>38; *mad·génatar* 'blessed are they' *MI.* 90<sup>b</sup>12, lit. 'well were they born' (from *maith*); *slán·seiss* 'hail!', lit. 'thou shalt sit safe', *LU* 8242; *nuie·tánicc* 'he has newly come' *Wb.* 7<sup>c</sup>7; *nis·n-ule·mairbfe* 'thou wilt not wholly slay them' *MI.* 77<sup>a</sup>15. The superlative *dech deg* 'best' assumes the form *dechmo- degmo-* (cp. *sechmo-* from *sech*, § 853 ) in this position; e.g. *dechmo·charam* 'which we love best', *degmo·saig* 'who levies best', *dechmo-ro·chich* (*MS.* *deichmo-*) 'who has wept best' ( *ZCP.* XVIII. 398, *Ériu* XI. 168).

To *mó* 'soon' ( *Ériu* XI. 43) corresponds the preverb *mos, mus* (Mid.W. *moch*); e.g. *mos-riccub-sa* 'I shall soon come' Wb. 28<sup>c</sup>9, *mus-creitfet* 'they will soon believe' 5<sup>c</sup>2 (**mu**- Ml. 34<sup>a</sup>4, probably a misspelling). Similarly *céin-mair* 'happy!' (which is more likely to be 3 sg. pres. ind., 'long lives', than 2 sg. ipv.) from *céin*, acc. sg. of *cían* 'long time'.

For *cetu*-, *cita*-, etc., 'first' see [§ 393](#).

The prefix **mí-** ( [§ 365, 2](#) ) may also stand before a verb, but is apparently capable of bearing the stress like a preposition; e.g. *ní-mí-aipir* (where *-aipir* is probably enclitic) 'he speaks not evil' Ml. 56<sup>d</sup>16; *mí-s-imbirt* 'he abused them' RC. XI. 446, 44.

In poetry, and later in 'rhetorical' prose, many similar compounds are formed; e.g. with *bith-* ( [§ 365, 3](#) ): *ro-bith-béo* 'may I be for ever' Féil. Epil. 39, *bith-golait* 'they are ever wailing' *ibid.* Prol. 62; so too *ro-fír-scáich* 'has truly passed away' Prol. 84, etc. But it is clear from the position of **ro-** and the use of absolute flexion (*-golait*) that these are felt as close compounds and are modelled on nominal compounds like *bithgol*, *bithbéo*.

*bés* 'perhaps' always stands before the verb, but without forming a compound; e.g. *bés as-bera-su* 'perhaps thou mayest say' *Thes.* II. 7, 29. It may originally have been an independent clause.

Compound verbs whose first element is a noun, such as *nonda-lá[m]gaba* gl. *mancipare* Ml. 43<sup>a</sup>2, are artificial formations.

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## NUMERALS

### I. CARDINALS

**385.** Of the cardinal numbers only 1-10 have adjectival force, and of these only 2-4 are inflected.

1. oín-, óen-, always in composition ( [§ 365, 5](#) ).

<b>2</b>	<b>masc.</b>		<b>fem.</b>		<b>neut.</b>
NA	<b>da</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>dá</b> <sup>l</sup>		<b>di</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>dá</b> <sup>l</sup>		<b>da</b> <sup>n</sup> , <b>dá</b> <sup>n</sup>
G	<b>da</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>dá</b> <sup>l</sup>		<b>da</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>dá</b> <sup>l</sup>		<b>da</b> <sup>n</sup> , <b>dá</b> <sup>n</sup>
D	(all genders)		<b>dib</b> <sup>n</sup> , <b>deib</b> <sup>n</sup> (Sg.).		

In the older MSS. the mark of length over *da*, *di* is very rare; the lengthening is doubtless secondary ( [§ 48](#) ). For independent *diu* see [§ 386](#).

Composition form **de-**, often written **dé-** and probably always to be so read; e.g. *désillabchi* (dat. sg.) 'disyllabism' Sg. 44<sup>b</sup>2, *déchorpdae* 'bicorpor' 65<sup>a</sup>13 (likewise 54<sup>a</sup>15, 187<sup>a</sup>1).

3., 4.

	<b>msc. neut.</b>		<b>fem.</b>
N	<b>tri</b>	<b>ceth (a) ir</b>	<b>cethéoir,</b> <b>cethéora</b>
A	<b>tri</b> (m.)	<b>cethri</b> Ml. 58 <sup>a</sup> 11	<b>cethéora</b>
G	<b>tri</b>		<b>cethéora</b>
D	<b>trib</b>	* <b>cethrib</b>	<b>cethéoraib</b>

Archaic nom. acc. neut. and gen. masc. *tre* ( Cam., ZCP. III. 453, 13, Bürgschaft p. 28 § 76a). Disyllabic *teúir* occurs *Thes.* II. 291, 6, but monosyllabic **téoir** Féil. Sept. 1; disyllabic **cethéoir** *Thes.* II. 292, 11. An intermediate spelling nom. fem. **cetheoira** occurs *MI.* 118<sup>d</sup>10.

Composition forms: **tri-, tré-, tre-** (which is later generalized) *cethar-, cethr-*. Examples: *trimsi* 'quarters (of year)' *Wb.* 19<sup>d</sup>15 (from *mís-* 'month'), *trédenuis* 'three days' 27<sup>a</sup>14, etc., (perhaps influenced by *tréde*, § 387), *trechenélae* 'threegendered'; *cethargarait* 'proceleusmaticus' ('four times short') *Sg.* 7<sup>b</sup>13, *cethr-ochair* 'four-cornered' *LU* 6392.

5. *cóic* (leniting, before gen. pl. nasalizing).

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6. *sé* (geminating, before gen. pl. nasalizing). 7. *secht*<sup>n</sup>. 8. *ocht*<sup>n</sup>. 9. *noí*<sup>n</sup>. 10. *deich*<sup>n</sup>. **386.** The above forms are used predicatively, and also as substantives when identical things are enumerated, except that *dáu* (*dáo, dó*) replaces *da* and that *trí* always has long *i*; *dó* and *trí* are also used as gen. fem. (*Corm.* 756, *Laud*); for the acc. fem., cp. *fo dí* 'twice' (§ 400). *oín, óen* is declined as an *o-* *ā*-stem. When these forms are not preceded by the article or by another numeral, or otherwise defined, the geminating particle *a* (§ 243, 6) is put before them. Examples: *a dau* 'two', *a ocht* (*Mid. Ir. a h-ocht*) 'eight'; but *inna ocht* 'the eight (specified things)', *húanaib oct-sa* 'from these eight' *Sg.* 90<sup>b</sup>8, *hónaib dib* 'from the two' *MI.* 14<sup>c</sup>6, *secht n-ocht* 'seven (times) eight', *oín di airchinchib Assiæ in sin* 'that (was) one of the leaders of Asia' *Wb.* 7<sup>b</sup>11. **387.** Otherwise numbers in substantival use are represented by special numeral substantives, particularly when different things are enumerated. Of these substantives, 2-10 are formed with the neuter suffix *-de* (*io*-stem), and may well be substantival adjectives in *-de* (§ 347). 1. *úathad* (*úaithead*, § 166) 'single thing, singular number' (neut. *o*-stem); 2. *déde*; 3. *tréde*; 4. *cethard(a)e*; 5. *cóicde*; 6. *séde*; 7. *secht(a)e*; 8. *ocht(a)e*; 9. *noíde* (*næde* *Auraic.* 1022); 10. *deichde*. **388.** Personal numerals, except the word for 'two persons', are formed by compounding the cardinal with *fer* 'man'.

They are declined as *o*-stems and are neuter in *O. Ir.*; cp. *tri nónbor* 'thrice nine men' *LU* 4961, *.ix. n-dechenbor* 7150.

1. *oínar, óenar*, gen. *oín(a)ir*, dat. *oínur*.

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2. *días* fem., acc. dat. *dís dís* (later *dís*), gen. *de(i)sse*, dat. pl. *de(i)ssib* Féil. *Prol.* 210.
3. *triar*, dat. pl. *tríribibid*. 210.
4. *cethrar*, dat. pl. *cethrairib* *Thes.* I. 497, 16 (*Arm.*).
5. *cóicer*, dat. *cóiciur*.
6. *se(i)sser*.
7. *mórfes(s)er* (lit. 'great six').
8. *ochtar*.
9. *nónbor, -bur*.
10. *de(i)chenbor, -bur*.

The use of the above forms in the dative of apposition after possessive pronouns (§ 251, 2) is particularly common; e.g. *meisse m'oínur* 'I alone'; *táncatar a triur* 'the three of them came'. In this construction they may also denote things; cp. the gloss on *nam et uultur et uulturus et uulturius dicitur* *Sg.* 93<sup>a</sup>2: *biit a triur do anmair ind éiuin* 'they are all three (used) for the name of the bird'; similarly *MI.* 121<sup>a</sup>4. Note also *fuirib for n-oínur* 'on you alone' *Wb.* 14<sup>d</sup>17 (*oínar* referring to a plural).

The neuter noun *ilar* 'great number' may be a similar formation, although it is used of things as well as persons. The dat. pl. *ar thrib de(i)chib* with thrice ten (persons) *Fel.* Oct. 10 is poetical.

**389.** Any of the numerals of § 385 (and also *il* 'many') may combine with a singular noun (whose flexion remains unaltered) to form a collective. Examples: *deichthriub* 'the ten tribes' *MI.* 137<sup>c</sup>8, gen. *deichthribo* 72<sup>d</sup>2; *Noíndruimm* placename (§ 235, 1), gen. *Noíndrommo* (from *druimm* 'ridge'); *déblíadain*, *treblíadain* 'period of two, three years'; *ilbéim* 'many blows' *Wb.* 4<sup>d</sup>15.

Windisch, *IF*. IV. 294; Kelt. Wortkunde § 221.

**390.** Multiples of 10 and the words for 100 and 1000 are always substantives and are followed by the genitive of the objects enumerated, e.g. *tricha cáerach* 'thirty sheep'; they are used both of persons and things. For the inflexion of the decads, all of which are masculine, see §§ 324, 326.

20. *fiche*, gen. **fichet** (-t = -d, as also in the following).

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30. *tricho*, *tricha*, gen. *trichot*, -at.

40. *cethorcho*, gen. *cethorchat*.

50. *coíca*, gen. *coicat*, *cóecat*.

60. *sesca* (later attested), gen. *sescot* *Thes.* II. 254, 17, *seseat* Féil.

70. *sechtmogo*, gen. *sechtmogat*.

80. *ochtmoga* (Féil.), gen. *ochtmugat*.

90. (later attested) *nócha*, gen. *nóchat*.

100. *cét* (neut. *o*-stem), gen. *céit*. The nom. acc. pl. always has the short form after numerals, e.g. *cethir chét* '400'; but *céta imda* 'many hundreds' *Laws I.* 46, 23.

1000. *míle* (fem. *iā*-stem), gen. *míle*; dual *di míli* '2000'; pl. *cóic míli* '5000'.

There is a tendency to rearrange large numbers in smaller multiple groups; e.g. *da f + ichit* 'two score', *tri fichit* 'three score', *secht fichit* 'seven score' (140), *tri coícait* '150', *co trib nónburib* 'with 27 men'.

**391.** In the combination of digits and tens the latter follow in the genitive. The genitive of **deich** 'ten' is rendered by disyllabic *dëac dëacc* (*déec* Wb. 15<sup>b</sup>1), which was contracted to *déc* in the course of the ninth century (-c(c) = -g(g) in all these forms). A qualified noun comes immediately after the digit, with which it agrees in number.

Examples: *a ocht deac* '18'; *a ocht fichet* '28'; *di litir* (dual) *fichet* '22 letters (of the alphabet)'; *i n-dib úarib deac* 'in 12 hours'; *cóic sailm sechtmogat* '75 psalms'.

On the other hand, digits and tens are combined with hundreds by means of the preposition *ar* (with dative); e.g. *fiche ar chét* '120'; *a dáu coícat ar chét* '152'; *inna deich ar dib cétaib* 'the 210'; *cóie míli ochtmugat ar chét* '185,000'. Here, too, a qualified noun comes immediately after the digit.

The same preposition is used to join the tens to (a) a numeral substantive, e.g. *dias ar fichit* '22 persons', *deichenbor ar dib fichitib ar trib cétaib* '350' Trip. 260, 7-8; (b) occasionally also to *óin*, e.g. *a n-óen ar fichit* (MS. *fichet*) 'the 21' *MI.* 2<sup>d</sup>2. To judge from later examples, *óin* may be omitted before a

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substantive in such combinations, e.g. *bó ar fichit* '21 cows' (collection: Robinson, *RC.* XXVI. 378).

In poetry and later prose other digits also may be combined with tens by means of *ar* (*ibid.* 379).

## ANALYSIS OF THE CARDINAL FORMS

**392.** For the flexion of *dáu*, *da*, etc., see §§ 287, 298. The dat. *dib deib* is obviously one of the forms that have been shortened in proclisis; its use in stressed position is quite exceptional (§ 386). The composition form *dé-* 'two-, double' must be distinguished from the prefix **dë-** (also leniting) 'in two, asunder', which occurs, e.g., in *debuith* 'discord, strife', *debide*, name of a metre, lit. 'cut (-*bithe*) in two', probably also in *dechor* 'difference, distinction'; cp. *i n-dé* 'in two', where the lengthening is secondary (§ 44 b). On semantic grounds the equation of **dë-** with Goth. *twis-standan* 'to separate', Lat. *dis-*, and cognate prefixes is tempting. But in that case the Irish prefix must have modified its form considerably,

perhaps by analogy with the preposition **de** ( § 831 ), from which it cannot always be easily distinguished. The form **dé-** may represent original \**dwei-*, cp. *díabul* 'double' ( § 227 e ), although the é is never diphthongized.

**tri (trí)** is inflected as an *i*-stem ( § 304 ), but in the oblique cases the form **tre** has been ousted by **tri** ; conversely **tre-** has been generalized in composition. *ceth(a)ir* no longer differentiates neuter from masculine in the nom.; the acc. pl. masc. *cethri* is modelled on **tri**. In the feminine forms *teoir*, *céthéoir* the *-eoir* goes back to *-esor(es)*, an ablaut variant of the Skt. forms *tisr-áh*, *cátasr-ah* (nom. pl. fem.). For the Britannic forms, like Mid.W. *teir*, *pedeir*, and for Gaul. *tidres*, cp. *ZCP*. XV. 380 f. The *-a* of *-éora* is regular in the acc.; in the gen. it is paralleled by the article **inna** ; its spread to the nom. was helped by the many nom. pl. fem. forms in *-a*, especially by the article **inna**.

*cóio*, *cóiced* ( § 395 ), whence Mid.Ir. *cúic*, *cúiced*, have *ō* followed by the glide *i*, whereas *coíca cóceca* (Mod. Ir. *caogad*) has a true diphthong. The discrepancy is not easy to account for. One possible explanation of it is to assume that Proto-Celtic \**q<sup>w</sup>enq<sup>w</sup>e* ( § 226 ) gave Irish \**cowenq<sup>w</sup>e*, which in turn gave \***cóic**, later contracted to **cóic**, whereas in 'fifty' *cowe*.. regularly became *coí*.. at the period of syncope ( § 67 d). But there is no evidence that **cóic** was at any time disyllabic; as early as the Féilire (Prol. 327, Aug. 7) it is a monosyllable. Other explanations start from the assumption that \**q<sup>w</sup>enq<sup>w</sup>e* first gave \**q<sup>w</sup>onq<sup>w</sup>e*. Normally *onk* gives *ōg(g)*, but Pokorny suggests ( *KZ*. XLVII. 164 ff., *ZCP*. XXI. 50) that it gave *ōg(g)* in short words which had become monosyllabic through the loss of their final syllable. In support of this he cites Sc.Gael. *fróg* 'hole, fen, den', which, together with O.Norwegian *rō* 'angle', he would derive from a basic form \**wronkā*. But this is very doubtful. Perhaps, rather, the development was as follows: Proto-Celtic \**q<sup>w</sup>enq<sup>w</sup>e* ( § 226 b, OW. *pimp*) gave \**q<sup>w</sup>ē(g)g<sup>w</sup>e*, and subsequently *ē* was mutated to *ō* between *q<sup>w</sup>* and *g<sup>w</sup>*. On the other hand, \**q<sup>w</sup>enq<sup>w</sup>e-kont-* (or \**q<sup>w</sup>enku-kont-* <

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\**q<sup>w</sup>enq<sup>w</sup>u-kont-*? see below) had been simplified to \**q<sup>w</sup>enkont-*, which in turn gave \**q<sup>w</sup>ēg(g)od(d)* or *kēg(g)od(d)*, and eventually, taking over the (c)o of **cóic**, became *cóeg(g)od(d)* ( *KZ*. LIX. 11 f.). By contrast, in Mid.W. *pymwnt* 'fifty' (with *m* < *mp*), *p* ( < *q<sup>w</sup>*) has prevailed after the simplification. In Mid.Ir. the true diphthong is also found in compounds of **cóic**, e.g. *cáecdíabul*, 'fivefold'.

That *s-* in **sé** goes back to old *sw-* (W. *chwech*, O.Celt. \**swechs*) is shown by the *f* of *mórfesser* ( § 132 ).

**ocht** nasalizes by analogy with *secht*, *noí*, *deich*, which, as shown by cognate languages, ended in a nasal. On the other hand, **cóic** and **sé** nasalize the initial of a gen. pl. only, on the model of inflected forms in general ( § 237, 1 ).

On the phonetic evidence it is impossible to decide with certainty whether *noí*, *nócha*, *nómad* ( § 395 ) contain earlier *-ow-* < *-ew-* (cp. Goth. *niun*, Gk.  $\square v$ -*véa* IE. \**newn* + ), or *-aw-* like W. and Corn. *naw*, Mid.Bret. *nau* (for the Gaulish form see § 398 ); possibly the latter, for the theory that Britannic *-aw-* for *-ow-* is exclusively due to the influence of a following *a* (\**nawan* < \**nowan*, \**newn* + ) does not account for forms like W. *llawer* 'much' < \**lowero-* ( § 193 b ).

The suggestion that gen. *déec deae(c)* (Mod.Ir. *déag*) is a compound \**dwei-penq<sup>w</sup>-* 'double five' (with loss of *-p-*) may well be correct.

The vocalism of **fiche**, gen. **fichet**, differs from that of the remaining decads, **tricho -a**, gen. **trichot -at**, etc. This difference goes back to the old ablaut *-kn* + *t-* or *-km* + *t-*: *-kont-* or *-komt-* which formerly distinguished the dual (Dor.  $\square i$ -*κατι*) from the plural (*τριά-κοντα*, etc.); cp. W. *ugeint*, Bret. *ugent* 'twenty' (ending \**-cantī* < \**-kn* + *tī*) beside Bret. *tregont* 'thirty', Gaul. TRICONTIS (Latin dat. pl.) *CIL*. XIII. 2494, Mid.W. *pymwnt* 'fifty'. *noíchtech* 'nonagenarian' Wb. 20<sup>a</sup>6 is hardly an indication that *-chet-* ( < *-kn* + *t-*) also occurs in derivatives of the decads 30-90; more probably it represents a scribal confusion with *noíchtech* 'having twenty-nine (days)' *Thes*. II. 18, 33, from *noí* and *fiche*; cp. the regular *coíctach* 'quinquagenary' *Thes*. I. 496, 20, 22 (Arm.).

The *i* of *tricho -a* seems to be always short in O.Ir. (cp. Bret. *trégont*), but in Mid. Ir. *trícha* is also found (e.g. LL 7<sup>a</sup>33). It is uncertain whether the *i longa* in Gallo-Lat. TRICONTIS (see above) indicates length.

The medial vowel of *cethorcho* seems to point to \**q<sup>w</sup>etru-kont-*; cp. Gaul.*petrudecameto Petru-corii*, Avest. *čaθru-* (in W. *pedry-* the *y* could represent either old *ū* or *ÿ*). So, too, *sechtmogat-*, *ochtmugat-*, *nóchat-* may go back in the first instance to \**sechtamu-kont-*, \**ochtamu-kant-*, \**nawu-* or \**nowu-kont-*.

## II. ORDINALS

**393.** With the exception of *tán(a)ise* 'second' (and occasionally *aile*), all ordinals stand before the word they qualify, whether they are inflected or not (U [+00A7 362](#)).

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1st. *cétn(a)e* (*io-* *iā-*stem), but in combination with tens *óinmad*, *óenmad*. In place of adjectival *cétn(a)e* the compositional prefix **cét** - may be used, e.g. *in két-síans* (*s-* = *ś-*) and *in kétnae síans* 'the first sense' MI. 36<sup>a</sup>32, 33. Adverbial 'first' is rendered either by the compound *cétmus* (Wb. 23<sup>b</sup>34), later *cétomus* *cétamus* or *cétus*, or by the verbal prefix *cetu* Wb. 26<sup>c</sup>4, *ciatu* 14<sup>a</sup>29 (*ciato* Laws. I. 150, 13, etc., *ciata* LU 5663, etc.), usually *ceta cita*, which never takes the accent ( § 384 ). Examples: *is hé cetu-ru-bridach dúib* 'it is he who has first preached to you' Wb. 26<sup>c</sup>4; *friscita-comrici* 'with whom thou dost first meet' *Thes.* II. 23, 38; *in tan ad-cita-acæ* 'when she first saw' Tur. 60, where the prep. **ad-** is repeated. **394.** 2nd. (a) Generally **tán(a)ise**, which follows its noun. (b) Occasionally *aile* 'other' ( § 486 ), which in this sense may precede its noun, e.g. *aile máth(a)ir* 'altera mater' Sg. 152<sup>a</sup>2; it is more common in substantival use. (c) Rarely **all-** or **ala-**, compositional prefix; e.g. *all-slige* 'second clearing' MI. 2<sup>a</sup>6; *al-chor* 'second contract' Laws II, 274z, etc. In all combinations of the numeral adjective with tens, the above forms are replaced by **ala**, which precedes its noun and is indeclinable; with the article it has the form *indala* for all genders and cases ( § 487 ). **395.** 3rd. Generally **tris(s)**, also **tres** 104<sup>b</sup>1 and in later MSS.; uninflected before a noun, and sometimes forming a compound with it. Dat. sg. masc. **triuss** Wb. 7<sup>c</sup>8.

4th. *cethramad*

5th. *cóiced*

6th. *se(i)ssed*

7th. *sechtmad*

8th. *ochtmad*

9th. *nómad*

10th. *dechmad*

20th. *fichetmad* (*fichatmath* RC. XXV. 378)

30th. *trichatmad*

100th. *cétmad*.

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The forms in *-ed -ad -ath* are **o-** **a-** stems; e.g. gen. sg. fem. *cóiothe*.

**396.** In combinations of digits with tens and hundreds the digit alone has the ordinal form; the tens are expressed by the genitive of the cardinal as in § 391, the hundreds being attached by means of **ar**. Examples: *in chóiced fichet* 'the twenty-fifth'; *ind óenmad rann fichet* 'the twenty-first part'; *ala rann deac* 'one twelfth'; *indala n-ainmm deac* 'the twelfth name'; *sechtmad rann cethorchat* 'one forty-seventh'; cp. *isin fichtetmad blíadain ar chét* 'in the one hundred and twentieth year' Trip. 258, 13. Here too, apparently, the numeral for 'one' may be omitted before a substantive when **ar** is used to attach the tens; e.g. *kín ar f + íchit* 'twenty-first quinion' RC. XXV. 378, XXVI. 378.

Cp. *in trisdécdi gl. tertii decimi* (sc. *psalmi*) MI. 72c8.

**397.** Forms borrowed from the Latin ordinals are sometimes found, e.g. **prím** 'the first' *Thes.* II. 13, 23. These occur especially in composition; e.g. *prím-gáid* 'chief wind', *secndabb* '*secundus abbas*' (= 'prior'), *tertpersan* 'third person', *tertcoibedan* 'third conjugation', *quartdiall* 'fourth declension'.

## ANALYSIS OF THE ORDINAL FORMS

**398.** Here, in addition to Britannic, Gaulish forms are also available for comparison, several ordinals (between 1 and 10) being included in the *La Graufesenque graffiti* (see ZCP. XVI. 297 f.).

The prefix **cét** - (pretonic **cetū**·), whence **cétn(a)e**, corresponds to Gaulish *cintu-* in *Cintugnatus* 'Firstborn', *Cintugenus*, *Cintusmus*, *Centusmia*; cp. W. *cynt* 'formerly, sooner', *cyntaf* 'first', Goth. *hindumists* OE. *hindema* 'hindmost'. The by-form *ciatu· cíato·*, beside *cetū·*, is doubtless due to the similar interchange of *ciato* and *cetū* 'though they are' ( § 793 ).

*tán(a)ise*, like *imthánad imthánud* 'alternation' ( § 309 ), probably contains the prepositions *to-ad-* and a participle of the verb *ni-sed-* ( § 846 ).

As opposed to *aille*, Mid.W. and Bret. *eil* (\**ali* + *os*), the Gaulish form is *allos*; cp. *all-* ( § 394 ).

*triss*, as shown by dat. *triuss*, is an *o*-stem, the vocalism being doubtless due to the influence of *tri*. *tres(s)* may be the earlier form which survived alongside **triss** and ultimately prevailed once more; if not, it must be modelled on **tre-**. The stem corresponds to Osc. *trsto- tristo-* 'witness', lit. 'third'

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(Lat. *testis* < \**trīstis*); cp. also *treis(s)e* 'triduum' Laws. The older formation of the ordinal (Skt. *tr* + *tī* + *yah*, Avest. *θrityō*, Lat. *tertius*, Goth. *þridja*) is preserved in Britannic, cp. W. *trydydd*, Bret. *trede*.

*cóiced*, Gaul. PINPETOS, Mid.W. *pymhet*, as against Gk. *πέμπτος*, Lat. *qaintus*, etc., shows that the *-e* of *q<sup>w</sup>enq<sup>w</sup>e* was taken over by the ordinal, as in Skt. *pañcathah*; *-eto-* then spread further; hence *se(i)ssed*, Mid.W. *chwechet*, but Gaul SVEXOS (x here = *chs*), which may be a misspelling. Corresponding to Skt. *saptamáh* *daśamáh*, Lat. *septimus decumus*, Celtic forms in *-amo-s* would be regular; to this suffix *-eto-* has been added in Gaul. SEXTAMETOS (x = Gk. *χ*, Ir. *ch*) DECAMETOS, Ir. *sechtmad dechmad*, Mid.W. *seithvet degvet*. From such forms the ending *-(a)meto-s* spread to others: Ir. *nómad*, Mid.W. *nawvet*, Gaul. NAMET[OS] (where *a* is peculiar). Gaul. OXTVMETO[S] has the *-u-* of the cardinal, Celt. \**ochtū*; it is impossible to decide what vowel has been syncopated in Ir. *ochtmad*. The remaining ordinals in Ir. *-mad*, Mid.W. *-vet*, are based on a further extension of the suffix. *cethramad* is peculiar to Irish, as Mid.W. *petwryrd -weryd*, fem. *petwared*, Mid.Bret. *pevare* retain an older formation in *ii* + *o-s*. cp. Skt. *turīyah*.

### III. FRACTIONS

**399.**  $\frac{1}{2}$ : *leth* (neut. *o*-stem) 'half', gen. *leith*. This can also be used in composition, e.g. *leth-scripul* (dat. sg.) 'a half-scripulum' (Ir. *serepal*).

$\frac{1}{3}$ : *trīan*, neut., dat. *triun*.

$\frac{1}{4}$ : *cethramthu* fem., gen. *cethramthan*; nom. pl. *téora cethramdin* 'three-quarters' *Thes.* II. 14, 35.

From  $\frac{1}{5}$  on, the substantival neuter of the ordinal serves as the fraction, except where *rann* fem. 'part' is added; e.g. *cóiced* 'a fifth'; *aili deac* 'of one-twelfth' *Thes.* II. 13, 29; *sé sechtmad* 'six-sevenths'.

### IV. MULTIPLICATIVES

**400.** *oén-f* + *écht* 'once'.

The remainder are formed with the prep. *fo fu* (with the accusative): *fo dí* 'twice' (i.e. fem.), *fo thrí* 'thrice', *fo deich* 'ten times', *fo chóic sechtmogat* 'seventy-five times'.

Before a multiplicand the ordinary cardinal is used as multiplier; e.g. *tri secht* '7 X 3' *MI.* 2<sup>d</sup>2; *cóic deich* '10 X 5' *Sg.* 4<sup>a</sup>5; *secht trichit* '30 X 7' *Thes.* II. 20, 35. But *a oén fo deich* '1 X 10' *Thes.* II. 15, 42.

## PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINALS

### PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

**401.** It is remarkable how few fully stressed forms of the personal pronouns are found in Irish; most forms are either proclitic or enclitic. To reinforce the pronominal concept emphasizing particles (*notae augentes*) are added. These are always enclitic; accordingly, when the pronoun proper stands before a fully stressed word, they are attached to the latter. They also serve to reinforce the personal concept already expressed in verbal forms; indeed, this may have been the earliest function of some of them.

There are no special reflexive pronouns; any infixed or suffixed pronoun can refer to the person or thing forming the subject of the clause. For the expressions for 'self' see [§ 485.](#)

**402.** A peculiarity which Old Irish shares with other early Indo-European languages is that a singular pronoun may be omitted where a plural concept, expressed in a plural verb or pronoun, consists of two elements, one already known and one about to be mentioned. Examples: *con·rícatar ocus Dubthach* 'they met, (he) and Dubthach' Thes. II. 241, 5 (Arm.); *dún·ni ocus Barnaip* 'to us, (to me) and Barnabas' (*Barnaip* nom., cp. [§ 247a.](#)) *Wb.* 10<sup>d</sup>1; *do·berat tríamnai don tig ocus nír·thúargaibset cid co·tísad gáeth etorro ocus talam* 'they give the house a shaking and they could not even raise it so that the wind might have come between them, (it) and the ground' *LU8389 f.*

Where the hitherto unmentioned element comes immediately after the preposition *eter*, the known element is not indicated at all; e.g. *ro·m·boí fál amirisse eter a cride* 'that there was a veil of unbelief between their hearts (and him)' *Wb.* 15<sup>a</sup>29 (cp. also *Sg.* 217<sup>b</sup>9, 11).

Collection: Zimmer, *KZ.* XXXII. 153 ff.; cp. [ibid.](#) XLVIII. 51 ff., Gwynn, *Met. Dinds.* I. 63.

If the subject of a 1st plural verb consists of 'I and thou', **tú** is preceded, not by **ocus** 'and', but by **mad** ([§ 805](#)): **mad tú** lit. 'if it be thou'; e.g. *dia·mbámar mad tú leis* 'when we, I and thou, were with him' *ZCP.* III. 249 § 64. (Collection: *KZ.* XLVIII. 51 f.).

## EMPHASIZING PARTICLES (*notae augentes*)

### se sa, siu so su, som, si, ni, si, etc.

**403.** These are treated first since they can be combined with all classes of pronouns described in the present section, as well as with verbs. Examples are given under the separate pronouns.

The forms with initial *s* always remain unlenited; the *s* is sometimes geminated after vowels.

1 sg. After palatal consonants and front vowels (*-e, -i*) **se** (very rarely **sea**), otherwise **sa**; e.g. *baitsim-se* 'I baptise', *ro·gád-sa* 'I have prayed', *tíagu-ssa* 'I go' *Wb.* 17<sup>b</sup>18.

In archaic texts **-se** occurs after a non-palatal final also: *sibsa-se* (MS. *sibrase*) gl. *modulabor* Filargirius Gl.; *num·secheth-se* (MS. *num sichethre*) 'he shall follow me' Cam. But *fo·chart-so* 'I threw' Imram Brain I. 48, 8 (in all MSS.) is certainly an error.

2 sg. After palatals mostly **siu**, otherwise **so** ; after pronouns (rarely after verbs) also **su**. Example: *for·regae-siu* 'thou wilt help', *do·mointer-so* 'thou thinkest'; but also *as·bir-so* 'thou sayest' beside *as·bir-siu* Sg. 208<sup>b</sup>5; *as·bera-su* 'dicas' 209<sup>b</sup>30.

1 pl. **ni** (after a non-palatal final also **nai**, § 98.); e.g. *guidmi-ni* 'we pray', *ad·fadam-ni* 'we related'.

The earlier form **sni** survives in *laimir-sni* 'we dare' *Wb.* I. 15<sup>c</sup>20.

2 pl. **si** ; e.g. *as·berid-si* 'ye say'. For the forms *ro·cretsisi* for *·cretsid-si* 'ye have believed' *Wb.* 1<sup>a</sup>3, and *ra·soísit-si* 'ye have turned it' *MI.* 103<sup>c</sup>15, see § 139.

3 sg. masc. neut. and 3 pl. all genders: nearly always **som** in the earlier Glosses. After palatals **sem**, which is very rare at first and does not become common until Sg.; **sium** a few times in *MI.* For **som** later sources occasionally have **sum** (*Tur.* 39, *MI.* 32<sup>a</sup>5, 43<sup>d</sup>1) or **sam** (SP.). Examples:

sg. masc.: **ad·cobra-som** 'he desires', **do·rími-som** 'he

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counts', *do·indnig-som* 'he assigns'; but *as·beir-sem* 'he says' Sg. 39<sup>a</sup>25.

sg. neut.: *nicon·bia-som* 'it will not exist' Sg. 29<sup>b</sup>10; *sluindith-sem* 'it expresses' 30<sup>a</sup>2.

**som sem** is found as neuter only after a verb or a conjugated preposition (§ 432 f.).

3 pl. *ránccatar-som* 'they have reached', *ní·thuccat-som* 'they have not understood it'.

3 sg. fem. **si** ; e.g. *dénad-si* 'let her do'.

**404.** Emphasizing particles cannot come immediately after the copula, which is itself proclitic and hence incapable of supporting an enclitic; instead, they are attached to the next stressed word. Examples:

*am cimbid-se* 'I am a captive' *Wb.* 27<sup>c</sup>22, *comba soilse-siu* 'that thou mayest be a light' 22<sup>c</sup>3, *is día-som* 'he is God' 1<sup>a</sup>2, *is rann-si* 'it (fem.) is a part' Sg. 25<sup>b</sup>5, *mad fochricc-som* 'if it be a payment' *Wb.* 2<sup>b</sup>26, *adib cretmig-si* 'ye are believers' 15<sup>a</sup>8, *condat anman-som* 'so that they (neuter) are nouns' Sg. 188<sup>b</sup>3.

The petrified particles in the 1 and 2 sg. pret. of the copula (§ 810 f.) are no longer felt as emphasizing particles; consequently the particle is repeated in all cases where it would be used with any other form of the copula; e.g. *ropsa huallach-sa* 'I have been proud' *MI.* 49<sup>b</sup>12, cp. *Wb.* II. 33<sup>a</sup>12.

The emphasizing particles are also found in sentences which have no verb; e.g. *maic-ni dosom* 'we (are) sons of his' *Wb.* 19<sup>d</sup>18; *fáelid-sem* 'he (is) joyous' SP. (*Thes.* II. 293, 24).

## ABSOLUTE FORMS OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

For the genitive forms see § 443 f.

**405.** The stressed nominative forms of the personal pronouns are:

sg. 1 **mé** ; emphatic *messe*, *meisse*, *mese*.

2 **tú** ; emphatic *tussu*, *tusu*, leniting (**túsu** *MI.* 92<sup>a</sup>17, *Thes.* II. 225, 19).

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3 masc. **é** , often **hé** (§ 25); emph. (*h*)**é-som** (*hæ-sium* *MI.* 30<sup>c</sup>5).

fem. **sí** , leniting; emph. form not found in the Glosses, but later **sis(s)i** *Trip.* 90, 5, *IT.* I. 144, 32, etc.

neut. **ed**, often **hed** ; no emph. form.

pl. 1 **sní** ; emph. *snisni* (*snissni* *Wb.* 23<sup>d</sup>23), *sníni*, in *MI.* also *sisni* 78<sup>a</sup>1, 92<sup>c</sup>2, *sinni* 63<sup>c</sup>15, 138<sup>c</sup>11a (also with **is** 'it is', *isnínni* 93<sup>d</sup>3, *isníni* 43<sup>d</sup>5).

2 **sí** (**síi** *Wb.* 25<sup>a</sup>3), *sib* 19<sup>c</sup>20; emph. usually *sissi*, *sisi* (*sísi* *MI.* 46<sup>a</sup>13), also *sib-si* *Auraic.* 650, etc.

3 **é** or **hé** (all genders); emph. **hé-ssom** *Laws* IV. 214, 6.

**406.** These forms are most commonly used as predicative nominatives after the copula, which is thus always in the third person: *is mé*, *is messe* 'it is I', *ní mé* 'it is not I', *cid mé* '(even I' (lit. 'though it be I', § 909); similarly *is tú* 'it is thou', *is snisni* 'it is we', *is sissi in tempul sin* 'ye are that temple' (lit. 'that temple is ye') *Wb.* 8<sup>d</sup>7. The 3 pl. always takes a plural form of the copula: **it é** 'it is they', *ce-btar é* 'though it was they', 4<sup>a</sup>8. But the 1st and 2nd pl. are found with a singular form, even where the subject is plural; e.g. *is snisni atabobes* 'it is we who are boues' 10<sup>d</sup>7; but *it sib ata chomarpi* 'it is ye that are heirs' 19<sup>c</sup>20. Cp. § 815.

As subject they occur only (a) in clauses without a verb, e.g. *apstíl i tossug, sissi íarum* 'Apostles first, ye afterwards' *Wb.* 27<sup>a</sup>5; (b) after the interrogative pronoun: *cía tussu* 'who art thou?' *ce hé* 'who is he?', *cit n-é* 'who are they?'; similarly *sechi tú* 'whoever thou be'; (c) after **os** 'and' (3 pl. *ot-é*) § 878.

The vocative **a thusu**, translating *o tu* Sg. 204<sup>b</sup>6, is a Latinism.

**407.** The predicative nominative pronoun normally agrees with the subject in gender; e.g. *Críst didiu is sí in chathir* 'Christ, then, the city is he' *Wb.* 21<sup>c</sup>5 (**cathir** fem.), i.e. 'he is the city'. More rarely it has the gender of the substantive which it stands for; e.g. *is hé a dúlchinne sídi* 'this is its reward',

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lit. 'its reward (*dúlchinne* fem.) is he' (sc. *bidbethu* masc. 'eternal life', in the Latin text *uita aeterna*) 3<sup>b</sup>18. Further, the neuter form (**h**)**ed** occurs in *ní hed a méit* 'not only', lit. 'not it is its amount' (*méit* fem.).

The fact that, in such identification clauses, subject and predicate are easily interchanged explains the steadily increasing use of these pronouns as subject (and eventually as object also) in the later language.

**408.** A nominative pronoun is also contained in **olse** (later **olsé**) 'says, said he', emphatic *olse-som*. The feminine is **olsi** (probably **-sí**) *MI.* 90<sup>b</sup>12, but the plural is formed with a verbal ending: *olseat-som*. Forms with the 1st person, *olmé* (*LU*4931, etc.) and *olsmé* (*RC.* X. 82, etc.) 'inquam', are found only in later texts. Where the subject is a noun, **ol** is used alone; e.g. *ol coss* 'says the foot' *Wb.* 12<sup>a</sup>21. Cp. § 825.

From *olseat* and *cateat* (§ 462), an independent pron. 3 pl. **eat**, **íat** developed in place of **é** during the ninth century.

## INFIXED PRONOUNS (pronomina infixa)

Collection: Sommer, *ZCP.* I. 177 ff. (also Freiburg dissertation 1896); for the functions of the separate classes, see Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXV. 400 ff.; for the Middle Irish forms, Strachan, *Ériu* I. 153.

**409.** A personal pronoun used with a verb, except as predicative nominative (§ 406), is always unstressed, and hence is generally reduced to a single phoneme, viz. the old initial of the stressed form.

When attached to a pretonic preverb it is said to be infixed. Such infixed pronouns have the following functions:

- a. With active or deponent forms of transitive verbs they express the direct object; e.g. *ro-m-gab* 'he has taken me', *ní-s-n-ágathar* 'he does not fear them'.
- b. With the verb 'to be' (except with **fil**, § 780) they express the indirect (dative) object, which otherwise is generally expressed by means of the prep. **do** ; e.g. *ro-t-bia* 'erit tibi, thou shalt have'.

With other verbs this construction is rare. Most instances of it occur with the pret. pass., e.g. *fo-n-roíreth imned* 'trouble has been caused to us' LL 252<sup>a</sup>25; particularly where the passive force is no longer felt, e.g.

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*do-t-árfas* (O.Ir. *·árbas*) 'it has appeared to thee' (lit. 'it has been shown to thee'), *fo-m-lámas báddud* 'drowning was imminent for me' Wb. 17<sup>d</sup>4 ( *Ped.* II. 560).

- c. With passive forms (except in the instances just mentioned) the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons regularly indicate the subject; e.g. *ro-b-hícad* 'ye have been saved'; *ni-n-incébthar* 'we shall not be reproached' (§ 540 b).

*do-t-luid* 'thou camest' LL 113a41 (with 3 sg. active) is exceptional; cp. *ni-m-tha* 'I am not', § 799. **410**.

The position of infixed pronouns is governed by the following rules:

- a. Where the verb is preceded by conjunct particles (§ 38, 2), the pronoun is attached to the last of these and the stress falls on the element immediately following. Examples: *dian-dam-chon-delc* 'if I compare myself' *MI.* 91<sup>d</sup>8; *nachi-n-ro-gba* 'that it may not seize us' Wb. 15<sup>d</sup>40; *ar-nach-a-im-ráda* 'that he may not think them' *MI.* 51<sup>a</sup>1.

But where the prep. **im(m)** is used in the sense of 'mutually' (§ 841), it is always followed by the pronoun and remains unstressed; e.g. *nímu-n-accamar* (for *ní-immu-n·*) 'we have not seen one another' Wb. 18<sup>d</sup>3. The same thing occasionally occurs with the verbal particle **ro ru** (§ 526 f.); e.g. *con-ro-m-ícad* 'so that I have been healed' 28<sup>a</sup>10; *ni-ru-m-chom-ar-léicis* 'thou hast not permitted me' *MI.* 76<sup>d</sup>5.

In the form *in-da-ro-n-com-ar-léicis* 'into which thou hast permitted us (to fall)' *MI.* 77<sup>d</sup>6, **ro** has been inserted in the pronoun **-dan-** .

- b. Where there is no conjunct particle the pronoun is attached to the first preposition or verbal particle of a compound verb; e.g. *immu-m-rui-d-bed* 'I have been circumcised' Wb. 23<sup>d</sup>30; *do-nn-i-cci* 'it beholds us' 9<sup>a</sup>4; *ro-nn-hícc* 'he has saved us' 31<sup>d</sup>6.

Occasionally the pronoun *da* is found inserted in the prep. **for** ; e.g. *fo-da-r-aith-mine[dar]* 'who remembers it (fem.)' (*for-aithminedar*) *MI.* 25<sup>c</sup>5; *fo-da-ro-r-cenn* 'who exterminated them' Wb. 11<sup>a</sup>27 (**for-cenn** with **da** and **ro** ).

Here too **ro ru** is the sole exception: when it forms the second element, the pronoun is sometimes attached to it; e.g. *ar-ro-t-neithius* 'I expected thee (*ar-neithius*)' *MI.* 46<sup>b</sup>20; *for-ru-m-chennad-sa* 'I have been destroyed' 127<sup>c</sup>10.

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- c. Where neither a conjunct particle nor a preverb (including **ro** ) precedes the verb, the verbal particle **no** (§ 538) is inserted before it for the purpose of infixing the pronoun. Examples: *no-m-ísligur* 'I abase myself' Wb. 17<sup>d</sup>22; *no-t-erdarcugub* 'I shall make thee famous' *MI.* 55<sup>a</sup>5; *n-a-gníu-sa* 'I do it' Wb. 3<sup>c</sup>30; *no-n-sóer* 'deliver us' *MI.* 46<sup>b</sup>26.

For the use of suffixed pronouns after certain forms of the simple verb, see § 429.

When tmesis of a compound verb takes place in verse, etc., the infixed pronoun remains attached to the first element; e.g. *for-don· itge Brigitte bet* 'on us be Brigit's prayers' *Thes.* II. 348, 4. Cp. also *no-m· choimmdiu coíma* (in prose *nom·choíma coimmdiu*) 'the Lord cherishes me' *Sg.* 204 (*Thes.* II. 290, 11).

**411.** The forms of the infixed pronouns fall into three classes (§ 415); the third class, however, has syntactic rather than phonological significance.

Class A is used after all particles and most prepositions which originally ended in a vowel: **ro, no, do** (pretonic for **to** and **dí de**, §§ 831, 855), **di, fo, ar, im(m)** (also **cetu, cita** 'first', § 393), and the negative particle **nī + 0306**.

In **ar-** and **imm-** the original vowel of the second syllable, which was lost in all other positions, appears before pronouns beginning with a consonant. The former is written **aro- aru-** in *Wb.* (once **ari-n·** 29<sup>d</sup>22), in *MI.* usually **ara-**; the latter **immu-**, in *MI.* also **immi-**. For **imm-a·** we also find *imme·*, and for **ar-a·** arch. **are·** (e.g. *Anecd.* III. 59, 4-6).

Conversely the *-o* of **ro, no, do, fo** is lost before initial *a* (giving *r-a·, n-a·, d-a·, f-a·*). After **nī +** 'not' *a* disappears (**ní** for *ní-a·*).

After the prefix **mi** the form of the pronoun fluctuates between A and B; e.g. **mí-ss-imbert** (§ 384), beside *mi-t-n-imret* 'that they deceive him' *MI.* 74<sup>b</sup>22. The only instances of pronouns with the preverbs *íarmi-*, *tremi-* belong, as it happens, to C.

**412.** Class B is characterized throughout by an initial *d*, which is always unlenited and hence often written *t*. The pronouns of this class are used after prepositions originally

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ending in a consonant. The *d* appears regularly after **for** and **etar**, but combines with the old final of **fri** (**frith-**) and **con** (**com-**) to give **frit-, cot- (cotd-)**. The form **at-** (occasionally written **ad-, add-, atd-**) represents five separate prepositions the stressed forms of which (where no infixed pronoun is attached) are **ad-, aith-, ess-, in- (ind-), oss-**.

*co fo-ta·bothad* 'that he might terrify them' *MI.* 33<sup>b</sup>16 must be included in this class, although **fo-** normally belongs to A; the present form is probably due to the influence of **con-da·** (§ 413, 1). Similarly in *in-da·árben* 'banish them' *Thes.* I. 4, 31, *inda·* instead of *ata·* seems to have spread from C. Other peculiar forms are *aní remi-ta·tét* 'what precedes them' *Sg.* 197<sup>b</sup>5 (this happens to be the only example of *remi* with an infixed pronoun), and especially *dut·fidedar* '(angels) who guided it (masc.)' *Thes.* II. 242, 13 (*Arm.*), where a pronoun with *d* (class C) might be expected; it is probably an error for *dud·fídetar*.

**413.** Class C is used:

1. Regularly after (a) relative (**(s)a<sup>n</sup>** combined with a preposition (§ 492); (b) **i<sup>n</sup>** 'in which'; (c) the conjunctions **dia<sup>n</sup>** 'if, when' (§§ 889, 903), **ara<sup>n</sup>** 'in order that' (§ 898), **co<sup>n</sup> con<sup>n</sup>** 'so that' (§ 896); (d) the interrogative particle **in** (§ 463).
2. In other relative clauses (§ 493 ff.); here it regularly replaces the pronouns of class A in the third person only; but it is frequently (though not invariably) used instead of the 1st and 2nd persons of A and all the forms of B.

Collection: Strachan, *Ériu* I. 155 ff.

This class is characterized by lenited *d*, which, however, is delenited after *n* (§ 139). A fuller form **id** appears in the 3 sg. masc. neut. after prepositions ending in a consonant: **ar-id·, con-id·, for-id·, farm-id·, imm-id·**, as opposed to **fo-d·, ro-d·**, etc. The **at-** of class B is replaced by **as-**, (3 sg. **as(s)-id·**), not only where it stands for **ess-** (pretonic **as-**), e.g. *as-id·ru-bart* 'who has said it' (*as·beir* 'says'), but often also where it represents another preposition; e.g. *ass-id·roillet* 'who deserve it' *MI.* 54<sup>d</sup>6 beside *ad-id·roillifet* 'who shall deserve it' 61<sup>a</sup>20 (*ad-ro-slí-*); *as-id·grennat* 'who persecute him' 18<sup>d</sup>2 beside a *n-in-da·greinn-siu* (*anunda-* MS.) 'whilst thou persecutest them' 36<sup>d</sup>2 (*in-grenn-*). Similarly *friss-id·* from **fri** (§ 839). After the relative particle (**(s)a<sup>n</sup>** and the conjunctions **ara<sup>n</sup>**,

**dia** <sup>n</sup> the *i* is omitted. But **co** <sup>n</sup> 'so that' makes **con-did**· (for the first *d* see § 799), later **conid**· (for **connid**·, with assimilated *nd*), and **i** <sup>n</sup> makes **in-did**·.

The *a* of the relative particle, etc., is usually replaced by *i* except after **di**, **fo (fu)**, **ó**; e.g. **ar-in-d-**, **tre-sin-d-**; but **di-an-d-**, **fu-an-d-**. The vowel may be omitted where the pronoun beginning with *d* forms a syllable (cp. § 117); e.g. *ar-n-da-cumcabat* 'in order that they may raise themselves' *MI*. 46<sup>a</sup>12; *trisan-soirthae* (from *tri-sn-dan*·) 'through which we might be delivered' 124<sup>a</sup>8, beside *tre-sin-da-bia* 'through which they shall have' (lit. 'there shall be to them') *Wb*. 25<sup>d</sup>8.

The *n* which marks a nasalizing relative clause (§ 497 ff.) is inserted immediately before the *d* in all forms of this class, including the 3 sg. masc. neut.; e.g. *amal as-ind-biur-sa* 'as I say it' (not \**as-n-id*·); *indas as-i-da-fíadam-ni* 'as we declare them' *MI*. 93<sup>d</sup>14 (*in-fíad*-). In forms with the prep. **con (com)**, the form **cond-** is used here instead of **cot-** (B); but 3 sg. *connid*· *conid*· (not \**con-ind*·).

In *ci ó fut fritat-n-íarr-su* 'how long shall he offend thee?' *MI*. 93<sup>a</sup>15, the nasal after the pronoun is irregular.

**414.** Before pronouns beginning with a consonant the *d* of classes B and C is usually followed by *o* or *u* in *Wb.* and *Sg.*, by *a* in *MI.*; rarely by *i*: **-dit-** *Wb.* 2<sup>b</sup>12, **-din-** 29<sup>b</sup>16, **-dib-** 24<sup>c</sup>4, **-dip-** 25<sup>d</sup>8.

Apart from their prefixed *d*, B and C differ essentially from A only in the 3 sg. fem. and in the 3 pl. As in the stressed pronoun, the 3 pl. forms are identical for all three genders.

**415.** The following are the forms of infix pronouns found in early MSS. (for forms after the negatives **na**, **nach**, **nád**, and **nícon**, see § 419 f.):

	A	B	C
sg. 1.	<b>m</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>mm</b> <sup>l</sup>	<b>dom</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>dum</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>tom</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>tum</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>dam(m)</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>tam(m)</b> <sup>l</sup>	<b>dom</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>dum</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>dam(m)</b> <sup>l</sup>
2.	<b>t</b> <sup>l</sup>	<b>tot</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>tat</b> <sup>l</sup> , <b>t</b> <sup>l</sup>	<b>dat</b> <sup>l</sup> ( <b>dit</b> <sup>l</sup> )

	A	B	C
3 m.	<b>a</b> <sup>n</sup> (- <sup>n</sup> )	<b>t</b> <sup>n</sup> , rarely <b>ta</b> <sup>n</sup>	<b>id</b> <sup>n</sup> ( <b>did</b> <sup>n</sup> ), <b>d</b> <sup>n</sup> , - <sup>n</sup> , rarely <b>da</b> <sup>n</sup>
f.	<b>s</b> <sup>n</sup> , <b>s</b>	<b>da</b> <sup>g</sup> , <b>ta</b> <sup>g</sup>	<b>da</b> <sup>g</sup>
n.	<b>a</b> <sup>l</sup> (- <sup>l</sup> )	<b>t</b> <sup>l</sup>	<b>id</b> <sup>l</sup> ( <b>did</b> <sup>l</sup> ), <b>d</b> <sup>l</sup> , - <sup>l</sup>
pl. 1.	<b>n</b> , <b>nn</b>	<b>don</b> , <b>ton</b> , <b>tan</b> (n)	<b>don</b> , <b>dun</b> ( <b>din</b> ), <b>dan</b> (n)
2.	<b>b</b> , rarely <b>f</b> (before vowels)	<b>dob</b> , <b>dub</b> , <b>tob</b> ( <b>tof</b> ), <b>tab</b>	<b>dob</b> , <b>dub</b> ( <b>dib</b> ), <b>dab</b>
3.	<b>s</b> <sup>n</sup> , <b>s</b>	<b>da</b> <sup>g</sup> , <b>ta</b> <sup>g</sup>	<b>da</b> <sup>g</sup>

Although the *m* of the 1 sg. is never written double in *Wb.*, it was doubtless unlenited ( *Ped.* § 485 ). For **da** in the 3rd persons later MSS. sometimes have what was apparently the older form **de**; e.g. **conde-tubert** 'so that he gave them' *ZCP*. VIII. 308, 34; **node-ail** 'who rears them' *Ériu* XII. 8 § 7; **ate-cobor** 'he desired her' *RC*. XXV. 346, 6 (cp. K. Meyer, *ZCP*. XII. 441; [Pokorny, ibid. XIII. 43 f.](#) ).

In the 3 sg. masc. neut. the omission of *a* after **nī +** <sup>h</sup> is regular (§ 411), and the *d* of class C may also be lost between *n* and a consonant (§ 180); hence in such positions the infix pronoun can only be recognized by its effect on the following initial. In particular, **nī +** <sup>h</sup> with gemination = negative without

pronoun (§ 243, 2); **nī + ˘** with nasalization = negative + pron. 3 sg. masc.; **nī + ˘** with lenition = negative + pron. 3 sg. neut.

In the course of the ninth century **ra·** (= **ro + a**), **na·**, **da·**, **fa·** are replaced by **ro·**, **no·**, **do·**, **fo·**; and the pron. **-da-** (sg. fem. and pl.) develops a by-form **-das-**, **-dos-** (cp. class A).

Emphasizing particles belonging to infixed pronouns are attached to the verb. Hence a particle in this position may be intended to emphasize either the subject of the verb or the infixed pronoun.

**416.** As the analysis of these forms is often difficult, a larger selection of examples than usual is subjoined.

#### A

1 sg. *ním·charat-sa* 'they love me not' Wb. 5<sup>c</sup>6; *fomm·álagar* 'I am cast down' Sg. 146<sup>b</sup>14; *ma immim·thabarthar* 'if I be surrounded' Ml. 41<sup>c</sup>2.

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2 sg. *fort·chridigther-su* 'gird thyself' Ml. 101<sup>c</sup>3; *arat·muinfer-sa féid* 'I will honour thee' 63a3.

3 sg. masc. *imma·n-imcab* 'avoid him' Wb. 30<sup>d</sup>20; *ra·m-bia* 'to him shall be (he shall have)' 27<sup>c</sup>13; *da·rrat* 'he has given himself' 28<sup>b</sup>4; *ra·lléic* 'he has left him' Ml. 53<sup>b</sup>6; *fa·ceird* (*c = g*) 'puts him' 94<sup>c</sup>8; *ní·n-aithgéuin* 'he did not recognise him' Ml. 52.

fem. *dus·n-gní* 'he makes it (fem.)' Ml. 29<sup>a</sup>3; *nos·bered* 'he was carrying it (fem.)' Tur. 134.

neut. *na·chomalnid-si* 'fulfil it' Wb. 15<sup>a</sup>7; *rá·uc* 'he has applied it' Ml. 45<sup>a</sup>1 (for *á* see § 48); *da·ucci* 'he understands it' Wb. 13<sup>a</sup>8; *imme·foliigi . . . ón* (*f = f*) 'it produces this' 12<sup>b</sup>5; *ní·thabur són* 'I do not give this' Sg. 179<sup>a</sup>2.

1 pl. *arun·nethitis* 'they were awaiting us' Thes. I. 497,43 (Arm.); *hóre dunn·ánic* 'since it has come to us' Wb. 25<sup>a</sup>21; *manin·sóerae-ni* 'unless thou deliver us' Ml. 77<sup>a</sup>6; *doron·donad-ni* 'we have been comforted' Wb. 16<sup>b</sup>17.

2 pl. *rob·car-si* 'he has loved you' Wb. 23<sup>d</sup>4; *dof·ema* 'which may protect you' 5<sup>d</sup>34, beside *co dob·emthar-si* 'that ye may be protected' Ml. 53<sup>b</sup>15; *rob·bia* 'to you shall be (ye shall have)' Wb. 13<sup>d</sup>32 (written *ropia* 16<sup>a</sup>13, etc., *robia* 27<sup>b</sup>6, *robia-si* 21<sup>c</sup>17, see § 137.); *doforbad-si* (for *dob·forbad*) 'ye have been cut off' 20<sup>a</sup>15.

3 pl. *nos·ii·guid-som* 'he beseeches them (*eos*)' Wb. 25<sup>b</sup>9; *dos·m·bérthe* 'ye would have given them (*eas*)' 19<sup>d</sup>24; *dos·ii·gniith-si* 'do them (*ea*)' 24<sup>b</sup>12; *immus·acaldat* 'they (masc.) address one another' Ml. 131<sup>c</sup>19; *fos·didmat* 'they will suffer them (*eas*)' 15<sup>c</sup>10.

#### 417. B

1 sg. *fordom·chomaither* 'I am preserved' Sg. 139<sup>b</sup>2; *co etardam·dibitis-se* 'so that they might destroy me' Ml. 54<sup>d</sup>14; *fritamm·orcat* 'they offend me' 39<sup>c</sup>27; *cotom·erchloither* 'I am driven' Sg. 17<sup>a</sup>7; *atam·grennat* 'they persecute me' Ml. 39<sup>d</sup>13 (in-graim 'persecution!'); *addom·suiter-sa* 'I am held fast' Thes. II. 3, 33 (*ad·suidi*); *atdom·indnastar* 'that I be brought' Wb. 7<sup>a</sup>5 (*ad·indnaig*).

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2 sg. *fortat·tét-su* 'let it help thee' Ml. 43<sup>b</sup>11; *attot·aig* 'which impels thee' Wb. 6<sup>c</sup>16 (*ad·aig*); *cotot·nert-su* 'strengthen thyself' 30<sup>a</sup>9; *cot·oscaigther* 'be thou moved' Ml. 55<sup>b</sup>3.

3 sg. masc. *cot·n-erba* 'he will entrust himself' MI. 112<sup>a</sup>3; *frit·curethar chéill* (*c = g*) 'who worships him' 41<sup>d</sup>16; *at·eomla* (*c = g*) 'he adds himself' (*ad·comla*) Wb. 4<sup>a</sup>10 beside *ata·eomla* Sg. 208<sup>a</sup>10.

fem. *forta·comai·som* 'preserves it (fem.)' MI. 29<sup>a</sup>3; *ata·rímet* 'they reckon it (fem.)' Sg. 26<sup>b</sup>6 (*ad·rími*).

neut. *fort·chomi* 'preserves it' Sg. 176<sup>b</sup>2; *at·beir·som ón* (*b = β*) 'he says this' Wb. 27<sup>c</sup>18, written *ad·beir* 5<sup>a</sup>11; *cot·ecat* 'they can do it' Sg. 173<sup>b</sup>4, *cotd·icc* 'he can do it.' Wb. 5<sup>b</sup>40.

1 pl. *fordon·cain* 'teaches us' Wb. 31<sup>c</sup>16; *atann·eirrig* 'who emends us' MI. 114<sup>d</sup>10 (substantive *aithirrech*); *coton·delcfam* 'we will compare ourselves' Wb. 17<sup>b</sup>10.

2 pl. *fordob·moinetar* 'they envy you' Wb. 19<sup>d</sup>27; *atab·techam* 'we beseech you' ZCP. VII. 485 (*ad·tech-*); *co atab·sorchai[g]ther* 'that ye may be illuminated' MI. 53<sup>b</sup>15 (*in·sorchugud* 'illumination') *atdub·elliub* 'I will visit you' Wb. 7<sup>a</sup>4 (*ad·ella*); *co chotabosad·si* (for *chotab·bósad*) 'that he should crush you' MI. 18<sup>a</sup>7; *cotof·utuine·si* 'upbuilds you' Wb. 8<sup>c</sup>16 (*sic* MS.).

3 pl. *forta·congair* 'wire orders them (*eas*)' MI. 59<sup>c</sup>11; *frita·indle* 'which corresponds to them (acc. in Irish, = *eas*)' Sg. 213<sup>a</sup>3; *ata·samlibid·si* 'ye will imitative them (*eos*)' Wb. 5<sup>a</sup>13 (*intamil*, from *ind·samil*, 'imitation'); *cota·ucbat* 'they (masc.) raise themselves' Thes. II. 11, 40.

#### 418. C

1 sg. *trisindam·robae* 'through which there has been to me (I have had)' MI. 126<sup>d</sup>11; *indam·erbainn* 'in which I might trust' (lit. 'trust myself') 29<sup>d</sup>5; *aridom·roib·se* 'so that there may be to me (I may have)' Wb. 10<sup>d</sup>13; *nudam·chrocha* 'which crucifies me' MI. 32<sup>d</sup>28; *lase arndam·fuirset* (*f = f*) 'when they shall detain me' (*ar·fuirig*) 114<sup>c</sup>11; **an**

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*condamm·ucbaitis·se* 'when they used to exalt me' (*con·ucaib*) 39<sup>d</sup>11.

2 sg. *indit·moíde* 'on (lit. 'in') which thou mayest pride thyself' Wb. 2<sup>b</sup>12; *amal dundat·mecetar·su* 'as they despise thee' (*do·mecetar*) MI. 106<sup>c</sup>11.

3 sg. masc. *fon chéill fuand·rogab* 'in the sense in which he had sung it (masc.)' MI. 38<sup>c</sup>3; *accuis* . . . *arin·rogab* (with loss of *d*) 'the reason for which he sang it (masc.)' 35<sup>a</sup>8; *conid·moladar* 'so that he praises him' Wb. 16<sup>d</sup>1; *conid·n·deroímed* 'that he should protect him' MI. 55<sup>a</sup>4; *arin·deroíma·som día* (for *arind·n·d*. .) 'that God may protect him' 39<sup>c</sup>22; *dondí rod·n·dolbi* 'to him who has formed it (masc.)' Wb. 4<sup>c</sup>26; *ruda·n·ordan* 'which has dignified him' Wb. II. 33<sup>c</sup>5; *forid·tét* (*t = d*) 'who helps him' MI. 30<sup>c</sup>3; *adid·n·opair* 'who offers himself' 66<sup>b</sup>4; *frissid·n·oirctis* 'who used to injure him' 39<sup>a</sup>20; *conid·n·árraig* 'who has bound himself' 15<sup>c</sup>1 (*con·rig*). With relative *-n-*; *areal immind·ráitset* 'as they spoke of him' Thes. II. 241, 11 (Arm.); *a connid·rerb·som* 'when he entrusted himself' MI. 33<sup>b</sup>5 (*con·erbai*), beside *a conid·reirb* 54<sup>b</sup>1, cp. 106<sup>b</sup>8.

fem. *conda·rici* 'as far as it', lit. 'until thou reachest it, (fem.)' MI. 54<sup>c</sup>34; *doda·aidlea* 'who visits her' Wb. 9<sup>d</sup>5; *húand úair nunda·bertatar* 'from the time that they carried it (fem.) off' MI. 82<sup>d</sup>9; *amal fornda·congair* 'as he orders it (fem.)' 94<sup>b</sup>3. For *fodaraithmine[**dar**]* see § 410 b.

neut. *cid arind·epur* 'why do I say it?' (lit. what is it for which I say it?) Wb. 5<sup>a</sup>31; *ind airm indid·epiur* 'the place in which I say it' 4<sup>b</sup>26; *diant·remthíasat* 'if they go before it.' 5<sup>a</sup>32; *dian·chomalninn* (with loss of *d*) 'if I ye may know had fulfilled it' 3<sup>c</sup>28 *arind·fessid* (*f = f +*) 'that ye may know it' 12<sup>a</sup>3; *conid·tuctis* (*t* unlenited in accordance with § 231, 3.) 'so that they might understand it' 21<sup>c</sup>21; *conid·chumscaíged* 'that he should alter it' MI. 109<sup>d</sup>5; *fod·ruar* 'which has caused it' Wb. 15<sup>a</sup>15, MI. 20<sup>b</sup>17; *fo·dáli* (for *foddáli* or *fo·táli*) 'who distributes (*fo·dáli*) it' Wb. 12<sup>a</sup>8; *adid·géuin* 'which has this knowledge (lit. has recognized it)' Wb. 12<sup>c</sup>13 (vb.n. *aithgne*); *immid·forling* (*f = f +*) 'which has caused it' 24<sup>a</sup>34; *ní arid·garad* (*g = γ*) 'anything that would have forbidden it' Sg. 72<sup>b</sup>6; *nech íarmid·oísed* (= *f + oísed*) 'someone who had asked it' MI.

32<sup>a</sup>5; *citid-tucat* 'who first understand it' 125<sup>d</sup>4; *tremitiagat* (for *tremid-tiagat*) 'who transgress it' Wb. 25<sup>d</sup>14; *móu . . . indaas conid-rairlécis-siu* 'more than thou hast permitted it' Ml. 87<sup>a</sup>8 (*con-airléci*). With relative *-n-*: *cosin n-úair rond-chomallastar* 'till the time that he had fulfilled it' 122<sup>d</sup>7; *amal asind-biur-sa* (*b = β*) 'as I say it' Wb. 13<sup>a</sup>29, beside *amal asin-biur-sa* (with loss of *d*) 13<sup>a</sup>29; *amal asin-chobra* 'as she desires it' 10<sup>b</sup>18 (*ad-cobra*); *amal íarmind-ochad* (= *·f + óchad*) 'as he used to seek it' Ml. 58<sup>c</sup>7.

1 pl. *condan-samailter* 'so that we are compared' Ml. 63<sup>d</sup>7; *indan-comairléce-ni* 'into which thou mayest let us (fall)' 77<sup>d</sup>7; *nodon-nerta-ni* 'who strengthens us' Wb. 6<sup>d</sup>11. 14<sup>c</sup>35; *amal asndon-berat* 'as they say of us' 2<sup>a</sup>12; *isindí rondann-ícais-ni* 'in that thou hast saved us' Ml. 89<sup>a</sup>6. For *indaron-comarlécis-ni* see § 410 a.

2 pl. *tresindippiat* (for *tresindib-biat*) 'through which there shall be to you (ye shall have)' Wb. 25<sup>d</sup>8; *condub-tánicc* 'until it came to you' 5<sup>c</sup>10; *indob-fochad* 'whether he was tempting you' 25<sup>a</sup>16 (interrogative **in**); *fordub-cechna* 'who shall teach you' 9<sup>a</sup>16; *dundab-dúrgathar* 'that ye be irritated' Ml. 79<sup>c</sup>4; *forndob-canar* 'by which are taught' Wb. 3<sup>b</sup>23.

3 pl. *inda-mmoídet* 'on (lit. 'in') which they (masc.) pride themselves' Wb. 24<sup>a</sup>30; *arnda-beth* 'that there might be to them' (masc., i.e. 'that, they might have') Ml. 131<sup>c</sup>9; *inda-hierr* 'wilt thou slay them (*eos*)?' 77<sup>a</sup>16 (interrogative **in**); *doda-essarr-som* 'which will save them (*eos*)' Wb. 5<sup>c</sup>12; *arda-túaisi* 'who hears them (*eos*)' Ml. 129<sup>b</sup>2; *forda-cain* 'who teaches them (*eos*)' 30<sup>d</sup>12; *airindí donda-rigénsat* 'because they have done them (*eas*)' 31<sup>b</sup>17; *oldaas itirnda-díbed* 'than that he should destroy them (*eos*)' 45<sup>c</sup>6. With relative *-n-* suppressed: *imda-imgabam* (for *imnda-*) 'that we avoid them (*ea*)' 35<sup>d</sup>19. For *foda-rorcenn* see § 410 b.

Lenition after **da** occurs twice in Ml.: *nada-chelat* 'which hide themselves' 54<sup>c</sup>9, ipf. *nuda-chéiltis* 61<sup>a</sup>2. It has doubtless been taken over from the corresponding forms without infixed pronoun (*nu-cheiltis* 'which used to hide', § 495 a).

## INFIXED PRONOUNS AFTER *nā + ̃*, *nī + éon*, ETC.

**419.** 1. Before infixed pronouns the negative *nā + ̃* (*naā + ̃*), for which cp. § 862 f., appears as **nach-**, **nách-** where the pronoun begins with a vowel, and as **nachi-** in Wb., **nacha-** in Ml., where it begins with a consonant. The pronouns have the forms of class C, but without the initial *d* (thus 3 sg. fem. and 3 pl. **-a-**).

Examples: 1 sg. *nacham-dermainte* 'forget me not,' Ml. 32<sup>d</sup>5. 2 sg. *ar-nachit-rindarpither* 'so that thou mayst not be banished' Wb. 5<sup>b</sup>33; once *nacht-* (= *nachat*) before *f + ;* *ar-nacht-fordiucail* 'so that he may not devour thee' Ml. 36<sup>a</sup>32. 1 pl. *húare nachan-soírai-nni* 'because thou dost not deliver us' 93<sup>d</sup>10. 2 pl. *nachib-erpid-si* 'entrust not yourselves' Wb. 22<sup>d</sup>6. 3 sg. fem. *con-nacha-dánaigfea* 'so that he will not bestow it (*eam*)' Ml. 96<sup>a</sup>7. 3 pl. *as-nacha-tucad* 'out of which he would not have brought them (*eos*)' 125<sup>b</sup>7.

In the 3 sg. masc. the pronoun can be recognized only by the nasalization of the following initial: *con-nach-n-ingéuin* 'so that he did not recognise him' Ml. 52; *naich-n-déirsed* (palatal *ch* from the neuter, see below) 'that he would not desert him' Sg. 209<sup>b</sup>27. But even this indication is often absent; e.g. *con-nách-moídea* 'that he may not pride himself' Wb. 2<sup>b</sup>4; *con-nach-gabad* 'that it might not seize him' Ml. 69<sup>a</sup>7; *nachomairlécea* (for *nach-comairlécea*) 'that he may not let him (fall)' 32<sup>d</sup>5.

Corresponding to the above, the 3 sg. neut. is sometimes recognizable only by the lenition of the following initial; e.g. *nách-beir* (*b = β*) 'who does not pass it (judgement)' Wb. 6<sup>c</sup>18; cp. § 422. But more often **id** (the full form of C), is borrowed; e.g. *nachid-chíalatar* 'who have not heard it' Wb. 25<sup>d</sup>14;

*naichid·fitir* (*f = f +*) 'who does not know it' *MI.* 27<sup>d7</sup>. Occasionally **had** is used here instead of **nach-**; e.g. *nadid·chreti* 'who does not believe it' *Wb.* 15<sup>b14</sup>. A similar use of **-id-** for the masculine is also found; e.g. *nachid·farcaib-som* (*f = β*) 'who has not left him' *Hib. Min.* p. 14, 462.

In nasalizing relative clauses *n* is inserted only before pronouns of the third person; these then have the forms of class C, and the negative is **na**. Examples: *nanda·tibérad* 'that he would not give them' *MI.* 97<sup>d10</sup>; *hóre nan·rairigsur* (with loss of *d*) 'because I have not perceived it (masc.)' *Wb.*

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3<sup>c26</sup>; *céin nant·rochomairléic-som* 'so long as he did not permit it' *MI.* 53<sup>d9</sup> (**nant·** for **nand·** by analogy with the form of the copula § 797).

**420.** 2. The strengthened form of the negative **nī + cón** (§ 861) is not, used in *Wb.* before infix pronouns. In *MI.* the form of the pronoun after it varies: *nícos·fúar-sa* 'I have not found them' 57<sup>d3</sup> (class A), cp. *niconn·acci* 'he does not see us' *IT. I.* 133, 11; on the other hand, *niconda·bia* 'they (masc.) shall not have' *MI.* 69<sup>a8</sup>; *nicond·robae-som* 'non fuit ei. he did not have it' 41<sup>a5</sup>.

## SPECIAL USES OF INFIXED PRONOUNS

**421.** An accusative pronoun is sometimes used proleptically where the object is subsequently expressed by a noun or clause (cp. § 442). Examples: *mani·thobrea día dó a n·accobor* 'unless God give it, the desire (neut. in Irish), to him' *Wb.* 4<sup>c20</sup>; *duda·ánaic inna ríga* 'which had come to them, to the kings' *MI.* 123<sup>c3</sup>; *att·roilli dúnn delegi a nobis* 'he has deserved it of us *diligi a nobis*' *Wb.* 2<sup>d13</sup>.

In such cases a neuter pronoun may anticipate a nonpersonal noun of different gender; e.g. *ra·fitir cid Israhel cretim do geintib* 'even Israel knows it, that the Gentiles would believe' *Wb.* 5<sup>a10</sup> (**cretem** fem.); similarly 15<sup>a34</sup>.

There are also examples of a neuter suffixed pronoun (§ 429, 1) being similarly employed; e.g. *creaigh·i . . . in lágin móir sin* 'he brandishes it . . . , that great lance (*lágen* fem.) *BDD.* (ed. E. Knott) 1232.

Further, a neuter infix pronoun is sometimes found referring to a preceding noun of different gender; e.g. *tri t[h]abairt (fem.) fortachtan old du neuh nachid·áirilli* 'through giving help even to one who does not deserve it' *MI.* 84<sup>c13</sup>; cp. the new paragraph.

**422.** The 3 sg. neut. pronoun is often used with a verb, like the article with the noun, to indicate that the action or state expressed by the verb has already been mentioned and more specifically defined. Examples: *bid sochaide atrefea*

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(= *ad·trefea*) *indiut-siu ocus bid (bit MS.) fáilid nach oín adid·trefea* 'many will dwell in thee, and joyful will be everyone that shall so dwell' (lit. 'shall dwell it') *MI.* 107<sup>a15</sup>; *dos·n-iccfa cobir cid mall, bith maith immurgu in tain dond·iccfa* 'help shall come to them though it be slow: it will, however, be good when it so comes' (lit. 'shall come it') *Wb.* 5<sup>c5</sup>; *da·chotar* 'they went thus' (lit. 'it'), i.e. 'they went the aforesaid way' *MI.* 38<sup>b2</sup>.

**423.** Certain verbs are normally accompanied by an infix pronoun 3 sg. neut. (cp. Eng. 'to trip it, to lord it'). In later sources, however, the pronoun is sometimes omitted. These verbs are:

**at·bail** 'dies' *Wb.* 4<sup>d15</sup> (written **ad·baill** 'who dies' *Wb.* 16<sup>b11</sup>, *MI.* 108<sup>a3</sup>); *at·ballat* 'they die' *Wb.* 9<sup>d5</sup>; *conid·apail* 'till it dies' *MI.* 91<sup>d2</sup>; *amal asind·bail* 'as it dies' 57<sup>a10</sup>; *ar·nach·aipled* 'so that it might not die' 85<sup>d8</sup>, etc. But forms without the pronoun are also found: *arna·epiltis* 'so that they might not die' 121<sup>d16</sup>, *dia·n-æ + brbalam-ni* 'if we shall have died' 107<sup>d4</sup>, etc.

So also the synonymous *asind·bathatar* 'that, they have died' Ml. 36<sup>d</sup>10, *condid·aptha* 'so that they died' AU. 830, etc. (cp. [§§ 704, 758](#)).

*ara·chrim* 'I perish' Sg. 145<sup>b</sup>1; *amal arind·chrim* 'as it perishes' Ml. 57<sup>a</sup>10. But without *d*, *in tan ara·crinat* 'when they perish' 73<sup>c</sup>2.

In Ml. normally *imma·airic* 'suits', often written *imme·airic*, *imme·airc*; relative *immid·aircet* 'which suit' 2<sup>b</sup>5, *immand·airi* 'that it may suit' 14<sup>d</sup>16. But also *imm·airc* 74<sup>d</sup>13, 119<sup>d</sup>5, *imm·aircet* 17<sup>b</sup>20.

Occasionally *fort·gellat* 'they testify' Ml. 23<sup>c</sup>15, *fort·gella* 'who testifies' Ériu XII, 36 § 46; with a direct object, *farid·gellad taidchor doib* 'who had testified that they would return' Ml. 131<sup>d</sup>12. Elsewhere *for·gellat* 'they testify' 87<sup>b</sup>15, *fort·gillim* 'I attest it' Wb. 4<sup>b</sup>27, etc.

**424.** In nasalizing relative clauses, *ro·gab* perfect) 'has taken' acquires the meaning 'is' by the insertion of the pronoun

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**-d-** (see [§ 781](#)). Some other verbs also have **-d-** occasionally in such clauses, but it, does not affect the meaning. Examples: *is faittech rond·boí-som* 'it is careful he was' Ml. 21<sup>d</sup>4. similarly 136<sup>b</sup>7; *lasin·rubu* (with loss of *d*) 'with whom has been' 102<sup>d</sup>4. 131<sup>d</sup>11 (copula, perhaps influenced by *rond·gab*). With the verb (**do**)·*ecmuic·ecmaing* 'happens': *la(i)sind*, *ecmuicc* 'with whom he happens (to be)' Laws V. 518, 22; *acht dond·ecmaing aní-siu* 'save that this happens' Sg. 137<sup>b</sup>5, similarly Ml. 54<sup>a</sup>7, Cam. 38a. (Thes. II. 247, 11-12). Further, *feib dund·alla indib* 'as there is room in them' Ml. 30<sup>c</sup>17 (possibly an error for *dunda·alla*).

**425.** With two verbs leniting *d* is used as a neuter relative pronoun (instead of simple lenition, [§ 495](#)): *dod·esta* 'which is wanting' Wb. from **testa** (*do·es-ta*); *fod·era* 'which causes', pf. Mid.Ir. *fod·ru-air* (for O.Ir. *-ar*) LU 3901. etc. from *fo·fera* (but with masc. pronoun *fu·erad* 'which he caused' Wb. II. 33<sup>b</sup>13). The *d* has become so firmly embedded in this verb that it is sometimes retained even after an infixed pronoun; e.g. **fud-d-era** 'that causes it' Wb. II. 33<sup>c</sup>12; *fom-d-era* 'that makes me' Ériu VII, 240 § I.

The construction is rare with other verbs: *dud·uic* 'which he has cited' Ml. 67<sup>a</sup>3, cp. 27<sup>d</sup>23: *a n-nod-all* 'that which she rears' Anecd. III. 28, 9.

For the spread of this construction in the later language, see Strachan, *Ériu I.* 172.

A similar explanation might be offered for **at·** ([§ 412](#)) in relative clauses where there is no question of a pronominal object: *ba miscuis* (masc.) *at·roillisset* 'it was hatred they had deserved' Wb. 4<sup>c</sup>15; so also *intí ad·rubartmar* 'he whom we have mentioned' Sg. 197<sup>b</sup>16, where doubtless **ad·** (as often) stands for **at·**, the form without infixed pronoun being *as·rubartmar*. But more probably these forms are early instances of the Mid.Ir. usage in which infixed (and suffixed) neuter pronouns have lost all meaning. The starting-point of this development may have been the construction described [§ 422](#).

#### **426. d AFTER cía AND mā + ~**

Where the conjunctions **cía** 'although' and **mā + ~** 'if' (neg. **cení, maní**) are used with an indicative verbal form without

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infix pronoun, leniting **d** (**id**) is infixed, supported where necessary by **no** ([§ 410 c](#)). Examples: *ce nod·chosmailigetar* 'though they are alike' Sg. 212<sup>b</sup>2; *cía dod·chommar* 'though we have gone' Wb. 23<sup>d</sup>23; *ma rud·choiscset* 'if they have corrected' 28<sup>c</sup>7; *ci asid·biur-sa* 'though I say' 3<sup>a</sup>2; *ci arid·roga[r]t* 'though he has forbidden' Ml. 132<sup>a</sup>10; *manid·chretid* 'unless ye believe' Wb. 13<sup>b</sup>19. Exceptions are rare; e.g. *ce ru·baid* 'though ye have been' Wb. 3<sup>b</sup>19; *ma ar-ro-éit* (with unstressed **-ro-**, [§ 39](#)) 'if she has received' 28<sup>d</sup>28.

If the verb is accompanied by an infixed pronoun 3 sg. masc. neut., this has the form **d (id)**; e.g. *ci asid·roilliset* 'though they have deserved it' *MI. 77<sup>a</sup>15*; *maníd·tarti* 'unless he has given it' *51<sup>b</sup>7*. The other pronouns, however, including those of the third person, as a rule retain their ordinary form (A or B); e.g. *ce nus·labratar* 'though they speak them' *Wb. 12<sup>d</sup>28*. Exceptions are *ma nudub·feil* 'if ye are' *19<sup>c</sup>20* (class C) beside *ma nub·baitsim·se* 'if I baptize you' *8<sup>a</sup>1*, and conversely perhaps *mara·ruba[i]rt* (for **ma ara·**) *biuth* 'if thou hast enjoyed him (God)' *MI. 112<sup>b</sup>5* (or error for *a n·ara·*, without pronoun?).

Collection: Strachan, *RC. XXI.412 ff.*

## INFIXED PRONOUNS AFTER THE COPULA

**427.** The 3 sg. of the copula, which, like prepositions and conjunct particles, is unaccented before a stressed word, can combine with a personal pronoun in its infixed form; e.g. *iss·urn écen* 'it is necessary for me' *Wb. 10<sup>d</sup>24*; *ní·b écen* 'ye need not' *16<sup>c</sup>17*; *is·a[t] dilmain·siu* 'it is free to thee' *MI. 55<sup>d</sup>21*. Pronouns of the third person have the forms of class C: *iss·id n·aithrech* 'he repents' *90<sup>d</sup>12*; fut. *ní·pa·d n·aidrech* *Wb. 5<sup>c</sup>9*; pret. *bá·d n·imomon* 'he was greatly afraid' (lit. 'it was great fear to him' *LU 5262*; past subj. **bada** (for **bad·da**) *crichidiu* 'which would be more perfect than it (fern.)' *Thes. II. 292, 6*. Occasionally the pronoun expresses an accusative relationship: *bes·id fíu* 'which shall be worth it' *Laws v. 382, 8 (bes pres. subj. rel.)*.

But the pronoun may also be suffixed to **do** or **la** and come

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after the verb; e.g. *is écen dam* 'it is necessary for me' *MI. 21<sup>b</sup>9*; *nípa aidrech lib* 'ye will not regret' *Wb. 25<sup>d</sup>9*.

Collection: Ó Máille, *Ériu VI. 69*; *Laws VI. 97*. In the *Laws*, if the text has been correctly transmitted **bes** with a pronoun seems to be used in a plural sense also: e.g. *tíre bes·da nesom* 'the lands which are nearest to them' *IV. 162, 6*; cp. *206. 7, v. 408. 7*.

## SUFFIXED PERSONAL PRONOUNS (pronomina suffixa)

**428.** Suffixed pronouns are those attached to fully stressed words. They are found:

- A. after certain verbal forms,
- B. after prepositions.

### A. SUFFIXED PRONOUNS AFTER VERBS

**429.** 1. The most numerous class consists of pronouns of the third person attached as direct, object to the 3 sg., absolute, flexion, of an active verb in the indicative. To the verbal ending is added **-i** for the 3 sg. masc. neut., **-us** for the fem. sg. and the plural of all genders. Examples: *comallaid·i* 'fulfils it' *MI. 94<sup>b</sup>1*; *beirthi* 'bears it, applies it.' *42<sup>b</sup>7*, from *berith berid*. fut. *bérthi* *Wb. 23<sup>a</sup>9*; *moíti* (for *moíd·th·i*) 'prides himself' *27<sup>a</sup>29 (moídid)*; *foídsi foítsi* 'he sent it (masc.)' *Thes. II. 242. Arm. (foídis)*; **ort·i** 'it, killed him' *ZCP. XIX. 156*; **gegni** (MS. *geigni*) 'he slew him' *Ériu II. 34, 6 (gegoin)*; *mórthus* 'magnifies her' (*móraid*), pret. *mórsus* 'magnified them' (*mórais*) *Fél.*; *itius* (for *ith·thus*) 'eats it (fem.)' *MI. 102<sup>a</sup>15 (ithid)*; arch. **fil·us** 'there are' *Cam. 38a (Thes. II. 246, 27)*; *selgus* 'he cut them down' *Ált .ir. Dicht. I. 17 § 11 (selaig)*; *iurus* 'she will wound them' *Corm. 1082 (Laud)*.

Deponent verbs always assume active forms when followed by a suffixed pronoun; e.g. *fíriánichthi* 'justifies him' *Wb. 2<sup>b</sup>28 (fíriánigid(ir))*; pret., **molsi** 'she praised him' *RC. XI. 446, 64*; **sexus** 'he followed them' *ibid. XX. 254 (sechithir)*.

In *subaighthius* *SP. (The. II, 294, 2)* from *subaigid(ir)* 'delights in . . .', **-us** seems to refer to **dán** masc. 'art', just as in the later language infixed **-s-** can be used for the masculine.

In any of the above instances, however, the pronoun may be infixed by means of **no** without altering the meaning; cp. *nos · ñ-guid-som* § 416.

**430. 2.** Pronouns of all persons are often used in a dative sense after \***táith**, the 3 sg. absolute form of the present indicative of the substantive verb, which occurs only in this combination (§ 779). Thus *táthut*, 'est tibi, thou hast'; 3 sg. masc. *táth(a)i*, fem. *táthus*; pl. 1 *táthunn* (also *táthiunn* SP.), 2 *táthuib*. Further, *bíthi* 'he possesses', lit. 'there is wont to be to him' (consuet. pres.) Laws IV. 326, 13; ipv. with 1 sg. **bíthom-sa** Féil. Epil. 403 (L); subj. *bethum-saibid*. 383 (P). The pret. *boí*, *baí* takes over *-th-* from the present: *baíthum* (also *baíthium*), *baíthut*, *baíthi*, *boíthus*.

baisu 'she had' Zu ir. Hss. I. 37, if correct, is unique.

After other verbs the use of suffixed pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons as direct object is confined to poetic language. Examples: *noíthium*, *noíthiut* (or *nói-* ?) 'extols me, thee' (*noíð*) IT. I. 261, 22, ZCP. XI. 91 § 2; *sástum* 'satisfies me' Ériu II. 63 (*sásaid*); *sóerfudut* 'it will free thee' LU 6322 (*sóerfaid*); *medarsot* 'it confused thee' LL 287<sup>a</sup>16 (*medrais*). The frequently occurring form *ainsium* 'may he protect me' from *anis*, *s*-subjunctive of *aingid*, has led to the spread of *-sto* many verbs which themselves do not form an *s*-subjunctive, such as *snáidsium*, *-siunn* 'may he protect me, us', *sóersum* 'may he free me', etc., (in religious verse and 'rhetorics').

**431. 3.** Apart from the 3 sg., the only forms of the verb to which a pronoun may be suffixed are 3rd plurals in *-it*, 1st plurals in *-mi*, and the 1 sg. future in *-a*. After these, however, the pronoun is exclusively 3 sg. masc. or neut., and the form is not **-i**, but **-it** (= **-id**); this may have originated in the 3 pl., through assimilation of the pronoun to the personal ending. Examples: *gontit* 'they slay him' Anecd. III. 58, 2 (*gonait*); *gébait* 'they will take him' Wb. 26<sup>a</sup>8 (*gébait*); *ístait* 'they shall eat it (masc.)' ZCP. XII. 391 § 13 (*ísait*); *guidmit* 'we ask it' Wb. 15<sup>d</sup>18 (*guidmi*); *gébait* 'I shall accept it' LU 7071 (*géba*); *promfit* 'I will try it' Corm. 1059.

## B. SUFFIXED PRONOUNS AFTER PREPOSITIONS (CONJUGATED PREPOSITIONS)

**432.** After prepositions (for the forms of which see § 819 ff.) the pronouns of the first and second persons are reduced to **-m**, **-t**, **-n**, **-b** (= β). The quality of these consonants varies, except that of *-b*, which is always palatal. Here *-b* represents, as usual, the labial spirant; but *-t* and *-n* (*-nn*) are always unlenited, and *-m* (*-mm*) mostly so. Lenited *m* is certain only after **do**, where it is never written double, and where the lenition still survives in some of the modern dialects. In Old Irish *m* may also have been lenited after **di**, where *mm* is likewise never found.

Only pronouns of the third person have a different form for the accusative and dative cases. Masculine and neuter are identical in the singular, and all three genders in the plural. The singular forms emphasised by **som** are mostly masculine, though occasionally also neuter (e.g. **and-som** 'there').

### CONJUGATED PREPOSITIONS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE

Both the simple and the emphatic forms are given. Old forms which occur only in later sources are marked °.

**433. fri** 'against'

**la** 'with'

**tri, tre** 'through'

sg.	1. <b>friumm</b> <b>frim-sa, frium-sa</b>	<b>lem (m ), lim (m ),</b> <b>leim, lium (m )</b> <b>lem-sa, lim-sa</b> <b>lium-sa</b>	<b>trium</b>
	2. <b>frit (t ), friut (t )</b> <b>frit-so, frit-su</b>	<b>lat (t )</b> <b>lat-so, lat-su</b>	<b>triut-su</b>
	3. m.n. <b>fris (s )</b> <b>fris-som,</b> <b>fris-sium</b>	<b>leiss, les (s ),</b> <b>lais (s )</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>le (i )som, le (i )s-sem,</b> <b>laisem</b>	<b>triiit (trít )</b> <b>triiit-som,</b> <b>trít-som</b>
	f. <b>frie</b>	<b>lee (laee Wb.</b> 14 <sup>a</sup> 37, <b>1æ</b> 24 <sup>d</sup> 11) <b>lé-si</b> Laws. II. <b>372, 5</b>	<b>tree (trée Sg.</b> 25 <sup>b</sup> 14)

<sup>1</sup>letha = O.Ir. \*leth (a) e ZCP. xx. 401.

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pl.	1. <b>frinn</b> <b>frin-ni, frin-nai</b>	<b>linn, leinn, lenn</b> <b>lin-ni, lin-nai</b>	<b>triun-ni</b>
	2. <b>frib</b> <b>frib-si</b>	<b>lib</b> <b>lib-si</b>	<b>triib</b>
	3. <b>friu</b> <b>friu-som</b>	<b>leu, léu, leo</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>leu-som, leo-som</b>	<b>treu, tréu, treo</b>

<sup>1</sup>lethu Thes. II. 241, 4 (Arm.); 313, 1; Otia Merseiana II. 86 § 3, etc.

	<b>co</b> 'to'	<b>eter</b> 'between'	<b>im</b> 'about'
sg.	1. <b>cuccum-sa</b>	<b>etrom, etrum</b>	<b>immut</b>
	2. <b>cucut, cucut-su</b>	<b>°etrut</b>	<b>immut</b>
	3 m. n. <b>cuc (c )i (-som ),</b> <b>cuccai</b>	<b>etir, itir</b>	<b>imbi (immi )</b>
	f. <b>cuicce, cucae</b>		<b>impe</b>
pl.	1. <b>cucunn</b>	<b>etron (n ) etrunn,</b> <b>etrun-ni</b>	<b>immunn</b>
	2. <b>cuc (c )uib,</b> <b>cucuib-si</b>	<b>etruib</b>	<b>immib</b>
	3. <b>cuccu</b>	<b>etarru, etarro</b>	<b>impu, impo</b>

**434.** Other conjugated prepositions less frequently attested in the earlier MSS. are

**a mal** 'as' sg. 1 *samlum-sa*, 3 masc. neut. *samlid, samlith, samlaid*; pl. 3 *samlaib-som* Ml. 57c5. Later attested: 2 sg. *samlut*.

**cen** 'without': sg. 2 *cenut-su*, 3 masc. neut. *cene, ceneae*; pl. 2 *cenuib-si*, 3 *cenaib* Ml. 20d4.

**sech** 'past, beyond': sg. 3 masc. neut. *sechæ*; pl. 3 *seccu*. Later attested: sg. 1 *sechum*, 2 *sechut*, 3 fem. *secce*; pl. 1 *sechunn* (MS. -und) LL 122<sup>a</sup>4.

**tar, dar** 'over, beyond': sg. 2 *torut-su*, 3 masc. neut. *tarais*; pl. 1 *torunn, torun-ni*, 3 *tairsiu*. Later attested: sg. 1 *thorom-sa, thorum-sa*, 3 fem. *tairse*; pl. 2 *toraib*.

Cp. also poetic *dessum, desom* 'on my right', *túathum* 'on my left' Thes. II. 357, 350.

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## CONJUGATED PREPOSITIONS WITH THE DATIVE

	<b>435.</b>	<b>do</b> 'to'	<b>dí</b> 'from'	<b>ó , úa</b> 'from, by'
sg.	1.	<b>dom</b> (Wb. Sg.), <b>dam</b> (Ml.) <b>dom-sa, dam-sa</b>	<b>dím</b> <b>dím-sa</b>	<b>(h)úaim (m)</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>(h)úaim-se</b>
	2.	<b>duit, dait, deit,</b> <b>dit</b> <sup>2</sup> <b>duit-siu, de (i)t-siu</b> <sup>3</sup>	<b>dit</b>	<b>(h)úait</b> <b>(h)úait-siu</b> <b>(húait-su)</b> <b>(h)úad</b> (also <b>(h)úaid</b> Ml.)
	3.	m.n. <b>dó, dá (dóu)</b> <b>dos (s)om</b> f. <b>dí</b> <b>disi, dissi</b>	<b>de (dé</b> Ml. 69 <sup>d</sup> 3) <b>de-som</b> <b>dí</b> (probably <b>dí</b> )	<b>úadi (húade</b> Ml. 58 <sup>b</sup> 4) <b>úadi-si</b> <b>(h)úain (n)</b> , rarely <b>(h)úan (n)</b> <b>(h)úan-ni</b> <b>(h)úaib</b> <b>(h)úaib-si</b> <b>(h)úa (i)dib</b> <b>húaidib-som,</b> <b>húaidib-sem</b>
pl.	1.	<b>dún (n)</b> <b>dún-ni, dún-nai</b>	<b>dín(n)</b> <b>dín-ni</b>	<b>(h)úain (n)</b> , rarely <b>(h)úan (n)</b> <b>(h)úan-ni</b>
	2.	<b>dúib</b> <b>díib-si</b>	<b>díb</b> <b>díb-si</b>	<b>(h)úaib</b> <b>(h)úaib-si</b>
	3.	<b>do (a)ib, duaib</b> (Arm.), <b>dóib</b> <b>doib-som, doaib-</b> <b>sem, dóib-sem</b>	<b>diib, díib, díb</b> <b>diib-som, díb-sem</b>	<b>(h)úa (i)dib</b> <b>húaidib-som,</b> <b>húaidib-sem</b>

<sup>1</sup>Archaic **óim**, 2 **óit**, 3 masc. **ood** (Cam.); pl. 1 **ón-ni**, 3 **ódib**.

<sup>2</sup>**duit** is the commonest form in Wb. and Sg., **dait** in Ml.; besides these Wb. and Ml. have **deit**, Wb. and Sg. **dit**.

<sup>3</sup>**duit-so** Sg. 208<sup>b</sup>5, **dét-so** Wb. 6<sup>c</sup>7.

436. Other conjugated prepositions less frequently attested are

a 'out of': sg. 2 *essiut* (RC. XIV. 188), 3 masc. neut. **ass, as** (arch. **es**, e.g. RC. XXV. 346 § 2), fem. **essi eissi**, also **esse** (Ml.), emphatic *essi-si*; pl. 3 *es(s)ib, eissib*.

co 'with' (arch. only): 3 sg. masc. **cono** Ériu XII. 32 § 39, neut. **conu** ZCP. VIII. 310, 24; 3 pl. **condaib** Auraic. 954; cp. § 830.

*fiad* 'in the presence of': sg. 1 *fiadam* (?) *Thes.* II. 291, 4;

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pl. 2 *fiadib, fiadib-si*, 3 *fiadib, fiadaib*. Later attested: sg. 1 *fiadum*, 2 *fiadut*, 3 masc. *fiado, fiada*.

**íar** 'after': sg. 2 **íarmut**, 3 masc. neut. **íarum**; pl. 3 **íarmaib** (IT. III i, 70 § 23).

**ís** 'below': sg. 1 *ís(s)um* (e.g. *Thes.* II. 357), 3 masc. *íssa* (Ériu VII. 160 § 1a); pl. 1 *ísunn* (MS. -und, LL 123<sup>a</sup>1), 3 *íssaib* (Togail Troi 1399).

**oc** 'at, with': 3 sg. masc. neut. **oc(c)o, oc(c)a**, fem. **occi** Sg. 7a2, **occai** Ml. 67d23, **occae** 89<sup>c</sup>16, **ocae** 41<sup>d</sup>3; pl. 1 **ocunn**, 3 **occaib**. LU supplies sg. 1 *ocum ocom*, 2 *ocut*; pl. 2 *occaib*.

**ós, úas** 'above': sg. 1 **úasum** (*Thes.* II. 357); pl. 3 *ósib* (Wb.), *(h)úas(s)aib* in later MSS. In these we also find sg. 2 *húasut*, 3 masc. neut. *úaso, úasa*, fem. *húaise, úase*; pl. 1 *úasunn* (MS. -und, LL 123<sup>a</sup>2).

**re, ri** 'before': sg. 1 **rium-sa**, 3 masc. neut. *riam*, fem. *remi, remi-si*; pl. 3 *remib*. Later attested: sg. 2 *riút* (LU); pl. 1 **riun**, 2 **reuib** (IT. II i, 14, 374).

## CONJUGATED PREPOSITIONS WITH BOTH ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

	<b>437. for</b> 'on'	<b>i</b> 'in, into'	<b>ar</b> 'for, on account of' (rarely found with dat. pron.)
sg. 1.	form <b>form-sa, forum-sa</b> (Ml.)	<b>indium (m )</b> <b>indium-sa</b>	<b>airium</b> <b>rum-sa</b>
2.	<b>fort</b> <b>fort-su</b>	<b>indiut</b> <b>indiut-su</b> <sup>1</sup>	<b>°airiut, °aurut</b> <b>erut-su</b>
3.	D m.n. <b>°for</b>  f. <b>fuiri, furi</b> A m.n. <b>foir, fair</b> <b>foir-som</b> <b>foir-sem</b>  f. <b>forrae</b>	<b>and</b> <b>and-som</b> <sup>2</sup> <b>indi</b> <b>ind</b> <b>ind-som</b>  <b>inte</b> <b>inte-si</b>	<b>airiu</b>      <b>°airre</b> <sup>3</sup>
	<sup>1</sup> <b>indiut-siu</b> Ml. 107 <sup>a</sup> 15.	<sup>2</sup> <b>ansom</b> Sg. 151 <sup>a</sup> 4.	<sup>3</sup> <b>airri</b> MS. (SR. 405).

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	<b>pl. 1. fornn (furnn )</b> <b>forn-ni, forun-ni</b> (Ml.)	<b>indiunn</b> <b>indiun-ni</b>	<b>erunn, eronn</b>
2.	<b>fuirib, fo (i )rib</b> <b>fu (i )rib-si</b>	<b>indib</b> <sup>1</sup> <b>indib-si</b>	<b>airib</b> <b>airib-si, eruib-si,</b> <b>airiu (i )b-si</b>
3.	D <b>for (a )ib</b> <b>foraib-som</b>  A <b>forru</b>  <b>forru-som</b>	<b>indib</b> <b>indib-som,</b> <b>indib-sem</b>  <b>intiu</b>	<b>°airib</b>   <b>airriu, erru,</b> <b>erriu</b> <b>airriu-som,</b> <b>erru-som,</b> <b>erriu-som</b>
	<sup>1</sup> <b>indiib</b> Wb. 6 <sup>b</sup> 3.		

Further, **fo** 'under': sg. 3 dat. masc. neut. *fóu* Ml. (**fó** 37<sup>a</sup>14), acc. *foí*; pl. 3 dat. *foib*. Later attested: sg. 1 **foum foam**, 2 **fout** (monosyll.) SR. 1734, 3 fem. **foæ** ; pl. 1 **founn** (MS. -und, TBC. 3578).

## POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS AND THE GENITIVE OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

**438.** For possessive pronouns the old genitive of the personal pronouns is used. The forms are accordingly uninflected. They stand in unstressed position before the noun they qualify, and the emphasizing particles (if any) follow the latter. Should the noun be preceded by an attributive adjective, the personal pronoun is placed before this also; e.g. *tri-a n-uile m-bethaid* 'through their whole life' Tur. 71.

A possessive pronoun qualifying the verbal noun of a transitive verb almost invariably represents the objective genitive (§ 250, 1).

## A. UNSTRESSED POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

**mo (m), do (t), ar, far, a**

**439.** The 1st and 2nd singular have the forms **mo mu, do du** (arch. **to**, e.g. *Thes.* II. 250, 16; 255, 14), both leniting. For the interchange of *o* and *u* see § 101.

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After prepositions ending in a vowel, and after **for**, these forms are replaced by **m** and **t** (always unlenited); e.g. **dom(m) dot, dim(m) dit, im(m) it, frim(m) frit, lam(m) lat, form fort**, etc. After **tar dar** both forms (**m** and **mo, t** and **do**) are found.

Before a vowel (and in later texts before lenited *f*) the short forms **m** and **t** may be used also after a preposition ending in a consonant, or even without any preceding preposition at all; in the latter case **t** (and doubtless **m** also) may be lenited.

Examples: 1 sg. **mo chland** 'my children', gen. *mo chlainde*; *a mu choimdiu* 'O my Lord', later written **ammo**, hence with unlenited *m*; *mo béssi-se* 'my manners', acc. *mo bésu-sa*; *sech mo chomáes-sa* 'beyond my contemporaries'; *im chuimriug, rem chuimriug* 'in, before my captivity' (lit. 'binding'), but *as-mo chuimriug* 'out of my captivity'; *dumm imdídnaad* 'for my release'; *form náimteá* 'upon my enemies'; **tarm chenn** 'for me' Ml. 72<sup>d</sup>11 (cp. Wb. 7<sup>b</sup>5), beside **tar-mo chenn** Ml. 88a8, *tar-mu chenn* 76<sup>d</sup>9; *mo ort* and *m'ort* 'my rank'; *messe m'óinur* 'I alone'; *m'óisitiu* 'my confession' (*foísitiu*) Ml. 46b12; *oc m'ingraimaim-se* 'at my persecution' = 'persecuting me' 33<sup>a</sup>9.

Before *m*- later sources occasionally have **-mo, -mu** instead of **-m**; e.g. *for-mu mud* 'in my way' SP. (cp. KZ. XLVIII. 55).

2 sg. *do chland* 'thy children'; *ac du guidi-siu* 'praying to thee'; *it choímthecht* 'in thy company'; *dut menmain-siu* 'to thy mind'; *fort chiunn* 'on thy head'; *do imchomarc* 'inquiring after thee', beside *t'eséirge* 'thy resurrection', *tussu th'óenur* 'thou alone', *occ t'adrad-so* 'at thy adoration' = 'adoring thee'. In Ml. the silent vowel is occasionally written; e.g. *tó eredig* 45<sup>d</sup>3 for *t'eredig* 'thy cup'; *to fortacht-su* 45<sup>c</sup>7 'thy help' (*f* + *órtacht*), gen. *to fortachte* 55<sup>a</sup>19 beside *t'ortachtae* 108<sup>a</sup>1.

**440.** 2. 1 pl. *ar*<sup>n</sup>. 2 pl. **far**<sup>n</sup>, **for**<sup>n</sup>; also **bar**<sup>n</sup> (*b* =  $\beta$ ) after prepositions ending in a vowel or *-r*, even where the vocalic (or *-r*) auslaut is not original. The *f* is never lenited. For **di-ar**<sup>n</sup> instead of **do-ar**<sup>n</sup>, see § 832; for **innar**<sup>n</sup> (with *in*) see § 842.

Examples: 1 pl. *ar m-bréthre* 'of our word'; *ar n-irrigde-ni* 'our prayer'; *íarnar n-etargnu* 'after our recognition' =

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'after we were recognized'; *diar foirbthetu-ni* (*f* =  $\beta$ ) 'for our perfection'; *innar cridiu-ni* (*c* = *g*) 'in our heart'.

2 pl. *far n-dígal-si* 'your punishment'; *for n-étach* 'your clothing'; *oc far n-ingrim* 'at your persecution' = 'persecuting you'; *ibar cumactu-si* (*c* = *g*) 'in your power' beside *hifar n-irrigdib-si* 'in your prayers'; *dobar tinchosc* (*t* = *d*) 'for your instruction' beside *dofar firiánugud* (*f* =  $\beta$ ) 'for your justification'; *arbar seirc* 'for love of you' beside *arfar foirbthetu* 'on account of your perfection'.

**441.** For all pronouns of the third person the form **a** (á § 48) appears, but with varying effect on the following initial, viz.

*lenitinga* for the 3 sg. masc. neut.,  
*geminatinga* (Mid.Ir. **ah** -) for the 3 sg. fem.,  
*nasalizinga* for the plural of all genders.

After **imm** - we occasionally find **e** instead of **a**: *imme cúairt* 'round about' ( *Thes.* II. 248, 7); also after **i** and **for** in archaic texts: **ine chuis** 'in his foot', *faire chomnessam* 'on his neighbour' Cam. 37d. The prep. **fo** often appears as **fu** before **a**, or fuses with it to give **fo** (**fó** ?): **fua chossa** beside **fo chossa** 'under his feet' Ml. 89<sup>d</sup>14, 15; similarly **ó** for **ó-a** (36<sup>a</sup>2). **do-a** or **du-a** usually becomes **dia** (**dua** once in Arm., *Thes.* II. 241, 13). Beside **occ-a**, Sg. and Ml. have **oc(c)o** ; e.g. *atá oco scríbunt* 'he is writing it' Sg. 213<sup>b</sup>4. For **inna** (with *i*<sup>n</sup>) see § 842.

Examples: *a ingen*, emphatic *a ingen-som* 'his daughter'; *a ingen* (Mid.Ir. *a h-ingen* and so pronounced in Old Irish also), emphatic *a ingen-sí* 'her daughter'; *a n-ingen*, emphatic *a n-ingen-som* 'their daughter'.

**a thabart** 'the giving of it'; **a tabart** 'the giving of her'; **a tabart** (*t = d*) 'the giving of them'.

*dia bráthair* (*b = β*) 'to his brother'; *dia bráthair* (unlenited, originally geminated *b*) 'to her brother'; *dia m-bráthair* 'to their brother'.

**a maice** (*m = μ*) 'his sons'; *a-mmaic* or *a maicc* 'her sons' and 'their sons'.

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**442.** The proleptic use of these pronouns, anticipating a following genitive, is common (cp. § 421); e.g. **a masse in choirp** 'its, the body's, beauty' Wb. 28c25. They may also anticipate a relative clause: *is ed a erat fritamm-iurat* 'that is the (lit. 'its') length of time they will hurt me' Ml. 33<sup>a</sup>1. Furthermore, the neuter possessive is used with verbal nouns, like the infixed pronoun (§ 422), to denote that the action has already been mentioned; e.g. **ma ad-ced torbe inn-a thec[h]t**, lit. 'if ye should see benefit in its going', i.e. 'in so going' Wb. 11<sup>b</sup>22.

## STRESSED FORMS OF POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS AND OF THE GENITIVES OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS

**443.** Stressed forms of the possessive pronouns are very rare, because in predicative construction they are nearly always replaced by the preposition **la** (or **do** ) with suffixed pronoun; e.g. **is limm-sa** 'he is mine'. Plural or dual forms with the force of partitive genitives are somewhat more frequent.

1 sg. Indeclinable **múi** (i.e. **muí** ) renders Latin *meus* and *mei* (  $\square\mu\omicron\upsilon + \text{ }^{\text{r}}$  ) Sg. 200b10, 209a7; emphatic **muisse** 'meam' Wb. 1<sup>b</sup>3; cp. *muí mo macc*, *muí mo ingen* 'mine (is) my son, mine my daughter' *Anecd.* III. 28, 18 (cp. *ZCP.* XII. 439). It can take the article: *inna-mmui-sea* 'mea' (pl. neut.) Wb. 18<sup>d</sup>13.

2 sg. **taí** , not found in the Glosses and only rarely elsewhere; e.g. **is and nad-bí muí na taí** 'it is there that there is neither mine nor thine' LU 10848; cp. *Corm.* 532.

1 pl. **cechtar nathar** (probably **náthar** ) 'each of us two' Wb. 20<sup>c</sup>26, *Thes.* II., 293, 13 (SP.) beside *cechtar náribid.* 294, 2; *nechtar náthar-ni* (with mark of length) 'one of us two' LU 1433; *cía nathar* 'which of us two?' *Anecd.* III. 27, 18.

2 pl. *sethar-si* 'uestram' Wb. 1<sup>b</sup>2. Later sources have also a monosyllabic form *indala sar* (probably *sár*) 'of one of you two' Trip. 158, 8.

**nechtar fathar** 'either (acc.) of you two' IT. I. 336, 13 seems to be a later adaptation.

**444.** For all pronouns of the third person, singular and plural, the form **aí**, **áe** is used; e.g. **is aí talam ocus muir** 'His

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are earth and sea' Imram Brain I. 15 § 27. It is also found with the article: *a n-aí* 'his, theirs', gen. *ind aí*, gen. pl. *inna n-aí*, *inna n-áe*, etc.

On the other hand, the use of inflected plural forms in Ml., where *suos* is translated by **aii** and *suis* by **aiib**, is a Latinism. No less artificial is the use (also in Ml.) of an unstressed possessive pronoun before such plural forms in order to distinguish 'his' (predicative) from 'theirs'; e.g. **á aii** gl. (*voluerit eos*) *suos* (*vocari*) 92<sup>c</sup>10 (cp. also 75<sup>c</sup>1); **a n-aii** gl. (*ne cupiditas dominorum se*) *suosque* (*detereret*) 121<sup>d</sup>15. But the combination of the unstressed with the stressed possessive pronoun in relative clauses (§ 507e) is a genuine Irish construction.

The same form is used as partitive gen., especially dual, in *indala n-aí*, *nechtar n-aí* 'one (masc. fem. or neut.) of the two' (**n-áii** Wb. 25<sup>d</sup>14, scribal error?); *cechtar n-aí* 'each of the two' (Beside these we also find *nechtar de*, *cechtar de*, apparently with the prep. **di** ; scarcely with the the pron. (a)**de** § 479). In the plural both *aí áe* and (*h*)*é* (*h*)*æ* + 'occur; e.g. *na áe* 'one (none) of them' Wb 12<sup>b</sup>33, with the proclitic form **na** (stressed **ní** ), elsewhere used only as an adjective (§ 489 b); *áen n-aí* Laws v. 314, 9; *cach aí* 'each of them' Met. *Dinds.* III. 382, 12 beside **na hé** *Thes.* II. 29, 38, *ZCP.* III. 452, note 7; *cach hé cach æ* + , ' *cach hæ* + (-*som*), neut. *cach n-æ* + Wb.; cp. *cech æ* + (rhyme: -e) *Fianaig.* p. 12 § 13. Ml. and Sg. have **ae** throughout. In both these sources so little trace of its genitive meaning survives that the pronoun may be repeated after it with the prep. **di** ; e.g. **cechae díb** Ml. 146a2, **cach hae díib** Sg. 74<sup>b</sup>4 (without *ae*: *cech diib* Ml. 72<sup>b</sup>27, *cách díb* 42<sup>c</sup>7).

## ANALYSIS OF THE FORMS OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS

445. The drastic reduction which the personal pronouns have for the most part undergone and the frequent levelling which has taken place between them make it impossible to reconstruct their earlier forms with any degree of certainty. The following analysis is partly based on a comparison with the Britannic forms.

Where in original Indo-European the nominative had a different anlaut from the oblique cases (e.g. Lat. *ego*: *mihī*, *me*, etc.), this difference has not survived. As a rule there is no longer any trace of lenition of the anlaut.

### THE 1 AND 2 SG.

446. The nominative of the 1 sg. pronoun has taken over the stem of the oblique cases. The form *mé*, emphatic *mässe*, has been identified with

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the Greek accusative  $\mu\epsilon$  (which, however, could go back to  $^*\mu\epsilon\delta$ ). This suggestion is supported by Gaul. *te*, probably 'thee', on the obscure inscription in Rom (Dottin no. 52); for the long vowel in **mé** see § 44b. It is doubtful whether 2 sg. **tú** , emphat. **tüssu**, goes back to *tŭ* (= Gk.  $\sigma\upsilon$ ) or *tŭ* (= Lat. *tŭ*, O.Slav. *ty*, OE.  $\beta\bar{u}$ ); if to the latter, the short vowel in *tussu* may be due to the influence of **messe**. Britannic forms seem to fluctuate between *tī* (W. *ti*) and *tĭ* (O.Bret. *ti*, later *te*); should the latter represent merely a shortening of the former, *tī* may point to Old Celtic  $^*t\bar{u}$ . But the vocalism of the Brittonic personal pronouns has been levelled (1 sg. W. *mi*, Bret. *me*) to a degree that permits of no definite conclusion.

In the genitive the 1st person has been modelled on the 2nd. Proclitic **mo** lenites like **do**, whereas in Welsh nasalization persists after *fy* (< *my*), which seems to point to an apocopated genitive *men*; cp. O.Slav. *mene*, Avest. *mana*. The earlier vocalism may survive in the Irish proper names Dál Me-druid ( *ZCP.* VIII. 305, 18, 24) and Ogam MUCOI ME-DALO ( *Macal.* III. p. 191). Beside the shortened forms--Ir. arch. **to**, later **do** ( § 178, 2 ), and **t**, W. *dy*, and also apparently Gaul. *to* ( *ZCP.* XIV. 11)--we find in Middle Welsh the stressed form *teu* (and 1 sg. *meu* modelled on this), which goes back in the first instance to Brit.  $^*tou$ . The latter doubtless corresponds to Skt. *táva*, Lith. *tavė*, IE.  $^*tewe$ ; cp. O.Slav. *tebe*. In that case, one would expect  $^*toí$  (and  $^*moí$  ) in Irish. **taí** may have been attracted to the 3 sg. **aí**

; but the *u* in **muí** is difficult to account for. Could there have been at one period a form \***tuí** which had developed under the influence of **tú**, and in turn gave rise to a form **muí**, where *u* remained unchanged owing to the preceding *m*?

From the suffixed forms after prepositions it is evident that the 2 sg. had a palatal vowel in the dative and *-u* in the accusative, though there has been some levelling here also; cp. *duit, úait* as against *friut, triut, immut, torut* (but also **frit** and conversely *ocut, íarmut*, etc.). Probably the nominative form *tu* had spread to the accusative; the dative may have had the diphthong found in Gk. *σοι*, Skt. *tē*, O.Slav. *tī*. As to the corresponding forms of the 1 sg., there is no definite evidence. The contrast between **dom** and **duit** may indicate that the dative once had neutral or *u*-quality consonance. But the same thing is found in the accusative also (perhaps owing to the influence of the 2 sg.). And parallel forms like *lemm, limm, liumm*, with neutral, palatal and *u*-quality *m*, indicate the extent to which levelling has taken place. As infixed pronouns, **m** and **t** are hardly ever palatal (only once **-dit** - § 414, and in Wb. *nachim, nachit* - § 419).

Suffixed and infixed **t** seems to have been always voiceless in Old Irish, although **d** is often found in the later language. Thus for the later bardic language the *Ir. Grammatical Tracts* (ed. Bergin) p. 9 § 20, when dealing with the possessive pronouns, prescribe **do-t, a-t** (= O.Ir. **it**) before vowels, but **dad, ad** before consonants; and some at least of the modern dialects which retain these composite forms apparently always have *-d* before a consonant (cp. Bergin, *Stories from Keating's History of Ireland*, p. 84). The modern pronunciation of the suffixed pronoun after prepositions (§ 433 ff.) differs in the various dialects: Munster always has *-t* (*duit, asat*, etc.); Donegal always *-d* except in *leat, ort* (= O.Ir. *fort*); Connacht (outside Aran) *-t* in

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monosyllables (*duit, úait*), *-d* in disyllables (*asad, ionnad*), etc. <sup>1</sup>In later MSS. even the infixed pronoun is written **d**; e.g. *ní-d-airmim-sí* 'I do not reckon thee' ZCP. VIII. 551. But in these instances *d* seems to have come from the possessive pronoun **do**.

**447.** The emphasizing particles 1 **se, sa**, 2 **so, su, siu** are identical in form with the demonstrative particles (§ 475), and it is quite possible that *messe* literally means 'I here' and *tussu* 'thou there'. On the other hand, since enclitic forms of the personal pronouns are used as emphasizing particles in Brittonic, and also in Irish for the 1 and 2 pl., **siu (so, su)** may have had a different origin. A form like *as-bir-siu* 'thou sayest' could go back to \**bheres-tū*, \**beressu*. The fortuitous coincidence of the last element with the demonstrative particle (*i-*)*siu, so* (§ 475) may in turn have led to the use of the similar particle **se sa** to emphasize the 1 sg.

#### THE 1 AND 2 PL.

**448.** The stressed forms of the nominative **sní** and **sí** (from \**swī*) correspond to the Brittonic: W. *ni, chwi*; Bret. *ni, c'houi*. That the *s* of *sní* was formerly present in Brittonic also is uncertain, but quite possible, for earlier *sn-* generally became *n-* in Brittonic. In these forms the *s* has been prefixed to initial *n* and *w* of the stem which was originally confined to the oblique cases of both pronouns (Skt. *nah, vah*, Lat. *nos, vos*, etc.). The origin of this *s* is obscure; perhaps it arose through wrong separation where the pronouns were immediately preceded by a verbal form (such as 1 pl. in *-mos*). The *ī* is equally obscure. Primary forms like \**nēs*, \**wēs* would account for it, but there is no support for them in other languages; for the parallel with the O.Slav. dual *vě* 'we two' and the ON. genitive *vár* 'our' is somewhat remote. Analogy with the nom. pl. of *o*-stems in *-i* (*-oi*) is conceivable.

The same forms, shortened in enclisis, serve as emphasizing particles for all cases. **sní**, however, is usually replaced by **-nni, ni**, the secondary form resulting from lenition. **si** (earlier \**swi*) gives a lenited form \***fi**, which, with loss of the vowel, becomes **-b** (=  $\beta$ ), as in *si-b* 'ye'. The vowel of the first element is short, as in the emphatic form **sissi** and sometimes also in **snisni** (by dissimilation **sisni**, etc.); but it would be unsafe to conclude from this that the vowel was originally short. Palatal  $\beta$  (written *b*) is also the form of the 2 pl. dative and accusative after prepositions, e.g. *dúib, lib*. In this position the 1 p. has **-n(n)**, the quality of which fluctuates just like 1 sg. **-m(m)**, e.g. *dún(n), úain(n)* and *úan(n), frin-ni*, beside *triun-ni*, etc.

On the other hand, **-n(n)** and **-b**, as infixed pronouns, are hardly ever palatal (there are a few instances of **-din-**, **-dib-**, § 414; in Wb. *nachin· nachib·*, § 419). Before vowels (i.e. in syllabic anlaut) the earlier sound *f* is occasionally found instead of *b*, e.g. *dof·ema* 'which may defend you'.

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<sup>1</sup> According to information kindly supplied by T. F. O'Rahilly.

**449.** As to the stressed genitive forms, it is uncertain whether **nár** and **sár** have been shortened from **nathar** (or **náthar**) and **sethar** or are of independent origin. **nathar (náthar)** and **sethar** resemble the Lat. adjectives *noster*, *uester* (substantival gen. *nostrī*, *uestri*), (Gk. *□μέτερος*, *□μέτερος*, and the Irish neuter substantives in *-thar* (§ 266). They may be old neuter forms '-ours, yours'--which were first used as possessives in predicative construction and eventually confused with the earlier genitive. The shorter forms **nár** and **sár** (MS. *sar*) may be related to the Germanic possessives and genitives without a dental, such as Goth. *unsar*, *unsara*, *izwar*, *izwara*, ON. *várr*, *vár*. In Britannic no stressed genitive pronouns of similar formation are preserved.

Of the proclitic forms, **far<sup>n</sup>** (**-bar<sup>n</sup>**, **for<sup>n</sup>**) has evidently the same origin as **sár**. Various explanations of the *f-* are possible. Either it represents the earlier anlaut *w*, without prothetic *s* as in *nā + thar*, *nár*; or initial *s* was lost early, as in all proclitic words (§ 178); or **far**, lenited form of *\*swar*, has been generalized.

It is probable that 1 pl. **ar<sup>n</sup>** has the same relation to **nár** as **far<sup>n</sup>** to **sár**; perhaps W. and Corn. an 'our' is also connected. Accordingly it has been suggested that *cechtar n-ár* (*n-ā + thar*) is the correct division; cp. *cechtar n-aí*. But this seems excluded by *cía nathar*, for *cía* never causes nasalization. In **ar<sup>n</sup>**, then, assuming its derivation from *nár n-* to be correct, the first *n* must have been dropped, possibly by dissimilation.

### THE 3 SG. AND PL.

**450.** The nom. sg. (*(h)é*, *sí*, (*h*)*ed*) corresponds to Goth. *is*, *si*, *ita*; cp. Lat. *is*, *id*. The *e* in the masculine form might be explained as having been taken over from an original oblique case, such as gen. *\*esi + o* (Skt. *asya*), to replace *i*, as in Osc. *es-ídum* beside *is-idum* 'the same'. But the emphatic form *hé-som* (not *\*éssom*) is against an original short *e*. That the vowel has been lengthened by analogy with the plural form is possible, but not probable. On the evidence of Skt. *ay-ám* 'this', a nominative form *\*ei* (Ir. **é**) might be postulated; but **é**, unlike **sí** does not lenite. A basic form *\*ei-s*, with secondary masc. suffix *-s*, would account for the absence of lenition, but its existence is, of course, uncertain (Sommer, *Glotta* v. 258).

The neut. **ed** lenites, as is clear from the lenition after the interrogative pronoun combined with it, *ced*, *cid* 'which?' (§ 457), and also from the fact that the form of the anaphoric pronoun after **ed** is nearly always **ón**, not **són**. This, together with the retention of *-d*, suggests that at one time a neutral vowel (*-ā*?) was appended; cp. Goth. *it-a*.

The nom. pl. (**(h)é**), for all three genders, appears, from the evidence of W. *wy*, to go back to the diphthong *\*ei*; but the form is difficult to analyse. It has been suggested that this may really have been the original IE. form of the nom. pl. masc.

**451. Accusative.** In the acc. sg. masculine and neuter one would expect as basic forms *\*im*, *\*id* (*\*em*, *\*ed?*), which would give Celtic *\*in*, *\*i* (*\*en*, *\*e?*).

The masc. form is well preserved in the Bret. infixed pronoun *en* 'him' (also 'it'). In Irish, when suffixed to prepositions, both the masculine and neuter forms have merely the effect of a front vowel; cp. *ind*, *foir*, *etir*, *leiss* (beside **less**, with neutral *s* by analogy with *ass* 'out of him, it'), *tarais*, *tríit*, *samlid*; after original vocalic auslaut, *foí*, *imbi*, *airi*, *cucc(a)i*, *cen(a)e*, *sechæ*; so too after verbs, **beirthi**, etc. When

infixed, the pronoun becomes **a**, with nasalization after the masculine and lenition after the neuter (cp. § 177.), the same form being used for accusative and dative. After the negative, as well as after the **id** of class C, the vowel has been lost in this position also, the only trace of the pronoun being the nasalization or lenition of the following initial.

The suffixed accusative feminine appears as **-e**, which unvoices a preceding voiced stop and geminates **-r**: *impe, inte, forr(a)e, airre*. So too in *cuicee, cucae*, as shown by the later language, *c = k*, whereas in the remaining forms, except the 3 pl., *c = g*. This points to a preceding stage **-se** (which would have given **-se** after an old vowel), possibly from *\*sian*, cp. OHG *sia*, acc. sg. of nom. *siu, sī, si*. Elsewhere, however, we find simple **-e**: *frie, tree. lee* (*tairse* may contain the old **-se**); *secce* is modelled on *cuicce*, since *ch* before *ś* does not become *k*.

The suffixed acc. pl. is **-u** (sometimes **-o** after non-palatal consonants and after *e*), which has the same effect on preceding consonants as the fem. sg. **-e**; cp. *impu (impo), intiu. cuccu* with *cc = kk* (whence, by analogy, *seccu*), *forru, etarru (etarro), airriu erru*; further *friu, treu treo, leu leo, tairsiu*. Accordingly **-u** goes back to **-su** and represents an original masculine form, earlier *\*sōs* from *\*sōns* (possibly *\*sī + ōns*). In MI. it is occasionally replaced by the dative form **-(a)ib**: *cenaib, samlaib*, and even Wb. 4<sup>c</sup>35 has *foraib* where *forru* would have been expected; cp. *suidib* for *suidiu*, § 480.

When infixed, both the fem. sg. and the pl. (all three genders) are reduced to **s**, after the **d** of class C and after **nach-** to **a**. The latter has probably developed from the form with lenited initial. Perhaps the vowel of the 3 pl. indicates that earlier *ō* had not become *u* in this position (cp. § 469.), which would have made it all the easier for the plural form to fall together with the fem. sg. On the other hand, the suffix **-us** after verbs (§ 429) has *u*-quality in the fem. sg. as well as in the plural. The loss of the vowel after *s* may be due to the influence of the infixed form. Infixed **s**, both sg. and pl., may or may not cause nasalization, whereas **a** always geminates. Originally nasalization was confined to the acc. sg. fem., gemination to the acc. pl.; but the two pronouns, owing to their identity of form, were completely confused.

**452. Dative.** The conjugated proposition, masculine and neuter, is apparently expressed by the preposition alone in some instances; in others there seems to have been an ending **-u**. Cp. *for, de* (also *dé*), and possibly **and** (see § 842.). The same explanation might also be given of **dó**, and might appear to be reinforced by the short *o* in *dō-ssom*. But there is another form *dóu* (*Imram Brain* I. 17 § 32). *dáu* (Arm., SP., MI. 32<sup>d</sup>4), of which **dó** may be a regular development. **fo** (= **fó**) occurs but once in MI., otherwise always *fou fóu*. The final consonant clearly shows *u*-quality in *íarum*; cp. also **-u, -o** in *a(i)riu, fiado, úaso*. But in other forms it is neutral, e.g. in *es ass*; also

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in *riam*, where, however, the neutral quality may be secondary. The byform *húaid* (MI.), beside *húad*, is undoubtedly secondary, modelled on *húaim, húait*, or the pl. *húaidib*. It is uncertain whether **-u** represents a pronominal form (dative) or was originally an adverb = Skt. *ā* 'thereto', etc. (see *WaldePokorny* I. 25 f.).

The feminine form is **-i**; cp. *úadi, e(i)ssi, occ(a)i, remi, indi, fu(i)ri*; further **dí** (from **do** and **di**). There are a number of possible basic forms: **\*i + āi**, **\*esi + āi** (Skt. *asyai*), **\*esāi** (Goth. *izai*), etc. In MI. the ending **-e** begins to spread from the accusative; e.g. *húade. esse, occae*, also *úa(i)se*. The emphatic form **dissi** stands in the same relation to **dí** as **dossom** to **dó**, and *messe, tussu* to *mé, tú*.

The plural has the universal ending of the dat. pl., **β'** preceded by a vowel. Neutral consonance is rare before this vowel, e.g. *for(a)ib* (possibly after the sg. **for**), palatal more frequent, e.g. *úa(i)dib, e(i)ssib, indib*. No evidence as to the original quality is supplied by *airib, diib, ocaib, remib, ósib, fiad(a)ib, foib*; nor by *do(a)ib*, where a may be secondary (§ 100). Possibly from IE. *\*eibhis* (Skt. instrumental *ēbhḥ*); cp. the Gaulish dat. pl. *ebo* ZCP. XV. 381, which, however, is uncertain.

**453. Genitive.** Stressed form **aí, áe**; proclitic **a**, earlier sometimes still **e (æ)**. The lenition after the masculine and neuter points to a final vowel, the gemination after the feminine to **-s**, the nasalization after the plural to **-n** (from **-m**). The Britannic forms agree with Irish in the singular: W., and Corn. masc. fem. sg. *y*, Bret. *e* (fem. *he* with the *h* of the nominative *hi*); but not in the plural: W. *eu*, Bret. *ho*. The stressed (and hence fuller) form Mid.W. *eidaw*, fem. *eidī*, has been taken to be an extension of *\*eid*, which

is itself referred back to \**esi* + *o*, fem. \**esi* + *ās*, = Skt. *asya*, *asyāh*. (Pokorny KZ. XLVI. 285). But this, while phonetically possible, hardly accounts for Ir. **áí áe**, more particularly the *a*-; for it is doubtful if *a* had replaced *e* in proclisis early enough to allow of its becoming firmly established in the stressed form also. There is the further possibility that an older form is preserved in the **é** which still occurs in the plural (*cach hé*, etc.); as a plural form this **é** could go back to \**eisōm* = Skt. *ēṣām*, Osc. *eisun-k* 'of these'. But it would be more in keeping with Irish phonology to regard **e (a)** as derived from **áe**, and pl. **é** as due to the influence of the nom. pl. form.

**454.** In the fem. sg. (all cases) the shortened nominative form **si** serves as emphasizing particle. **som** (whence **sem**, **sium**, etc.), which is used for the masc. neut. sg. and for all three genders in the plural, is the Irish (uninflected) equivalent of Skt. *samáh*, Gk. *□μός*, Goth. *sama* 'the same'.

### THE INFIXED PRONOUNS OF CLASSES B AND C

**455.** In class C the lenited *d* (fuller form *id*) is really a separate particle ( § 511 ); only what follows, or once followed it represents the pronoun. The

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vowel in **-do-m -da-m, -da-t -di-t, -do-n -da-n, -do-b -da-b**, etc., is the remnant of the final of the particle (for the form **-d-a** in fem. and pl., see § 451 ). Particle and pronoun, however, have been completely fused in Irish. It is quite otherwise with the **d** of class B. This is always unlenited, and the loss of the nasal in **cot-**, **at-** (pronounced *kod-*, *ad-*), for **com**, **en** + pronoun, points to *t* as the earlier initial ( § 207 ). The most probable explanation is that the forms of this class derive from another pronoun of the 3rd person, the IE. demonstrative stem *to-* *tā-*. In the forms of the 3rd person the masc. sg., nasalizing **d** (rarely **da** after the **a** of class A), goes back to IE. \**tom*, Celt. \**ton*; the neuter, leniting *d*, to IE. \**tod*, Celt. \**to* (cp. Ir. *tó* 'yes'); the plural, germinating **da**, to IE. \**tons* (whence \**tōs* in the first instance), possibly also to fem. \***tās**. The fem. sg. has probably been attracted to the plural form (\***tās**), although its vowel may go back regularly to that of earlier \**dān* (< \**tām*); cp. gen. pl. **inna**, § 469. The use of *d* for *t*, which was regular after a former nasal, may have spread from this to other positions. Mid.W. *ny-t* 'not' (before vowels), 'is not', and similar forms seem to contain the same pronoun, which has, however, lost all meaning. The above explanation presupposes that the pronouns of the 1st and 2nd persons **dom**, **dot**, **don**, **dob**, etc., have arisen by analogy with those of the third person, on the model of class C. A similar analogical extension is found in the suffixed pronouns *etrum*, *etron*, *etruib*, *essiut*, *fuirib* (and *forum*, *forun* in Ml.), which have taken over the vowel of the last syllable from forms like *airium*, *immum*, etc., where the preposition originally ended in a vowel.

## INTERROGATIVES

Strachan, *Ériu* I. 6 ff.; Vendryes, *MSL*. XIII. 396 ff.; Bergin, *Ériu* XII. 205 ff. **456.** The forms of the interrogative **pronoun** (in direct and indirect clauses) fall into two classes:

- a. An unstressed or weakly stressed form **ce**, **ci**, **cía**, invariable in gender and number;
- b. A more fully stressed form *cía* 'who?', with neuter *cid*, *ced* 'what?' (cp. also § 502 ), and plural *citné*, probably for \**cía ata n-é*, lit. 'who, what (is it) that they are?'.

The 3 sg. pres. ind. of the copula is never expressed after these pronouns.

**457.** Both classes may refer to a following substantive (or personal pronoun) in the nominative, class (a) chiefly in stereotyped phrases. In this construction the *cía* of (b) is

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confined to the masculine, the feminine being expressed by *ce-sí* (*cessi*), *ci-sí* (with appended personal pronoun). The latter form and the neut. *ced*, *cid* lenite.

Examples: *cía airm*, *cairm* 'what is the place?, where?' beside *cisi airm* LU 3346; *cía dú* (fem.) 'where?'; *ci cruth*, *ci crud* ZCP. VII. 480, Wb. I. 24<sup>a</sup>9, also *ce*, *cía chruth* (masc.) Wb., Sg. 'what is the manner?, how?'; *cía indas*, *cindas* (neut.) 'how?'; *ce méit*, *cía-mméit* (Ml.) 'what is the amount?, how much?'; *cía*, *ce*, *ci fiu* (*Ascoli Gloss.* cccxxii) 'what is the worth?, in what degree? how greatly?'; *cía airet* (*eret*, *erat*) 'what is the duration?, how long?'; *cía gním* (masc.) 'what is the deed?'; *cía*, *ce*, *ci hé* 'who is he?'; *cisi*

*chomairle* 'what is the advice?'; *ced torbe* (*cetorbe*) 'what is the profit?'; *cid ehenél* 'what is the gender?'; *ass·indet citné cumac[h]te* 'he expounds what are the powers' 6<sup>a</sup>9.

Instead of *citné* the form *cis<sup>n</sup>*, *cisné* is sometimes found, especially in legal texts; e.g. *cis n-díthle* 'what are the thefts?' ZCP. XII. 366, 26; *cisné tri m[a]ic* 'which are the three sons?' Laws v. 456, 1. Here *-s-* seems to represent, not the singular relative form of the copula *as*, but rather the infixed personal pronoun 3 pl. (§ 415) which is used to characterise the plural (cp. *nis* § 796). Cp. also *cis lir* 'how many?' (*lir* 'as many as' § 372).

**458.** Class (a) may be combined with verbs both as subject and object. It has the effect of a conjunct particle, taking conjunct or prototonic forms (§ 38, 2b). In this position it can also function as the indefinite pronoun 'whoever, whatever'; here it requires the subjunctive when the verb is in the present tense. Examples: *ció·beir* 'who carries?' LL 12<sup>b</sup>46; *ció·roig*, *ce·roich* 'what (how far) does it reach?'; *ció·acca* 'whom didst thou see?'; *ció·(r)ricc*, *ce·(r)ric*, *ci·ric* gl. *quid ergo*, *quid igitur*, etc., lit. 'to what does it come?'; *ció·tormala* 'whatsoever he may have consumed' (pres. subj. with **-ro-**) Laws v. 520, 3. It is often found with verbs of going (which can govern the accusative): a *n·nad·fetatar* *ció·luid* 'while they knew not whither she went' Imram Brain I. 17 § 31; *ció·tíasam* 'wherever we go' Thes. II. 299, 30.

Where the interrogative pronoun is used with the verb 'to be', the stressed form of the latter rather than the copula (§ 774) would be expected, for the pronoun itself is a predicate.

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Both forms, however, are found; e.g. *ció·taí·siu* 'who art thou?' LU 6307; *ció·bíth* 'whoever it used to be' Mon. Tall. 129, 19; *ció·bé a·mmét* 'whatever be its (fem.) amount' MI. 61<sup>b</sup>28; but also *cip cruth* 'howsoever' Wb., *cib cenél* 'whatever be the nation' Wb. 3<sup>b</sup>20. Hence it is sometimes doubtful whether *cipé* should be analysed as *ci·pé* or *cip é*. Cp. also *immos·coemorcuir ceptar hé* 'she asked them who they were' Corm. 1059 (Laud) beside *ció·bátar do bésa* 'what were thy habits?' Tec. Corm. § 7.

Note also the combinations *cip cía* 'whoever it may be' Ériu XII. 34 § 44; *cip can* 'whencesoever may be' Anecd. III. 26, 1.

In the rare instances where the pronoun combines with infixed personal pronouns it has the form *cich-*; e.g. *cichib·foruireth* (read *-roí-*) 'what has been done (lit. caused) to you?' LL 252<sup>a</sup>24 (to *fo·fera*), cp. IT. III. 237, 62; *ciche·brata* 'who plunders them?' LU 5563.

The parallel *cista·brata*, *cisda·beir*, etc., TBC.2989 f. seems to be a later development.

**459.** Class (b) does not combine with verbs; instead, it takes absolute (relative) forms; e.g. *ció rannas dúib* 'who (is it that) divides for you?' LL 113<sup>b</sup>12; *cid as dénti* 'what is to be done?' Wb. 12<sup>d</sup>41, MI. 51<sup>b</sup>8.

#### **460. OBLIQUE CASES**

Apart from the acc. sg. (§ 458), there is a predicative genitive *coich* (in later MSS. occasionally *cóich*) 'whose?'; e.g. *is inderb coich in mug* 'it is uncertain whose is the slave' Sg. 209<sup>b</sup>30. In some texts this form is also used for the nom. masc. 'who?'.

Other oblique cases occurring in glossed Latin texts are rendered in Irish by the uninflected interrogative pronoun followed by the appropriate case of (a) a non-interrogative pronoun when the Latin interrogative is substantival, (b) the qualified noun when it is adjectival. Examples: *ad quem?* gl. *ció du neuch* (from *nech* 'someone', § 489) MI. 16<sup>a</sup>9; *in quibus?* gl. *ció isnaib·hí* (from *an-í*, § 474) 49<sup>c</sup>13; *quem?* gl.

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*cinní·sin* (from *intí·sin*, § 476) Thes. II. 227, 30; *de quo (uolucra)?* gl. *ci·de* (*de* 'of him' § 435) Sg. 3<sup>a</sup>9; *quam caritatem?* gl. *ce seirc* Wb. 14<sup>d</sup>15; *in quibus malis?* gl. *ció i n·olcaib* MI. 23<sup>b</sup>2; *ex quo nominatio?* gl. *ci ó ainmnid* Sg. 207<sup>b</sup>3, etc. The above forms are doubtless mostly Latinisms, since no such construction is found in original Irish texts. On the other hand, the frequent use of *ci ó fut* (from *fort*

'length') in Ml. to render *usque quo?* (beside *ci fot* gl. *quatinus* ZCP. VII. 480, in accordance with § 457.) suggests that the rudiments of a similar construction existed in Irish also. In early examples however, the preposition is not followed by a second pronoun; cp. *cair* (*coir* Wb. I. 19<sup>d</sup>10) 'what for, why?', Mid.W. *pyr*, with the prep. *air*, *ar* (§ 823.); *can* 'whence?', W. *pan*, with the **an** of § 483.

The analysis of *ce-*, *cía-dono* 'what for, wherefore?' is uncertain; cp. *cedono rigne* 'wherefore (or wherefore, then,) prolixity?' Wb. 8<sup>d</sup>15 (cp. 2<sup>d</sup>10, 6<sup>a</sup>4); also *cía-pu-dono dún indarpe geinte* 'why (then?) should we expel the gentiles?' 19<sup>a</sup>14 (cp. 7<sup>d</sup>16). It probably contains the prep. *do*. The **-no** is explained by Pedersen (II. 201) as a reduced form of dat. sg. *neoch* (from *ní* 'something'), since in Ml. 47<sup>b</sup>1 (101<sup>a</sup>4) *ci-er-niu (-neo)* renders *quam ob rem* (cp. the full form *cía ar neoch* gl. *ad quid?* Sg. 217<sup>a</sup>5). But these may be artificial forms invented in Ml. for the purpose of differentiating the neuter. Could *cedono* have developed from *ce-do-dano* by haplogy? For *dano* see § 900.

The *cair* which is often placed before independent interrogative clauses is probably a different word from *cair* 'what for?'. From Lat. *quaere?* Cp. the similar use of *ceist*, § 35.

In Irish the sentence is as a rule so arranged that the interrogative is in the nominative; e.g. *cía fil sund* 'who is here?' lit. 'who (is it) that is here?' LU 5123; *ní-tucthar cid frissa-sennar* 'what it (*tuba*) is sounded for is not understood' Wb. 12<sup>c</sup>46. **461.** Indefinite 'whosoever, whatsoever, all that' may be expressed, not merely by *ce ci cía* (§ 458), but also by

- a. *cecha-*, *cacha-*, conjunct particle before verbs; it is always accusative in construction and requires the subjunctive in the present tense; e.g. *cecha-taire* 'whatsoever thou mayst give' *Zu ir. Hss.* I. 20, 15; *cacha-orr* 'whichever he may slay' Sg. 12<sup>b</sup>7; *cecha-epert* 'all that he said' *Anecd.* II. 63, 14 (H).

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Later it is occasionally followed by nasalization; e.g. *cacha-n-dénainn* 'whatever I might do' *Liadain and Cuirithir* p. 24, 18. But *cechid-epirt* (read *·epert*) *RC.* XI. 442, 7 is isolated and perhaps erroneous.

- b. *sechi*, used before the nominative of personal pronouns or substantives, e.g. *sechi é*, *sechi sí*, *sechi hed* 'whatsoever he, she, it is' (or with the subjunctive of the copula: *sechi-p (sechi-b) hé*); plural *sechitat hæ* + Ml. 69<sup>a</sup>18, *sechitat n-é* *Thes.* II. 25, 38 (cp. *citné*), *sechit hæ* + Ml. 101<sup>d</sup>4, 102<sup>a</sup>2. When it is used with a substantive the personal pronoun may or may not be inserted; e.g. *sechi hed bás són* 'whatever death that may be' Wb. 13<sup>c</sup>1; *sechip hé dán* ('art') 13<sup>a</sup>3; *sechit hæ* + *lestrai* 'whatsoever vessels they be' Ml. 101<sup>d</sup>4; but also *sechib grád* 'whatever be the grade' Wb. 10<sup>a</sup>18. The pronoun is consistently omitted in the expressions *sechi dú* 'wherever', *sechi cruth* 'howsoever' (arch. *saichi crud* Wb. I. 23<sup>b</sup>22).

*i sachi rétib* gl. *in quibus rebus* ZCP. VII482 is probably a Latinism.

**462.** *co-*, geminating conjunct particle, means 'how?', '(of) what sort?', 'wherein consists?'; e.g. *co-bbia mo f* + *échtas* 'how will my expedition be?' LU4528; *co-acci in slúag* 'how seest thou the host?' *ibid.* 4530.

Instead of *co-* with the pres. ind. of the verb 'to be', *cote cate* (*catte*) is used (sometimes also in the sense of 'where is?'); plural, with verbal ending, *coteet, cateet cateat*; genders are not distinguished. Examples: *cate in fírinne* 'of what sort is the righteousness?' Wb. 4<sup>d</sup>23; *as-bera coteet* (MS. *coteet*) *mo béssi-se* 'he shall say what (sort) my manners are' 9<sup>a</sup>17.

In ancient maxims, when **co** has the meaning 'where?' before other verbs, it is followed by **-du-** (probably *dú* 'place'); e.g. *codu-accobra creici cech dindba* 'where does every poor man seek to buy?' *Bürgschaft* p. 21 § 61.

## INTERROGATIVE PARTICLES

**463.** 1. The conjunct particle **in** precedes direct and indirect questions which are not introduced by an interrogative pronoun. It nasalizes a following consonant but remains itself

unchanged, except before *b* where it usually becomes **im-** (but **in·biam** 'shall we be?' *Wb.* 15<sup>a</sup>1). Examples: **in·coscram-ni** (*c-* = *g-*) 'do we destroy?' *Wb.* 2<sup>b</sup>20; **as·rubart i·mboí** 'he asked (Ir. 'said') whether there was' *Ml.* 43<sup>d</sup>1. Before a vowel *Wb.* has **in-**, *Ml.* and *Sg.* **in·n-**; e.g. **in·intsamllamar-ni** 'do we imitate?' *Wb.* 11<sup>b</sup>16; **in·n-írr** 'wilt thou slay?' *Ml.* 77<sup>a</sup>10; **in·n-aci** 'seest thou?' *Sg.* 15<sup>b</sup>6.

**hi·pridchat** *Wb.* 13<sup>a</sup>13 is probably an error for **in·**. For the form of an attached infixed pronoun, see § 413; for **in** with the present tense of the copula, §§ 798 ( 797 ), 803; for the negative, § 863.

Nasalization also appears after the negative **nád**; e.g. **in·nád·n·accai** 'seest thou not?' *Ml.* 17<sup>b</sup>17 (cp. *Wb.* 5<sup>a</sup>21); sometimes even after the copula: **in·dat m·briathra** 'is it the words?' *Ml.* 44<sup>b</sup>9-10. Hence such questions have the appearance of nasalizing relative clauses ( § 504 a ).

In *Ml.* **inní nád** is repeatedly found; e.g. **inní nád·n·imcai** 'does he not consider?' 114<sup>a</sup>15, lit. 'is it something, that he does not consider?', since *ní* is probably the neuter of **nech** ( *Pedersen II.* 257 f.).

Indirect interrogative clauses may be preceded by **dús**, contracted from **do f + ius**, 'to know, ascertain (if)' (Bret. *daoust*), particularly in a context where one would not normally expect an interrogation to follow; e.g. **fo bíith precepte dóib dús in·duccatar fo hiris** 'because of preaching to them to know if they may be brought under the faith' *Wb.* 9<sup>b</sup>19 (**·duccatar** nasalized form of **·tuccatar** ).

**464.** 2. In alternative questions 'is it . . . or . . .?', 'whether . . . or . . .?', **in** may be used before each member (e.g. *Wb.* 2<sup>c</sup>5-6). More often, however, the second alternative is introduced by (leniting) **fa, fá, ba** (=  $\beta a$ ), **bá** ( § 48 ). Examples: **con·feiser . . . in duit féin fa do nach ailíu** 'till thou know . . . whether it is for thyself or for another' *Sg.* 209<sup>b</sup>30; *im fochroib* (*-chróib* MS.) **bá chían** 'whether it be just now or long ago' 151<sup>b</sup>2.

If this is the copula **ba** used in a modal sense, the lenition after it is secondary (due, perhaps, to the influence of **no** 'or'), as **ba** (copula) geminates.

For alternative questions in a concessive clause see § 910.

**465.** 3. Negative questions expecting an affirmative answer can be introduced, not only by **in** with the negative, but also by **ca-ni** (rarely **ceni, cini** ) 'nonne', which is reduced to monosyllabic *cain* before pretonic **ro**. Examples: **cani·accai** 'seest thou not?' *Ml.* 25<sup>b</sup>14; **cini glé lib** 'is not clear to you?' *Wb.* 12<sup>d</sup>4; **cain-ro-noíbad** 'has not been sanctified?' 2<sup>c</sup>4.

#### **466.** ETYMOLOGY OF THE FORMS OF THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN, ETC.

The principal form of the interrogative pronoun, **cía** (shortened **ce, ci** ), corresponds to OW. *pui* (modified in Bret. to *piou*, in Corn. to *pyw*) and points to \**qwei*. In vocalism it differs from O.Lat. nom. sg. *quoi* (later *quī*), and resembles rather the Doric adverb  $\pi\epsilon\iota$  + 'where?'. The differentiated neuter is nearly always **cid** in *Ml.* and *Sg.* (**ced**, *Sg.* 99<sup>a</sup>2); in *Wb.* mostly **ced** when followed by a substantive or personal pronoun ( § 457 ). The parallel feminine form **ce-sí** in this construction suggests that **ced** (**cid** ) has arisen from fusion with the personal pronoun **ed** (in **cía gním**, too, masc. **é** could have fused with **cía** ). Hence it is not certain that the *-d* in **cid** represents the old ending found in Lat. *quid*, etc. There is the further possibility that the ending is due to the analogy of, rather than to fusion with, **ed**.

It is difficult to decide whether **cía** originally ended in a vowel or not. The Britanic forms lenite, e.g. W. *pw y bynnag* (from *pynnag*) 'whosoever', Bret. *piou bennac*. In Irish the gemination caused by proclitic forms before verbs ( § 458, cp. **cía·h·imirbera** 'whatever he may have used' *Laws* v. 480, 9-10) may have the same explanation as that caused by pretonic prepositions ( § 243, 2 ). Before substantives the usage varies: **cía-mméit** beside **cía chruth** (but also **ci cruth** ). The latter might be explained as due to

analogy with **in chruth-so** 'in this way'; but there was no such model for *cía chuin* 'when?' *Ml.* 18<sup>a</sup>2, 61<sup>b</sup>9, *Trip.* 242, 13. Perhaps originally there were alternative forms, with vocalic and consonantal (-s) auslaut, the second of which may have been the masculine nominative.

The form **cich-** before infixed pronouns ( § 458 ) may have been modelled on the neg. **nach**, which in the same position is used for **na** ( §§ 862, 863 ). The gen. **coich** is also a secondary development, perhaps modelled on **neich**, gen. of **nech**, neut. **ní** ( § 489 ), or **cáich** ( § 490 ), which may have suggested the long vowel (in **cóich** ). The vocalism may be due to the old anlaut *q<sup>w</sup>*. On the other hand, **cecha· cacha·** ( § 461 a ) looks like a reduplicated form; cp. Lat. *quisquis, quidquid*.

**co·** 'how?' and 'where?' is possibly connected with Mid. W. *cw, cuđ* 'where?' (and Skt. *kū, kuha* 'where?', etc.). But the formation of **cote** (t=d) is obscure; its resemblance to **ate, náte** ( § 867 ) is probably superficial.

The earlier form of **sechi** may have been **sa (i)chi**, the e being taken over from the preposition and conjunction **sech** ( §§ 853, 882 ). The primary form, however, remains obscure. The -n of the interrogative particle **in** has been taken to be an old negative ( *Pedersen I.* 391 ).

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## ARTICLE, DEMONSTRATIVES, AND ADVERBS OF PLACE THE ARTICLE

**467.** Most forms of the article are based on a stem *sindo-*, *sindā-*; only the nom. acc. sg. neuter has the shorter form *sa<sup>n</sup>*.

The Britannic forms go back to the same stem: O.Bret. and Corn. *an*, *en* and doubtless also OW. *ir*. *sindo-*, *-ā* would appear to be an expansion of the shorter neuter form. The relation of the article to the demonstrative **sin** ( § 475 ff. ) and to **sund** 'here' ( § 483 ), as well as to Gaul. *so-sin* 'this' (acc. sg. neut.), is still quite uncertain. For the most recent conjectures, cp. Pokorny, *IF.* XXXIX217 ff.; J. Müller, *ibid.* XLII. 9f.

As the article is always proclitic, the initial s has been lost ( § 178, 1 ); it remains only in the accusative and dative after prepositions originally ending in a consonant, where it combined with the final consonant to give ss: **a** 'out of', **co** 'with', **fri** 'against', **i** 'in, into', **iar** 'after', **la** 'with', **re** 'before', **tar** 'across', also after **co** 'to', **tri tre** 'through'; e.g. acc. sg. **is (s)in**, neut. **issa** 'into the', dat. **is (s)in (d)** 'in the'; acc. pl. **isna**, dat. **isn (a)ib**. After **for** 'on' forms with and without s occur: **forsin** and **forin**, **forsna** and **forna**, etc. After **etir** 'between' the plural **etir inna** *Ml.* 58<sup>a</sup>11 and **etir na** 18<sup>d</sup>24 are attested.

After the prepositions originally ending in a vowel **do**, **di**, **fo**, **ó ua**, the vowel is lost as well as the s; thus **do-n (d)**, **di-n (d)**, **ó-n (d)**, etc. After **oc** we find both **ocin (d)** and **ocon (d)**, after **imm** both **immin** and **immun (immúan** *Arm.* 18<sup>b</sup>1 = *Thes.* II. 242, 15).

In medial position the *nd* has everywhere become *nn* in our period, e.g. **inna**. After prepositions the *i* has been syncopated, leaving no trace of palatalization, and *nn* simplified to *n* even after vowels: **co-sn (a)** **ib**, **fri-sna**, **do-n (a)ib**, **ó-n (a)ib**.

In a few instances archaic -nd- is still preserved: nom. pl. neut. **inda** *Wb.* I. 20<sup>d</sup>5, Filargirius Gl.; **dundaib** *Cam.* 38a; **dendib** (MS. -*ibh*) *AU.* 726.

Occasionally the initial *i* of disyllabic forms is dropped in absolute anlaut also: **'na** beside **inna** ( § 114 ). *i-* is likewise

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dropped in a few examples where monosyllabic forms after *r* precede a numeral: **etar-*n̄*-di rainn** 'between the two parts' *Sg.* 2<sup>b</sup>2, cp. 45<sup>b</sup>19; **far-*n̄*-óendeilb** 'according to the same formation' *Sg.* 90<sup>b</sup>2, similarly 201<sup>b</sup>6.

For **da (dá)** in placenames as the remnant of archaic **'nda**, for **inda** (gen. pl.), see Pokorny, *ZCP.* XIV. 270 f.; cp. [ibid. XX. 356](#).

Where the old final syllable of the article has disappeared, *-nd* is reduced to *-n* before most consonants. The *-d* remains only before vowels and lenited *f, r, l, n*, in *Wb.* sometimes before lenited *m* and *b* also. In the acc. sg. masc. fem. *-d* is dropped before vowels too, for here it was followed by the *n* of the ending (**in n-** from *ind-n-*).

With lenited *s* (pronounced *h*) final *d* combines to give *-t*; but *s-* or *ś-* is still written, although it is really contained in the *-t*; e.g. **int sailm** 'the Psalms' *MI.* 30<sup>a</sup>9. Similarly the nom. sg. masc. appears as **int** before vowels, this being due to the *s* of the old ending *-os* (whence *-as*); e.g. **int athir** 'the father' from *\*ind(a)ś a...* (*indh a...*).

**468.** Paradigm:

		SINGULAR		
		masc.	neut.	fem.
<b>N</b>	<b>in, int</b>	(before vowels)	<b>a<sup>n</sup></b>	<b>ind<sup>l</sup>, int</b> (before <i>ś</i> )
<b>A</b>	<b>in<sup>n</sup>, -sin<sup>n</sup></b>		<b>a<sup>n</sup>, -sa<sup>n</sup></b>	<b>in<sup>n</sup>, -sin<sup>n</sup></b>
<b>G</b>	<b>in (d)<sup>l</sup>, int</b>	(before <i>ś</i> )		<b>inna<sup>g</sup>, na<sup>g</sup></b>
<b>D</b>	<b>-(s)in (d)<sup>l</sup>, -(s)in<sup>t</sup></b>	(before <i>ś</i> )		<b>-(s)in (d)<sup>l</sup>, -(s)int</b> (before <i>ś</i> )
		PLURAL		
		masc.		fem. neut.
<b>N</b>	<b>in (d)<sup>l</sup>, int</b>	(before <i>ś</i> )		<b>inna<sup>g</sup>, na<sup>g</sup></b>
<b>A</b>		<b>inna<sup>g</sup>, na<sup>g</sup>, -sna<sup>g</sup></b>		
<b>G</b>		<b>inna<sup>n</sup>, na<sup>n</sup></b>		
<b>D</b>		<b>-(s)naib</b> , rarely <b>-(s)na</b> .		

Before all cases of the numeral **da** the article has the form **in (-n, -sin)**.

There are sporadic instances of **-nab**, not only before nonpalatal consonants (§ 159), but also before palatal; e.g. **arnab geintib** *Wb.* 2<sup>a</sup>15 (cp. [§ 168](#)). From examples like **donaballaib**

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([§ 159](#)), **húanafochaidib** *MI.* 54<sup>ú</sup>18, **hónamaínénaib** 69<sup>c</sup>5, with assimilation of *-b* to a following labial initial, the form without *-b* spreads, though it is still very rare in our period; e.g. **forsna huilib** *Sg.* 212<sup>a</sup>13, **dona-hí** *MI.* 46<sup>c</sup>7, **hónai gabálaib** 54<sup>b</sup>25.

Very exceptionally **inna** is used as nom. pl. masc.; e.g. **inna foris** 'the foundations (?)' *MI.* 63<sup>c</sup>6; **inna druing-sea** 'these troops' *Fél. Epil.* 285.

Scribes are not always accurate in distinguishing forms where the final consonant varies according to position. Thus before dentals they often write *d*, which, however, is not to be pronounced; e.g. **dind tréidiu** 'of the three things' *Sg.* 3<sup>b</sup>14; **ind dærsucgud** 'the excelling' 40<sup>a</sup>10; **ind da** 'the two' Vienna Bede (*Thes. II.* 33, 21). Or *d* is left unchanged before *ś*, e.g. **dund síl** 'to the seed' (instead of **dunt**) *MI.* 44<sup>a</sup>10; or omitted altogether, e.g. **in suin** 'the words' 37<sup>a</sup>10. Or *t* appears in the wrong position, e.g. **isint aimsir** 'in the time' (instead of **isind**) 14<sup>b</sup>13, etc.

**469.** The flexion is substantially that of the *o-* *ā-*stems, the gen. sg. fem. in *-a* probably representing the earlier ending *-ās* ([§ 296](#)).

The acc. pl. masc. in -a instead of -u perhaps reinforces the conjecture ( § 451.) that in the final syllable of a pretonic word *ō* never became *ū*, but developed like medial *ō*.

Similarly the gen. pl. in -a<sup>n</sup> seems to indicate that in this position -*ōm* had not been shortened to -*ōn* ( § 93b.).

The only explanation of the nom. acc. pl. neut. in -a (geminating) would appear to be that the -s of the feminine ending (originally -*ās*) has spread to the neuter.

## SYNTAX OF THE ARTICLE

**470.** The article stands unstressed before its noun or, if this is preceded by an adjective, before the adjective (**ind huli doíni** *Ml.* 60<sup>b</sup>16). It is not used with a vocative.

It is used before nouns (a) which do not of themselves denote an individual person or thing or a group which is felt as a collective unit, (b) which are not defined by a following genitive or by a possessive pronoun. It indicates that, of the things which the substantive can denote, a definite one or a definite part is intended. Thus **macc** 'a boy' or 'son' (indeterminate); **in macc** 'the (particular) boy we see, of whom we speak, whom I have already mentioned', etc. But **mo macc** 'my son', **macc Domnaill** 'Domnaill's son', **macc ind f + ír-seo**

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'this man's son' are definite without the article. Examples: *gníme Ad[a]im* 'of the works of Adam' *Wb.* 13<sup>d</sup>15; *rún na cruche* 'the mystery of the Cross' 8<sup>a</sup>5; *altóir ind ídil* 'the altar of the idol' 10<sup>c</sup>6. Where **macc** by itself denotes 'the Son (of God)', thus approximating in meaning to a proper noun, the article may be omitted, e.g. *Ml.* 128<sup>a</sup>15-16, *Wb.* 26<sup>c</sup>2. On the other hand, the article is often used to indicate an individual person or thing that is determinate for the speaker (or author) but hitherto unknown to the characters of the narrative and to the hearer (or reader). Examples: *co-n-acca ara chind in fer* 'he saw a (lit. 'the') man in front of him' *LU*4932 f.; (the angel said) **airm i-fuirsitis in torcc arimbad and fu-rruimtis a praintech** 'where they should find a (Ir. 'the') boar, there they should put their refectory' *Thes. II.* 242, 4 (*Arm.*). The article is usually omitted, not only before proper names, but also before such expressions as the following:

- a. **ésc (a)e** 'the moon', *grían* 'the sun', **ecl (a)is** 'the Church', *geinti* 'the Gentiles', *fáithi* 'the Prophets', *apstíl* 'the Apostles', *doíni* 'mankind', also *duine* 'man' (as a species).
- b. *ainm alaili thríuin* 'the name of a certain hero' *Sg.* 96<sup>a</sup>4; *rad dáe* 'the grace of God'; *corp duini* 'man's body, the human body' (generic) 12<sup>a</sup>29, as against *lasin cingid m-báge*, **Dagán** 'with the champion of battle, Dagán' *Fél. Sept.* 13.

**471.** On the other hand the use of the article is obligatory when the substantive is made determinate by means of a defining relative clause. Examples: *a forcell do-beram* 'the testimony we give' *Wb.* 25<sup>d</sup>21; *dund oís nad-chaithe cach túari* 'to the folk that consume not every food' 6<sup>c</sup>11; *isind huiliu labramar-ni* 'in all that we say' *Ml.* 31<sup>b</sup>23. But *fo bésad fir trebuir crenas tíir dia chlainnd* 'after the manner of a prudent man who buys land for his children' *Wb.* 29<sup>d</sup>23 (the relative clause does not particularize but designates a type); *la-mmaccu nacha-róchlat* 'with children who cannot take care of themselves' 19<sup>c</sup>15 (i.e. children in general; *lasna maccu* . . . would mean 'with those children who . . .').

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**472.** Before ordinal numerals the use of the article is optional; e.g. *cétnae accuis--accuis aile--tris accuis--in c[h]eth[ramad]* *accuis* 'the first, second, third, fourth cause' *Ml.* 118<sup>d</sup>12-18.

Further, expressions which are normally found without the article ( § 470.) may take it when a further degree of definition is connoted. Thus the moon rising at the moment of the sun's setting is called **a n-áescae** in *Thes. II.* 21, 37. Here the use of the article is most common when a determinate thing has already been mentioned or is felt to be generally known. Examples: *fornaib gnímaib inna preceptóire* 'on the deeds of the preachers' (which have just been specified) *Wb.* 5<sup>a</sup>5; **tre thindnacul inna n-dánæ in spirito do chách** 'through the bestowal of the (wellknown) gifts of the Spirit on every one' 21<sup>c</sup>2; *fo*

*béesad fir tête do chath, ar gaibid-side céil for báas in tain tête don chath* 'after the manner of a man who goes to battle, for he expects death when he goes to the battle' 9<sup>a3</sup>.

In other instances the function of the article seems to be different. Thus in *don gentlidu* 'to the Gentile' (as type, not individual) *Wb.* 2<sup>a4</sup> and *donaib geintlidib* *MI.* 67<sup>c2</sup> (as against *do geintib* *Wb.* 2<sup>b17</sup>, etc.) it doubtless serves to emphasize the substantival use of the adjectival form in *-ide*. In *á cenéle á-doíne* 'mankind' *Wb.* 5<sup>c16</sup> (cp. 7<sup>c13</sup>, 21<sup>c22</sup>, 21<sup>d11</sup>, 26<sup>d13</sup>) the article shows *cenéle á-doíne* to be a determinate whole and excludes the possibility of its meaning 'a kind of men.' It always accompanies *uile* (except with proper names), being here used even before words whose plural is normally found without the article in a general sense; cp. *in tain do-n-airbertar in boill uili fri cáingnúmu . . . tairbertar súili fri déicsin maith* 'when all the members are subdued to good deeds . . . the eyes are forced to see (the) good' *MI.* 25<sup>c23</sup> (in *boill uili* with, *súili* without the article).

There are instances, however, of words normally determinate in themselves taking the article for no apparent reason; e.g. *cumscugud inna gréne* 'the movement of the sun' *MI.* 118<sup>c12</sup>; *din Mumu* 'from Munster' *LU*4645. Cp. *assin folud appriscc inna colno ara-roítmair* 'out of the brittle substance (consisting) of the flesh which we have received' *Wb.* 9<sup>c10</sup>, where the appended genitive is appositional (similarly 7<sup>d9</sup>).

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A substantive qualified by a possessive pronoun can never have the article before it. Often, however, especially in poetry, a following adjective may be linked with it by the article. Examples: *húas mo lebrán ind línech* 'above my lined booklet' *Sg.*203 ( *Thes.* II.290, 7); *it riched a-rrathach* (*sic leg.*) 'into Thy gracious Heaven' *Fél. Epil.*466; *la taiscecc in gill inn-a don in cetna* 'with restoration of the pledge to the (lit. 'its') same place', i.e. 'to the place where it had formerly been' *Laws* v. 422, 8. So too after other definite words: *Mag Febuil a findscothach* 'the white-flowered M.F.' *ZCP.* IX.340 § 3.

The syntax of the article has not yet been adequately investigated. Collections made primarily for the purpose of illustrating its special uses from the standpoint of comparative linguistics do not suffice to give a complete picture. For this it would be necessary to collect and examine in detail all examples of the noun with and without the article in one of the longer texts or in a corpus of glosses; poetic texts, where the article is omitted much more freely than in prose, are unsuitable for this type of investigation.

**473.** The nom. acc. sg. of the neuter article may be used without a substantive before a leniting relative clause ( § 495 ) in the sense of 'that (which), what'. Examples: *a for-chongair* 'what he orders' *Wb.* 5<sup>c23</sup>; *is fáss dún-ni a predchimme* 'void for us is what we preach' 13<sup>b14</sup>. Cp. also *nebchretem a n-ad-adar* (= *•f + ádar*) 'not to believe what is declared' 27<sup>a10</sup> (where syntactically a genitive would be expected after the substantive). Sometimes the prevocalic form *an-* is used before the particle *ro*; e.g. *an ro-scríbus* 'what I have written' 20c18 beside regular *a-rru-pridchad* 'what has been preached' 14<sup>d23</sup>. *a* <sup>n</sup> may be separated from the relative clause by partitive *di*. . . (*do*. . ., etc.); e.g. *a n-du imnedaib ocus frithoircnib fo-daimi* 'what of afflictions and injuries thou sufferest' *MI.* 55<sup>d11</sup>. Its use after a preposition, in place of normal *an-í* ( § 474 ), is very rare; e.g. *do-farget* (*sic leg.*) *a-rru-fera ar-a-ferthar fris* 'he offers what he has given for what is given to him' *Laws* v. 502, 22. Here it may even follow a preposition which governs the dative: *ni-tabeir dí[r]e] asa n-gatass* 'he does not give a fine for that (lit. 'out of that') which he steals' *Ir. Recht*22 § 24<sup>3</sup>; *farman bechtæ* 'on what is not certain' *Bürgschaft* p. 20 § 60, where *a* has been elided (cp. *ZCP.* XX. 244 f.). It is petrified in *ar-a* <sup>n</sup> 'in order that' ( § 898 ), *di-a* <sup>n</sup>

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'when, if' ( §§ 889, 903 ), and probably also in *co* <sup>n</sup>, *con* <sup>n</sup> 'until, so that' ( § 896 f. ), all of which originally belonged to the principal clause but have come to be used as conjunctions of a subordinate clause.

Before a nasalizing relative clause *a* <sup>n</sup> without a preposition means 'while, when' ( § 890 ).

## DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

### THE ARTICLE WITH Í

**474.** With the forms of the article may be combined a deictic element *í* (**hí § 25**) which is always stressed (cp. Gk. *οὐρανός* + *ύ*: nom. masc. **int-í** (rarely **int-hí**), fem. **ind-í** or **ind-hí**, neut. **an-í**; gen. masc. neut. **ind-í** or **ind-hí**, fem. **inna-hí**, etc. The combination is used:

1. Absolutely, in principal clauses as antecedent of a relative clause immediately following, i.e. 'he (she) who, that which'. Examples: *donaib-hí gníte* 'to those who do' *Sg.* 156<sup>b</sup>7; *indí frisa-n-érbrath* 'she to whom has been said' 220<sup>a</sup>10; *frecre dondí as-robrad* 'an answer to what has been said' *Wb.* 3<sup>c</sup>31.

A similar use of *í* after a noun with the article is found sporadically; e.g. *ata-rachtatar (-tár MS.) in maic hí ro-slassa and* 'the boys who had been struck down there arose' *LU4900* (collection: *KZ. XLVIII.* 52 f.); cp. [§ 471](#).

2. With personal names, to indicate that they have been mentioned already; e.g. **intí Abimelech** 'the said Abimelech'; **forsinní Daid** 'on him, David' *MI.* 52.

Its use with an appellative is quite exceptional: *indí fir* 'of the (abovementioned) husband' *Laws v.* 516. But in *in duine in cháincomraic hí* 'the man of that friendliness (mentioned in the text)' *MI.* 61<sup>c</sup>2, **-sin** has probably been omitted after *í*. In later MSS. proper names are occasionally preceded by the article alone instead of by **intí**, etc.

Among the Britannic dialects Mid.W. *yss-it* 'there is' seems to be the only example of deictic *ī* (with addition of *-t*).

#### **THE ARTICLE WITH so, sa, se, sin, tall, ucut, ísiu, ísin, ETC.**

**475.** 1. Adverbs of place may follow a noun with the article. Combined thus with the article (which in this construction

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may be used more freely than in [§§ 470 ff.](#)), they represent the adjectival demonstratives of cognate languages.

- a. Present place and time are expressed by the enclitic particles **so** and **sa**, (always with unlenited *s-*, [§ 231, 6](#)), after palatal auslaut usually **se**, **seo**, and **sea**; e.g. **in lebor-so** or **-sa** 'this book', **ind libuir-se** or **-seo** or **-sea** 'of this book', etc.

In continuous speech **-so**, **-se** frequently refers to what follows; e.g. **a cetharde-se** 'these four things which I shall now mention'.

When it refers to something which follows in writing, **sís** 'downwards' is often added; e.g. **in salm-so sís** 'the Psalm following here below'.

- b. In this latter sense its counterpart is enclitic **-sin** (likewise with unlenited *s-*), which is never really deictic but always refers anaphorically to something already mentioned; e.g. **a cetharde-sin** 'those four above-mentioned things'.

**-sen** for **-sin** *Thes. I.* 4, 25 is probably a mere scribal variant.

When the substantive is followed by a qualifying word, these particles stand after the latter if it is an indefinite genitive or an adjective, but before it if it is a noun with the article. Examples: *forsa cenélæ metir-sin* 'on that kind of metre' *Sg.* 8<sup>a</sup>13, *in gním n-úasal n-adamra-so* 'this high, wonderful deed' (acc.) *PH.* 3673; but *don dlúim máir-sin inna pecthach* 'to that great mass of the sinners' *Wb.* 9<sup>d</sup>5. In examples such as *rún ind forcill-sin* 'the mystery of that testimony' 28<sup>b</sup>7, **-sin** refers to the second element.

- c. Distance of place or time is often expressed by **tall**; e.g. **in fer tall** 'the man there, yonder man' as against **in fer-so**; **int Sarra thall** 'that Sarah (mentioned in the Old Testament)' *Tur.* 62; **ind nathir** (*naithr* MS.) **humaithe thal[1]** 'that brazen serpent (of old)' *Tur.* 129.

A similar meaning is expressed by **ucut** (probably = *ocut* 'near thee'); e.g. *in tegdais n-ucut* 'yonder house' (acc.) *Wb. II.* 33<sup>a</sup>4; cp. also *Sg.* 9<sup>a</sup>22, 202<sup>b</sup>3.

It occurs after a personal name without the article in *cosmail fri h-Ailill ucut* (*ucud* MS.) 'like Ailill there' *TBC.3353*. Later also **sucut** ; shortened **út, sút**.

Other isolated examples of a demonstrative particle without the article, like *ærgarthae-se* 'this forbidden thing' *MI. 69<sup>a</sup>21*, appear to be scribal errors.

- d. Other adverbs, however, may be used in this construction; e.g. *in rí túas* 'the king above'; *in tuisil olchenae* 'the remaining cases'.

2. To emphasize the demonstrative, stressed **í (hí)** is placed before the particle; **so**, etc., is then always replaced by

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*-siu*. Examples: *in fer (h)í-siu* 'this man ', *in fer (h)í-sin*, *in fer (h)í thall*; *int Alaxander hí-sin* *Wb. 28<sup>a</sup>20*; *ónd rainn inmedónich hí-sin ind aitrebthado* 'from that internal part of the possessor' *Sg. 198<sup>a</sup>13*.

### SUBSTANTIAL FORMS

**476.** 1. The forms with **í** may all be used as substantives: *int-í-siu*, *ind-í-siu*, *an-í-siu* 'this one ', 'the following one'; similarly *int-í-sin*, *int-í thall*, *an-í t[h]úas* 'the above' *MI. 117<sup>c</sup>6*. Examples: *as-beir-som anísu* 'he says this' *Wb. 12<sup>d</sup>21*, *MI. 94<sup>c</sup>5*; *isindísu* 'in this', pl. *isnaib-hí-siu*; *mogae indísín* 'servi (pl.) huius'; *indí riam* 'of that (which goes) before' *Wb. 17<sup>d</sup>21*; *indí ar chiunn* 'of that (which is) ahead' *28<sup>a</sup>11*.

**477.** 2. The following forms are also used substantively: **so (in so)** and **se (in se)** with the same meanings as in [§ 475](#) (a); **sin (in sin)** and **su(i)de** anaphorically as in [§ 475](#) (b).

Here **so**, **se**, **sin** are always stressed; **so** and **sin** are indeclinable, but **se** has dative **síu** ([§ 480](#)).

**su(i)de** is declined as an *io- iā*-stem, except for the (nom.) acc. sg. neut. form which is **sod(a)in**. Beside these stressed forms there are enclitic and shortened forms: **side**, nom. acc. sg. neut. **són** and **ade** (also **de**, Pedersen II. 152), **ón** (where the loss of the *s-* was originally due to lenition). The stressed forms occur almost exclusively after prepositions ([§ 480](#)); the nominative only in *ol su(i)de* 'said he' (Strachan, *Ériu* I. 5, cp. [§ 408](#)); the dative unaccompanied by a preposition only after comparatives, e.g. *móo suidiu* 'more than that' *Wb. 24<sup>a</sup>5*.

There is another form **ol-śu(i)de**, neut. **ol-śod(a)in**, which is rarely found outside the Glosses. This serves to introduce a somewhat independent relative clause, especially one that contradicts or qualifies a preceding statement; e.g. *as-berat as n-día cloíne macc, olsodin as gó doib* 'they say that the Son is a God of iniquity, which (however) is a lie on their part' *MI. 21<sup>c</sup>11*. The glossators use it to provide a literal translation of the Latin relative, for which Irish has no equivalent ([§ 492 ff.](#)), and even give it adjectival functions; e.g. *olsuide n-dath* gl. *quem colorem* *MI. 76<sup>a</sup>10*, *olsodain oín quod solum* *Sg. 41<sup>b</sup>1*. (In *olsodin nad choir anísín* *MI. 127<sup>d</sup>4* the relative clause is given

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a new subject). This is obviously all artificial construction combining the demonstrative **su(i)de** with *ol* 'because' ([§ 905](#)), i.e. Lat. *quod* in another sense (*ol=id quod* only in *MI. 29<sup>c</sup>10*).

### SYNTAX OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

**478.** A. in **so** or simple **so**, more rarely **in se** or **se** (*Sg.*, *ML.*), and **in sín** or **sin** are used as neuter subject (or predicative nominative) and object alike. Examples: *is sí ind remaisndís in so* 'this is the predeclaration' *Tur.24*; *is hed for n-ainm in sin* 'that is your name' *Wb. 5<sup>a</sup>17*; *id in so* 'this here (is) s withe' *LU 4744*; *labraid in spirut noib in so* 'the Holy Spirit says this' *MI. 115<sup>a</sup>2*; *ní · tuccus-sa in sin* 'I did not understand that' *91<sup>c</sup>1*. Where the demonstrative is the object, an infixed pronoun (3 sg. neut.) may be used as well; e.g. *at-ber-som in so* 'he says this' *124<sup>b</sup>3*; *da-gnú-sa sin* 'I do that' *Wb. 14<sup>d</sup>26*.

In the first two examples cited above, *sí* and *hed* do not refer to **in so, in sin**, but anticipate the predicates *ind remainndís* and *for n-ainm* ( § 815 ). Originally this applies also in such sentences as *hit hé sin inna ranna aili as-rubart tús* 'those (lit. 'that') are the other parts which he has mentioned above' *Sg.* 22<sup>a</sup>3, *it hé se inna bríathra* 'these are the words' 4<sup>b</sup>12. But where the demonstrative stands immediately beside a personal pronoun the two words coalesce to some extent, since in such sentences there is no clear-cut distinction between subject and predicate, and since, further, the plural pronoun **(h)é**, even when it predicates a singular subject, requires the plural of the copula. This coalescence is clearly shown in § 480. Hence the demonstrative may actually occur twice: *is [s]f in so ind rún in so* 'this is the mystery' *Wb.* 13<sup>a</sup>16 (cp. *MI.* 86<sup>c</sup>3).

Neuter **hese** *Sg.* 201<sup>a</sup>3 (as against **ed se** 206<sup>a</sup>2) shows assimilation of the *ð* to *s* ( § 139 ).

**479.** B. The other anaphoric pronoun is unemphatic, enclitic, and used for all genders: sg. masc. **side**, fem. mostly (or always ?) **ade ('de)**, neut. **són** and **ón**; pl. (all genders) *sidi*, *adi* ('*di*) and **side, ade**. Examples: *as·bert side* 'the latter (sc. Isaiah) said' *MI.* 16<sup>c</sup>10; *is torbe són (cid ed ón)* 'that (even

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that) is profitable' *Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup>24 (23<sup>b</sup>31); *batar carait iresaig adi* 'these were faithful friends' *MI.* 31<sup>a</sup>3; *soscélae as·n·indedat 'di* 'the gospel that these set forth' 42<sup>b</sup>7; *is é side rod·finnad* 'it is he that used to know it' *Sg.* 209<sup>b</sup>25. When used as object *són ón* may, and the other forms must, be combined with an infixed pronoun, Examples: *ní·thabur duit ón* 'I do not put that for thee' *Sg.* 173<sup>b</sup>2 beside *nicon·laimemmar·ni ón* 'we dare not (do) that' *Wb.* 17<sup>b</sup>8; *nís·n·áirmim sidi* 'I do not reckon these' *Sg.* 205<sup>a</sup>2. Cp. also *téit ón* (lit. 'he goes that') 'he goes thus' LU 5072 (cp. § 422 ).

For **sí** + **ade** *Wb.* writes *si·ede*, *Thes. II.* 16, 41*sí ide*. For *side*, *sidi* we find **sede** *Wb.* 2<sup>a</sup>21, 24<sup>a</sup>37, *saidai* (read *saidi*) *Thes. II.* 12, 33; **sid** *Wb.* 3<sup>c</sup>14, 30<sup>b</sup>23, *Laws IV.* 176, 26 is probably a scribal error. The use of *ón* is rare (four examples as against 80 of *són*) in *Sg.*, where we even find *ed són* (11<sup>b</sup>4, 71<sup>a</sup>16) instead of the otherwise universal form (*h*)*ed ón*. *Wb.* and *MI.* generally have **ón** after all emphasising particle with *s-*; e.g. *is córu dúib·sí ón* 'that is meeter for you' *Wb.* 5<sup>d</sup>37 (Hessen, *KZ.* XLVI. 1 f.).

**480.** C. After prepositions the neuter forms acc. sg. **se** (not **so**), dat. **síu**, and acc. dat. **sin** are used. Examples: **ar·se** 'therefore', *co·se cosse* 'so far', *corricci·se* 'so far', *la·se lasse* 'while' ( § 891 ), *cenmítha·se* 'apart from this'; \**ar·síu* 'therefore' (*airsiu* *Wb.* 1<sup>b</sup>12), *de·síu* 'hence', *hí·síu issíu* 'here', *re·síu* 'before'; *ar·sin*, *cossin*, *fo·sin*, *fri·sin*, *la·sin*, *tri·sin*; dative **di·sin**, **do·sin**, **(h)i·sin**, **íar·sin**, **re·sin**. *síu* may be replaced by the adverb *sund* 'here': *do·sund*, 'thereto', *ó·sund* 'therefrom', *di·sund*, *hí·sunt*, *íar·sund*. Conversely *síu* 'at this side' and (although more rarely) *sin* 'there', i.e. 'at the said place' ( *Sg.* 9<sup>b</sup>13, 191<sup>a</sup>2; *Anecd. I.* 73 § 214) occur as adverbs without a preposition.

The other anaphoric pronoun **su(i)de** is also used after prepositions, where it has the following forms: sg. acc. masc. **su(i)de**, fem. **su(i)di**, neut. **sod(a)in**; dat. masc. neut. *su(i)diu*, fem. *su(i)di*; pl. acc. masc. *su(i)diu*, dat. *su(i)dib*. Examples: *do súidiu* (masc. neut.), *ar sod(a)in*, *amal sod(a)in*. In the plural, however, *su(i)dib* often appears in place of the accusative, e.g. *la súidib*, *fri súidib* beside *la súidiu*, *fri súidiu* (Collection: Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society*, 1903-6, p. 243, note 3; cp. § 451 ).

Further, any of the pronouns of § § 478, 479 may be used

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after a conjugated preposition (§ § 432 ff.) which is introduced by the copula. Examples: *is dó in so* 'it is for' this' *Wb.* 27<sup>d</sup>20; *is airi in sin* 'it is therefore' *Sg.* 213<sup>a</sup>1; and often *is samlid in sin* or **sin** 'it is like that' ('thus'). Occasionally conjugated preposition and demonstrative are not even contiguous; e.g. *niba samlid do·ém·sa mo thúaid in sin* 'it will not be so that I shall protect my people' *MI.* 37<sup>c</sup>20. But where there is no periphrasis, such combinations are still rare--e.g. *fuirí sidi* (instead of **for súidi**) *Sg.* 199<sup>a</sup>5, **ant sin** (for **i·sin**) *MI.* 36<sup>a</sup>1--although later they become common.

**481.** **(in) so** and **(in) sin** are also found as accusative after the equative; e.g. *léirithir in so* 'as eager as this (following)' *Wb.* 27<sup>d</sup>19; *demnithir sin* 'as certain as that' *MI.* 131<sup>d</sup>12. **sin** is dative in *máa sin* 'greater

than that' *Sg.* 150<sup>b1</sup>, genitive in *i ndiad sin, i ndigaid sin* 'after that' *MI.* 75<sup>c8</sup>, 71<sup>b11</sup>; it may be preceded by a possessive pronoun, e.g. *a fiús sin* 'knowledge of that' *Wb.* 10<sup>b27</sup>.

The genitive forms of **suide** are always enclitic and require a possessive pronoun. The regular forms are: sg. masc. neut. **sidi**, fem. **side**, pl. (all genders) **ade**; but **adi** also occurs as the plural and **ade** as gen. sg. masc. neut. Examples: *a ires sidi* 'that, man's faith'; *a áilde ade* 'that woman's beauty'; *a serc ade*, 'love for those'; but. also *a m-bés adi* 'horum mos', *a bés ade* 'that man's custom'.

For **ade, adi** we occasionally find **ide, idi** *Wb.* 4<sup>c39</sup>, *Thus. II.* 251. 6, also **'de** *Wb.* 1<sup>a3</sup> (**dé** 26<sup>b20</sup>); for **sidi** *MI.* 112<sup>b20</sup> has *saidi*.

**489.** **so** is certainly identical with the first element of Gaul. *so-sin* and *so-sio* acc. sg. neut. (the latter perhaps also nom. sg. fem.) 'that'. It may be explained by assuming that beside neuter *\*tod* (§ 455) a by-form *\*so(d)*, modelled on the nom. sg. masc. *\*so*, fem. *\*sā* (Skt. *sa sā*, Gk. □ □), had developed. Similarly **se** from *\*sio(d)* (cp. Gaul. *so-sio*), contrasting with Skt. *tyat* 'this' (masc. *sya*, fem. *syā*). The ending of **su(i)de** (*\*sodio-*) recalls the adjectival suffix (§ 348); but, the forms are never adjectival, and the *-i-* does not appear in neuter **sod(a)in**, the last element of which seems to be **-sin**. All that can be said about **sin** is that it must have lost a following palatal vowel, and hence does not correspond (at any rate exactly) to Gaul. *(so-)sin*; for the ending cp. Gaul. *toni*, which apparently means something like 'furthermore' (*ZCP. XVI.* 287). **in (so, sin)** looks like the petrified article, although the neuter form might have been expected.

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## ADVERBS OF PLACE.

**483.** A list of the adverbs of place may be conveniently appended here. For **síu** and **sin** see § 480; for **and** 'there, then', § 842.

Some of them have different prefixes according as they correspond to the questions *where ?*, *whither ?* or *whence ?*, viz. *t-*, *s-*, and *an-* respectively.

	<b>A where</b>	<b>B whither</b>	<b>C whence</b>
<i>here</i>	<b>sund, sunda</b>	<b>il-lei (Wb.), il-le</b>	<b>de-síu</b>
<i>there, beyond</i>	<b>t-all</b>	<b>inn-un (n), inn-onn</b>	<b>an-all</b>
<i>above</i>	<b>t-úas</b>	<b>s-úas</b>	<b>an-úas</b>
<i>below</i>	<b>t-ís</b>	<b>s-ís</b>	<b>an-ís</b>
<i>in front, east</i>	<b>t-air</b>	<b>s-air</b>	<b>an-air</b>
<i>behind, west</i>	<b>t-íar</b>	<b>s-íar</b>	<b>an-íar</b>
<i>right, south</i>	<b>dess</b>	<b>fa-des, sa-dess</b>	<b>an-dess</b>
<i>left, north</i>	<b>túaid</b>	<b>fa-thúaidh, sa-thúaid</b>	<b>an-túaid, a-túaid</b>
<i>outside</i>		<b>s-echtair, s-echtár</b>	<b>an-echtair, an-echtár</b>

Locative relation to a definite object is expressed by combining the forms of column C with the preposition **fri**; e.g. *fri Etáil anáir (sic)* 'east of Italy' *Wb.* 6<sup>d17</sup>; *frie desíu* 'on this side of her' *Sg.* 71<sup>b2</sup> (cp. Lat. *ab oriente*). But **dess** and **túaidh** may also be employed like prepositions; e.g. *túaidh Benna Bairche* *Thes. II.* 315, 4; *des Argatnéul Imram Brain* § 8.

To the forms with *an-* the preposition **di** may be prefixed as a further element: *dian-des, dian-echtair, denall, denúas*. Besides *innunn* there are traces of a form **inn-all** (*ZCP. XII.* 410; cp. *RC. XXV.* 242 § 14).

## PRONOMINALS

**484.** (a) 'The same (as, Ir. **ocus**)' is expressed by nominative **in(n)on(n)** or **in(n)un(n)** (in *Sg.* also *sinonn*, *sinunn*), which is invariable in gender and number. Examples: *it inonn side* 'these are the same' *Wb.* 23<sup>b</sup>16; *condib sinonn persan*

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'that the person may be the same' *Sg.* 189<sup>b</sup>2. When used with a feminine noun, it occasionally lenites: *is inunn chíall* 'the sense is the same' *MI.* 77<sup>b</sup>1, 114<sup>b</sup>1, *Sg.* 144<sup>b</sup>1, but not in *MI.* 76<sup>a</sup>13 or *Wb.* 7<sup>d</sup>10: *corop inonn cretem* 'that the belief may be the same'. That it is a petrified form of the numeral **oín** with the article (*s-* in *sinonn* from wrong division of *iss-inonn*) is shown by the other cases, e.g. gen. *inna óena méite* 'of the same size' *Sg.* 203<sup>a</sup>26.

When it is used substantivally a second **oín** is added. Examples: nominative after *is*: *is hinon oín*, 'it is one and the same', *is sinonn n-óen Sg.* 198<sup>a</sup>5; without **is** but with the pronoun *ed*: *ed'nonóen Sg.*, *ed'nun n-oín MI.* 70<sup>d</sup>1; acc. pl. *inna oína oína-sa 'hos eosdem'* 70<sup>a</sup>4.

(b) 'The same (as the aforesaid)' is expressed by the regularly inflected numeral adjective *cétn(a)e* 'first' ([§ 393](#)) which, however, in this sense comes *after* the noun with the article; e.g. a *fond cétnae* 'the same substance' as against (a) *cétnae folad* 'the first substance'; *forsna sunu cétnai* 'on the same words' *MI.* 133<sup>d</sup>2.

**485.** '-self' is expressed by a great variety of uninflected forms which, except when they accompany a noun with the article (or a proper name) or form the subject of a clause, are combined with a personal or possessive pronoun. They all begin with *f* or *c* (possibly a dialectal variation). The *e* of forms in **-éin** is long; its quantity fluctuates in forms in **-e(is)sin** (as is clear from the metrical evidence), presumably also in those in **-e(is)sine**, **-eisne**. The *i* of forms in **-is(s)in** may be long, though the mark of length is never found. The syllables *fa-*, *ca-* are unstressed.

Collections: Pedersen, *Aspirationen i Irsk* p. 93 f. (*Wb.*); Strachan, *ZCP. IV.* 485 (*Sg.*).

	A	B	C	D
sg. 1	<b>féin</b>	<b>fadéin</b>	<b>céin</b>	<b>cadéin</b>
2	<b>féin</b>	<b>fadéin</b>		
3 masc. neut.	<b>fē + ˘(i)ssin,</b> <b>fadē + ˘(i)sin,</b> <b>féin</b>	<b>fadē + ˘(is)sin,</b> <b>fadéne (Fél.)</b>	<b>cē + šin</b>	<b>cadē + šin</b>

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	A	B	C	D
fem.	<b>fē + ˘(i)sine,</b> <b>fē + ˘isne,</b> <b>fē + ˘is (s)in,</b> <b>fissin</b>			<b>fadisin,</b> <b>fadē + ˘šne</b>
pl. 1	<b>fē + ˘šine</b>	<b>fanis (s)in</b>		<b>canisin</b>
2	<b>fē + ˘is (s)ne,</b> <b>fē + ˘šin</b>	<b>fadē + ˘isne,</b> <b>fadisin</b>		
3	<b>fē + ˘š (s)ine,</b> <b>fē + ˘is (s)ne,</b> <b>fē + ˘(is)sin</b>	<b>fadē + ˘(i)sine,</b> <b>fadē + ˘šne</b> <b>fadē + ˘šin,</b> <b>fedē + ˘šin</b>	<b>cē + ˘isne</b>	<b>cadē + ˘šsine</b> <b>cadē + ˘šne,</b> <b>cadē + ˘šin</b>

Examples: *caraid cesin* 'he himself loves'; *da·berid-si féissne* 'ye yourselves give it'; *don chrunn fésin* 'to the tree itself'; *mé féin* 'I myself'; *frinn fanis* or *frinn fesine* 'against ourselves'; *far m-bráthir fadisin* 'your own brother, uester ipsorum frater'.

It may be more than mere coincidence that no examples with *c-* are attested for the second person (sg. and pl.). The form **fé(i)ne** seems to occur only in (later ?) poetry. In Auraicept na n-Ées 650 the singular for all persons is given as **fadén**, the plural as **fadesin**. In Mod. Ir. **féin** has become the universal form.

## aile, alaile, indala, etc.

**486.** (a) *aile* 'other', which chiefly occurs in adjectival use after a noun, is declined like an adjectival *io*-stem ( § 354 ); e.g. acc. pl. *firu aili* 'other men'. The only irregular form is the nom. acc. sg. neut. **aill** (**ail**) (but gen. sg. **ailli**, dat. **ailliu**, like the masculine). For the meaning 'second' see § 394.

As a substantive it is found only with the article or *nach* 'any': **int aile, ind aile, a n-aill** ; *nach aile*, neut. **na aill, na haill** ( § 25 ).

(b) Otherwise the substantival form is masc. fem. *alaile*, neut. **alail** (the latter followed by lenition, § 232, 7 ), or, with dissimilation, **araile, arail**. This form is always used without the article (acc. pl. masc. **alailiu** ). It is stressed on the second syllable and is the result of a fusion of two identical elements, as may be seen from the open gen. sg. fem. **ala-aile** *Ml.* 51<sup>c</sup>5 and the gen. pl. **ala n-aile** ; *Sg.* has also nom. pl. **ala-ailli** (but *Wb.* and *Ml.* *alaili*). The archaic spelling nom. **allail** *RC.* XI.

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446, 52 (and acc. sg. fem. **allaili** *ibid.* 43 ) with *-ll-* suggests that the fusion originated in the neuter.

On the rare occasions when the form is used adjectivally in this sense, it, precedes its noun; e.g. *ala n-aile n-doíne* 'cæterorum (sc. hominum )' *Ml.* 54<sup>a</sup>21.

*alaili* also means 'some, certain' (*quidam, aliqui*), and in this sense is common as an adjective; e.g. *alaili thrúin* 'of a certain hero' *Sg.* 66<sup>a</sup>4; *alail sain* 'something different' 6<sup>b</sup>24.

**487.** (c) 'The one' as opposed to 'the other' is rendered *ind-ala*, both elements of which are invariable in gender and case. Examples: *indala ler* (nom.) . . . *alaile* 'the one man . . . the other'; *dondala lucht* . . . *dond lucht ailliu* 'to the one group . . . to the other group' *Wb.* 16<sup>c</sup>20; *indala-mmod* 'one of the two ways' (**mod** masc.) *Ml.* 45<sup>b</sup>11; *indala chlas* 'the one choir' (**clas** fem.) 138<sup>d</sup>1. Without the article: *li ala lecuinn Saul* 'by one of Saul's cheeks' 55<sup>c</sup>1.

A possessive pronoun cannot be used with it; cp. *indara* (= O.Ir. *indala*) *láim* (acc.) *dó* 'one of his hands' *LU*5012 f.

Substantival 'the one of them' is usually *indala n-aí* ( § 444 ), which is also invariable and retains *n-* in all cases, e.g. as genitive *Wb.* 4<sup>c</sup>13. It occurs, however, without either article or *n-* in *ala aí* *ZCP.* XV. 316 § 10, 354 § 42.

The plural 'some . . . others' is rendered by *alaili* . . . *alaili*, or may be expressed by the neuter sg.: *arail díb* . . . *arail LU* 5017; *aill* . . . *aill Féil. Prol.* 23 f.

'Every other' is *cach-la* (from *cach ala*, written *cach le* *Ml.* 19<sup>c</sup>1); e.g. *cach-la sel* . . . *in sel aile, cach-la céin* . . . *in céin n-aill* 'the one time . . . the other', 'sometimes . . . sometimes'. *cach-la* (*cech-la*) by itself (i.e. without complementary **aile** ) means 'one out of every two', e.g. *ZCP.* IX. 170, 17-18.

(d) 'The other (masc. fem.) of two' can also be expressed by *a chéle, a sétig*, lit. 'his, her fellow'. The vocalism of **céle** is often transferred to the masculine substantival pronouns of (a) and (b): *aréle, nach é(i)le*.

The quantity of *éle* is attested by *Wb.* 6<sup>a</sup>15, 6<sup>c</sup>18, 13<sup>a</sup>5. The later form **ě(i)le**, which is not confined to the masculine and represents perhaps a blend of **aile** and **éle**, is already found in *Ml.*: *i n-eilithri* 'in pilgrimage' 137<sup>b</sup>7, *elithrigmi gl. exulamus*, 46<sup>c</sup>22.

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**488. aile**, pretonic **ala**, corresponds exactly to Lat. *alius*, Gk. *ἄλλος*, Goth. *aljīs*. The *-ll-* of the neuter recurs in the composition form *all-* 'second' ( § 394.); cp. also *all-aidchi* 'on another night' *IT. II. ii.* 194, 121 (but *al-anman* 'other names' *MI.* 48<sup>c</sup>34, *aili-thír* 'another land' *Trip.* 174, 14, *ailithre* 'pilgrimage', etc.). In the other Celtic languages, apart from compounds like Gaul. *Allo-broges*, W. *allfro* 'another country' and 'exiled', *ll* is more frequent; e.g. Gaul. *allos* 'second' masc. ( *ZCP.* XVI. 299), Bret. *all*, and W. *arall* 'another' y *llall* 'the other' (where the stem is doubled as in Ir. *alaile*), as against Bret. and Mid.W. *eil* 'second' (= Ir. **aile** ). The Irish forms would appear to represent the earlier distribution of *l* and *ll* (probably < *In*). The neut. **aill** with palatal ending and lenition of the following initial may correspond to Lat. *ali-* in *aliquid*, *alicunde*, etc., if this really represents \**alli* with simplification of *ll* on the analogy of *alius*.

## nech, ní, nach, na, nechtar

Ascoli, Supplem. period, dell' Archivio Glottologico Italiano I. 77 ff.

**489.** (a) Nom. acc. *nech*, neut. *ní*, gen. *neich*, dat. *neuch neoch* means 'someone, anyone, something, anything'; with the negative 'nobody, nothing'. A special form for the neuter dative **niu, neo** (cp. § 460, once with negative prefix *du neph-ní* *MI.* 69<sup>c</sup>7), which is confined to *MI.*, is probably artificial.

The plural is supplied by *alaili*, *araili* ( § 486 b.).

*nech* is also used to support a relative clause; e.g. *comalnad neich for-chanat* 'fulfilling of that (of all that) which they teach' *Wb.* 29<sup>a</sup>11.

(b) When used as an adjective meaning 'any', the word is proclitic and appears as *nach*, neut. **na** (geminating). Apart from nom. acc. neut. **na** and gen. fem. *nacha*, the whole of the singular usually has the form *nach* for all genders, and the only trace of the former flexion is its effect on the following initial; e.g. acc. sg. masc. *nach n-aile*, fem. *nach rainn* 'any part', gen. fem. *nacha rainne*. The gen. masc. *naich baili* *Sg.* 5<sup>a</sup>5 is quite isolated.

The plural occurs only in negative clauses (*alaili* is used in positive clauses) : nom. neut. *nábat nacha arm aili* 'let it not be any other arms' *Wb.* 22<sup>d</sup>14; acc. masc. neut. *ní étade . . . nacha slóglussu .i. nacha síde gl. nullas indutias adepta est* *MI.* 111<sup>b</sup>19-20; dat. (without ending) *hó nach mindaib 'nullis insignibus (cumulari)'* 35<sup>d</sup>16.

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The adjectival and substantival neuter forms are often combined: *na-nní*, *na ní* 'anything whatever' (cp. gen. sg. masc. *nach neich* *RC. VIII.* 50, 4). For *na áe*, *na hé* 'one (none) of them' see § 444.

Accordingly, a relative clause may be preceded by either **aní** ( § 474 ). **ní** ((a) above), or **nanní** , from these a hybrid form **anní** has developed as early as *MI.* 90<sup>b</sup>13.

(c) 'Either (of two)' is **nechtar**, with the pronoun of the 3rd person: *nechtar de* or *nechtar n-aí* ( § 444.) with petrified *n*, e.g. dat. *ó nechtar n-aí*. It is not used as an adjective, being always followed by a genitive.

## cách, cach, cech, cechtar

See Ascoli *loc. cit.* ( § 489 ).

**490.** (a) 'Everyone' is expressed by nom. acc. dat. *cách*, gen. *cáich*. It takes the article only when it is defined by a relative clause, and even then not invariably; e.g. *in cháich cretes* 'of everyone who believes' *Wb.* 2<sup>b</sup>11. The substantival neuter is supplied by *cach ní*, *cech ní* (lit. 'every something').

(b) The adjectival forms are *cach* (with short *a*), *cech*, the first being the usual form in *Wb.* and *Sg.*, the second in *Ml.* They are used for all genders and are indeclinable in the singular, apart from gen. fem. *cacha*, *cecha* (**cache** *Thes. II.* 255, 4) and the exceptional gen. neut. *caich* *Wb.* 5<sup>c</sup>3. The initial always remains unlenited, even after leniting prepositions; e.g. **do cach** or **cech**, etc.

Plural forms, which are of rare occurrence, mostly end in *-a*: acc. masc. *cecha oína* 'all individuals' *Ml.* 56<sup>a</sup>20; nom. fem. *cecha dethidnea* 'all cares' *Wb.* 3<sup>d</sup>30; gen. *cecha sóinmech* 'rerum omnium' *Ml.* 91<sup>c</sup>12; dat. *hi cacha persanaib* 'in omnibus personis' *Sg.* 208<sup>a</sup>11 (cp. *Wb.* 16<sup>a</sup>27). But forms without any ending are also found: acc. *sech cech ríga* 'beyond all kings' *Ml.* 84<sup>b</sup>1, dat. *ó cach tharmmorcnib* 'from all endings' *Sg.* 43<sup>a</sup>5.

Before numerals it has a distributive function: *cach oín* 'every single one', *cach da* 'every two', *cach cóicer* 'every five men'. For *cach-la* (instead of *cach ala*) see [§ 487](#) (c).

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This form is also used before the genitive of the personal pronoun 3 pl. ( [§ 444](#) ). But the two elements tend to coalesce, so that in *Ml.* and *Sg.* the neuter is **cach-ae**, **cech-ae** ( *Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup>46 still **cach n-æ** ); but after a preposition **fri cach n-áe** *Sg.* 28<sup>b</sup>8.

(c) **cechtar** 'each (of two)' is always substantival and indeclinable, e.g. **cechtar in-da rann** 'each of the two parts' *Sg.* 74<sup>b</sup>5. With a pronoun of the 3rd person the form is either **cechtar n-aí** with petrified *n-* (except, *Thes. II.* 249, 11) like **nechtar n-aí** ( [§ 489 c](#) ), or **cechtar de** (as genitive *Ml.* 31<sup>a</sup>23).

In *Ml.* **cechtardae** has become one word, which is not only combined with **diib** ( [§ 444](#) ), but actually inflected as an adjective in order to render Lat. *uterque*. Thus **inna cechtardai** 'utraque' 122<sup>c</sup>9, **in léisbaire cechtardae-se** 'utrumque luminare' 121<sup>c</sup>23; similarly adverbial **in chechtartid** (= **in chechtardid** ) 'utrubique' *Thes. II.* 26, 37. This use, although in origin doubtless a Latinism, is found in the later language also.

#### 491. ON THE FORMS *cách*, *nech*, ETC.

The word **cách** (declined as an *o*-stem), *OW. paup*, points to *\*q<sup>w</sup>āq<sup>w</sup>os*. It may correspond to Lith. *kōks*, O.Slav. *kakō* 'of what sort?', since *kōks* also has the indefinite meaning 'any'. But it could also have arisen from a combination of the (interrogative and) indefinite pronoun *\*q<sup>w</sup>os*, with an adverbial form of the same stem; cp. perhaps Lesb. □n-nā κα 'wherever'. The shortening in proelitic **cách** is regular. The by-form **cech** does not correspond to Bret. *pep*, which represents shortened *\*peup* = **eách**. **cechtar** is probably modelled on **nechtar**, but does not of itself suffice to explain **cech** (beside **nach** ); this may have been influenced by **cecha** 'whatever' ( [§ 461 a](#) ).

**nech**, unstressed **nach**, *Britann. nep*, obviously goes back to *\*ne-q<sup>w</sup>os*, and its original meaning was doubtless 'no-one'. After it had become usual for the verb of the sentence to be also negated (cp. vulgar English 'I didn't see nobody'), the original negative force of **nech** may have ceased to be felt, and thus the word could come to be used as 'any'; cp. Lith. *nė* + *kas* 'something' or O.Fr. *nul* 'anyone' in conditional sentences. Neuter **ní**, pretonic **na** with gemination, is peculiar, suggesting as it does a basic form *\*nēq<sup>w</sup>* instead of *\*neq<sup>w</sup>od* (or *-q<sup>w</sup>id*) which one would have expected. It is true that *-d* disappeared very early ( [§ 177](#) ), and a parallel instance of the loss of a final vowel is furnished by Gaulish *-c* (= Lat. *-que*, *ZCP. XVI.* 287), though this word, unlike **ní**, is always enclitic and unstressed. The length of the vowel (as against **nech** ) is quite regular in Irish ( [§ 44 b](#) ); its quality (ī instead of -ē) may be due to the influence of **an-í** (ep. Zimmer, *KZ. XXX.* 455 f.). **nechtar**, too, implies a basic form ending in a guttural.

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It is probable that **nechtar** and **cechtar** were originally neuter nouns, like the other substantives with this termination ( [§ 266](#) ); hence the nasalization, at first confined to the nom. acc. But when these words had ceased to be associated with gender, *n-* came to be used after the remaining eases and eventually spread to **indala n-aí** ( [§ 487](#) ).

# RELATIVE CLAUSES AND PARTICLES

Pedersen, KZ. XXXV. 340 ff., especially 373 ff.

## 492. RELATIVE PARTICLE AFTER PREPOSITIONS

Strictly speaking, Irish has a relative particle in one construction only' where a preposition is required to express the relation of the antecedent to the remainder of the relative clause. In this construction the preposition at the beginning of the clause is followed by an element which has the same form as the acc. sg. neut. of the article ( § 468 ), i.e. **-a** <sup>n</sup> or **-sa** <sup>n</sup> according as the preposition originally ended in a vowel or a consonant: **ar-a** <sup>n</sup>, **di-a** <sup>n</sup>, **oc(c)-a** <sup>n</sup>; **cosa** <sup>n</sup>, **fris(s)a** <sup>n</sup>, **lasa** <sup>n</sup>, **tresa** <sup>n</sup>: **fora** <sup>n</sup> beside **forsa** <sup>n</sup>, but only **etera** <sup>n</sup>, **etira** <sup>n</sup>. In its relative function this element, is invariable in gender, number, and case.

Before **a** <sup>n</sup> the prep. **do** becomes **di**, thus falling together with the prep. **di**. Beside **fo-a** <sup>n</sup> we also find **fua** <sup>n</sup> and **fo** <sup>n</sup> (probably **fó** <sup>n</sup>), e.g. *Ml.* 35<sup>b</sup>16, 18; for **ó-a** <sup>n</sup> also **ua** <sup>n</sup> and **ó** <sup>n</sup> (cp. § 114 ). Instead of **i** <sup>n</sup> with the relative particle simple **i** <sup>n</sup> is always used.

For **frisa** the (late) legal MSS. often have **frisi** (e.g. *Laws I.* 268. 15-16, 19), which probably represents an earlier form **frise** .

The same formation appears in the conjunctions **dia** <sup>n</sup> 'if, when', **ara** <sup>n</sup> 'in order that', **co** <sup>n</sup> **con** <sup>n</sup> 'until, so that' (see § 473 ).

Before the *d* of infixed pronouns and before the 3 sg. **-d** and **-b (-p)** of the copula, **(s)an-**, **(s)am-** is replaced by **(s)in-**, **(s)im-** , except in **dian-**, **loan-**, **oan-** ; e.g. **arin-d-epur** 'for which I say it', **arim-p** 'in order that it may be'. Where the copula forms constitute a syllable the vowel is elided; e.g. **airndib**, **airndip** 'so that it may be'; **armbad** 'so that it might be', pl. **airmtis airmdis**. A similar elision sometimes takes place before the substantive verb **biid** --e.g. **fris-m-biat** *Sg.* 202<sup>b</sup>3

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beside **tresa-m-bí** *Wb.* 23<sup>b</sup>5--and before infixed pronouns ( § 413 ). In poetry it occurs before other verbs also; e.g. **ní fris-tarddam** 'something to which we call give' *SP.* ( *Thes. II.* 293, 19); **las-luid** 'with whom (he) went' *Fél.* June 15; **cos-tíagat** 'to which they go', *ibid. Epil.* 58. These combinations are conjunct particles, causing the stress to fall on the first preposition of a following compound verb; for examples see § 38, 2c and d. If they are followed by the negative **na (nach-)** or **nacon**, the relative particle is dropped. Examples: **duna-rructhæ** 'to whom should not have been born' *Thes. II.* 241, 9 ( *Arm.* ) (positive **dia** ); **ocna-bíat** 'with which there are not' *Ériu I.* 218 § 2; **asnacha-tucad** 'out of which he would not have brought them' *Ml.* 125<sup>b</sup>7; **dinacon-bí** 'from which is not wont to be' 85<sup>b</sup>7; **cid arna** *Sg.* 198<sup>b</sup>3; similarly **arna** 'in order that not', **conna** or **cona** ( § 146 ) 'that not'. 493. When the relative clause stands in any other relation to its antecedent, its relative character can be shown in one or other of the following ways:

1. The 3rd persons of simple verbs, absolute flexion, and in the earlier period the 1st pl. also, have special relative forms. The other persons are preceded by the verbal particle **no** ( § 538, 2b ), which has the same effects on the following initial as a preposition (see 5 below).

Only in poetry can **no** apparently be dispensed with; e.g. **ata saidbri saigthe** 'whose riches it is that ye seek' *Fél.* Prol. 162.

2. Negative relative clauses employ the negatives **nā + ð**, **nā + ʔ** (before infixed pronouns **nā + čh-** ), also **nadcon**, **nadchon**, instead of **nī + ʔ**, **nī + čon** ( §§ 863, 864 ).
3. The infixed personal pronouns have certain forms which occur only in relative clauses (class C, §§ 413, 418 ). But in the first and second persons their use is optional, and even in the third person it is consistent only where the non-relative form belongs to class A ( § 411 ). Cp. **nodon-nerta-ni** 'who strengthens us' *Wb.* 6<sup>d</sup>11 (class C) beside **ronn-ícc-ni** 'which has saved us' 21<sup>b</sup>8 (A); **donaibhí frissid-n-oirtcis** 'to those

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who used to injure him' *MI.* 39<sup>a</sup>20 (C) beside **neich frit-curethar chéill** 'of anyone who worships him' 41<sup>d</sup>16 (B).

Collection: Strachan, *Ériu I.* 155 f.

4. The pretonic prepositions **im(m)**, and **ar** have disyllabic forms in relative clauses: **imme** or **imma**, **ara** (arch. **are**).

In several examples, however, **ar** is found before **ro**, the stress then shifting to the next element: e.g. **int airdérgud ar-ru-dérgestar** 'the plan which he has planned' *Wb.* 4<sup>c</sup>13 (i.e. regularly from **ara-ru** in accordance with § 117). In other positions **ar** and **im** are rare, being found chiefly in *MI.*; e.g. **is hed ar-thá in so** 'it is this that remains over' *Wb.* 30<sup>d</sup>13 (usually **is hed in so ara-thá**); **ré im-rádad** (perhaps **·imrádad**, see 6 below) 'a time when he might think' *MI.* 41<sup>a</sup>4.

Occasionally relative clauses have **reme** for **remi** (§ 851 B) and **íarma** for **íarmi**, **íarmu** (§ 840 B). For **assa** instead of **as** see § 834.

5. The pretonic prepositions, the verbal particles **ro** and **no**, the negative particles, and the forms of the copula are followed by either lenition or nasalization of the following initial. Hence the classification into
- A. *leniting*, and
- B. *nasalizing* relative clauses.
6. The use of prototonic forms of compound verbs in a relative clause of either of the above classes is rare. Examples: **di neuch thórāther** 'of what is denoted' (*to-fo-rind-*) *Sg.* 59<sup>b</sup>18; **nech dóestar** 'anyone who has eaten' *Eriu VII.* 146 § 2; **indíí torgaba** 'of him who has committed' *ibid.* 142 § 9; cp. *MI.* 38<sup>c</sup>22. For the use of such clauses in reply to questions see § 38. 3a.

## A. LENITING RELATIVE CLAUSES

**494.** 1. Their use is (a) *obligatory* where the antecedent is felt as the subject, and (b) *optional* where it is felt as the object, of the relative clause.

For later extensions of their use see § 506.

**495.** 2. As regards the form of these clauses, the following points should be noted:

(a) The pretonic prepositions and the verbal particles *re*, *no*, to which no infixed personal pronoun is attached, as well

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as the negative **nā + ð**, lenite the following initial. Examples: **din gním for-chomnaccuir** 'to the deed which happened' *MI.* 113<sup>d</sup>3; **a n-ad-chiam** 'that which we see' 112<sup>b</sup>13; **innaní imme-churetar** 'of those who carry' *Wb.* 5<sup>a</sup>5; **ind huli doíni ro-chreitset** 'all men who have believed' *MI.* 60<sup>b</sup>16; **is hed in so no-chairigur** 'this is what I reprimand' *Wb.* 11<sup>d</sup>1; **sillab nad-áluindi** 'a syllable that does not express' *Sg.* 25<sup>b</sup>13.

The lenition is, of course, absent in the cases mentioned § 231, 3 and 4. Further, the initial of the copula is not lenited after *ro* and *na*; e.g. **intí ropo magister** 'he who was *magister*' *Wb.* 13<sup>a</sup>12a; **napo chenéel** 'which was not a kindred' 5<sup>a</sup>14.

For infixed *d* before vowels and *f* + *in* in such relative clauses, see § 425.

(b) The special relative forms of the simple verb remain unlenited in *Wb.*; e.g. **bid húathad creitfes** 'it will be a small number that will believe' 4<sup>d</sup>5; **forsnahí comalnatar** 'on those who fulfil' 20<sup>d</sup>1; **a céisme** 'what we suffer' 13<sup>c</sup>7 (here *c* = *g* because preceded by *a*<sup>n</sup>).

In *Ml.* they are sometimes lenited after the forms of **intí**; e.g. **indí chomallaite** 'those who fulfil' 114<sup>b7</sup>. In *Sg.* lenition has become widespread (except after *an*); e.g. **cisí aimser derb thechtas** 'what is the definite time that it has?' 26<sup>a6</sup>. Even here, however, **fil file** is never lenited, [§ 780, 2](#).

Lenition of a pretonic preposition is very rare: **in rí chon-daigi** 'the king whom thou seekest' *Thes. II.* 296, 5; similarly *Ml.* 57<sup>a14</sup>.

**(c)** The absolute forms of the copula, whether specifically relative or not, lenite the following initial. Examples: **aní as chotarsne** 'that which is contrary' *Wb.* 17<sup>d27</sup>; **do rétaib ata chosmaili** 'of things that are similar' *Ml.* 51<sup>b8</sup>; **nip hé-som bes f + örcenn** '(provided) it is not it (masc.) that is the end' *Sg.* 169<sup>a1</sup>; **indíi beta thuicsi** 'those who shall be chosen' *Wb.* 4<sup>c40</sup>; **ba hed ón ba choir** 'it were that that were proper' 10<sup>b9</sup>; **nech bed chafe** 'anyone that was a friend' *Ml.* 29<sup>c16</sup>; **betis chumtachtaib** gl. *figendis* 102<sup>d10</sup> (see [§ 717](#)).

**496.** 3. When, as sometimes happens, the principal clause contains no antecedent, the relative clause can itself function as subject of the former. Examples: **at-tá immurgu as-béer**

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'there is, however, (something) that I will say' *Wb.* 32<sup>a22</sup>; **gonas géntair** '(he) who slays shall be slain' *ZCP. XI.* 86 § 40; **ra-fitir as lia** 'the majority (lit. 'what is more') knows it' *Wb.* 23<sup>c21</sup>.

When the concept expressed in the relative clause is felt as the subject, the relative verb is always in the third person. Examples: **is mé as apstal geinte** 'I am the apostle of the Gentiles' lit. 'he who is the apostle of the Gentiles is I' *Wb.* 5<sup>b17</sup>, **bad sissi con-éit** (sg.) 'let it be ye that shall be indulgent' 6<sup>c1</sup>, **it sib ata chomarpi** 'it is ye that are heirs' 19<sup>c20</sup>. The examples in *Ml.* of a different construction, such as **no-thorisnigiur** gl. *me fidentem* 126<sup>a19</sup>, are Latinisms.

## B. NASALIZING RELATIVE CLAUSES

**497.** 1. These are used:

**(a)** When the antecedent designates the time at or during which the content of the relative clause takes place' e.g. **inna aimsire m-bíte-som isind fognam** 'of the time they are in the service' *Ml.* 28<sup>b9</sup>.

Hence they are also used after those those temporal conjunctions that are really petrified case-forms of nouns or substantival pronouns: **in tain, in tan** 'when' (lit. 'at the time that'), **céin** and **céne** 'as long as' (from **cían** 'long time'), **a<sup>n</sup>** 'while, when' (as distinct, from **a<sup>n</sup>** 'that (which), what', which is followed by a leniting relative clause), **la-se lasse** 'while' ([§ 480](#)); but apparently not after **re-síu** 'before' ([§ 895](#)), at least in the earlier period.

Here also belongs **óre, (h)úare** 'because, since', genitive of **hór, úar** 'hour' and thus originally temporal in meaning.

**498.** (b) When the antecedent designates the manner or degree of the content of the relative clause. Examples: **sechi chruth dond-rón** 'whatever be the manner in which I may be able to do it' *Wb.* 5<sup>b18</sup>; **is sí méit in sin do-n-índnagar in díthnad** 'that is the extent to which the consolation is bestowed' 14<sup>b15</sup>.

Accordingly they are also used after **amal** (arch. **amail**) and **fib, feib** 'as' (oblique cases of **samail** 'likeness' and **feb** 'quality').

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Here, too, belongs the construction described [§ 383](#), where a neuter adjective used in periphrasis with the copula defines the modality of the following clause; e.g. **arndip maith n-airlethar a muntir** 'so that he may well order his household,' lit. 'that it may be good how he orders'.

**499.** (c) When the antecedent is the verbal noun of the verb of the relative clause, a very common idiom. Examples: **íarsint soírad sin rond-sóer**, lit. 'after that deliverance wherewith he delivered him', i.e. 'after he had thus delivered him' *Ml.* 52; **a forcital forndob-canar** 'the teaching that (in Irish rather 'how') ye are taught' *Wb.* 3<sup>b</sup>23; **i n-aimsir in tindnac[i] sin du · n-écomnacht día inní Saúl** 'at the time of that deliverance whereby God delivered that Saul' *Ml.* 55<sup>c</sup>.

**500.** (d) When the antecedent supplies the concept that constitutes the predicative nominative of the relative clause. Examples: **cid drúailnide m-bes chechtar in da rann** 'though each of the two parts be corrupt' *Sg.* 202<sup>b</sup>3; **plebs dei asdan-berthe-ni** '(it, is) plebs dei that we used to be called' *Ml.* 114<sup>a</sup>7. The same construction appears in **ol-dáu** 'than I' after comparatives ( § 779, 1 ), lit. 'beyond what I am', 3 sg. pret. **ol-m-boí**, etc., although here the antecedent is not expressed.

**501.** (e) Optionally (in place of a leniting relative clause, § 494.) when the antecedent is felt as the object of the verb of the relative clause. Examples: **it hé sidi as-m-ber sis** 'it is these (things) that he mentions below' *Wb.* 10<sup>b</sup>13; **dun chách n-gaibde** 'to everyone they seize' *Ml.* 76<sup>a</sup>16.

**502.** (f) Less frequently, when the antecedent specifies the source or cause of the action contained in the relative clause. This relation is normally expressed by **ar-a** <sup>n</sup>, but after **cid** the present construction is occasionally found; e.g. **cid no-m-betha** 'wherefore shouldst thou be?' *Wb.* 4<sup>c</sup>24. The meaning here may be a development of (b).

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Further, with the verb **tá-** ( § 779, 2 ) in the sense of 'to be vexed with someone'; e.g. **is hed dáthar** (*d* = nasalized *t*) **dom** 'that is why people are vexed with me' *Wb.* 21<sup>c</sup>9, pret. **is hed ro-m-both dom** 23<sup>a</sup>24, etc. The causal conjunctions **fo bíth, dég** and **ol** ( § 905 ) are followed by a nasalizing relative clause, just like **(h)óre** 'because', which, however, was originally temporal in meaning ( § 497, 1 ). **503.** (g) Such clauses are often used without an antecedent as the complement of verbs (or verbal nouns) of saying and thinking, and also of possibility: further, as subject clauses after expressions like 'it happens', 'it is clear, possible, necessary, important', etc.; and generally in all contexts where the complement of the principal clause can be more conveniently expressed by a second clause than by a noun. In such constructions they are no longer relative clauses in the strict sense. Their use after **acht** 'save that' ( § 908 ) belongs here. A relative clause of this kind, when introduced by a neuter pronoun (**hed, in so**) in the principal clause, has more of an explicative function; e.g. **bad nertad dúib in so as-n-éirsid** 'let this be a strengthening for you, that ye will arise again' *Wb.* 25<sup>b</sup>25. The use of an introductory pronoun is obligatory when the relative clause represents a member of the principal clause connected with the latter' by means of a preposition: e.g. **isindí arndam-roíchlis-se** '(it is clear) in that thou hast guarded me' *Ml.* 74<sup>d</sup>7. So, frequently, **arindí** 'for the reason (that)'. **504.** 2. The form of these clauses is characterized by the following special features:

- a. Except when followed by an infixed pronoun, the pretonic prepositions (including **ro** and **no**) and the negative **nā + ċ, nā + ċ** nasalize the following initial. Examples: **óre do-n-écomnacht** 'because he has imparted' *Wb.* 1<sup>a</sup>1; **in tan ara-llégthar** (*ll* = nasalized *l*) 'when it is read out' 9<sup>b</sup>3; **a-nno-n-derbid** 'when ye prove' 22<sup>b</sup>24; **ní nád-m-bia** 'not

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that there will not be' 13<sup>d</sup>17; **arna-tomontis na-m-bad rath** 'lest they should suppose that it is not a grace' 12<sup>d</sup>21.

Sometimes, however, the initial of the copula is not nasalized after the negative; e.g. *Wb.* 16<sup>d</sup>4, 18<sup>b</sup>9.

- b. If there is an infixed pronoun with the relative form, *n* is inserted before the *d* of class C; for details see § 413.

In **am(al) n-dond-foirde ainmm** 'as a noun signifies it' *Sg.* 26<sup>b</sup>12 the double nasalization is very peculiar, more especially as the word **amal** lenites, e.g. **am(al) chon-degam** (= **chon-n-degam**) 'as we ask' *Ml.* 107<sup>c</sup>8. It is probably a scribal error.

- c. Nasalization of the relative forms of simple verbs, except the copula, is usual (though not quite consistently shown) in *Wb.*; in later sources it is found more regularly. Examples: **in tain m-bís**

'when he is' *Wb.* 17<sup>b</sup>3 (beside **in tain bíis** 28<sup>b</sup>28, where, however, the *m* may have been dropped between *n* and *b*); **amal n̄-guidess** 'as he prays' 24<sup>d</sup>19; **hóre déte** (for **téte**, *d* = nasalized *t*) 'because he goes' 11<sup>d</sup>7; **fo bíth n̄-óenaigedar** 'because he unites' *Sg.* 172<sup>a</sup>4.

Collection of the examples without nasalization: Hertz, *ZCP.* XX. 253.

- d. The absolute forms of the copula in relative use nasalize the initial of a following stressed syllable. Examples: **céin bas m-béo** 'so long as he is alive' *Wb.* 10<sup>b</sup>23; **do thaidbsiu as n-iress** 'to show that it is faith' 19<sup>b</sup>14; **ol at n-émecha** 'because they are opportune' *Ml.* 121<sup>c</sup>15.

In the later Glosses *n* occasionally appears before unstressed words; e.g. **as n-dí thalam** *Ml.* 68<sup>c</sup>4.

#### DISCREPANCIES IN THE USE OF RELATIVE CLAUSES

**505.** 1. A nasalizing relative clause can be replaced by a formally independent (i.e. principal) clause in almost every instance, even after conjunctions like **(h)óre, amal, fo bíth**, etc.; e.g. **hóre ni-ro-imdibed** 'because he had not been circumcised' *Wb.* 23<sup>d</sup>25. This is not possible, however, in the constructions described §§ 499, 501, nor after a neuter adjective in periphrasis with the copula ( § 498 ). Non-relative forms are especially common in clauses containing the copula; e.g. **amal is. . .** *Wb.* 14<sup>c</sup>17; **in tain ro-po mithich** 'when it was time'

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19<sup>d</sup>7 (beside **in tain ro-m-bo mithig** 31<sup>a</sup>9); **ol is amein** 'since it is so' 6<sup>c</sup>8; **is derb is fír ón** 'it is certain (that) it is true' 25<sup>d</sup>10.

Altogether distinct from this is the use of a non-relative form in the second of two parallel relative clauses, a construction found in many other languages; e.g. **amal as toísegiu grían . . . ocus is laithe foilsigedar** 'as the sun is prior . . . and it is the day that makes clear' *Ml.* 85<sup>b</sup>11. **ní** instead of *nā* + (d) in the second clause occurs particularly often. Collection: Strachan, *Ériu* 1. 155, note 4. cp. further *Wb.* 10<sup>c</sup>11.

Subject and object clauses ( § 503 ) can also be introduced by conjunctions like **ara** <sup>n</sup>, **co** <sup>n</sup>, **cía** ; see §§ 897d, 898, 909.

**506.** 2. In the later Glosses relative forms are more freely used, and a certain amount of confusion between the two types of relative clause is noticeable.

Thus in *Ml.* **re-síu, ri-síu** 'before', which elsewhere is never followed by relative construction, occurs once with a nasalizing and once with a leniting relative clause: **resíu do-n-dichsitis** 'before they came' 104<sup>c</sup>5, **risíu ad-cheth** 'before he saw' 38<sup>c</sup>9.

So, too, an adverb or adverbial phrase used in periphrasis with **is** or **ní**, which elsewhere is invariably followed by a formally independent clause, is found with a nasalizing or a leniting relative clause. Examples: **is amne as coir** 'it, is thus that it is fitting' *Ml.* 114<sup>a</sup>9 (cp. *Wb.* 2a4, § 383 *supra*); with a leniting clause: **ní fris ru-chét** 'it is not with reference to it that it has been sung' *Ml.* 64<sup>a</sup>13, **is dó thucad** 'it is for this that it has been cited' *Sg.* 45<sup>b</sup>19.

Leniting in place of regular nasalizing relative clauses also occur; e.g. **cid dían ṡ cían no-théisinn** 'though I went fast and far' *Ml.* 41<sup>d</sup>9 (cp. 19<sup>b</sup>11, 22<sup>c</sup>4); **do-abadar as choms(uidigthe)** '(it) is shown to be a compound' *Sg.* 207<sup>b</sup>9. Even after conjunctions which normally do not take the relative construction a relative clause is occasionally found; e.g. **co for-chongram-ni** 'that we should order' *Wb.* 11<sup>b</sup>16a; **ci ara-rubartat biuth** 'though they have enjoyed' *Ml.* 91<sup>b</sup>1; similarly **ma 'ra-rubart biuth** 112<sup>b</sup>5.

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**507.** GENITIVAL RELATION Irish has no special form for the genitive of the relative. Genitival relation is expressed by one or other of the following constructions:

- a. The clause simply appears in the non-relative form, as in [§ 505, 1](#); e.g. **ataat réte hic, ni réid a m-brith fri corpu** 'there are things here which it is not easy to refer to bodies' (lit. 'not easy is their reference to bodies', *a*<sup>n</sup> being the ordinary possessive pronoun) *Wb.* 13<sup>d</sup>4.
- b. If the substantive to be defined is the subject of title clause and the predicate is an adjective, the copula has the relative form but the genitival relation remains unexpressed. Examples: **don bráthir as énírt menme** 'to the brother whose mind is weak' *Wb.* 10<sup>e</sup>1; **is ed as maam sere la tuistidí** 'that is what is most loved by parents', lit. 'love (of which) by parents is greatest' *Ml.* 99<sup>b</sup>5.

In poetry the possessive pronoun *a* can be appended to the copula (cp. (c) below); e.g. **na féle ass-a fortrén taitnem** 'of the feasts whose radiance is mighty' *Fél. Prol.* 330; **ata** (= **ata-a**) **n-aidbli bríga** 'whose vigours are vast' *ibid. Epil.* 34.

- c. If the substantive is a predicative nominative, the possessive pronoun is always inserted between the relative form of the copula and the substantive itself. Examples: **fir as-a c[h]athach** 'of the man whose trespass it is' *Laws v.* 500, 13 (*H.2.*15); **in gilla-sa ata** (= **ata-a**) **chomrama óen-aidche so ule** 'this lad whose fights of a single night all this is' *LU* 9155; **bennachais in rí g bá** (= **ba-a**) **gaisced** 'he blessed the king whose armour it was' *LU* 5048.

Substantives (without a preposition) which in themselves are non-predicative are brought into predicative construction by means of a special relative clause. Thus the clause 'he whose name is in the superscriptions' appears as 'he that it is his name (predic.) that is in the superscriptions': **intí as-a ainm bís isnaib titlaib** *Ml.* 2<sup>c</sup>3; cp. also **Zenobi ata** (= **ata-a**) **scél ro · c[h]lotha** 'of Zenobius whose tidings have been heard' *Fél. Aug.* 24.

Another construction, in which the object is left in its own position, the genitive remaining unexpressed (as in b), occurs, so far as is known, only

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- in later examples (with a negative verb); e.g. **gaí . . . na · cumcitis curaid comlúth** 'a spear which heroes could not move' *Togail Troi* (ed. Stokes) 1730.
- d. If the substantive to be qualified by the gen. is itself governed by a preposition, the relative particle (**s)a**<sup>n</sup> ([§ 492](#)) attached to the preposition can function as the genitive of the relative, but is then separated from its noun by the verb. Example: **lasna cumachtgu foa-m-biat . . . máim** 'by the mighty, under whose yoke they are' *Ml.* 59<sup>d</sup>7 (non-relative: **biit fo-a máim**). Here too, *i*<sup>n</sup> is used without the relative particle: e.g. **mór n-ingen i-rraba féin chardes** 'many (are the) maidens in whose friendship thou hast been' *IT. III.* 482. 1. 254. The lenition (**chardes**) in this and other examples is noteworthy as being, to some extent, an indication that the substantive is dependent on a preceding word.
- e. If the pronoun is itself the predicate, the verb is put in relative form and is followed by both the unstressed and the stressed forms of the possessive pronoun ([§ 444](#)). Examples: **cáich as-a aí** 'of each person whose (property) it is' *Laws IV.* 314, 15; **intí bess-a haí Cassel** 'he to whom Cashel will belong' *Anecd. III.* 63, 14.

Collections illustrating the above constructions: Pedersen, *KZ.* xxxv. 339 f.; XLIV. 115 ff. Similar constructions are occasionally found where a relative pronoun is available. Examples: **nech suidigther loc daingen dó** 'anyone to whom is established a strong place' *Ml.* 87<sup>d</sup>15 (instead of **di-a-suidigther**); **ní-fail ní nad-taí mo dligeth-sa fair** 'there is nothing on which my law does not touch' *Sg.* 26<sup>b</sup>7 (instead of **forna-taí**).

**508.** An amalgamation of relative constructions similar to that in [§ 507 \(c\)](#) is also found when a superlative is taken out of the relative clause and placed in front of it in periphrasis with a relative form of the copula ([§ 383](#)). Here, however, against the rule in [§ 498](#), the second relative clause remains a leniting one. Examples: **innaní as deg ro-chreitset** *Wb.* 31<sup>a</sup>6 'of those who have best, believed' (non-relative: **is deg ro-chreitset**, with nasalized *c*); **as maam ro-šechestar arsidetaid** 'who has most, followed antiquity' *Sg.* 208<sup>b</sup>15.

This recalls the Mid. W. construction in *y wreic vwyaf a garei* 'the woman whom he loved most', where *mwyaf* is actually lenited as though it were an attribute of *gwreic*.

### ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS, ETC.

**509.** (a) In all three Brittonic languages, where the antecedent is felt to be the subject or object of the relative clause, the verb of the latter is preceded by a leniting particle *a*; e.g. Mid. W. *y gwr a garei* 'the man who loved' or 'whom she loved' (*garei* lenited form of *carei*). The Irish leniting relative clauses, too, can be explained by assuming that a non-palatal vowel once stood, not at the beginning of the clause, but enclitically after its first element, whether this element was a preverb (preposition, negative particle) or the verb itself. After consonants and non-palatal vowels this vowel was lost, but its effect has survived in the lenition of the following initial. After palatal vowels it has remained as *-e* ( § 94 ) in **imme· (imma·), are· (ara·)** § 493, 4 ; further in rel. **berde berte** beside non-relative **berit** 'they bear', **guidme** beside **guidmi** 'we pray', **téte**, pret. **luide**, beside **téit** 'goes', **luid**, etc.; cp. also **file** beside **fil** ( § 780, 2 ). For a more detailed analysis of the relative verbal forms see §§ 566 ff. This vowel cannot, however, correspond to Brittonic *a*, if the earlier form of the latter was *-hai* (probably with silent *h-*), which is the usual spelling in the Old Welsh computus ( ZCP. VIII. 408; cp. Ifor Williams, *Bull. Board Celt. Stud.* III. 245 ff.). A different vowel is suggested by the Gaulish 3 pl. rel. *dugiiontio*, Dottin no. 33, where it is uncertain whether the form should be analysed as *dugiionti-io* or whether the last *i* is merely a glide. Possibly *o* is also contained in the Mid. Bret. rel. 3 sg. of the copula 's-o, should the ending here be really old and not merely modelled on *eo* 'is'. If it be permissible to infer that the oldest Celtic form was *i + o* and that the *i +* was lost very early, we are at once reminded of the IE. neuter of the relative, \**i + o* = Skt. *yat*, Gk. □.

**510.** (b) The problem of the nasalizing relative clauses may be approached from two angles. One hypothesis, starting from § 492, is that an element **-sa<sup>n</sup>**, identical in form with the neuter article, could also be used in relative construction without distinction of accusative and dative, i.e. as a petrified particle. This element, like that in § 509, could be attached to a preverb or, in the absence of such, to the verb itself. It now becomes necessary to assume that the *s-*, which was regularly lost after vowels, was suppressed in other positions too, so that when the vowel of the particle was also dropped, nothing remained but the nasalization. (It is unlikely, however, that the ending *-s* in **beres**, rel. form of **berid** 'bears', etc., is a survival of this *s-*, for such verbal forms are not confined to nasalizing relative clauses; see § 567 ). This would well explain forms of the copula like **as<sup>n</sup>**, pl. **ata<sup>n</sup>**, etc. After simple verbal forms, where the connexion with the following word was not so close, *n* would have been completely lost. Then, in order to prevent confusion with the leniting relative clauses, the initial of simple verbs was nasalized by analogy with the nasalization of the initial of the stressed syllable in compound verbs (i.e. § 504 c arose by analogy with *a*). It will be remembered that somewhat later, in leniting relative clauses, lenition of the initial of simple verbs was similarly borrowed from the compound verbs ( § 495 b ).

The other hypothesis, advanced by Pedersen ( KZ. XXXV. 394 ff.), starts from the forms last mentioned (i.e. with nasalization of the initial of simple verbs). This nasalization, however, Pedersen regards, not as the survival of a relative, but as due ill the first instance to the ordinary effect of a preceding acc. sg. or neuter nom. sg. Such expressions as **in tain** 'at the time that' could contain either an accusative (with nasalization) or a dative: hence in **in tain m'bis** ( § 504 c ) *m-* came to be felt, not as the effect, of a preceding accusative but rather as the sign of a relational connexion. The same would apply to **arndip maith n-airlethar** ( § 498 ) and similar cases. From such phrases the use of the nasal could have spread as a mark of certain relative constructions. Its appearance *after* preverbs and the copula would be a secondary development. Similarly the insertion of a vowel (or **sa** ) between the prepositions listed in § 492 and the nasal would be due to analogy with the article; originally the preposition had been followed directly by a nasalizing relative clause (there is, in fact, no relative particle in **i<sup>n</sup>** 'in which').

Both of these explanations are somewhat forced. The first, for example, would lead one to expect relative verbal forms in *-ti* rather than *-te*. But the second is still less convincing. At any rate it is evident that there has been confusion between various types of clause. The use of conjunct or prototonic verbal forms after the conjunctions **ar-a<sup>n</sup>**, **di-a<sup>n</sup>**. (**co<sup>n</sup>**), which really belong to the principal clause, and after prepositions with the relative particle **-(s)a<sup>n</sup>** is clearly modelled on those verbal forms in which the preposition appears in loose composition with the verb; thus **ara-m-bera** 'in order that he may bear' and

'on account of which he may bear' is modelled *ml ara-m-bera* 'that he may use' (from *ar-beir*), etc.; for prepositionless *a* 'that (which)' and 'when' takes absolute or deuterotonic verbal forms after it, and so do the prepositions employed as conjunctions, *ó* 'since, after', and *co* (without 'so that').

**511.** (c) In both types of relative clauses, as well as after the abovementioned conjunctions with *a*, a further element *d* is added before infixed pronouns (§ 413) and certain forms of the copula (§ 794, 799); where an originally following vowel has been lost, we find the fuller form *id*. This element is also found after *cía* 'though' and *ma* 'if' (§ 426), and is certainly contained in *nā + d*, the negative used in relative clauses (§ 863); cp. the neg. 3 sg. of the copula *nant (nand, nan)*, pl. *nandat* (§ 797), where relative *-n-* is inserted.

The Britannic dialects have a verbal particle corresponding phonetically to this element: Mid. W. *yd* (*y* before consonants), Corn. *yđ* (*yth, y*), Mid. Bret. *ez*. This particle is generally found before a verb not preceded by a negative in any clause, principal or subordinate, where the relative particle *a* (§ 509) cannot be used (except for a few types of clause which tolerate no particle). Infixes pronouns may be attached to it, e.g. Mid.W. *y-m gelwir* 'I am called'. It no longer has any meaning; but that it formerly had some kind of relative function may be inferred (a) from OW. *iss-id*, Mid.W. *yssyd*, later *sydd*, where it is used, I after the 3 sg. pres. ind. of the verb 'to be' to characterize the

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relative form (unless, indeed, *-yd* has here developed from *-ii + o*, cp. § 509); (b) from a few rather inconclusive passages in Mid.W. poetry where it seems to be used like *a* (Loth, *Remarques et Additions à l'Introduction to Early Welsh de Strachan*, p. 69 f.). The Irish *-d-* after *cía* and *ma* is doubtless the same particle. It is true that Mid.W. *cyt* 'although', neg. OW. *cinnit*, has *t*, not *δ*; but in Welsh the infix or affix *t* (§ 455), which had lost all meaning, came to be used so widely that even before verbs *it yd* (before consonants) appears beside *y(δ)* (Strachan, *Introduction to Early Welsh* § 91). The Mid.Bret. form *ma'z* (with *z < d*) shows that in this position Britannic had originally a particle with *d*. In Irish (*i*)*d* has completely fused with the infixed pronoun and the copula; that it originally had a relative meaning may be conjectured, but cannot be proved. Hence its etymology remains uncertain. Connexion with Skt. *ihá* 'here' has been suggested; on phonetic grounds one might also consider Gk. *□δῆ*, which in Homer means 'and', but in Cyprian is further used to introduce a principal following a subordinate clause.

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## THE VERB

Collections: (1) *Grammatica Celtica*,<sup>2</sup> p. 425 ff., verbal forms in the Glosses; supplemented from later MSS. by Stokes, *Kuhns Beitr.* VI. 459 ff., VII. 1 ff. (2) *Pedersen II* 450 ff., comprehensive list of forms drawn from a wide range of sources (supplemented by Thurneysen, *IF. Anz.* XXXIII 32 ff., and Kuno Meyer (Pender), *ZCP.* XVIII. 305 ff.); reprinted in *Ped.*<sup>2</sup> 334-403 (as a rule without references) together with many additional forms. For the verbal system as a whole, cp. also Baudiš, *RC.* XL. 104 ff.; Strachan, *ZCP.* II. 480 ff., III. 474 ff.; for the forms in *-r*, Dottin, *Les Désinences Verbales en r en Sanscrit, en Italique et en Celtique* (1896): for the deponent forms, Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society* 1891-94, p. 444 ff.

### GENERAL

**512.** OMISSION OF VERBA finite verb is contained in most Irish clauses, including every clearly dependent clause. In addition to clauses where the copula is left unexpressed (§ 818), and replies to questions (where the verb can be supplied from the preceding interrogative sentence), the verb is also frequently omitted in the following types of clause:

- a. Peremptory commands: e.g. **a cenna dona druídib ocus dona filedaib** 'off with the heads of the druids and the poets!' *ZCP.* III. 5 § 15; **a Héirinn dúib-si** 'get ye gone out of Ireland!' (*do* introduces the prospective agent.) *ibid.* 4 § 9; **in comram do thairisem beus no in mucc do rainn**, lit. 'the contest for abiding or the pig for division', i.e. 'on with the contest or let the pig be divided' *Sc.M.* § 11.
- b. Descriptions; e.g. **cúlmonga** (-ae MS.) **foraib, bruit úanidi impu uli, tanaslaidi** (-de MS.) **óir inna m-brataib, cúrscéith chrédumai foraib**, etc., 'long back-hair upon them, green cloaks about them all, gold clasps in their cloaks, bent shields of bronze upon them' *LU7086* ff.; **tairmchell corn ocus cuibrend** 'passing round of drinking horns and portions' *IT.* 1. 67, 4.

### 513. POSITION OF VERB

In prose the finite verb always stands at the head of its clause. Apart from pretonic prepositions and similarly used adverbs ( § 384 ), it can be preceded only by conjunctions, interrogatives, relative (**(s)a**<sup>n</sup> after a preposition, negative particles, and infixed personal pronouns; further by **bés** 'perhaps' ( § 384 ). If any other word in the sentence is brought forward for emphasis, this is usually done by means of a special clause beginning with **is** 'it is' or **ní** 'it is not'; the remainder of the sentence forms a separate clause, even when the copula is omitted in the first clause, as in **tol cholno for-chanat** '[it is] the will of the flesh that they teach' *Wb.* 20<sup>c</sup>20.

In the Britannic dialects the verb normally occupies the same position in prose. A freer word order is found in Irish poetry and also in non-metrical 'rhetorical' prose, which preserve two archaic features:

- a. The first preposition of a compound verb may stand alone at the head of the clause, the remainder of the verb following later (tmesis). Examples: **ónd rí g do· rea rúasat** 'from the King who has created the (celestial) spaces' *Imram Brain* § 48 (in prose: **do·rúasat rea**, from *to-uss-sem-* with **ro** ). The negative particle may be similarly separated from the verb: **nach rét nad· asa maínib míastar** 'any object which shall not be estimated according to its value' *ZCP. XI.* 94 § 32. An infixed pronoun remains attached to the first element: **no-m· choimmdiu cóima** 'the Lord cherishes me' *Sg.* 204 ( *Thes. II.* 290, 11); **for-don· itge Brigte bet** 'on us be Brigit's prayers' *Thes. II.* 348, 89.
- b. Simple and compound verbs may be placed at the end of their clause; the former then have conjunct flexion ( § 542 ), the latter prototonic forms. Examples: **óenchairde fon Eilg n-áragar** 'one peace-treaty is established throughout Ireland' *O'Dav.* 768 (**ad·regar**): **fintiu for cúl cuindegar** 'hereditary land is claimed back' *Laws. IV.* 38, 14 (cp. *Ériu XII.* 198). Sometimes the verb has a suffixed pronoun referring to an object already expressed; e.g. **libru Solman sex-us** 'the books of Solomon, he followed them' *RC. XX.* 254, obviously a blend of two constructions: **libru S. sechestar** and **libuir** (nom.) **S. sexus**.

A peculiar feature of such clauses is that a conjunction or negative particle standing at the head of them has a (meaningless) form of the copula attached to it. Examples: **ceso femmuin m-bolgaig m-bung** 'although I reap blistered seaweed' *Corm.* 1059 (ceso lit. 'though it is'); **diam fríthe fogba** (*sic leg.*) **fo thúathaib comairser** 'if thou find a waif thou shalt inquire throughout the territories' *O'Dav.* 488 (**diam** 'if it be'); **ba sodursan napu díb lámaib comlánaib comarnic** 'it was a great pity that he did not come to battle with two whole hands' *LL* 123<sup>b</sup>2; **apraind nach Fergus mac Leti** (MS. *-te*) **luid** 'alas that F. m. L. did not go!' *ibid.* 7. Cp. Bergin, *Ériu XII.*

197 ff., who suggests (p. 211) that the construction with the copula may have started from examples with **ní**, which could have been taken to be either the simple negative or *non est*.

For examples of the verb standing in the interior of a clause in Mid.W. poetry, see Henry Lewis, *Bull. Board. Celt. Stud. IV.* 149. In the Gaulish inscriptions the verb as a rule comes after the first stressed word in the clause (usually the subject) or at the end of the clause. But the relative form *dugiointio* ( § 509 ) stands at the head of its clause.

## VOICE

**514.** Verbal forms are divided according to their meaning into **active** and **passive**. In active verbs two types of formation are distinguished, which are called (following the terminology of Latin grammar) **active** and **deponent** flexion: the latter corresponds to the middle voice of other Indo-European languages. The active and deponent flexions, however, always fall together in the imperfect indicative, past subjunctive and secondary future, in the 2 pl. of all tenses and moods, and in the 3 sg. imperative.

The deponent flexion is dying out; thus the absolute forms of denominative verbs in *-ugur*, *-igur* ( § 524 ) are more often active than deponent. Indeed, there is hardly a single well-attested deponent that does

not occasionally show active inflexion. For the gradual disappearance of the deponent flexion in the later language see Strachan *op. cit.*

In a few verbs the deponent flexion is limited even in the early period. Thus **ad-cí** 'sees', **do-éci** 'looks at' have deponent flexion only in the subjunctive ( § 609 ); **daimid** 'admits', **con-ice** 'can', **do-ecmaing**, **for-cumaing** 'happens', **saidid** 'sits' only in the preterite indicative ( § 695 ); and **com-arc-** 'ask' only in the preterite indicative and the subjunctive ( § 619 ). Conversely **ro-cluinethar** 'hears' has an active preterite ( § 687 ).

The Irish passive, unlike the Latin, has a different formation from the deponent. An intransitive verb may be used in the passive in impersonal construction: e.g. **tíagar** 'let people, someone go', lit. 'let it be gone', **ro-both** 'people have been', etc.

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## MOODS

**515.** The Irish verb distinguishes three moods:

1. Indicative,
2. Imperative, or mood of commands and prohibitions,
3. Subjunctive.

### USE OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE MOOD

For details see Strachan, 'On the Use of the Subjunctive Mood in Irish', *Trans. Phil. Society* 1895-8, 225 ff.

**516.** The subjunctive is commoner in subordinate than in principal clauses. Its chief uses are:

(a) In both principal and subordinate clauses to denote that a particular action is willed, wished, or commanded, e.g. in final clauses ( § 896 ff. ). Here its use is distinguished from that of the imperative in two points: (1) The imperative is excluded from dependent clauses; cp. **bad** (ipv.) **hed do-gneid** (pr. subj.) 'let it be that that ye do' *Wb.* 5<sup>d</sup>30 (where the 'doing' is also included in the command). (2) In principal clauses the present subjunctive is used for commands where immediate compliance is not contemplated, e.g. in legal rules. Here it corresponds to the Latin imperative in *-to*; e.g. **soíra-siu** gl. *liberato* *Ml.* 61<sup>c</sup>15 as against **non-sóer-ni** gl. *absolue* 46<sup>b</sup>26. So too in the other persons; e.g. **imb i céin fa i n-accus beo-sa nicon-chloor.** . . (subj.) 'whether I be far or near, let me not hear . . .' *Wb.* 23<sup>b</sup>41 as against **tíag-sa** (ipv.) 'let me go (at once)' *Ml.* 58<sup>c</sup>6; **sén dé don-fé for-don-té** 'God's blessing lead us, help us' *Thes. II.* 299, 29.

In the irregular 1 sg. **do-futhris-se, do-dúthris** 'I would fain' (see § 624 ) the subjunctive is apparently transferred to the verb of wishing itself, as in O.Lat. *uelim* (cp. Wackernagel, *Vorlesungen über Snytax I.* 60 f.).

**517.** (b) To indicate uncertainty. Thus in the older language it is regularly used after **bés** 'perhaps'; e.g. **bés nip áill do daínib** 'perhaps it is not pleasing to men' *Fél. Epil.* 417. It may also be used in indirect questions; e.g. *ne*

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*communicamini cum illo* gl. **duús indip fochunn ícce dó a indarpe** 'to see if perchance his expulsion may be a cause of salvation for him' *Wb.* 26<sup>b</sup>27. In conditional and concessive clauses the subjunctive is obligatory when the conditioning or conceded action lies in the future, and usual when the action is deemed to occur at an indefinite time (see § 902 f., 909 ff. ). It is very common in indefinite relative clauses ('whoever, whatever, whenever', etc.); e.g. **ar-cessi do neoch bes meldach less** 'he pities whomsoever he pleases' *Wb.* 4<sup>c</sup>19; **cech** (MS. *chrech*) **irrigde do-n-gneid** 'every prayer that ye make' 5<sup>c</sup>20; **in tan imme-romastar nach noíb** 'whenever any saint sins' (pr. subj. with **ro**) *Ml.* 51<sup>a</sup>18. Here the indeterminate nature of the subject, object, etc., invests the entire action with a measure of uncertainty to which Old Irish is extremely sensitive. Similarly after negations; e.g. **ni-tabir día forn-ni**

**fochith . . . nad-fo-chomolsam** 'God puts not upon us (any kind of) suffering which we cannot endure' *Wb.* 14<sup>b</sup>15 ('can' is expressed not by the subjunctive but by the prep. **-com-**, § 533): and even (*ne commotius in sé*) *quam modus patitur. . . (uindicetur)* gl. **acht amal fund-lé** 'but as it endures it' *MI.* 32<sup>d</sup>2. So too after **co** <sup>n</sup> 'until' the subjunctive may be used to denote that the event, while expected, is not absolutely certain; e.g. **indnaidid sund co-tis-[s]a asind fid** 'wait here till I come out of the wood' *LU* 5414, though here the imperative in the main clause may have affected the mood of the subordinate clause. Under this heading also falls the use of the past subjunctive in subordinate clauses to indicate doubt or impossibility ( § 520, 2b ).

(c) After **acht** in the sense of 'if only', 'provided that' ( § 904 ).

(d) After **resíu** 'before' ( § 895 ).

**518.** (e) In nasalizing relative clauses which serve as subject, or object ( § 503 ), except after verbs of saying and thinking. Examples: **cun-ic cid a cumachtae n-doindae n-du-n-ema in duine** 'even human power is able to protect a man' *MI.* 74<sup>b</sup>14; **is écen dam nonda-ges dait-siu** 'it is necessary for me that I should pray for them to Thee' 21<sup>b</sup>9. Clauses dependent on expressions of saying and thinking, and on **ní**

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*nád* 'it is not that . . . not', are put in the indicative unless the sense of the dependent clause itself requires the subjunctive. Examples: *as-berat heretic as n-ed dechur ta[d]badar isindísín* 'heretics say that this is the difference that is shown therein' *MI.* 24<sup>d</sup>25; *do-ruménar-sa rom-sa día* 'I thought I was a god' 49<sup>b</sup>13; *ní nád-m-bia cid cumscugud donaib pecthachaib* 'not that there will not be even a change for the sinners' *Wb.* 13<sup>d</sup>17. For examples with the subjunctive see § 520, 2.

## TENSE

**519.** I. In the indicative five tenses are distinguished by means of stem-formation or inflexion:

1. The **present**, for present and universal or indefinite time. In narrative prose it is very frequently used as historic present, but not after *ní* + 'not' and hardly ever after **co** <sup>n</sup> 'so that' (cp. however *LU* 4907).

The verb 'to be' has a special consuetudinal present *biid* 'is wont to be, is continually' (rarely 'remains (for a time)', e.g. *LU* 5220), as against *atá* (*ad-tá*) 'is (now)' ( § 784 ). For other traces of this distinction see § 537.

It is not quite certain whether *ro-finnadar* 'gets to know, finds out' (as against *ro-fitir* 'knows') can occasionally mean 'is wont to know' (e.g. in *MI.* 99<sup>b</sup>10).

2. The **imperfect** or iterative preterite (formerly called secondary present) denotes repeated or customary action in past time. Examples: *du-téigtis cucum in tan no-m-bíinn hi sóinmigi* 'they used to come to me when I was in prosperity' *MI.* 108<sup>b</sup>1; *dund idbairt ad-oparthe* 'for the offering that used to be offered' *Wb.* 15<sup>d</sup>20; *níaimthe-som do dúscud co-n-dúsced a óenur* 'no one ever dared to wake him until he awoke of himself' *LU* 4911; *nos-fethed-som a c[h]luche colléic, fo-cherded a líathróit* 'he went on with his play still, he kept throwing his ball' *ibid.* 5004 f.

In the *Vita Tripartita* the imperfect is sometimes used to denote simultaneous action, as in Latin; e.g. *a n-do-ad-chuired im(murgu) Pátraic at-connairc a flair commo comfocus bás dí* 'turning back, however, P. saw his sister was near to death' 12, 8. This is probably a Latinism, as is also its use in a descriptive passage ( *Aisl. MC.* p. 37, 20.23 = 120, 31.34).

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3. The simple *preterite* denotes a past action or state which is not characterized as repeated. For the differences in meaning introduced by prefixing certain particles, see § 530.
4. The **future** indicates a future action, and also action completed at a future point of time (*futurum exactum*). An example of the latter is: *in tan no-scairiub frisna huili deithidnea domaindi* 'when I shall have parted from all worldly anxieties' (gl. *cum uacuero*) *MI.* 43<sup>a</sup>23 (Collection: Strachan, Trans. *Phil. Society* 1895-8, p. 232 § 4).
5. The **secondary future** (also called the past future or conditional) is found in both principal and

subordinate clauses. Its uses, which may be compared with those of the Romance conditional, are as follows:

- a. To denote an action which, when viewed from a definite point of past time, lay in the future (Lat. *dicturus erat* or *fuit*). Examples: *is díim-sa tairrchet ad-cichitis gentiper mé'* 'it is of me it has been prophesied that Gentiles would see *per me'* *Wb.* 7<sup>a</sup>2; *as-bert Fiacc . . . nand-rigad* (sec. fut.) *con-tísed* (past subj.) *Pátrice 'F. said he would not go until (= unless) P. should have come'* *Thes. II.* 242, 6 ( *Arm.* ).
- b. In a modal sense, with no temporal limitation, to indicate that under certain conditions something could occur (*potential*), or--still more frequently--that something would, should, or could happen (with the neg.: would not happen, etc.) or have happened under certain conditions which, however, remain unfulfilled (*modus irrealis*); the conditions may be either expressly stated or merely implied. Examples: **mad** (past subj.) *áill dúib cid accaldam neich diib da-rigénte* (sec. fut.) 'should ye desire even to converse with any of them ye would be able to do it' *Wb.* 13<sup>b</sup>3 (potential); *ni-tibéraitis* (sec. fut.) *píana foraib mani esérsitis* (past subj.) 'punishments would not be inflicted upon them if they did not rise' *MI.* 15<sup>c</sup>7 (unfulfilled condition); *fu-lilsain-se* (sec. fut.) **matis** (past subj.) *mu namit duda-gnetis* (past subj.) 'I should have endured (them) if it had been my enemies that did them' 73<sup>d</sup>1; *du-ucthar tria rosc aní no-labraifitis* 'through their eye is understood what they would say (if they spoke)' 55<sup>a</sup>10; *fa-didmed aicned acht dond-ecmaing anísín* 'nature would suffer it save that that (other thing really) happens' (= if that

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did not happen) *Sg.* 137<sup>b</sup>5. A somewhat similar use is found in sentences like *no-didlastais* (*nodílastáís* MS.) *finnae for usciu* 'they (the swords) would split a hair on water (if used for that purpose)' LU 7701.

The secondary future is also employed frequently in negative or interrogative clauses to refute a false supposition. Examples: *ni-digned Daid.* . . 'D. would not have done . . .' *MI.* 14<sup>b</sup>4; *cia salmscr-bdid con-icfed són* 'what psalmist could have done that?' 14<sup>a</sup>6; *non.* . . *significat.* . . *illud* gl. *aní hua-n-ainmnichfide* 'that by which (one might expect) it would be called' *Sg.* 30<sup>a</sup>1, *cia ragas* (fut., O.Ir. **regas** ) **and.** . . ? *cia no-ragad* (sec. fut., O.Ir. *-regad*) **acht mad** (past subj.) **messe** (MS. *-si*) 'Who will go there? Who should go but I?' (lit. 'unless it were I'), i.e. 'nobody else shall go' LU 7052 f. Cp. *Sg.* 138<sup>b</sup>1: '*nutritor' et ex eo nascebatur 'nutritrix'* gl. *no-gigne[d]* 'it would have arisen' (but has not).

Collection: Baudiš, *RC.* XXXIII. 324 ff. In the later language the secondary future encroaches on the domain of the past subjunctive.

**520.** II. In the **imperative** there is no distinction of tense. III. The **subjunctive** distinguishes only two tenses:

1. The **present**, as subjunctive corresponding to the present and future indicative; for examples see § 516 ff.
2. The **past subjunctive** (sometimes called the imperfect subjunctive, although it has no special relation to the imperfect indicative; formerly *praesens secundarium*). It has the following uses:
  - a. Preterital, as subjunctive corresponding to the preterite and imperfect indicative. Examples: *fo básad fir trebuir crenas tíir dia chlainnd cid risíu ro-bæ* (pr. subj.) *cland les, is samlid ar-robert-som ar n-íce-ni cid risíu ro-beimmis* (past subj.) *etir* 'after the manner of a prudent man who buys land for his children even before he has children, it is thus that He has planned our salvation even before we existed at all' *Wb.* 29<sup>d</sup>23; *as-rubart día hi recht . . . ara-sechitis a thimnae* 'God

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had said in the Law that they should follow His commandments' *MI.* 125<sup>c</sup>2. For an example as subjunctive of the imperfect see LU 5160.

- b. In some subordinate clauses it is used, without temporal limitation, as subjunctive of the secondary future in order to qualify an act or state as hypothetical, doubtful, improbable, or unreal. Examples: in subject and object clauses: *dicunt alii bed n-ainm do dorus sainredach* 'others say it was the name of a particular door (but that is improbable)' *MI.* 131<sup>c</sup>3; *as-berat alaili combad du déthriub no-tésad* (read **-ed** ) *á n-Iacob* 'some say that "Jacob" applies to the two tribes' 34<sup>d</sup>6; *dóig linn bed n-acuitpraeter qualisocus combad chircunflex for suidiu* 'we deem it probable that it (the accent)

may be the acute except (on) *qualis*, and that it may be the circumflex on this' *Sg.* 30<sup>8</sup>. To denote unreality: *nítaít día fo tairigere conid·chumscaiged* 'God does not undertake a promise that He should alter it' *MI.* 109<sup>d5</sup>; *ní nád·m·bed ar se di chorp act atá de* 'not that it is not therefore of the body (as might be supposed), but it is of it' *Wb.* 12<sup>a22</sup>; *Euripides ab Euripo* (MS. *Eurupo*) *nominatus est gl. ar iss ed laithe in sin ro·n·génair-som* (pf. ind.), *ní airindí ro·n·genad-som* (past subj.) *isind luc-sin* 'for that is the day on which he was born, not because he was born in that place' (false supposition) *Sg.* 31<sup>a6</sup>.

In this sense it is common in conditional and concessive clauses: 'if (although) that should happen or have happened'; for examples see [§§ 519,5\(b\)](#), [902](#), [909](#). After **amal** 'as': *ro·pridchad dúib céssad Críst amal ad·cethe no fo·rócrad dúib amal bid fiadib no·crochthe* 'Christ's passion has been preached to you as though it were seen, or it has been announced to you as if He had been crucified before you' *Wb.* 19<sup>b6</sup>. Similarly *is cumme . . . bid ídolde* 'it is the same as though it were an idol-offering' *Wb.* 10<sup>c4</sup>, etc.; *ní lugu imme·folngi sonartai du neuch in cotlud indaas bid suide garait no·sessed* 'not less does sleep produce strength to a man than if he were to sit for a little' *MI.* 135<sup>a13</sup>.

In final clauses where the verb of the principal clause is in the present tense, its use approximates to that of the present subjunctive with **ro** (optative, [§ 531, 3](#)); they are in fact interchangeable. Examples: *occasionem damus uobis gloriandi pro*

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*nobis gl. combad* (past subj.) *sníni for móidem-si .i. co·n·érbarid-si* (pr. subj.) . . . 'so that we might be your boast, i.e. so that ye may say . . .' *Wb.* 15<sup>d6</sup>; *ab omnibus se abstinet gl. armbad irlamu de don búaiith* 'that he might be the readier for the victory' 11<sup>a7</sup>, beside *is do bar tinchos ara·n·dermaid a n·do·gniam-ni* 'it is to instruct you, that ye may do what we do' 16<sup>a24</sup>. It is also found, though very rarely, in general relative clauses after a present indicative in the principal clause; e.g. *mulieres in aeclesis taceant gl. ar is insæ in ball do thinchos[c] neich as·berad cenn* 'for it is impossible that the member should correct what the head might utter' *Wb.* 13<sup>a19</sup>, cp. 9<sup>c20</sup>. Here the normal tense is the present subj. ([§ 517](#)). In *MI.* the Latin gerundive is generally rendered by **bed** with the verbal of necessity, e.g. *bed airillti gl. ad promerendam* 22<sup>d22</sup>.

For further modifications in meaning effected by prefixing certain verbal particles see [§ 530 f.](#)

## TENSE STEMS: 'STRONG' AND 'WEAK' VERBS

**521.** The tenses and moods of normal verbs are formed from five different stems, the first three of which include both the active (or deponent) and passive forms:

1. the **present stem** in the present and imperfect indicative and the imperative;
2. the **subjunctive stem** in the present and past subjunctive;
3. the **future stem** in the future and secondary future;
4. the **active preterite stem** in the preterite indicative, active and deponent;
5. the **passive preterite stem** in the passive preterite indicative.

**522.** According to the way in which these stems are formed, two main classes of verbs can be distinguished, for which the terms 'strong' and 'weak' verbs are borrowed from the grammar of the Germanic languages.

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Strong verbs are without exception primary, never derived from nouns or adjectives.

Weak verbs are for the most part denominative. Their main characteristic is the formation of an *s*-preterite ([§ 672 ff.](#)) and an *f*-future ([§ 635 ff.](#)).

Originally the stem final of weak verbs was always either neutral (*a*-quality) or palatal (*i*-quality), but the distinction is to a large extent obscured owing to secondary changes in the quality of the consonants ([§](#)

[158 ff.](#)). Yet it remains sufficiently clear to afford the basis of a twofold classification of weak verbs: weak *a*-verbs and weak *i*-verbs.

The difference between these three types is most clearly seen in the active 3 sg. pres. ind., conjunct flexion. Here a weak *a*-verb has the ending *-a*, a weak *i*-verb *-i*, and a strong verb no ending; e.g. *·móra* 'magnifies', *·lé(i)ci* 'leaves', *·beir* 'bears' or *·ben* 'strikes'.

There are some cases of fluctuation between strong and weak flexion, which are discussed below under the separate tense stems. In *do·goa* 'chooses' and **fo(a)id** (with *i*-flexion) 'passes the night' the weak flexion is confined to the present stem, in *gonaid* 'wounds, slays', to the present and subjunctive stems (but cp. [§ 554](#) for the conjunct 3 sg. pres. ind.). **scochid** (later **scuchid**) is itself a strong verb, but its compounds are inflected as weak *i*-verbs.

**523.** The weak *a*-verbs may be compared to the Latin verbs in *-āre*, the Gothic and Old High German in *-ōn*, the Greek in *-a + ῥ*, etc.

In the *i*-verbs a number of different formations appear to have fallen together (in some of them *-i-* may stand for earlier *-ē-*, cp. Vendryes, *Mélanges Linguistiques Pedersen* p. 287 f.). Besides denominatives this class also contains examples of old causatives with the *o*-grade of the root ( Brugmann, *Grundriss II*<sup>2</sup> iii. § 163); e.g. *ro(i)thid* 'sets in motion' beside *rethid* 'runs'; *fu·lug(a)i* 'conceals' beside *la(i)gid* 'lies' (√ Ir. *leg-*), cp. Goth. *lagjan* 'to lay'; *ad·su(i)di* 'holds fast' (simplex *suidim att* 'I reduce the swelling' *LB* p. 99) beside *sa(i)did* 'sits' (√ *sed-*), cp. Goth. *satjan* 'to set'; *im·lúadi* 'agitates' beside *luid* 'he went'; with lengthening of the vowel, *sá(i)did* 'thrusts' (if not formed like Lat. *sōpīre*). In addition, a small number of primary deponents have adopted this flexion:

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*sechithir* 'follows', Lat. *sequitur*, Gk. *□πεται*; **ar·sissedar** 'niture, inniture', *fo·sissedar* 'protects, confesses', Lat. *sistit*, Skt. *tiṣṭhati*.

A few of the *a*-verbs also are certainly primary; e.g. *an(a)id* 'stays' (literally 'breathes'), Skt. *ániti* 'breathes'; **ad·ella** 'visits', probably from *·elna-*, of which the non-present stem *el-* serves in the Britannic dialects as subjunctive of the verb 'to go', cp. Lat. *ap·pell-ere*, (or, as others suggest, Gk. *□λαύνειν*).

## FORMATION OF DENOMINATIVE VERBS

**524.** 1. By far the commonest method of forming verbs from nouns and adjectives is by adding the suffix *-ag-* (after palatals *-ig-*), the resulting verb being inflected as a deponent of the *i*-class. This method is used by the glossators to render any given Latin denominative by a corresponding Irish formation. The suffix is not limited to any particular shade of meaning.

In the examples which follow the denominative verb is given in the 3 sg. conjunct.

From adjectives: *lobur* 'weak, ill': *·lobr(a)igedar* 'weakens' and 'is weak, ill'; *úr* 'fresh, green': *·úr(a)igedar* 'uiret'; *imd(a)e* 'numerous': *·imd(a)igedar* 'is numerous'; *béo* 'living': *·béoigedar* 'vivifies'; *folus* 'clear': *·foilsigedar* 'clarifies, makes clear'; *séim* 'thin': *·sé(i)migedar* 'attenuates'; *aile* 'other': *·ailigedar* 'alters'; *amr(a)e* and *adamr(a)e* 'wonderful': *ad·amr(a)igedar* and *·adamr(a)igedar* 'wonders at'.

From nouns: *fogur* 'sound': *·fogr(a)igedar* 'sounds'; *debuith* 'strife': *·debthigedar*, *·depthigedar* 'contends, fights'; *cruth* 'shape': *·cruth(a)igedar* 'shapes'; *su(i)de* 'sitting': *·su(i)digedar* 'sets'; *gáu, gó* 'lie, falsehood': *·gu(a)igedar* 'lies, falsifies'; *écen* 'necessity': *con·éicnigedar* 'necessitates'; **ainm** (*n*-stem) 'name': *·ainmnigedar* 'names'; *airmitiu* (*n*-stem) *féid* 'honouring': *·airmitnigedar féid* 'honours'.

On the analogy of forms which, like the last two cited, have *n* before the suffix, *n* has been inserted in other formations also: *sonairt* 'strong': *·sonartn(a)igedar* 'ualet, conualescit';

*mrecht* 'motley': *·mrechtn(a)igedar* 'varies, diversifies'. With *·coimdemnigedar* 'dominatur', from *coimdiu*, (gen. **-ded**) 'lord', cp. the abstract *coimdemnacht* ( § 260 ).

This formation is common to all the Insular Celtic languages. In earlier forms the Britannic dialects have *h*, a development of intervocalic *s*, before *-ag-*; e.g. O.Bret. *lemhaam* (< *-hagam*) gl. *acuō*, from *lem* 'pointed'; OW *scamnehint* gl. *leuant*, from *scamn* 'light'; here, therefore, the full form of the suffix is *-sag-*. The Irish form could also have contained *s*, since doubtful *s* before an unstressed vowel completely disappears. Hence it is doubtful if these verbs can be compared with Lat. *remigare*, *mitigare*, etc. On the other hand they are closely connected with the Irish nouns of agency in *-(a)ige* ( § 268, 2 ).

**525.** 2. Simple denominatives of the *a-* and *i-* conjugations, formed without any further suffix, are also fairly numerous:

- a. Transitive *a-*verbs from adjectives, the largest class; e.g. *már, mór* 'great': *·mára, ·móra* 'magnifies'; *soír* 'free': *·soíra* 'frees'; *marb* 'dead': *·marba* 'kills'; *glan* 'pure': *·glana* 'purifies'; *berr* 'short': *·berra* 'shears'; *cert* 'right': *con·certa* 'corrects'; deponent, *comlán* 'complete': *·comalnadar -athar* 'fulfils'.
- b. *a-*verbs from nouns; e.g. *nert* 'strength': *·nerta* 'strengthens'; *rann* 'part': *·ranna* 'divides'; *cenn* and *forcenn* 'end': *for·cenna* 'terminates'; *croch* 'cross': *·crocha* 'crucifies'; deponent, *ciall* 'sense': *fo·ciallathar* 'takes heed of'.
- c. *i-*verbs from nouns; e.g. *rád* 'speech': *·rádi* 'speaks'; *cenn* 'end': *·cinni* gl. *finit* and *definit*; *dorn* 'fist': *·durni* 'strikes with fists'; *slond* 'indication': *·sluindi* 'indicates, names'; *immf + ólang* 'cause': *im·folng(a)i* 'causes', (which has a strong passive *im·folangar* in *Ml.*); *dáil* 'share': *fo·dáli* 'divides, pours out'; *rím* 'number': *ad·rími* 'counts', *do·rími* 'enumerates'; *scél* 'tidings': *do·scéul(a)i* 'explores'; *toíb* 'side': *\*ad·toíbi, at(t)oíbi* 'adheres'; *selb* 'possession': *do·aisilbi (to-ad-selb-)* 'assigns'; deponent, **cor** 'throw': *·cu(i)rethar* 'throws, puts'.

From an adjective: *soíb* 'false': *·soíbi* 'falsities, deceives', which may be modelled on *at(t)oíbi. ad·fíri* 'substantiates' is probably derived, not from *fír* 'true', but from the noun *fír* 'oath establishing the truth'.

## THE VERBAL PARTICLE RO AND OTHER SIMILARLY USED PREPOSITIONS

Strachan: On the use of the particle **ro** - with preterital tenses in Old Irish (collection of examples), *Trans. Phil. Society* 1895-8, p. 77 ff., cp. *ibid. p. 326 ff.* (*ro* with the subjunctive); Action and Time in the Irish verb, *ibid. 1899-1902, p. 408 ff.* Zimmer, *KZ.* XXXVI. 463 ff. Thurneysen, *KZ.* XXXVII. 52 ff. Sarauw, *Irske Studier* (1900) p. 25 ff. and *KZ.* XXXVIII. 176 ff. Pedersen, *KZ.* XXXVII. 219 ff., XXXVIII. 421 ff.

526. The particle **ro, ru** is in origin a preposition (= Gk. *πόσ*, etc.). With some verbs it still retains this function, and does not then differ from other preverbal prepositions ( § 852 ). More usually, however, it serves a different purpose. It combines with nearly all simple and most compound verbs to characterize modifications of meaning which other IndoEuropean languages express (to some extent at least) by special verbal forms. The use of other prepositions for this purpose is less frequent; see § 532 ff. For *r-* in place of *ro* in hiatus see § 852, *ra* for *ro* § 82, *roí-, róe-* in the preterite §§ 179, 688.

### POSITION OF ro.

**527.** In compound verbs the position of *ro* may be either (a) movable or (b) fixed.

- a. Movable *ro* always comes after the last pretonic preverb, whether this be a preposition or a conjunct particle. Hence when the preposition comes under the accent owing to the addition of a conjunct particle in front of it, *ro* shifts its position accordingly. Examples: *im·rui-d-bed* 'has been circumcised', neg. *ni-ro-im-di-bed*; *as·r-in-gab-sat* 'they have exceeded', with *nā + d̄*: *nad·r-es-n-gabsat Ml.* 122<sup>d</sup>8; *con·r-os-an* 'has ceased', interrog. *in·ru·chum-s-an*; *in·r-úa-ldatar* 'they have entered', with *nā + d̄*: *nad·r-ind-úa-ldatar*.

Movable **ro**, which thus always stands in the second place, usually remains unstressed after a

conjunct particle (other than *nā + d̄*), rarely after a preposition ( § 39 ). For its leniting effect see § 234, 2. If there is an infix pronoun, this generally comes

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after the preceding particle, and **ro** follows fully stressed (similarly after **nā + d̄**); more rarely **ro** remains unstressed and is followed by the pronoun ( § 410 ).

- b. Fixed **ro** has an invariable position, normally after the other prepositions and immediately before the verbal stem. Examples: *do·ru·ménar* 'I have thought', neg. *nicon·to·r·ménar*; *as·ru·bart* 'has said', neg. *ní·é·r·bart*, similarly *remi·é·r·bart* 'has said before': *do·á·r·bas* (-*ad-ro*-) 'has been shown', *nítá·r·bas*.

But in verbs compounded with more than one preposition, where the last of these begins with a vowel. **ro** is sometimes placed before it. Examples: *du·r·úa·rid* 'has remained over' *MI.* 44<sup>a</sup>20, neg. *níde·r·úa·rid* 31<sup>a</sup>6; *du·n·fo·r·s·ailc* (*fo-ro-oss-olg-*) 'has delivered us' 125<sup>a</sup>9; *do·r·é·cachtar*, *do·r·é·catar* (*é < en*) 'they have looked at', 3 sg. prototonic *con·da·de·r·cacha* LU 7057; *nicon·de·r·ae·rachtatar* (*ae = é, < ess*) 'they have not abandoned' *MI.* 57<sup>d</sup>12; *fo·r·acab* (-*ad-gab*) 'has left' 37<sup>d</sup>10, past subj. pass. pl. *arna·fa·r·cabtis* *Wb.* 31<sup>d</sup>13. Also before **-com-**: *do·fo·r·cho·salsam* 'which we have taken over' 21<sup>b</sup>4, *tu·e·r·c[h]om·lassat* (*en-ro*) 'they have gathered' *Wb. I.* 7<sup>a</sup>7.

**528.** There is no general rule governing the distribution of fixed and movable **ro**; see the examples of both before the preterite in Strachan, *loc. cit.* Movable **ro** is more frequent, and occurs with compounds of every kind. Fixed **ro**, which is doubtless the older of the two, is found especially, though not exclusively, with compounds of strong verbs. Sometimes both types are found with the same verb; e.g. *ni·ru·tho·gaitsam* (*thógaitsam* MS.) 'we have not deceived' *Wb.* 16<sup>a</sup>22 beside *ni·m·tho·r·gaíth* *MI.* 38<sup>a</sup>13, subj. *ni·to·r·gaítha* *Wb.* 25<sup>b</sup>5, etc.; *fo·indarlid* 'subintrait' 3a6 beside *nad·r·indúaldatar* *MI.* 24<sup>b</sup>11 already cited; *do·r·int·aí* 'has turned, translated' (*uertit*) 3<sup>a</sup>7 beside earlier *do·intarráe* (-*ro·soí*) 54<sup>d</sup>3; *nad·ru·chum·gab* (-*com-uss-gab*) 'that he had not extolled himself' 20<sup>a</sup>7 beside *con·n·úa·r·gab* 37<sup>b</sup>15; *isindí ar·n·dam·róichlis·se* (*ró* from *to-f + ó-*) 'in that thou hast guarded me' 74<sup>d</sup>7 beside pf. pass. pl. *ar·fo·r·chelta* *Wb.* 4<sup>c</sup>37. Cp.

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**do · ró-sat** Sg. 31<sup>b</sup>2 beside more usual **do · fo-r-sat**, perfect of **· tuisim** 'creates', where the prepositions were wrongly felt to be *to-fo-* instead of *to-uss-* (+ *-sem-*); pres. ind. deuterotonic **do · fuism**, see § 849.

529. When stressed **ro** is added to the prep. **for**, this is sometimes treated as if it consisted of *fo + r*, infix pronouns and the stressed **ro** being inserted before the *-r*. Examples: **fo · rro-r-bris** 'whom he had defeated' *MI.* 67<sup>b</sup>24, to **for · brissi**; **fo-da · ro-r-eenn** 'who has put an end to them' *Wb.* 11<sup>a</sup>27, to **for · cenna**, beside **for·ru·m · chen[n]ad·sa** *MI.* 127<sup>c</sup>10; **hó bu · ro-r-baither** § 592; **fo · ro-r-bart** (-*bairt* mss.) 'has crown' *Fél. Prol.* 173 beside 3 pl. **for · ru-bartatar** *MI.* 101<sup>a</sup>10, etc.

*ro·íor* has regularly become *rór* in **do · rórpai** 'has arrived' Sg. 196<sup>b</sup>8 (pres. **du · fórbán** *MI.* 61<sup>a</sup>22). **du·rurgab** 'has raised, arisen' (*MI.*) does not contain the preposition *for*; the pres. **du · furguib** is based on a false analysis of prototonic \*· **turguib** (vb.n. **turbál**), from *to-ro-uss-gab-* (cp. § 849). The usual perfect **túargab** is a different compound with the same meaning, *to-uss-gab-* (vb.n. **tucbál** *KZ.* XXXI. 245, Arm.) with **-ro-**; it in turn has 3 pl. **do · fúargabsat** *MI.* 96<sup>c</sup>1.

## MEANINGS OF THE VERBAL PARTICLE **ro**

**530.** 1. It indicates that an act or state is perfect, completed.

It gives perfective force to the preterite indicative and past subjunctive, both of which without it have the force of a simple past. The indicative is thereby enabled to distinguish a **perfect** (with **ro**) from a **narrative** tense. The pluperfect, on the other hand, is not distinguished from the perfect.

Examples: **as · bert** 'says', **as · ru-bart** 'has said' and 'had said', **as · ro-brad** 'it has (had) been said'; **ni animaricide cía do · ru-rmithe** (past subj.) **la noibscribenda** (noimscribinna MS.) 'it is not unfitting that it should have been reckoned with the sacred writings' *Hib. Min.* p. 3, 86 f.

In the course of the ninth century **ro-** forms come to be used in narrative also.

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With the imperfect (iterative) **ro** denotes action repeatedly completed in past time.

For examples see Strachan, *RC.* XXIII. 201 f. Cp. also *Ériu VI.* 134, 19 f.; *IT.* 1. 96, 14 f.

With the present indicative and subjunctive in general clauses of universal time, **ro** denotes action which has been completed at the time that another action takes place; e.g. **amal du · n-erbarar fidboc hi caimmi . . . íarsindí ro · m-bí hi rigi** 'as a bow is reduced to crookedness . . . after it has been straight' *MI.* 99<sup>d</sup>1. This use is frequent in legal rules; e.g. **ma ro · era flaith séotu turc[h]luide is díles** (*dilus.* MS.) **trian na sét iar n-écaib na flatha don c[h]éili[u] mani-ro · metha forsin céle ceni-ro · bíatha eitir** 'if a lord has given chattels of subjection', a third of the chattels is forfeit to the client after the death of the lord if there has been no failure (in his duties) on the client's part, even though he has supplied no food-rent at all' *Laws II.* 262.

Where the present subj. is used as subjunctive corresponding to the future, **ro** gives it the force of a future perfect (*futurum exactum*). It then represents an action completed in the future as contrasted with another future action; e.g. **dia · n-æ + ír-balam-ní ní · bia nech** 'if we shall have died, there will be no one . . .' *MI.* 107<sup>d</sup>4.

On the other hand, **ro** is not added to the future indicative to form a future perfect. The only apparent example, **maniroima** 'if it shall not have broken' *MI.* 89<sup>c</sup>11, is a misspelling for the subj. **mani-ro · má**; for **ma** is never used with the future, and in any case **mani-d** would have been expected before an indicative.

The conjunction **ó** followed by **ro** means 'after', without **ro** 'since' ( § 893 ).

The constant use of **ro** with the subjunctive after **resíu** 'before', **acht** in the sense 'provided that', **co** <sup>n</sup>, **con** 'so that' (with negative, 'unless') is probably an extension of this perfective function, though here **ro** does not necessarily denote completed action.

In conditional sentences **ro** is never used with the subjunctive of unfulfilled condition. 'If this happened that would happen' and 'if this had happened that would happen' or 'have happened' are not distinguished in Irish.

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**531. 2. ro** expresses possibility or ability; e.g. **as · ro-b(a)ir** 'he can say' (**as · beir** 'says'), **as · ro-barr** 'it can be said'; **ni · de-r-génat** 'they will not be able to do'; **in tan nad · r-imagab** 'when he could not avoid'; **ní du · rónad (to do · gní)** 'something that he could do'.

3. **ro** converts the hortative subjunctive into an optative; e.g. **da · ro-lgea día doib** 'may God forgive it to them' *Wb.* 31<sup>a</sup>2. It is also frequently used in final clauses, as a rule to express a wish rather than a purpose or command; but this difference is easily obscured, so that in the course of time the use of **ro** spreads to every kind of final clause. Even in a principal clause subjunctives with and without **ro** may stand side by side, especially in verse, e.g. *Thes.* II. 299, 29.

In **is tacir deit ní t-ái-r-le lat; imma · n-imcab** 'it is meet for thee that thou shouldst not visit him; avoid him' *Wb.* 30<sup>d</sup>20, **ní · táirle** is a subordinate clause in sense though not in form. The

sentence is constructed as though '(I wish) thou shouldst not visit him' were an independent clause.

In principal clauses a jussive subjunctive never has **ro** when positive, but **ro** is found sporadically in prohibitions; e.g. **nim · de-r-saige fri úathad, nom · díusca im(murgu) fri sochaide** 'do not waken me for a few, but waken me for many' LU 5119. With the imperative, however, it is not used, either in commands or in prohibitions.

4. In subordinate clauses **ro** may or may not be used with a generalizing subjunctive; similarly after **cía** 'although'.
5. Its use is likewise optional after **cía** 'that' with the subjunctive in subject clauses ( § 909 ) such as '(it is fitting) that this should happen'.

In 4. and 5. there is no evidence of any difference in meaning between clauses with and without **ro**.

There are also sentences such as **is écen con · d-á-r-bastar** (*oidárbastar* MS.) 'it is necessary that it should be shown' Sg. 211<sup>a</sup>10, where likewise **r(o)** has no special meaning. It would seem that **ro** had gradually come to be felt as nothing more than a mark of the subjunctive (except after **mā +** 'if').

For **ro** with the stem *bī-* of the substantive verb and in the secondary future of the copula see §§ 776, 809.

## OTHER PREPOSITIONS USED IN PLACE OF **ro**

**532.** With certain verbs other prepositions supply the functions of **ro**.

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1. **ad.** In composition with **com** alone most verbs whose stem begins with a consonant infix **ad** directly after **com** whenever **ro** would be required. Examples: **con · gaib** 'continent': **con · acab-**, from *ad-gab-*; **con · boing** 'breaks': **con · abbong-**; **con · certa** 'corrects': **con · aicert-**; **con · scara** 'destroys': **con · ascar-**; **con · midethar** 'determines, settles': **con · ammed-**, etc. Further, the double compound **con · dieig** (*-dí-sag-*) 'seeks, demands' has pf. **con · aitech**, prototonic **· comtacht**. The 3 pl. of this verb is once (Wb. 8<sup>a</sup>14) written **con · oitechatar**; similarly **con · meil** 'grinds' has pf. **cot · n-omalt** LU 9072 beside **con · ammelt** Corm. 883 (L). This seems to suggest that at one time the prep. **oss- uss-** could also be used in this way.

The use of **ro** in such compounds is rare; e.g. **con · ro-delg-**, pf. of **con · delga** 'compares'; **co[n] · runes**, pf. of **con · nessa** 'tramples' Ml. 102<sup>d</sup>5. On the other hand, **ro** appears regularly before vowels; e.g. **con · airlethar** 'consults', pf. **con · r-airlestar** 125<sup>c</sup>1, etc.

**533. 2. com.** Instead of **ro**, the compounds of several primary verbs, most of them with roots ending in *g*, infix the prep. **com** before the verbal stem; in the reduplicated preterite ( § 688 ) this usually assumes the form **coím-, cóem-**.

Thus all compounds of **orgid** 'strikes, kills'; e.g. **fris · oirg** 'injures': **fris · com-org-**; **do · imm-uirg** 'restrains': **do · im-chom-org-**; **do · fúairg** ( § 855 A ) 'crushes': **do · comorg-**. Further, **do · rig** 'strips': **do · com-rig-**, pf. **do · coím-arraig** (*-reraig*); **do · nig** 'washes': **do · com-nig-**; **fo · loing** 'sustains': **fo · com-long-**, pf. 1 sg. **fo · cóem-allag** (*-lolag*); **as · toing** 'rejects': pf. **as · cuitig** (**at · cuitig** ZCP. X. 47 § 22, XVII. 153; pass. **ad · cuiticht**).

Verbs without final *g*: **as · ren** 'pays', **do · ren** 'pays (as penalty)': **as, do · com-ren**; **for · fen** 'completes', **im · fen** 'encloses': pf. pass. **for · cuad**, subj. act. **im · cua** (*-cu-* < *com-w-*, § 830); **fo · ben** 'damages, lessens': past subj. pass. **· fochmaide** (*-m-* < *-mb-*) Ériu XII. 42 § 53: **ad · fét, in · fét** 'relates' (pl. **ad · fiadat**): pf. **ad · cu(a)id**, prototonic **· écid**, perfective subj. 1 sg. **ad · cous**, prototonic **· écius; to-air-fed-**

'drain (water)': perfective subj. pass. **do · airc[h]estar** *Laws IV*. 214, 3 (where all that remains of *com-* is *c*, cp. § 108). Occasionally **ro** replaces **com-**. Thus **do · boing** 'levies' has the forms **· to-r-bongat**, 2 sg. subj. **· to-r-bais** *ZCP*. XIII. 21, 28 f., 3 sg. **· to-r-ai-b** *Laws I*. 182, 24, etc., beside **do · cum-baig** 'he can levy' *Laws IV*. 326, 18 (see § 550), subj. pass. **· to-chmatar** (*m* < *mb*) O'Dav. 1550. Cp. further **hó · r-esarta** 'with which they have been slain' *MI*. 34<sup>b</sup>13 beside **as · com-art** 'has been slain' 36<sup>b</sup>22, and pass. **do · r-ind-nacht** *Wb*. 20<sup>d</sup>15 beside **do · é-com-nacht** 'has bestowed'. In **far · ro-chuad** 'confecta est' *ZCP*. VII. 479, beside **for · cuad** *Tur*. 49, **ro** has been added to **com** (cp. *MI*. 121<sup>c</sup>24). **534. 3.** A few simple verbs take other prepositions:

**ibid** 'drinks' (subj. **lús-** § 765) has **ess**.

**ithid** (or rather the supplementary  $\sqrt{ed-}$ ) 'eats' has **de-fo-** ( § 689, 766).

**mligid** 'milks' has **to-oss-** : pf. 1 sg. **do · ommalg**, pass. **do · omlacht** (*AU*. 732).

**sa(i)did** 'sits' and **la(i)gid** 'lies' have **de-en-** : pf. **do · essid dessid, dellig** 'has sat, lain'; perfective subj. 3 pl. **· deilset** *Laws IV*. 78, 9.

**tongid** 'swears' has **to-com-** : pf. **du · cuitig** (cp. **as · cuitig**, § 533).

4. In some common verbal concepts perfective meanings are expressed by verbal stems (some with, some without **ro**) belonging to different roots:

**berid** 'bears': **ro-uc(c)-** (weak *i*-flexion) § 759.

**do · beir** in the sense of 'brings': **to-uc(c)-** (always without **ro**); in the sense of 'gives': **to-r(o)-at(t)** . . . (i.e. *-ad-d.* . . .), present **do-rati**, prototonic **·tarti**, cp. §§ 50, 759.

**· cuirethar** and **fo · ceird** 'throws, puts': **ro-lā-** ( § 762).

**gat(a)id** 'takes away, steals': **tall-, tell-** (*to-ell-*), but cp. § 764.

**téit** 'goes' (1 sg. **tíagu**) and **do · tét** 'comes': **di-cued-** (*di-com-fed-*) and **to-di-cued-** ( §§ 769, 770). A few compounds of **téit**, however, form their perfect from the narrative tense **luid** with **ro**, e.g. **in · r-úa-laid** 'has gone in', **nicon · im-ru-ldatar** 'they have not trodden' *Tur*. 65; but even in these **ro** is attested only with the preterite.

**535.** Finally there are a number of verbs in which perfective and non-perfective forms are not distinguished, the same form being used in both senses.

(a) Verbs compounded with the preposition **ro** never take a second **ro** in perfective forms where the two **ro**'s would come together. But when such forms are preceded by a conjunct particle, verbs compounded with **ro** and another preposition divide into two classes: (1) those which prefix another **ro** to the entire compound, and (2) those which have no second **ro**. Examples: (1) **do · ro-choíni** 'despairs': pf. **do · ro-choín**, but neg. **ni-ru · de-r-choín**, similarly **as · ro-choíli** 'determines'; (2) **ad · roilli** (*· ro-slí*) 'earns': pf. 3 pl. **ad · roilliset**, neg. **ní á-rilset**; similarly **do · ro-gaib** 'commits', **do · roi-mnethar** 'forgets', **im · roi-mdethar · rui-mdethar** 'sins'. The difference between the two classes recalls that between movable and fixed **ro** ( § 527).

Collection: Sarauw, KZ. XXXVIII. 185. For **du · rurgab**, where *-r-* was no longer felt to be **ro**, see § 529.

(b) No difference is shown in any of the compounds of **gnin** 'knows' (e.g. with **ess-**, **aith-**, **en-**) <sup>1</sup>, or in those of **· ic(c)** ( § 549) such as **t-ic** 'comes', **r-ic** 'reaches', **ar · ic** 'finds', **con · ic** (*· cumuing*) 'is able', **do · ecmuing** 'happens', **for-comnucuir** 'happened' and 'has happened'; nor in **fo · lámadar** and **ar · folmathar** 'is about to', **du · futharcair** 'wishes, wills' (also used as preterite), **fo · fúair** (pret.) 'he found' ( § 763), nor, it would seem, in **fo-gab-** 'find'.

The same applies to the prototonic forms of **ad · cí** 'sees' ( § 761, but cp. § 536 ). The deuterotonic perfective forms have a different stem in pf. **ad · con-daíre** 'has seen' and pres. **ad · ro-darcar** 'can be seen' Sg. 172<sup>a</sup>2, *Laws I.* 230, 11. But in LU 6213 we find prototonic 1 sg. act. **ní · airciu** 'I cannot see' occurs (read **-chiu?** cp., however, 2 sg. fut. with the Mid.Ir. spelling **ni-m · aircecha-sa** 6098), where **air-** seems to for **ár-** (**ad-ro-**) .

The compound **ro-cí-** does not appear to be old; cp. **ni · rochim** gl. **ní · airciu** above, ipf. pass. **ro · cithea** (read **-e** ) 'it could be seen' *Laws III.* 84, 5.

<sup>1</sup> **co remi · ergnaitis** gl. *ut . . . prae-noscerent* Ml. 19<sup>b</sup>8 would be an exception if **-r-** = **ro** ; but the prep. may be **er**, cp. the noun **ērgnae** Féil. Feb. 24, or the form may be a scribal error for **·engnaitis**.

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Here also belong **ro · fitir** 'knows', **ro · clu(i)nethar** 'hears', **ro · laimethar** 'ventures', 'dares', **ad · co-ta** 'obtains', where **ro** and **co(m)** have a different function ( §§ 543, 544 ).

(c) **ro** is apparently sometimes absent after adverbial preverbs formed from adjectives ( § 384 ); e.g. **mad · génatar** 'blessed are . . .', lit. 'well have been born' Ml. 90<sup>b</sup>12; **dia n-uile · marbae-siu** 'if thou shalt have exterminated' 77<sup>a</sup>12. But in some examples **ro** is found after **caín · cetu** · ( §§ 384, 393 ), and even after **mad** · (LU 8385).

**536.** Two verbs, **ro · clu(i)nethar** and **ad · cí** , mark the narrative tense (the preterite without **ro** ) by prefixing the conjunction **co** <sup>n</sup> (literally 'so that', § 897b): **co · cúal(a)e** 'he heard', **co · n-accae** 'he saw', but only when they are not preceded by some other conjunct particle (e.g. **ní · cúal(a)e** 'he did not hear' and 'he has not heard').

### **537.** ANALYSIS OF THE **ro**-FORMS

The three principal meanings of **ro**, those numbered 1-3 in §§ 530 and 531, are all covered by OW. *ry* also. They thus represent a comparatively early development, the history of which can only be conjectured.

Used with verbs of motion, the IE. prep. *\*pro* meant 'forward, farther'; but in some languages it occasionally came to have the meaning 'up to the end of'. That this happened in Celtic is evident from the compound **ro · saig** 'reaches' beside the simplex **saigid** 'goes towards, goes with (in speech)'. Hence with other verbs the particle might well be employed to denote completed action. The same applies to the similarly used preps. **ad**, lit. 'thereto, thereunto', **com**, lit. 'together, completely', and **ess-** 'out' in **ess-ib-** .

Such particles, expressing completed action, are not suitable for use in composition with a true present. On the other hand, there is no reason why they should not be compounded with present forms when these denote action that may occur at any time, e.g. in the statement that a person is in the habit of completing a particular action. As it happens, Irish gnomic literature has preserved a few instances where **ro** and similarly used prepositions express the consuetudinal present; e.g. **do · r-airngerat nád · chomallat**, **ro · collet nád · íccat** 'they (women in general) promise what they cannot fulfil, spoil what they cannot repair' Tec. Corm., § 16, 90, 92 (**ro** in the sense of 'can' is occasionally omitted after the negative); **con · aittig** (see § 532) 'it (always) demands' Triads §§ 77, 78; **as · com-ren** 'he (always) pays' *Laws IV.* 322, 24. The same thing is found in Old Welsh also (see Loth, *RC.* XXIX. 56 ff.).

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From this the meaning 'he is able to complete the action' could have developed. It may be noted that **ro-bí** 'can be', neg. **ni-rub(a)i**, has the stem of the consuetudinal present ( § 519, 1 ), though here **ro** is added to emphasize the potential force. Presumably then the meaning 'can' originated in the present tense. In Lithuanian and Lettish the prep. *pa-* is employed in very similar fashion to give both perfective and potential force to a verb; see Endzelin, *KZ.* XLIV. 46. It has been suggested that the original use of **ro**

in clauses expressing wish and purpose was to express the idea that the desired object might be attained. But since it is precisely in the imperative and the hortatory subjunctive that **ro** is absent, the starting-point is more likely to have been provided by the potential meaning. 'Would that he could do that!' or 'would that that could happen!' is merely a more diffident way of saying 'may he do that!' or 'may that happen!'; and the use of **ro** in this sense may well have been first established in clauses expressing a wish as contrasted with clauses expressing a command. With the spread of this use, **ro** eventually acquired the general function of stressing the notion of uncertainty that attaches to the subjunctive (§ 517).

## THE VERBAL PARTICLE NO, NU

**538.** The particle **no, nu** is used only with simple verbs which are not preceded by a conjunct particle (§ 38, 2) or by **ro**. It does not modify the meaning of the verb.

1. It always precedes the ipf. ind., the secondary fut., and the past subj., which are, therefore, always conjunct in form (§ 542).

Before forms of the copula it is omitted or sometimes replaced by **ro**, see §§ 806, 809. Before other verbs it is omitted only in poetry.

2. With other verbal forms it is used:

a. To support an infix personal pronoun (§ 410 c); e.g. **car(a)it** 'they love': **no-m-charat** 'they love me'; **gegoin** 'he wounded': **no-s-gegoin** 'he wounded them'; **soír** 'deliver': **no-n-soír-ni** 'deliver us'.

For **ro** instead of **no** with the stem *bī-* see § 776.

b. Before non-relative forms to construct relative clauses, the initial of the verb being then either lenited or nasalized (§ 493, 1). Examples: **is ed no-chairigur** 'that is what I blame'; **in tain no-m-berid** 'when ye bear'.

This particle is undoubtedly the same as Mid.W. *neu*, which serves to introduce a principal clause (and has no apparent meaning). Cp. Hittite *nu*, which likewise introduces a clause.

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## NUMBER

**539.** The Irish verb has retained only two numbers, the singular and plural; dual subjects take a plural verb.

Very exceptionally a singular verb is found with a dual subject; e.g. **íarmi forid da macc** 'two boys followed' Trip. 202, 16 (see ZCP. XX. 369 ff.).

A singular collective may take a plural verb also; e.g. **ni-fitetar muntar nime** 'the community (*familia*) of Heaven do not know' Wb. 21<sup>a</sup>1. The copula sometimes agrees with the predicate instead of the subject; e.g. **is lour da preeptóir i n-æclis** 'two preachers in a church are (lit. 'is') enough' 13<sup>a</sup>9.

## PERSON AND PERSONAL ENDINGS

**540.** (a) The active and deponent flexions distinguish three persons in the singular and plural.

The 2 sg., besides denoting the person addressed, may also be used for impersonal 'one', e.g. Ml. 68<sup>a</sup>8.

(b) The passive has a special form for the 3 pl. All the other persons have the same form, which is used alone for the 3 sg. and with infix personal pronouns for the 1st and 2nd persons sg. and pl. Thus the passive forms of the present and perfect indicative of **car(a)id** 'loves' are as follows:

### PRESENT

sg. 1. **no-m-charthar**

pl. **no-n-carthar**

		<b>PRESENT</b>	
	2. <b>no-t-charthar</b>		<b>no-b-carthar</b>
	3. <b>carth (a )ir, ·carthar</b>		<b>cart (a )ir, ·cartar</b>
		<b>PERFECT</b>	
sg.	1. <b>ro-m-charad</b>		pl. <b>ro-n-carad</b>
	2. <b>ro-t-charad</b>		<b>ro-b-carad</b>
	3. <b>ro-carad</b>		<b>ro-cartha</b>

A few OW. survivals show that in Brittonic a 3 pl. pass. was once distinguished from the other persons.

(c) Simple verbs (in absolute flexion, [§ 542](#).) have special relative forms in the third person, and generally in the 1 pl.

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also, which are used in the dependent clauses described [§§ 495, 504](#). Hence the number of personal forms of the absolute flexion may in some tenses be no less than nine.**541**. The personal endings are grouped according to similarity in five main classes:

1. Pres. ind. and subj., fut., *s*-pret., the 1 sg. and the plural of the act. and depon, ipv. and the whole of the pass. ipv., the singular of the *t*-pret.
2. The 2 and 3 sg. of the act. and depon, ipv.
3. Ipf. ind., past subj., secondary fut.
4. Suffixless pret. ind. and the plural of the *t*-pret.
5. Pass. pret. ind.

The forms of the personal endings are discussed later under the various tenses.**542**. ABSOLUTE AND CONJUNCT FLEXIONIn most tenses and moods the personal endings have two forms, to which the names 'conjunct' and 'absolute' have been given by Zeuss.The conjunct flexion occurs:

1. In all verbal forms compounded with prepositions.
2. In simple verbs:
  - a. after the verbal particles **ro** ([§ 526](#) ff.) and **no** ([§ 538](#).);
  - b. after the conjunctions and particles listed in [§ 38, 2](#) under the name of conjunct particles;
  - c. in the archaic examples where the verb stands at the end of its clause ([§ 513 b](#)).

The absolute flexion is confined to simple verbs in positions other than the above-mentioned. It alone has relative forms with special endings ([§ 566 f.](#)). In the deponent and passive, absolute relative forms are always outwardly the same as the corresponding non-relative personal forms of the conjunct flexion; cp. [§§ 570, 577](#), etc.

Examples: absolute **berid** 'bears'; conjunct **do-beir** 'brings' (prototonic **·tabir**), **as-beir** 'says', **ní-beir** 'does not bear', **lasa-m-beir** 'with which he bears', etc.

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## DEUTEROTONIC AND PROTOTONIC FORMS

**543**. The verbal accent and the interchange of deuterotonic and prototonic forms in compound verbs have been described [§ 37](#) ff.

For the various forms assumed by prepositions when compounded with verbs see [§ 819](#) ff.

In a number of verbal compounds the accent remains on the same syllable throughout:

- a. Certain verbs compounded with one preposition drop the preposition wherever prototonic forms are required, i.e. after conjunct particles, in the imperative, and in replies to questions ([§ 38, 3a](#)); hence the stress invariably falls on the stem syllable. Examples: **ro-cluinethar** 'hears', **ro-fitir** 'knows' (and **ro-finnathar** 'gets to know'), **ro-laimethar** 'dares'; but negative **ní-cluinethar**, ipv. 2 sg. **cluinte**, in reply to a question 1 sg. **fetar** (*RC*. XXVI. 50). The same process is found in the alternation between **ad-ágathar** and **·ágathar** 'fears'; **atá** (*ad-tá*) and **·tá** 'is' ([§ 777](#)); pret. **fo-fúair** 'he found', pass. **fo-fríth**, and **·fúair**, **·fríth**.

In the earlier period **lam-** 'dare' could apparently be used without the preverb, cp. **laimir-sni** gl. *audemus* *Wb.* I. 15<sup>c</sup>20, pret. 3 sg. **lámair**, *Ält. ir. Dicht.* 1. 41 § 25. But also 1 sg. pres. **ru-laimur** *Wb.* I. 17<sup>c</sup>21.

- b. Other compounds avoid the shift of stress by repeating at the beginning one of their prepositions wherever deuterotonic forms are required. Thus **·tuit** (*to-tud-*) 'falls' after conjunct particles, otherwise **do-tuit** (later **du-fuit** *Thes.* II. 293, 21, as if compounded with **to** and **fo**); **·fúasna** (*fo-oss-*) 'disturbs' and **fu-fúasna**; **·imgaib**, **·imcaib** (*imm-oss?*-) 'avoids' and **imm-imgaib**.

Optionally: **·tinscan(n)a** (*to-ind-*) 'begins': **in-tinscana** beside earlier **do-inscana**; **·timchella** 'surrounds': **im-timchella** beside **do-imchella** (but also substantive **intinnscann** 'beginning' Sg., ipv. **imthimchell-su** *M1.* 28<sup>a</sup>10, etc.); **·dúthraccair** (*de-fo-*) 'wishes': **do-dúthraccair** beside **do-futharcair**.

**544.** In **ad-co-ta** 'obtains' (where **ad** represents pretonic **en**, § 842) the prep. **co(m)** appears only in the deuterotonic forms. Thus pres. **ad-cota**, pass. **ad-cotar**, pret. **ad-cotad(a)e**, pl. **ad-cotatsat**; but prototonic pres. **·éta**, pass. **·étar**, pret. **·étad(a)e**, pl. **·étatsat**, etc.; vb.n. **ét** (*é < en*).

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**545.** NON-FINITE FORMS In close association with the verb three substantival forms occur, which like all substantives are stressed on the first syllable (§ 36):

1. A verbal adjective formed from transitive verbs only, having the force of a **past participle passive** (§ 714 ff.).
2. **A verbal of necessity** (§ 717 ff.) in predicative use.
3. **A verbal noun** (§ 720 ff.).

## THE PRESENT STEM AND ITS FORMS

**546.** 1. The weak verbs, being much the more numerous, are dealt with first. According as their verbal stem ends in a or a palatal vowel (*i*) (§ 522), they are divided into:

A I. *a*-presents, A II. *i*-presents.

For examples see § 523 ff.

**547.** A III. A third class is made up of verbs with vocalic auslaut in the root syllable (hiatus verbs); in hiatus the quantity of the vowel fluctuates (§ 47). Examples **bā + ĩd** 'dies' (**·bá** *IT.* III. 53 § 98, pl. 3·**baat** *ZCP.* XIII. 374, 28); **rā + ĩd** 'rows' (**imm·rá** 'voyages'); **snā + ĩd** 'swims'; **scē + ĩd** 'vomits'; **srē + ĩd** 'throws'; **bī + ĩd** 'is wont to be' (consuetudinal pres., for flexion see § 784); **cī + ĩd** 'weeps'; **ad·cí** 'sees'; **gnī + ĩd** 'does'; **lī + ĩd** 'imputes'; **do·slí** 'deserves'; **clō + (a)id** 'subdues'; **ad·noí** 'entrusts'; **con·oí** 'guards' (also deponent **con·ō + äthar**); **sō + (a)id** 'turns'; **as·luí** (**·loí** *ZCP.* VII. 482) 'escapes'; \***do·luí** (3 pl. **di·luat**) 'looses'.

In a number of these verbs the hiatus is not original. Some have lost *-s-*; e.g. **ad·cé** (pret. pass. **ad·cess**), and probably **di·lu-** (cp. acc. pl. **slóglussu** 'indutias' *M1.* 111<sup>b</sup>19); perhaps also **bā-** (cp. **bás** 'death'). In **sō-** and **(com-)ō-**, the *ō* comes from *áu*, *aw* (they were thus originally *i*-verbs). Stems with *-ē-* seem to have dropped a following *w*. **cretid** is by origin a compound of IE.  $\sqrt{dhē}$ - (Skt. *śrad dadhāti*), but is inflected like an *i*-verb (cp., however, § 678).

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**548.** 2. The strong verbs have five separate present-stem formations.

B I. The largest class is composed of verbs whose present stem is identical with the general verbal stem (the root) except that the personal endings were originally preceded by the thematic vowel, in some persons *e*, in others *o*. Accordingly this class is characterized by the interchange of palatal and neutral quality in the final consonant of the stem, in so far as the original quality has been preserved.

There are apparently no deponents in this class; **ad-glíðathar** 'addresses' seems to have belonged originally to B II.

Examples: **berid** 'bears', **celid** 'conceals', **fedid** 'leads', **gelid** 'feeds, grazes', **melid** 'grinds', **rethid** 'runs', **techid** 'flees', **agid** 'drives', **alid** 'rears', **canid** 'sings', **cladid** 'digs', **cingid** 'steps', **dringid** 'climbs', **lingid** 'leaps', **org(a)id** **orcid** 'slays', **aingid** 'protects' (conjunct **·anich**, root *aneg-*), **rédið** 'drives, rides', **tíag(a)it** 'they go' (3 sg. **téit**, § 591), **ad-fiadat** 'they tell' (3 sg. **ad-fét**, § 592).

In this class may also be included, so far as Irish is concerned, such verbs as show a stem that was originally confined to the present but has been taken over by other tenses. Examples: **ibid** 'drinks' (pl. **ebait**), with present-stem reduplication = Skt. *píbatí* (fut. **·iba**, pret. 3 pl. **as-ibset**, etc.); **nascid** 'binds', with the present suffix **-sc-** (cp. vb.n. **naidm**, but pret. **nenaise**); further, a number of verbs with *nn* like **ad-greinn** 'persecutes' (pret. **·gegrainn**), **as-gleinn** (**·glinn** *Ml.* 70<sup>a</sup>12) 'discutit', **fo-gleinn** 'learns', **do-seinn** 'pursues', arch. **ro-geinn** 'finds room in'. Since the last verb corresponds to W. *gann-* (subj. *ganno*, inf. *genni*) and is cognate with Gk. *χανδάνειν* (fut. *χεάσομαι*), Ir. **-enn-** goes back to a primary form **-n + dn-** (cp. *KZ.* LXIII. 114 ff.). Further, since **·greinn**, for example, is paralleled by O.Slav. *grędę* 'I go, step' and Lat. *gradior*, etc., both *n*'s, before and after the *d*, were originally characteristic of the present-stem formation.

**sennid** 'plays (a musical instrument)' beside **senim** 'sound, note' (Skt. *svanati* 'sounds') has been attracted by the other **senn-**.

In **dringid**, too, = Skt. *dr + mḥati* 'fastens', the nasal was originally confined to the present. (as in B III).

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Definite traces of non-thematic flexion in the present are found only in the root *es-* 'to be' (§ 791 ff.).

**549.** B II. The second class consists of verbs in which the final consonant of the root was originally palatalized in all persons of the present stem. But there has been so much levelling of forms between this class and B I that a clear-cut distinction is often almost impossible.

Most of these are verbs that originally had the present suffix **-ĭ + \_ + e-/ĭ + \_ + o** (or according to others **-ĭ + ~/ĭ + \_ + o**); cp. Skt. *pás-ya-ti* 'sees', Lat. *capio, capis, captus*, etc. Roots with **-en-** have **-an-** (**-on-** after *m* § 80), which goes back to syllabic **-n + ̣**. But **gu(i)did** (√Ir. *ged-*) corresponds to Gk. *οσθέω*, and hence originally had a suffix **-ei + e-/ei + o-**; other verbs whose present stem is formed in this way are inflected like A II, see § 523.

The clearest examples are verbs with radical vowel *a* or *u* (from *o*); e.g. **a(i)rid** 'ploughs' (Goth. *arjan*), **da(i)mid** 'admits', **ga(i)bid** takes **ga(i)rid** 'calls', **gu(i)did** 'prays'.

To this class belong most of the strong deponents: gainithir 'is born' (Skt., *jā + ýatē*); **ro-laimethar** 'dares'; **do-moinethar** (also **·muinethar**, by analogy with **ro-cluinethar** 'hears thinks?') 'thinks', Skt. *mányatē*; **midithir** 'estimates, judges'.

Other verbs too, e.g. **nigid** 'washes', undoubtedly belong here, but the difference between them and B I verbs has been largely obliterated (cp. also § 593). It will suffice to mention two groups which have lost (by analogy with B I) the palatalization in the 1 and 3 pl. and in the First, three verbs with interchange of *a* and *e* as described § 83a:

**saidid**, **·said** 'sits', 2 sg. **saidi** (ipf. **·saiðed**, etc.); 3 pl. **sedait**, pass. **sedair**.

**laigid** 'lies', 3 pl. **con-legat** (Fianaig. p. 30, 30).

**saigid**, **·saig** 'makes for, seeks', 1 sg. **saigim**; 3 pl. **segait**, **·segat** (1 pl. **con-degam**, with *com-di-*), pass. **segair**, **·segar**.

Second, the compounds of **ic(c)-** like **ro-ic(c)** , **ricc** 'reaches, comes', **do-ic(c)** , **-tice** 'comes', **ar-ic(c)** 'finds, discovers', **con-ic(c)** 'can'. All these have 1 sg. **-ic(c)im -ic(c)u**, 2 **-ic(c)i**, pl. 1 **-ec(c)am**, 3 **-ec(c)at**, pass. **-ec(c)ar**. As prototonic of **con-ic(c)** the (archaic) form **·cum(a)ic** is rare (Ériu VII. 142 § 15, ZCP. VIII. 308, 21). The usual form **·cum(u)ing ·cumaing**, pass. **·cumungar ·cumangar**, has been modelled on **ful(a)ing** 'supports' (§ 550), since the two verbs already had identical endings in forms like pl. 1 **·cumcam**, **·fulg(g)am**, 3 **·cumcat**, **\*·fulg(g)at**. Hence also vb.n **cumang** beside **cumac(c)** and the decompounds **ad-cumaing** (beside **ad-comaic** ), **do-ecm(a)ing** 'happens', 3 pl. **do-ecmungat**, **·tecmongat**, vb.n. **tecmang**, pret. 1 pl. **-ecmaingsem** (with weak formation) Féil. Epil. 7.

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The passive of **ad-guid** 'invokes (as surety)' is **·aicdither** with unstressed stem; the palatal consonance is probably due to the influence of the vb.n. **aicde** (as opposed to **gu(i)de** ) which, like **foigde** 'begging', has the e-grade of the root (*ged-*, not *god-*).

So too, beside **bruinnid** 'springs forth, flows' (which must not be confused with the weak *i*-verb **bruinnid** 'smelts') and **do-brúinn** *Ml.* 81<sup>c</sup>14 (cp. § 45 ), 3 pl. **de-bruinnet** ZCP. VIII. 564, **do-eprannat** *Ml.* 39<sup>d</sup>2 (with *to-ess-*), the byform **do-n-eprennet**, with palatal vowel, occurs *Sg.* 209<sup>b</sup>20, and the rest of the verb is inflected as though the present stem were *brenn-*. Cp. vb.n. **bréisiu** *Corm. Add.* 180; subj. 3 sg. **do-bré** § 617 ; fut. **do-bibuir** § 667.

**550.** Certain present classes are characterised by a nonradical nasal.

*Marstrander, Observations sur les présents indo-européens à nasale infixée en Celtique ( 1924); Marie-Louise Sjoestedt, L'aspect verbal et les formations à infixé nasal en celtique ( 1925).*

B III. In a small group, inflected like B I, a nasal is infixé before the last radical consonant which is always *d* or *g*.

Cp. Lat. *ta-n-go, tetigi, tactus*; Lith. *li-m-pù, lipti* 'stick to', Skt. *li-m-pāti* 'smears' ( $\sqrt{\text{lip-}}$ ), etc.

Examples : **di-n-gid**, **for-di-n-g** 'oppresses'; **bo-n-gid**, **·boi-n-g** 'breaks, reaps'; **as-dloi-n-g** 'cleaves'; **fo-loi-n-g** 'supports'; **in-loi-n-g** 'unites, occupies'; **to-n-gid**, **·toi-n-g** 'swears'; **roi-n-did** 'reddens'.

A number of these verbs also show present forms without *n*, in some cases with a curious change of vowel. In the compound **to-aith-bong-** 'dissolve' the variation is explicable: the vb.n. **taithech** could have developed regularly from *\*t(o)-aith-bog*; it rhymes with **culmrech** 'binding' (*com-rig-*), and this may have given rise in turn to forms like 1 sg. pres. indic. **do-aithbiuch** *Sg.* 22<sup>b</sup>2 (corresponding to **con-riug** ), pass **taidbegar** beside **tathbongar** (so too in other tenses: pres. subj. pass. **to-aithbestar**, *Bürgschaft* p. 30 § 81; **taidbecti** 'enodanda' ZCP. VII. 482). Other compounds of this verb may have followed suit; e.g. **to-bong-** 'levy', 3 pl. **·toibget** *Laws* v. 254, 2, etc., 3 sg. s-subj. **·to-rai-b** ( § 533 ); so too **do-cum-baig** (**to-combaig** *H.* 3. 18) *Laws* iv. 326, 18 'he can levy is probably to be traced back to *-big* (cp. § 166 a). Other forms are more difficult to explain. Thus **as-toing** 'refuses' has vb.n. **e(i)tech** ; similarly **fre(i)tech** (with *frith-*), **díthech** (with *dí-*), and **é(i)thech** 'perjury'; the source of the *-e-* in these forms is obscure, unless it be the effect of the hitherto unascertained prefix of the last word. In addition, we find pres. 3 sg. **·eitig** *Laws* v. 76, 11 (cp. *ibid.* 238, 20 ), pass. **·eitegar** (*sic leg.*) 119, 3; cp. perfect **as-cuitig**, **du-cuitig**, § 533 f. Note further **a fo-choim-lich** 'what it can support' *Bürgschaft* p. 26 § 72 beside **·fochomlaing** *Laws* iv. 314y

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(pr. subj. 3 pl. **fo-da-comilset** *Laws* III. 18, 20 beside 1 pl. **·fochomolsam** *Wb.* 14<sup>b</sup>15). Apparently the entire group of verbs with *-ong-* (orig. *-u-n-g-*) have such by-forms in *-ig-* when the stem is unstressed.

On the other hand, compounds of **dingid** with *ar* or *com* + *uss* have forms like **ar-utaing** 'refreshes', **con-utung** **·utuinc**, 'builds, decorates', pass. **ar-utangar**, etc., with non-palatal *-t-* (= *-d-*) by analogy with **tong-** (cp.). vb.n. **cumtach**, like **cotach** 'covenant'.

**551.** B IV. The present stem ends in a non-radical *n* which was originally always neutral in quality.

In this class the formation is identical with that of Greek verbs such as *δάμν[α]μι, -νημι*, except that the short vowel of the plural (*δάμνα + -μεν*) has been taken over by the singular also ( § 594).

Examples: **ben(a)id** 'hews, cuts' (Mid. Bret. 1 sg. *benaff*, Lat. *per-fines* 'perfringas'); **cren(a)id** 'buys' (Skt. *krīnā + tī*); **fen-** in **im-fen** 'encloses', **ar-fen** 'shuts off', **ad-fen** 'requisites', **for-fen** 'completes'; **glen(a)id** 'sticks fast' (W. 1 sg. *glynaf*); **len(a)id** 'follows, adheres to' (Skt. *linā + tī*); **tuidmen** 'makes fast' (*to-dí-men-*, but wrongly resolved in deuterotonic **do-uidmen**, cp. Skt. *minō + tī* 'fixes'); **ren(a)id** 'sells'; **tlen(a)id** 'takes away' (= Lat. *tollo*, < \**tolnō* ?); **ern(a)id, -ern(n)** 'bestows'; **sern(a)id, -sern(n)** gl. *serere* (*sertus*), *sternere* (cp. W. *sarnu* 'to strew, pave'), and *studere*. **denait** 'they suck' Trip. 142, 13 probably also belongs to this class.

In most of the forms with *-en-* the *e* goes back to IE. *i*; *-le-* in *tlento* I + . ( § 215 ). So too **ren-** has *re-* < *r<sub>1</sub>*, if both it and **ern(a)id** go back to the same original verb (Gk. *πέρνημι*), cp. ZCP. XVI. 273; but it is inflected like verbs with radical *i* ( § 756 ), doubtless attracted by **cren(a)id**. In **sern(a)id** various roots, IE. *ser-*, *ster-*, also *sper-*(?), appear to have fallen together; its vocalism has been taken over from the subj. **-sera**, as has that of **ern(a)id** from **-era**.

Furthermore, compounds of the substantive verb tend to model themselves on those of **ben(a)id**, with the result that some forms of the present have the initial *b* of the other tense stems ( § 783 ). Examples: **t-es-banat** 'they are lacking' beside **t-es-tat**, 3 sg. **t-es-ta, do-es-ta**; **con-cé?it-bani** 'thou consentest'; **ocu-ben** 'touches'; **fris-ben** 'heals', **du-fór-ban** 'peruenit'.

Similarly **do-adbanar** 'is shown' Corm. 756, **do-n-adbantar** *Thes.* II. 4, 33, for earlier **do-ad-badar** (*to-ad-fēd-*).

Collection: KZ. XXXI. 84 ff.

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**552.** B V. In a few verbs, apparently inflected like B IV, it is clear from the preceding vowel that the *a*-quality was not original.

Thus **ara-chron** (see § 423.) 'decays', pl. **ara-chronat**; **ad-gnin** 'knows' and other compounds of **-gnin-**, e.g. 1 sg. **asa-gninaim** *Sc.* 146<sup>b</sup>16; further, **do-lin** 'flows', pl. **-linat**, although the weak perfect **do-ru-lin** occurs as early as *Ml.* 64<sup>c</sup>18 (vb.n. **tuile**). Deponent: **ro-finnadar** 'gets to know' ( § 519, 1) beside the preterite-present **ro-fitir** 'knows, knew'.

Inflected wholly like B I are: **marn(a)id, -mairn** 'betrays' and **at-baill** ( § 423.) 'dies', pl. **at-ballat** (with *ll* < *ln*). In the last verb single *l*, taken over from the subj. **at-bela**, occasionally appears in the indicative, e.g. 3, sg. prototonic **-epil**.

**to-clu(i)nethar** 'hears', pl. **-cluinetar**, has palatal *n*.

This class probably started from verbs which contained the present suffix sg. *-neu-*, pl. *-nu-*, but took over *-nu-* in the singular also. If the Gaulish verbal form *linot* (Dottin no. 44) belongs here, *-no-* may perhaps = *-nō-* < *-nou-*, IE. *-neu-*. For the verb 'to hear', Skt. *śn + nu-* would lead one to expect a stem \**klinu-* in Celtic; probably this stem was the model for **gnin(u)-** and was also responsible for the transformation of the earlier present stem \**wi-n-d* (Skt. *vindāti* 'finds') into \**windnu-*, Ir. **finn-** (cp. also W. *gwinn* 'I know'). On the other hand, \**klinu-* itself did not survive; instead, the present of this verb took over the root *clu-* from other forms and adopted the flexion of the deponents in § 549 (see KZ. LI. 58, LXIII. 115 n.4). Obviously there has been confusion between the *na-* and *nu-* classes: with **ara-chron** compare Skt. *śr + nā + tī* 'breaks'.

# CONFUSION BETWEEN THE VARIOUS PRESENT CLASSES

**553.** The boundaries of the above eight stem formations are very easily and very often obscured.

(a) Distinctions characteristic of a particular class are lost by mutation of quality in consonants ( § 158 ff.). For example, neutral quality in the last consonant of the stem is characteristic of A I and B IV, but this is often changed to palatal quality through syncope of a preceding front vowel. Thus the passive of **fo·lína** 'fills up', **fo·líntar**, has regular neutral *n*; but in the prototonic form the loss of *i* makes the group *ln* palatal, and the resulting form **·failnither** has the appearance of A II. Similarly 3 pl. pass. **·bentar** (B IV), but with *to-fó-*: **du·fuibniter**, and so on.

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Conversely, palatal consonance (especially in A II and B II) is very often changed to neutral. For example, **adágathar** 'fears' looks as though it belonged to the *a*-flexion; but syncopated forms such as 3 pl. pass. **·áigder** show that it is an *i*-verb, hence that the *g* was formerly palatal throughout and has only become neutral through the influence of the preceding *ā* ( § 166 a). So too **fo·daimet** 'they endure' has prototonic **·fodmat**. The verb **gaibim** 'I take', when compounded with *to-ro-* and *fo-ad-*, gives regularly **do·rogbaim**, **\*fo·ácbaim**; from such forms neutral *b* can spread to other compounds, e.g. **imm·imgabaim** 'I avoid' *Sg.* 50<sup>b</sup>8, as though it were an *a*-verb, ipv. **imma·n·imcab** *Wb.* 30<sup>d</sup>20 beside **imcaib** 28<sup>c</sup>24, etc.

**554.** (b) In other ways, too, confusion may arise between the classes. That B II is no longer rigorously differentiated from B I has already been noted ( § 549 ). But B IV and B I have also influenced one another. Instead of **·beir**, conjunct 3 sg. of **berid** (B I), there are frequent instances of **·ber** (with *-r<sup>a</sup>*) by analogy with **·ben** (B IV); so too ipf. **·berad** instead of **·bered**. Conversely, the verb **for·fen-** 'complete' (B IV) has 1 sg. **for·fiun**, formed like B I (**·biur**). **gonaid** 'wounds, slays', which otherwise is inflected as an *a*-verb in the present ( § 522 ), has the strong 3 sg. conjunct **·goin**, e.g. LU 5564, Zu ir. Hss. I. 57, 12, pass. **·gonar** *Fianaig.* 24, 16. For **do·inscan(n)a** 'begins' (*a*-verb) *Wb.* 17<sup>c</sup>8 has **do·inscann·som** (if the text is correct).

Again: **car(a)im** 'I love' (A I) and **ga(i)rim** 'I call' (B III) differ in the quality of the *-r-*. But this difference disappears in the subjunctive stems **car(a)-** and **gara-** ( § 597 ), and hence an indicative form **cairim** occasionally appears ( *Wb.* 23<sup>c</sup>12). Beside **maraiþ** 'remains' *Sg.* 203 ( *Thes.* II. xxii) we find the conjunct form **·mair** *Wb.* 3<sup>c</sup>15. Beside regular **do·aith·minedar** (B II) 'reminds' *Ml.* 136<sup>c</sup>11 we find **du·n·aithmenadar** and pass. **for·aithmentar** 'is mentioned' *Ml.* 52, with the flexion of A II and a vocalism that properly belongs to the subjunctive only.

In general the following paradigms give only regular forms which are characteristic of their class.

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## 1. FLEXION OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE A. ACTIVE

**555.** Paradigms of the larger stem classes, A I and II and B I, are given first, the remaining classes being discussed subsequently ( § 589 ff.). The examples selected are: A I **mór(a)id** 'magnifies'; A II **lécid** 'leaves, lets go'; B I (and III) **berid** 'bears' and, for forms with unstressed stem, the compound **·tabair** 'gives, brings' (deuterotonic **do·beir**).

**556.** ABSOLUTE FLEXION

	<b>A I</b>	<b>A II</b>
sg.	1 <b>mór (a)im (m) (marbu, gono)</b>	<b>lécim (m) (áiliu, tibu)</b>
	2 <b>mór (a)i</b>	<b>léci</b>
	3 <b>mór (a)id - (a)ith</b>	<b>lécid -ith</b>
rel.	<b>móras (s)</b>	<b>léces (s)</b>
pl.	1 <b>mórm (a)i (predchimmi)</b>	<b>léicmi</b>
rel.	<b>mórm (a)e (predchimme)</b>	<b>léicme</b>
	2 <b>mórth (a)e</b>	<b>léicthe</b>
	3 <b>mór (a)it</b>	<b>lécit</b>
rel.	<b>mórd (a)e mórt (a)e, móraite -ate -ite</b>	<b>léicde léicte, léicte</b>

#### 557. CONJUNCT FLEXION

sg.	1 <b>·mór (a)im (m) (·caru)</b>	<b>·lécim (m) (·ráidiu, ·bágu)</b>
	2 <b>·mór (a)i</b>	<b>·léci</b>
	3 <b>·móra (doófoirnde § 99)</b>	<b>·léci</b>
pl.	1 <b>·móram</b>	<b>·lécem</b>
	2 <b>·mór (a)id - (a)ith</b>	<b>·lécid -ith</b>
	3 <b>·mórat</b>	<b>·lécet</b>

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	<b>ABSOLUTE</b>	<b>BI</b>	<b>CONJUNCT</b>	
			<b>Stressed</b>	<b>Enclitic</b>
sg.	1 <b>biru (orgo, melim)</b>		<b>·biur (·canim)</b>	<b>·tabur</b>
	2 <b>biri</b>		<b>·bir (·eim, ·rethi)</b>	<b>·tab (a)ir</b>
	3 <b>berid -ith</b>		<b>·beir (·ber § 554)</b>	<b>·tab (a)ir</b>
rel.	<b>beres (s)</b>			
pl.	1 <b>berm (a)i</b>		<b>·beram</b>	<b>·taibrem</b>
rel.	<b>berm (a)e</b>			
	2 <b>*beirthe</b>		<b>·berid -ith</b>	<b>·taibrid -ith</b>
	3 <b>ber (a)it</b>		<b>·berat</b>	<b>·taibret</b>
rel.	<b>berd (a)e bert (a)e</b>			

#### THE PERSONAL ENDINGS

Windisch, Kuhns Beitr. VIII. 450 f.; Zimmer, KZ. XXX. 119 f., Thurneysen, *ibid.* XXXVII. 115 ff.; Meillet, RC. XXVIII. 369 ff.; Borgström, Hermathena XXIII. 54 ff. Generally: Brugmann, Grundriss II<sup>2</sup> 3, p. 583 ff.

**559.** The earlier form of some of the personal endings is difficult to ascertain. First, because in Irish and Britannic the vowels of the old final syllables have mostly been lost, and the number of corresponding verbal forms hitherto provided by Gaulish inscriptions is very small. Secondly, because the exact form and distribution of the endings in primitive Indo-European are still uncertain, so that attempts to reconstruct the Irish forms are devoid of any sure basis, there being too many possibilities to choose from.

It will be best to begin with the conjunct flexion of B I, where the source of the endings is fairly clear. Some of them can be traced back to the Indo-European secondary endings, thus 3 sg. **·beir** to *\*bheret*, Skt. ipf. *á-bharat*, ep. Gk.  $\square$ -φερε. The 3 pl. still has *-ot* in archaic forms: **tu-thēgot** 'which come', **tu-esmot** 'which shed Cam. 38b (for later **do-thíagat. do-esmet**), **ni-angot** 'they do not protect' ZCP. VIII. 330, 9. These forms point to *-ont*, cp. Gk.  $\square$ -φερον; Irish *-t* is here, as in all 3 pl. forms, to be pronounced *d*.

2 pl. *-ith, -id* presumably comes from *ete*; cp. Gk. φέρετε, εὐφέρετε, O.Slav. *berete*, Lat. ipv. *legite* (from *-ete*).

1 pl. *-am* (arch. **·melom** *ZCP*. XVII. 195 note 20) is never written with *-mm* before the Middle Irish period. In the Féilire it rhymes four times with a lenited, and only once with a geminated sound (Prol. 134, Epil. 87, 98, 214, as against Oct. 11). Hence it seems that lenited *-m* was gradually replaced by unlenited, probably through the influence of the absolute ending *-mmi*. The vowel before the *m* was *o*, as in Gk.  $\varphi \acute{\epsilon}\rho\text{-}o\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$  (Dor.  $-\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ ); and so was the lost

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vowel of the ending, as is shown by the neutral quality of *m* (cp. Lat. *-mus* < *-mos*). There is no means of discovering whether the vowel was followed by a consonant, such as *s*; cp. the Sanskrit primary ending *-mah* (-h < -s), secondary ending *-ma*. It is possible that Gaulish *..uorauimo* and *..priauimo* (Dottin, no. 52) are 1st plural forms.

**560.** The 2 sg. **·bir** points to an ending with *i*. This can be traced to the secondary ending **-es**, if we assume that **-es** became **-is** (§ 78.) ; cp. Gk.  $\square\text{-}\varphi \epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma$ , Lat. *legis* (from *-es*), etc. Others suggest that it represents original *-ei*, which they take to have been a primary ending on the evidence of Lith. *ved-i* 'thou leadest' (reflexive *vedíe-s*) and Gk.  $\varphi \acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  (where *-s* is secondary); but this ending is never found together with a 3 sg. ending *-t*. Undoubtedly the ending **-aí** in *ataí* (§ 778.) and **imme-raí** (§ 590.) could be more easily derived from  $\bar{a} + \tilde{i}$  than from  $\bar{a} + \tilde{i} + is$ ; but since the absolute and conjunct flexions are no longer distinguished in verbal stems in *-a*, it is possible that **-aí** has been taken over from the absolute forms. In B I, beside the forms without an ending like **·bir**, **·eim**, **ad-greinn** (with *-e-* instead of *-i-* by analogy with other persons), **·téig**, **do-adbit**, we find forms with *-i* like **·rethi**, **·orcai** (**·oirei**), **·eclainni** *Ml.* 64<sup>a</sup>4, **ara-fóemi** *Thes.* 11. 255, 14. These are probably due, not so much to the influence of the absolute flexion, as to confusion with B II (§ 593.), where the ending had remained after *-i* +  $\bar{a}$ .

**561.** In the form of the 1 sg. that shows a clear difference from the absolute flexion-- **·biur**, **·eun**, **·dlung**, **fo-lung**, etc.--the final consonant has *u*-quality, pointing to a lost *-u*. This *-u* is preserved after *i* (§ 94.), and accordingly appears in A II, in hiatus-verbs in  $\bar{i} + \tilde{i}$  (A III), and in B II: **·ráidiu**, **do-gníu**, **·guidiu**, etc. It obviously goes back to  $\bar{o}$ , the Indo-European thematic *primary* ending (cp. Lat. *ferō*, Gk.  $\varphi \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$ ), which was confined to the pres. ind., the pres. subj., and the future; in Irish (and Britannic), however, it has spread to the preterite also (§§ 674, 685.), where it replaced the earlier secondary ending.

**562.** A number of the endings in the **absolute** flexion can be explained as having come from the primary personal endings, which differ from the secondary endings by an added *-i*. Thus 3 sg. *-ith*, *-id* could go back to *-e-ti* (Skt. *bhárati*, cp. Dor.  $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\tau\iota$ ), and 3 pl. *-(a)it to -o-nti* (Dor.  $\varphi \acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota$ , cp. Bret. *kanont*). Further, 2 sg. *-i* is not incompatible with an original *-e-si* (Skt. *bhárasī*).

In 1 sg. *-i-m(m)* and 1 pl. *-m(m)i* the *m* is often written double after vowels, and hence is probably always unlenited. The former undoubtedly corresponds to the non-thematic primary ending IE. *-mi* (Gk.  $-\mu\iota$ ); its startingpoint is, therefore, to be sought mainly in B IV and V. The 1 pl. may go back to *-mesi*, thus corresponding to Skt. *-masī* (the by-form of *-mah*). The doubling of *m* is probably due to the influence of the copula, where 1 sg. *\*es-mi*, pl.

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*\*es-mesi* (?) gave *\*emmi*, *\*emmesi*, whence Ir. **am(m)** with loss of palatalization (\* 168.), pl. **ammi**. In Britannic *-m-* in the 1 sg. remained single, and was therefore lenited; here *-am* *-av*, (from  $\check{a}\text{-}mi$ ) was generalized as the ending of the 1 sg. present. In Irish, *-(i)m(m)* is not confined to the absolute flexion: it often occurs in the conjunct also, not merely in those verbs where the byform with *-u* has by regular phonetic development become identical in both absolute and conjunct, but also in B I; e.g. **for-canim** *Wb.* 8<sup>c</sup>3. **do-aur-chanaimm** *Sg.* 60<sup>b</sup>12, beside **for-cun** *Wb.* 10<sup>a</sup>13. The form in *-iu* (absolute and conjunct) appears mainly in verse, where it is found even in verbs whose present stem does not contain *-i-*; e.g. **cingiu** 'I step' (otherwise B I) *FM.* 732; **nád-athgniniu** 'whom I do not know' (otherwise B V) *Liadain and Cuirithir* p. 16, 4.

**563.** The 2 pl. in *-the* (*-de*) happens to be but rarely attested in the pres. ind.: **saigthe** *Fél.* Prol. 162, **fercaigthe-si** *Ml.* 20<sup>b</sup>13 (deponent); but it is often found in the subjunctive and future: **sáraigthe**, **sulbairichthe**. **be(i)the** **bede**, **comallaide**, **céste**; **folnibthe**, **techtfaide**, **gigeste**; hence the Old

Irish form is not in doubt. It may point to earlier *-tēs*, but no corresponding primary ending is found in cognate languages; most of these do not distinguish a primary and secondary ending in the 2 pl. (Skt. has primary *-tha*, secondary *-ta*). Latin *-tis* goes back to *-tes* with short *-e*.

The OHG. 1 pl. pres. in *-mēs* bears a certain resemblance to *\*-tēs*. If Lith. *-te* (with reflexive, *-tė-s*) has been correctly traced to *-tē*, Ir. *-the* might represent an expanded form of this ending.

**564.** A further problem is presented by 1 sg. **biru, tíagu, tungu tongu** (also *-o*, particularly after *-o-* in the stem syllable: **orgo** ZCP. XIII. 106, cp. § 101), as opposed to conjunct **·blur**, etc., which, as already noted, has itself an original primary ending. Here the absolute forms can only be explained by assuming that some element, doubtless a consonant, has been dropped after *-u*, earlier *-ū* (< *-ō*). The same thing occurs in the *ā*-subjunctive (§ 600): beside conjunct **·ber**, which has developed regularly from *\*bherām*, *\*beran*, we find the absolute form **bera**, where the retained ending also suggests that some fresh element (*-s*?) had been added.

**565.** The above facts have led Pedersen (§ 602 f.) to reject the view that the difference between absolute and conjunct flexion is connected with the interchange of primary and secondary endings in Indo-European. He suggests instead that, just as the relative 3 sg. of the copula **as(s)** comes from the form *\*es-t* (with secondary ending) + a relative particle, so too absolute *is(s)* contains the same form *\*est* (not *\*esti*) with the addition of the subject pronoun *\*is* 'he' (cp. Lat. *is*); and the same applies to all 3 sg. forms in *-th<sup>i</sup>*, *-d<sup>i</sup>*, e.g. **berith, berid** from *\*bheret is, subj. beraid* from *\*bherāt is, etc.* *The subject pronoun had been added--to some extent proleptically--wherever the verb stood at the head of a non-relative clause, except in the imperative,*

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which does not distinguish absolute and conjunct. It is true that a final *-s* would well explain the absence of lenition after the copula *is(s)*, despite its close connexion with the following word, whose initial should normally have been lenited after a basic form *\*esti*. Pedersen's suggestion might seem to derive further support from the rule that where (in archaic language) a simple verb does not stand at the head of its clause it has the conjunct flexion (§ 513). But since compounds in similar position have prototonic forms, the explanation of this may be rather that the preceding parts of the clause act as a preverb requiring conjunct flexion and prototonic forms.

Pedersen draws the further conclusion that the other absolute endings are likewise due to the addition of the appropriate personal pronouns. But this is contradicted by the form of the endings themselves, which in no way resemble the Irish or the Indo-European personal pronouns (e.g. **biru, biri, berm(re)i, beirthe**). The forms that result from combining Irish verbal forms with affixed subject pronouns are seen in the present tense of the copula (§ 792). On the other hand, certain absolute endings could be well explained by assuming that *-s* alone, not *-is*, has been affixed; thus 1 sg. **biru, bera**, and perhaps the 2 pl. in *-the*. As for the other endings, it is impossible to decide whether they once had final *-s* or not; but the absence of lenition after the copula 3 pl. **it**, as after the singular, suggests that the 3 pl. ending also had *-s*. It may be taken for granted that the gemination after preverbs goes back to the same element (*s*, whence *ś*), which was affixed to the first word of the clause, whether that word was a verb or not. Its use in this position may have been assisted by the gemination after *nī* + 'not', which presumably had a different origin (§ 243, 2).

At all events, it is open to question whether Pedersen is right in analysing **is(s)** and **berid** as *\*est-is* and *\*bheret-is*, or whether the division should not be rather into *\*esti-s*, *\*bhereti-s*, so that the absolute endings would still be based on the Indo-European primary endings. On the other hand, a syllabic form of the affix, though more likely *es* than *is*, is perhaps indicated by pret. pass. absolute **breth(a)e** beside conjunct **·breth** (§ 712), if the first form is based on the masculine nom. sg. *-tos* (so too the active 2 pl. *-the* could go back to *-te-es*). That all absolute forms once had *-s* is not certain. In the singular of the suffixless preterite, for example, where the same forms are used for absolute and conjunct (§ 698), the absolute form may have lost *-s*, and this is perhaps suggested by the gemination after **ba** 'it was' (§ 242, 1). On the other hand, it seems improbable that a final *-s* was formerly present in all the absolute personal endings in *-r* (deponent, passive, preterite plural). It is uncertain, though not impossible, that the *s*-element goes back to the nom. sg. of a pronoun of the third person which came to be used as a petrified particle to open a clause. In connexion with the absolute endings, therefore, much remains doubtful.

**566.** Among the **relative** endings, the 1 pl. *-m(m)e* is consistently distinguished from non-relative *-m(m)i* in *Wb.* only. In *MI.* there are some instances of *-m(m)i* in relative clauses also; e.g. **in tan m-*bímmi*** 'when we are' 15<sup>a</sup>4 (see Pedersen, KZ. XXXV. 376).

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In the 3 pl. the vowel before *-te* should have remained only when it stood in the old third syllable, e.g. in **predchite**. But the influence of the nonrelative form in *-it*, *-ait* has caused the vowel to be frequently retained in the second syllable also; e.g. **techtaite** Sg. 71<sup>b</sup>3 (**techtaid** 'possesses') beside **techte** (for *techt'de*) *Wb.* 2<sup>c</sup>11; **sluindite** Sg. 76<sup>b</sup>5 (**sluindid** 'designates') beside **sluinde** (for *sluind'de*) *MI.* 139<sup>a</sup>6. For the spellings **retae**, **rethae** (**rethid** 'runs'), see § 137.

In later sources *-mae*, *-tae* *-dae* are also written *-ma*, *-ta* *-da* (§ 99).

**567.** In the relative endings *-me*, *-te* a relative particle has coalesced with the final of the verbal form; cp. Gaul. *dugiiontīo* (§ 509). In the 3 sg. pres. ind. *-e* is found only in the irregular verb **téte** 'who goes' (§ 769) and in **file** (§ 780); but it is the regular ending of the *t*-preterite (**berte**, § 684) and the suffixless preterite (**luide**, **giulæ**, § 698), and may also be contained in the relative pret. pass. **breth(a)e** (§ 712 f.). On the other hand, where the absolute 3 sg. ends in *-d'* (*-th'*), viz. in the pres. ind., the *ā*-subj., and some of the future formations (§§ 638, 646 ff., 653, 656), the relative form ends in *-s(s)*; e.g. **beres**, subj. **beras**, fut. **béras**, etc. Sarauw (Irske Studier, § 111) offers the ingenious explanation that *beres* has been formed to correspond to 3 pl. **berte** by analogy with the copula, where sg. **as(s)** (from *\*est..*) corresponds to pl. **ata** (pretonic for *\*ate* < *\*enti..*). It may be objected that monosyllabic *as* seems to go back to the conjunct form *\*est* + relative particle, whereas dissyllabic **ata** looks as if it were based on the absolute form; but Pedersen (§ 546) disposes of this difficulty by assuming that originally in those relative clauses where the relative particle represents the subject (as it invariably does with the copula), the verb was always put in the singular, and that the plural forms accordingly belong to a later stratum of formation. The distinction found in the copula between relative and non-relative 3 sg., the one with palatal, the other with neutral *-s(s)*, appears again in the *s*-preterite (**\*sóer(a)is** : **sóeras**, § 674) and in the *s*-subjunctive (**téis** : **tías**, § 620).

**568.** In A 1 the retention of *-a* in the 3 sg. conjunct points to earlier *-āt* (cp. stressed **·tá** § 778). That the *a* was formerly long in the absolute form also is suggested by Britannic forms such as Mid.W. *llwychwawt* 'shines', O.Bret. *fleriot* 'redolet'. In the other persons the Irish forms afford no information about the earlier quantity; nor do they reveal whether *ā* + *̄* had contracted with a following vowel, or whether, on the model of the non-thematic verbs (Gk.  $\Pi\sigma\tau\eta\text{-}\zeta$ ,  $\Pi\sigma\tau\eta\text{-}\sigma\iota$ ), the personal endings (or some of them) were added directly to the *ā* + *̄*. In the plural, verbs with stressed *a* have disyllabic forms: *·taam*, *·taid*, *·taat*; but whether verbs with suffixed *a* formerly had the same inflexion is uncertain; perhaps Gaul. *bicartaont* (Dottin no. 52) is a 3 pl. of this kind. It is usually taken for granted that in the open forms *i* + *̄* originally stood between the *a* and the thematic vowel; but the possibility that the latter was added directly to the *a* must also be reckoned with. Forms like OW. *istlinnit* = O.Ir. **sluindid** 'designates' (conjunct **·sluindi**) suggest that in A II also there were forms with a long vowel, 3 3 sg. conjunct *-it*; but in other Britannic forms,

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such as Mid.W. *ni wnëyd* 'does not', the ending goes back to *-ii* + (*et*), which would likewise give *-i* in Irish. The 3 pl. **·léc-et** may correspond to forms like Mid.W. *dywed-ynt* (from *-int*) 'they will say', but the Irish ending could equally well come from *-iont*. Accordingly there may have been confusion between different formations. Cp. also the flexion of **biid** (§ 784) and **do·gní** (§ 589).

In the 1 and 2 sg. there is no difference between absolute and conjunct forms in A I and II. In the *i*-verbs this identity is the result of normal phonetic development. In the *a*-verbs it is doubtful whether the 2 sg. ending *-(a)i* represents the regular shortening of *-aí* (cp. **·taí**, **·raí** § 590), for in the *a*-subjunctive, which doubtless had the same ending, we find *-(a)e*. If *-(a)e* represents the normal development, A I must have taken over *-i* from the other stem classes for the purpose of differentiating the indicative from the subjunctive; the same applies to *-(a)i* in B IV (§ 594). For a different explanation, see Pokorny ZCP. XII. 427 ff.

## B. DEPONENT

**569.** In the absolute flexion deponent forms are outnumbered by active by-forms. Of the *a*-deponents, for example, apart from the 2 sg. **follaithar** 'thou rulest' *Ml.* 82<sup>d</sup>5, only relative forms are found with deponent flexion; e.g. 3 sg. *labrathar* 'who speaks', pl. **1 Iabram(m)ar**, **3 labratar**. Hence a complete paradigm is given only for the more numerous *i*class (**su(i)digidir** 'places'). To this is added (§ 571) a set of attested forms illustrating the conjunct flexion of A I, and a conjunct paradigm of **(do) · moinethar** (**·moinethar** *Ml.*) 'thinks for B II.

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	<b>(midiur, B II)</b>	<b>·suidigur</b> ( <b>·cuiur</b> )
2	<b>suidigther</b>	<b>·suidigther</b> ( <b>do ·mmeiccither,</b> <b>·erissider</b> )
3	<b>suidigidir</b> ( <b>midithir, B II</b> )	<b>·suidigedar</b> ( <b>·airlethar</b> )
rel.	<b>suidigedar</b> ( <b>airlethar</b> )	
pl. 1	<b>suidigmir</b>	<b>·suidigmer</b> ( <b>·airlemmar</b> )
rel.	<b>suidigmer</b>	
2	<b>suidigthe</b>	<b>·suidigid, -ith</b>
3	<b>suidigitir</b>	<b>·suidigetar, -eddar</b>
rel.	<b>suidigetar -eddar</b>	

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	A I (CONJUNCT)	B II (CONJUNCT)
sg. 1	<b>·molor</b> 'I praise'	<b>·moiniur</b> ( <b>ro·laumur</b> )
2	<b>·labrithar</b> 'thou speakest'	<b>·mointer</b> (§ 139)
3	<b>·labrathar, ·moladar</b>	<b>·moinethar</b> (enclit. <b>-minedar,</b> <b>-menadar</b> , § 554).
pl. 1	<b>·comalnammar</b> 'we fulfil'	<b>·moinemmar</b>
2	<b>·comalnid</b>	<b>*·moinid, -ith</b>
3	<b>·labratar</b>	<b>·moinetar</b>

For the interchange, of *th* and *d* (δ) in the endings, see § 129.

### THE DEPONENT PERSONAL ENDINGS

**572.** Endings characterized by *r* in the middle voice (to which the Irish deponent corresponds) and the passive are found not only in Celtic but also in the Italic dialects, as well as in Tocharian and Hittite, apart from traces in lesser known languages such as Phrygian. But it is evident that originally these endings did not occur in all the persons (as in Tocharian, except for the 2 pl. ipv.). In the present indicative of Hittite the *r*-ending (*-ri*) is universal only in the 1 sg. ; in the third person (sg. and pl.) it is optional, in the second (sg. and pl.) rare. Hence the absence of forms with *-r* in the 2 pl. of both Irish and Latin is probably not accidental; in Irish the 2 pl. deponent has the same form as the active.

In the 1 and 2 sg. the absolute and conjunct forms are identical. Whether they were always so, or whether a former difference between them has been levelled out, it is impossible to determine.

**573.** 1 sg. *-ur* (also *-or*, §§ 101, 102, 9) goes back to the same basic form *-ōr* as Latin *-or* (*sequor, gradior*).

**574.** 2 sg. The ending *-ther* (*-der*) is doubtless connected with the 2 sg. ipv. in *-the* (*-de*) (§ 584). Possibly *-r* has been added in the indicative and subjunctive by analogy with the other persons, and is not part of the original 2 sg. ending. If so, *the* *-the* may go back to *\*-thēs* and thus correspond to the Sanskrit middle secondary ending *-thāh*, provided the *ā* here has been correctly traced to original *ē* (Wackernagel, KZ. XXX. 307).

**575.** 3 sg. absolute *-thir -dir*, pl. *-tir*; conjunct *-thar -dar*, pl. *-tar*. It is characteristic of these forms that the vowel before *th* (*d*), *t* is never

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elided. From this, as well as from the retention of *st* in the *s*-preterite, and the *s*-subjunctive in *-star* (§§ 675, 621), it follows that in these endings *t* and *r* formerly stood side by side, and that *r* was followed by a vowel, palatal in the absolute, neutral in the conjunct (see § 112). It has been assumed, doubtless correctly, that the conjunct forms go back to *-tro*, *-ntro*, and have arisen from a combination of the middle secondary endings *-to*, *-nto* (Gk. *-το*, *-ντο*) with an *r*-ending (although no conclusion as to the quality of the lost final vowel can be drawn from **du-fuisledor** 'slips' Thes. II. 24, 34 beside **du-fuisledar** *Ml.* 30°10). If so, the starting-point was probably the 3 pl. Here, beside *-nto*, there was an ending *-ro* (Skt. ipf. *á-duh-ra*, KZ. XLI. 311), but the *r* of this ending did not stand in any close relation to the *-r* of the first person and of the passive; for *-ro* was the middle form corresponding to an active 3 pl. in *-r*. The union of *-nto* and *-ro* could have given *-ntro*, and a singular ending *-tro* could have been formed to correspond to it. It is doubtful if there are any parallel formations in other languages, though Italic passive endings such as Osc. *sakara-ter* 'sacratur', Marrucianian *feren-ter* 'feruntur' could have come from *-tro*, *-ntro*. In the relative form of the third person (sg. and pl.) a relative particle may have fused with the *-o*.

There are two possible explanations of the palatalisation of the absolute endings *-thir*, *-tir*. It may be traced to the middle primary endings with final diphthong (Gk. *-ται*, *-νται*, beside 3 pl. Skt. *-rē* < *-rai*, e.g. *duh-rē* + *ḡ*); in Celtic this diphthong would have become *-ī*. This explanation would exclude the possibility that the absolute forms at any time contained *-s* (cp. § 565). Alternatively, the palatal quality may have been taken over from the active forms.

**576.** 1 pl. *-mir* and *-mar* (after palatal consonants *-mer*). The *m* is generally written double after vowels, and hence was unlenited; this is doubtless to be explained by attraction to the absolute ending of the active. The vowel before *m* often remains unelided even when it stands in the second syllable (e.g. **·moinemmar** in the paradigm), presumably owing to the influence of the 3 pl. in *-etar*, *-atar*; but it is not consistently retained as in the 3 pl. form.

The conjunct ending is found with the archaic spelling *-mor* in **fris-brudemor ní-dergemor** gl. *aporiamur*, *non destituimur* *Wb.* I. 15<sup>b</sup>22-23, which doubtless preserves the earlier vocalism. Similarly Latin *-mur* in *sequi-mur*, etc., goes back to *-mor*. Absolute *-mir* appears to have lost a palatal vowel after *r*, or may be due to analogy with active *-mi*.

### C. PASSIVE

**577.** Active and deponent verbs have the same formation in the passive. For the use of the two passive forms, see § 540 b.

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		A I (ACTIVE)	ABSOLUTE (ACTIVE)	A II (DEPONENT)
sg.	3	<b>Móρθ (a )ir (pridchidir )</b>	<b>léicthir</b>	<b>suidigthir</b>
rel.		<b>móρθar (pridchither, -ider )</b>	<b>léicther</b>	<b>suidigther</b>
pl.	3	<b>mór (a )itir, mórt (a )ir</b>	<b>(miditir B II)</b>	<b>suidigtir</b>
rel.		<b>móratar, mórtar</b>	<b>*lécetar, léicter</b>	<b>suidigter</b>
		<b>CONJUNCT</b>		
gen. form		<b>·móρθar (·foir-cnither ); dep. fo ·cáltar (§ 136)</b>	<b>·léicther (do·rós-caither, foéitsider</b>	<b>·suidigther</b>
3 pl.		<b>·móratar, ·mór-</b>	<b>·lécetar (·air-</b>	<b>·suidigter</b>

		<b>tar</b> (·foir- cniter ); dep. ·comalnatar		<b>léicter</b>		(·dírrudiged- dar )
				<b>B I</b>		
		<b>ABSOLUTE</b>				<b>CONJUNCT</b>
sg.	3	<b>ber (a) ir</b>	gen. form			·berar (·berr, ·ber )
rel.		<b>berar</b>				
pl.	3	<b>bert (a) ir</b>				·bertar (du ·aidbetar )
rel.		<b>bertar</b>				

**578.** The, ending, *-ar* or *-ir* (with neutral quality in the preceding consonant) is found only in the indicative and imperative of strong verbs--for condition in the smaller stem classes see § 593 f.--and as a by-form in the s-subjunctive (§ 630). The vowel of the syllable preceding conjunct *-ar* is not elided, e.g. **do-formagar, con-utangar, ·cumangar, do-adbadar, du-fuissemar, fo-álagar.**

At first sight this seems to show that the vowel in *-ar, -ir* is not old. that the ending *-r* was once attached directly to the final consonant of the stem (·canar < \*canr + ), and that originally a vowel, neutral in the conjunct and palatal in the absolute form, must have come after the *r*. The by-form (**as·)berr** beside (**as·)berar** could be explained in this way, since normally no

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vowel should have developed between the two *r*'s. Yet such examples are not conclusive, for between identical consonants even an original vowel may disappear (ep. § 110). Further, the theory that the vowel before *-r* is secondary would make it necessary to assume a great many analogical formations; thus *y* immediately before *r* should have disappeared. On the other hand, in forms of B IV verbs, like **im-dí-benar** (§ 594), the suffix *-na-* unquestionably has an old vowel.

Accordingly most scholars hold, doubtless correctly, that the vowel before *-r* is inherited, and that the consistent retention of the stem-vowel is analogical. The only form that can have supplied the model for this is the active 3 sg., where in forms like **do-formaig, ·cumaing, do-fuissim, im-díben**, etc., the vowel, since it stood in the final syllable, was naturally always retained. On the other hand, **im-folngar** 'is caused' *Ml.* 31<sup>d</sup>10, beside more frequent **·folangar** 44<sup>a</sup>10, 71<sup>c</sup>6, 88<sup>b</sup>15, 122<sup>c</sup>5, 143<sup>c</sup>4, and **amal du-n-esmar** 'as is shed' 44<sup>d</sup>1, beside **du-esemar, do-n-esemar** 56<sup>a</sup>13, are more likely scribal errors than examples of regular syncope, especially as the second form when syncopated might have been expected to end in *-mer*. The spelling **fo-m·c[h]ertor** ZCP. XV. 301 (from **fo·?ceird ·ceirt** 'puts') suggests that the vowel before *r* was originally *o* (cp. Kieckers, Streitberg-Festgabe p. 199 ff.; otherwise Edith F. Clafin, Language XII. 30 ff.). It is impossible to ascertain from the Irish forms whether or not a (neutral) vowel has been lost after *-ar*. Absolute *-(a)ir* is doubtless to be explained like *-thir* in the deponent.

In cognate languages, too, we find *-r* endings without as well as with *-t-*. In Britannic the former have entirely superseded the latter; e.g. W. pres. ind. *-ir*, subj. and ipv. *-(h)er*, Mid.W. subj. and fut. *-(h)awr* (Mid. Bret. *-heur*). Only Old Welsh prose and Middle Welsh poetry still show forms (pres. and fut.) in *-etor, -hator, -ot(t)or, -hit(t)or* (also *-etawr* by analogy with *-awr*); pl. *-(h)onnor* (from *-ntor*). In Italic we find, e.g., Umbr. *fera-r* 'feratur', Osc. *lamati-r*, 3 sg. pf. subj. of active \**lamati-d* (meaning uncertain). Similarly in Hittite *ḫalzii + ari* 'is recited' (3 pl. act. *ḫalzii + anzi*), middle *ešari* 'sits down', ipv. *ešaru*.

**579.** In forms with the more frequent ending *-ther* (*-der*), *-thar*, absolute *-thir* (*-dir*), a vowel originally standing in the second syllable is nearly always elided; elision often occurs, too, in the 3 pl. in *-ter -tar*, absolute *-tir*. This characteristic difference between passive and deponent shows that in the former the vowel between the dental and *r* is inherited. The quality of this vowel is, of course, often conditioned by the preceding consonant-group (cp. § 158). After a retained vowel palatal quality predominates; cp. forms like **predchidir**, rel. **predchider** (but **táthar**, § 778), notaitir 'notantur' Sg. 28<sup>a</sup>11. Only in the relative and the 3 pt. conjunct is *-tar* commoner than *-ter* (except in stems in *ī*, like **do-gníter**, § 589).

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A few archaic forms in *-thiar* are found (Stokes, KZ. XXXVII. 250 ff.), not only in i-verbs like **i-négthiar** 'wherein is cried out', but also in a-verbs, e.g. **molthiar** 'who is praised'. It is unlikely that these are to be equated with certain exceptional Mid.W. forms such as **llemityor** 'is leapt (upon)'. It is also very doubtful if they furnish proof that the passive ending *-ar* has been added to forms in *-i* (*Marstrander, Caractère Indo-européen de la Langue Hittite*, p. 99 f.). Here *ia* may be only a special way of representing the vowel between palatal and neutral consonance (§ 102, 4). But at all events these forms suggest that the *th* was palatal, and if this was the earlier quality, *-tar* after vowels in the plural must have spread from the position after neutral consonance, a development which could have been assisted by the distinction between *-itir* and *-etar* in the deponent. In that case the endings must be separated from W. *-tor*. It is, of course, conceivable that the development was just the converse, and that already in the archaic period the palatalized dental had spread from the one position where it was regular (after a syncopated palatal vowel) to other positions also. In W. *-tor* a vowel must have been lost after *-r*, and this may also have happened in Ir. *-ther*, *-ter*, etc.

For the interchange of *th* and *d* see § 128 f.; for *t* instead of *th* after *l*, *n*, *s*, § 139.

## 2. THE IMPERFECT INDICATIVE

**580.** In prose this is always conjunct, since it is preceded by the particle **no·** (§ 538.) in the absence of any other preverb; where (in poetry) **no·** is omitted, the same forms are used for the absolute. Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike. In the following paradigm the a-verbs are illustrated by an active verb, the i-verbs by a deponent.

		A I	A II
sg.	1	·mór (a) in (n)	·suidigin (n)
	2	*·mórtha	·suidigthea
	3	·mórad, -ath	·suidiged, -eth
pl.	1	·mórm (a) is	·suidigmis
	2	*·mórth (a) e	*·suidigthe
	3	·mórt (a) is	·suidigtis, suidigddis, ·rethitis
pass.		·mórthem (a) e	·suidigthe
3	pl.	·mórt (a) is	·suidigtis

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		B I			
		BI			
sg.	1	·berin (n)	pl.	1	·beirmis (·erbirmis)
	2			2	
	3	·bered (·berad § 554)		3	·beirtis (·bertis)
pass.		·berthe (du ·immaircthe, ad ·oparthe)	3	pl.	·beirtis (·bertis, do ·fúaircitis)

**581.** The endings of the imperfect appear also in the past subjunctive and secondary future. The only example of the second person that occurs in our texts is 2 sg. *no ·tosngachtaigthea* 'that thou wast wont to hang' *MI. 78c3*; *du ·gnitha 103<sup>d</sup>16*, from *do ·gni* 'does', is shown by the context to be an error for subj. *du ·gnetha*. But since, in the later language also, the flexion of the imperfect is always identical with that of the past subjunctive, the forms (2 sg. and pl.) inserted in the above paradigms may be taken as certain.

In B I and III it would seem that at one time the vowel before the ending was always *e*, even in those persons where the pres. ind. had *-o-*. Cp. 1 sg. **for ·dinginn** 'I used to oppress' *MI. 115<sup>a</sup>16* (in *fu ·lungáin 86<sup>c</sup>13* the *a* (á, § 45) is due to the sound-group *-ung-*, § 166) ; 1 pl. *no ·téigmis ZCP. ix. 340 § 52, imma ·réidmis Hib. Min. 79, 6*; 3 *no ·feidtis MI. 54<sup>d</sup>12*. The form **·bertis**, beside **·beirtis**, is either

modelled on B IV or is a faulty spelling. For the explanation of the neutral quality of *rth* in **ad · oparthe** Wb. 15<sup>d</sup>20, ep. § 164.

The endings *-tis* and *-mis* also contain an old palatal vowel, as is clear from the spellings *-itis*, *-fimmis* (in the secondary future). **aras · celatais** 'they used to rob them' Ml. 26<sup>b</sup>19 (from **ar · cela** ), if not a misspelling, has been modelled on the syncopated forms (**\* · celtais** ), where the neutral consonance is due to the elided *a*.

**582.** The above forms have not yet been satisfactorily explained. This is the only flexional type in which the passive 3 pl. falls together with the active. In the Britannic dialects the personal endings show marked divergence from those of the other tenses in the singular only, not in the plural. Cp. Mid.W. *-wn* (with *w* from *o* + ?), *-ut*, *-ei (-i)*, *-em*, *-ewck*, *-ynt*; Mid.Bret. *-enn*, *-es*, *-e*, *-emp*, *-ech*, *-ent*.

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The neutral *-δ (-th)* of the 3 sg. active has been taken to represent the earlier middle secondary ending *-to* (Gk. □- φ έρετο.) This may be correct, for in a flexion which is the same for deponent and active verbs there is no reason why middle endings should be excluded. In Britannic the dental final is rarely found; the chief examples of it are Mid.W. *gwyd(γ)at* 'he knew' and *atwaen(i)at* 'he recognized', and since the former belongs to the deponent *gŵyr* 'knows', a middle voice origin is quite possible. If Ir. *-thar* in the present of the deponent goes back to *-tro*, the imperfect ending would represent a still older form of this, without *-r-*.

The 2 sg. in *-tha* recalls the deponent ending *-the(r)*, but has a different vocalism. It may correspond to Mid.W. *-ut*, but not to Bret. *-es*. The explanation of Ir. *-tha* as due to the influence of IE. *-the* the ending of the 2 sg. perf. act. ( Kieckers, *IF*. XXXIV. 408 f.), is not convincing.

Pedersen (§ 605) has noted that certain of the personal forms look as though they contained the ending of the Indo-European active imperfect, but with unlenited (doubled) consonants: 1 sg. *-u(n)* from IE. *-m* (Skt. *á-bharam*), which had become *-n* in Celtic; 1 pl. Ir. *-mis(s)* (Dor. □- φ έρομες); 2 sg. Bret. *-es* (Gk. □- φ ερες). In order to give these forms in Celtic the IE. ending would have had to be followed by some additional element (which had a palatal vowel in Irish); but it is impossible to think of any element that could have caused gemination of a nasal and *s*. The *-the* in the 2 pl. could also be regarded as a lengthened form of an earlier ending going back to original *-te* (Gk. □- φ έρετε). To suggest, however, that the iterative or durative force of the imperfect was symbolically characterized by emphasizing or prolonging the final sound would be to advance in extremely unlikely hypothesis.

The origin of the 3 pl. in *-tis* might also be sought in a plural form of the Indo-European present participle (Gk. φ έροντες), with some affixed element. But this seems precluded by the use of the same form in the passive. The Hittite use of the participle in *-nt-* of transitive verbs as passive cannot be compared, since survivals of such participles in Irish, e.g. **car(a)e** 'friend', literally 'the loving' (Celt. stem *karant-*), are active in meaning. The Irish passive singular in *-the* may correspond to W. *-it*, Bret. *-et*.

### 3. THE IMPERATIVE

#### 583. A. ACTIVE

	A I	A II
sg.	1	(fuircim B II)
	2	léic
		léiced -eth
pl.	1	lécem
	2	lécid -ith
	3	lécet

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B I

		<b>B I</b>		
sg.	1	<b>biur</b>		pl. <b>beram</b>
	2	<b>beir</b> ( <b>ber</b> , like B IV, cp. § 554)		<b>berid -ith</b>
	3	<b>*bered -eth</b> ( <b>forcanad</b> )		<b>berat</b>

#### 584. B. DEPENDENT

Paradigms: A I, · *comalnadar* 'fulfills'; A II, *suidigidir* 'places'; strong verbs, *ro · clu(i)nethar* (B V 'hears').

		<b>AI</b>		<b>AII</b>
sg.	1		( <b>águr</b> )	
	2	<b>comaln (a) ithe -de</b>	<b>suidigthe</b>	
	3	<b>comalnad -ath</b>	<b>suidiged -eth</b>	
pl.	1	( <b>finnamar</b> B V)	<b>suidigem (*suidigmer)</b>	
	2	<b>comaln (a) id - (a) ith</b>	<b>suidigid -ith</b>	
	3	<b>comalnatar</b>	<b>*suidigetar</b>	
		<b>STRONG VERBS: B V (= B II)</b>		
sg.	1		pl. <b>cluinem *-emmar</b>	
	2	<b>cluinte</b> (§ 139)	<b>cluimid -ith</b>	
	3	<b>cluined -eth</b>	<b>cluinetar</b>	

#### 585. C. PASSIVE

		<b>A I</b>		<b>A II</b>		<b>B I</b>
		<b>(ACTIVE)</b>		<b>(DEPONENT)</b>		<b>(ACTIVE)</b>
gen. form		<b>móρθar</b>		<b>suidigther</b>		<b>berar, ta-barr</b>
3 pl.		<b>mórtar</b>		<b>suidigter</b>		<b>bertar</b>

**586.** The imperative does not distinguish absolute and conjunct flexions; and in compound verbs it is always stressed on the first element unless this is followed by an infixed pronoun (§ 38, 1).

There are not many examples of the 1 sg. Only *tíag-sa*, *tíach* 'let me go, I will go' is common. Cp. further *biur-sa*, Met. *Dinds.* III. 210, 18; *fuircim-si* (read **-se**) Bürgschaft p.

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13 § 44, from **fo-r-ic** 'finds'. Deponent: **águr**, Ériu I. 68 § 6, from **(ad)·ágathar** 'fears' (§ 543 a).

**timorc-sa** LU 6093 is more likely to be an error for fut. **timorr** or **-rr**.

The form **beir** as 2 sg. of the simplex (e. g. Tec. Corm. § 18; cp. **air-bir**, **tabair**, etc.) is less common than **ber** (e.g. Ml. 38<sup>c</sup>28), with neutral final like **ben** (B IV).

In the 3 sg. of B I and III there is fluctuation between *e* and *a*; e.g. **ceingeth** *Thes.* II. 248, 6; **bered**, **dinged** Tec. Corm. § 1 (38, 36); *fridoirced* Wb. 14<sup>a</sup>27; but **timmargad** Ml. 136<sup>c</sup>8, *forcanad* Wb. 22<sup>c</sup>8, **comtangad** 31<sup>c</sup>15, **indnadad** 11<sup>d</sup>14 (2 sg. **indnite** 10<sup>a</sup>21, deponent). Since Middle Welsh and Breton have *-et* as the ending of all verbs, *e* was doubtless the older vowel in Irish too.

In the 1 pl. of deponent verbs only active forms occur in the Glosses: *seichem* 'sequamur' Wb. 25<sup>c</sup>6, *nú[a]llaigem* 'ploremus' Ml. 114<sup>d</sup>3; cp. *cluinem* Ériu VI. 158 § 5. This, however, is accidental, as other texts contain deponent forms like **finnamar** 'let us know' Ériu II. 102 § 10, etc., **fochleamar** TBC. 3077 (**fo·cállathar** 'heeds'), *na·hágumar* LL 308<sup>b</sup>17.

**587.** In the 2 sg. and pl. active the Irish formation corresponds to that found in cognate languages. The 2 sg. had no ending; cp. Lat. *lege*, *cantā*, *finī*; Gaul. *gabi*, *moni* Dottin no. 59, *da* Dottin p. 70; for other formations see §§ 588, 589. The 2 pl. had the secondary ending *-tē* (Gk. *φ έρετε*, etc.), and thus fell together with the 2 pl. conjunct of the present indicative. Further, all the remaining imperative forms, except the 3 sg. act. (and dep.) and the deponent 2 sg., are identical with the conjunct forms of the

present indicative. This identity may be due to the example of the 2 pl., or it may represent a survival of the usage, preserved in Vedic Sanskrit and Old Iranian, which employs indicative forms with secondary endings to express commands or prohibitions (the 'injunctive'). For the 2 sg. deponent ending *-the (-de)*, see § 574.

The 3 sg. act. and dep. apparently points to *-et..* with a neutral final vowel; hence it corresponds neither to Lat. *tō* (O.Lat. *-tōd*) nor to Skt. *-tu*. Fraser, *ZCP*. VIII. 290, suggests an earlier ending *-tou*, comparable with Goth. *at-steig-adau* 'let him descend'. Since the same form is used for the deponent, the possibility has also been suggested that the ending is based on *-to*, a middle secondary ending which was not specifically imperative; cp. § 582.

**588.** In the 2 sg. ipv. of a few verbs, all of which have an *s*-subjunctive, the final of the root is dropped and, where the

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verbal stem is unstressed, the stem vowel also (just as in the 3 sg. subj., §§ 627, 628):

**at · ræ +** (= **ré**) *MI*. 126<sup>c</sup>3, **com-éi-r** *Fél*. Aug. 26, 'arise', from  $\sqrt{reg-}$ , subj. stem **ress-**.

**aic(c)** *ZCP*. XV. 366 n.2, from **ad · guid** 'invokes (as surety)', subj. stem **gess-**.

**no-m · ain** 'spare me' *RC*. VI. 175, 31, from  $\sqrt{aneg-}$ , subj. stem **aness-**.

With a long vowel in the subjunctive:

**tog** 'choose', *ZCP*. XIX. 169, from **do · goa** (§ 522), subj. stem **gōss-**.

**tair** 'come', from **t-air-ic**, subj. stem **īss-** (cp. § 627).

These forms do not come from the present stem but belong (like the *s*-subj.) to the IE. sigmatic aorist. It has been assumed, doubtless correctly, that a 2 sg. with the non-thematic ending *-s* was used in a hortatory sense; thus **-ré** theoretically < \**reg-s-s*.

**fo-reth-** 'help', 3 sg. ipv. **fairtheth** *ZCP*. XI. 92 § 10, probably had a 2 sg. \***foir**, with **to-** : \***tof + óir**, \***tóir**. This last form subsequently gave rise to a verb **fóirim** 'I help', with long *o* as in the decompound. Cp. 2 sg. ipv. *to-n · fóir* *LU* 5220, pl. 2 *to-n · forid* *LL* 126a8.

## PRESENT FORMS IN CLASSES A III AND B I-

### V

#### A III

**589.** The flexion of verbs in *-i* is generally modelled on that of **biid** (§ 784). Thus pres. conjunct: **· gníu** (§ 561), **· gní**, **· gniam**, **· gniid**, **· gniat** (also **· gníam**, etc., § 47); pass. **· gnither**, pl. **· gniter**. Absolute: sg. 2 **gnii**, 3 **gniith**; rel. **gnis**, pl. **gnite**. Ipf.: sg. 1 **· gniin**, 3 **· gníth**, pl. 3 **· gnítis**; pass. **· gníthe**.

In the 1 sg. the ending fluctuates: **· dén(a)im** (*de-gni-*), prototonic form of **do · gníu**; **déccu** *Wb*. 24<sup>a</sup>13, beside **fris · aiccim** *Thes*. II. 228, 31, to **ad · cíu**; **liim** *Wb*. 13<sup>b</sup>18, conjunct **· liim** 10<sup>a</sup>1, **· líu** *IT*. 1. 106, 21; **ad · roilliu** 'I deserve' *MI*. 75<sup>a</sup>11 (*ad-ro-slí-*).

For **· accastar** as pass. of **ad · cíu** see § 609.

In the 2 sg. ipv. act. **déne** 'do', **cungne frimm** 'help me' *ZCP*. VIII. 175, **dé(i)cce** 'see', the final vowel suggests that these forms are subjunctive, though stressed on the first syllable like the imperative. Cp. **da · gné** 'do it' *Imram Brain* I. 42,

15 (where, however, some MSS. have **da · gní**). Other verbs occasionally follow their example: **cuire** 'throw' *Thes.* 11. 19, 36 beside the regular deponent form **cuirthe** *MI.* 56<sup>c</sup>5; **comainse** 'condemn' *MI.* 22<sup>b</sup>2 (**con · nessa**).

The 2 sg. ipv. **escse** gl. *intende* *MI.* 65<sup>a</sup>4, from a verb with subj. stem **cess-** (pass. **as · cesar** 44<sup>a</sup>4, U+221Acid ?), seems to combine this formation with that of § 588. *tale dam-sa a lóg* 'give me the reward for it' *MI.* 36<sup>a</sup>32 probably does not belong here, but is the same as **dale** *LU* 373, *dalei* *LL* 251<sup>a</sup>46 'give', which may be connected with *ille* 'hither' (§ 483).

**cī + íd** 'weeps' has a divergent flexion; 3 sg. rel. **cías** (disyll.) *Fél. Epil.* 350; ipf. · **ciád** *Imram Brain I.* 47, 6; ipv. 2 sg. *ná í ciibid*.

**590.** Apart from these, most of the attested forms are of verbs in *-o-*: absolute 3 sg. **sóid**, rel. **soas**; conjunct sg. 1 **con·im·chláim**, 2 ·**soí**, 3 *con·oí*, *óei*, prototonic ·*com(a)i*, deponent *con·oadar* ·*comathar*; pl. 1 *do·intám* (\*·*ind-šoam*), 2 *con·óith*, 3 ·*soat*, enclitic *con·toat* (\*·*to-šoat*), ·*comthoet* *Sg.* 163<sup>a</sup>1; *con·oat*, enclit. ·*com-at*; pass. ·*soíther*; ipv. 2 sg. act. **toí**.

*as·luí*, ·*loí*, with enclitic stem *con·álai* ·*comlai* (*com-ad-*) 'stirs' *Ériu XII.* 20 § 25, ·*æscmlai* 'sets out', pl. *as luat*. Deponent: *fo·llúur* 'I fly', 3 pl. *fo·luatar*. Ip. 1 sg. **no·luinn** 'I used to fly' *Imram Brain II.* 291 § 11; 3 *as·luad*.

Verbs in *-a* are inflected in the conjunct like **at(t)á** (§ 778). Thus 1 sg. **im·ró** *LU* 3015; 2 (rel.) *imme·raí* *Imram Brain I.* 19 § 37; 3 **in·láa** 'inserts' *LU* 5175 (read *-lá?*), pl. *in·laat*; ipf. 3 sg. **im·raad** *Imram Brain I.* 29 § 61.

**colla** 'go' (miswritten **collaa** *LU* 5991) seems to be 2 sg. imperative of **con·slá** 'goes'.

## B I

**591.** In the 3 sg. present and imperative of *tíagu*, ·*tíag* 'I go' a different stem appears: pres. absolute *téit*, rel. *téte* (§ 509, later spelt *téde*, hence *t = d*), conjunct ·**tét** (written ·**téit** *Wb.*, § 54); similarly ipv. **tét**. For ·**taáet**, ·**taít** 'comes', from \*·*to-thét*, see § 179. Only the compound with **com** and **en**

has prototonic 3 sg. ·*cométig* *Wb.* 22<sup>a</sup>13 (beside deuterotonic *con · é-tet* *Sg.* 197<sup>b</sup>17, 203<sup>a</sup>22) and ipv. 3 ·*coméitged* *Wb.* 10<sup>a</sup>7.

The same stem appears in 2 pl. *for · téit-si* *Wb.* 14<sup>c</sup>3 (but *con · éitgid* 22<sup>a</sup>26), and in *taít* pl. ipv. of *do-tét*. For the loss of the ending see § 110.

For the etymology of **téit** see § 769.

**592.** Apparently on the model on the 3 sg. conjunct of this common verb, ending in non-palatal *-t* (= *-d* + ), verbs in *-d* (= *ð*) and *-th* make present forms with the ending *-t<sup>a</sup>*, which, however, is not confined to the 3 sg. but spreads to the 1 and 2 sg. also.

This is easy to understand in the compound that supplies the perfective forms of **téit** (§ 534): 3 sg. **do · cuat**, ·*dichet*; with **to-**: ·*tuidchet*. But the ending *-t<sup>a</sup>* is also found in compounds of **fedid**, ·**feid** 'leads': **do · fet** (*Imram Brain I.* 13 § 21), **do · di-at**, 1 sg. **do · diut** beside **assa · flud** *Sg.* 221<sup>b</sup>4; ipv. 3 sg. *du·m · fett* *ZCP.* VI. 258, 1. From **ar · coat** 'injures', beside ipf. (rel.) **ara · choided** (with *oí* ?) *MI.* 83<sup>d</sup>2, *-t* has spread to the verbal noun *erchoat*, *erchót* (cp. *W. ar-gy-wedd* 'harm'), and thence to the adjective *erchoitech* (*Mod. Ir. urchóideach*) 'harmful'

**rethid** 'runs': *do · ífarmórat* 'follows', *do · fúarat · díurat* 'remains over', *du · etarrat* 'includit', *con · tetarrat* 'comprehendit', beside *in · reith*, *fo · reith*; probably also 1 sg. *fo · timmdiriut* 'suffio' Sg. 185<sup>b</sup>3.

*ad · fiadat* 'they relate', pass. *ad · fiadar*: 3 sg. act. *ad · fét*, *in · fét*, *do · ad-bat*, *as · ind-et* (cp. pass. *do · adbadar*, *as · indedar*, also *ass · indethar* Ml. 90<sup>b</sup>18, cp. Sg. 70b13), sg. 1 **as · indiut**, 2 *do · adbit*; ipv. 3 sg. *at · fét* Anecd. III. 52, 20. The 1 sg. pres. *ad · fét* *Imram Brain* 1. 15 § 29 is not certain one MS. (*ZCP*. XVIII. 414) reads *ad·féad*, which may correspond to later *fiad*.

*riadait* 'they ride, drive': 3 sg. *·rét*, *im · rét*, *do · rét*, beside *imma · réid* *Imram Brain* 1. 17 § 33, etc.

√*sed-*: sg. 3 **ar · nēat**, **·airnet** 'expects, sustains' (3) pl. *ar · neithet*, see § 846), 1 *ar · nēut-sa* Wb. 14<sup>a</sup>18, 23<sup>b</sup>27 beside *in · nēuth* *Thes.* II. 42, 11 (ipv. 3 sg. *indnadad* § 586); also *ta · n-aurnat* 'bows himself down' *Thes.* II. 253, 5.

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Further, *t-in-fet* 'inspires', *do·n-infet* (*f < sv-*), 1 pl. *do·n-infedam*; 3 sg. *lase ara·n-neget* 'when he prays' Ml. 61<sup>b</sup>1 (§ 846), 3 pl. *ar·neigdet*, 2 pl. ipv. *irnigdid* Wb. 22<sup>c</sup>8 (cp. *guidid*); *·díthat* '(a pledge) is forfeit' *Laws* v. 398, 400, from **dí** and *·tuit* 'falls'. The origin of *for·deret* gl. *illustrat* Ml. 78<sup>b</sup>8, beside deponent preterite *for·derisiur* gl. *lustrau* 133<sup>b</sup>8, is uncertain.

The peculiar form *ó ro·scithet* 'after it has come to an end' *Mon. Tall.* 130,28, 140,13, perfective present of *scochid* (*scuchid*), if it has been correctly transmitted, has apparently been influenced by the compounds of *tét*.

## B II.

**593.** The absolute flexion is for the most part the same as in A II; e.g. sg. 1 *gu(i)dim(m) gu(i)diu*, 3 *gu(i)did*, rel. **gu(i)des(s)**; pl. 1 *guidmi*, 3 *gu(i)dit*, rel. *gu(i)te*. Similarly ipf. *no·gu(i)din(n)*, etc.

On the other hand, the conjunct 3 sg. pres. act. shows a marked divergence from the weak verbs in that it has no final vowel: **·gaib**, **·gair**, **·daim**, **·guid**, etc., like B I and III.

In the remaining forms, too, there is confusion with the flexion of verbs without *i* + *·*. The 2 sg. seems, indeed, to have the ending *-i* consistently: *·daimi*, *·fogbai*, *con·rigi*, *du·rigi*. But in the 1 sg. beside *·daimim*, *·gaibim*, *·gu(i)dim* *·guidiu*, *for·con·grimm*, *con·gairiu*, *taccru* (with *to-ad-*), the forms *·gaur*, *for·congur* also occur, and in the plural *du·air·igerat* Ml. 87<sup>b</sup>15, with neutral *r*, beside *·gairem*, *·gairét*. So too in the passive, particularly where the stem is unstressed: *do·fur·cabar*, *for·con·garar*, ipv. *cotab·ucabar*, beside *·gaibther*. In a verb such as *nigid* 'washes', 1 sg. *do·fo·nug -nuch*, pass. *·negar*, the only remaining trace of the *-i* + *·* present is the appearance of *g* instead of *b* for IE. *g<sup>w</sup>* (§ 184a). Cp. also § 549.

For the deponent cp. the paradigm in § 571.

## B IV

**594.** Present conjunct: *·cren(a)im* (*for·fiun* like B I, § 554), *·cren(a)i*, *·cren*; 3 pl. *·crenat*; pass. *·crenar* (like B I), pl. *·crendar*, *·crentar*. Absolute: *cren(a)im*, *cren(a)i*,

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**cren(a)id**, rel. *crenas*; 3 pl. **cren(a)it**, rel. **crend(a)e**; pass. **cren(a)ir**. Ipf. 3 sg. **·crenad**. Ipv. 2 sg. **cren**, 3 **\*crenad** (*atat·air·bined* Ml. 86<sup>c</sup>10); pl. 1 **crenam**, 2 *cren(a)id*; pass. *crenar*. Similarly 3 sq. pres. *fo·sern(n)*, pass. **·sernar**; ipv. 2 sg. **ernn** *Thes.* II. 257, 11, **·sérnn** gl. *stude* Ml. 56c12.

The 3 sg. pres. **·cren**, from \**krenāt*, shows that in Celtic the suffix-form *-nā*, which originally was confined to the plural (as opposed to *-nā-* in the singular; Gk. δάμνημι, να + μιν), spread to the singular also. This is confirmed by the Brittonic 1 sg. in *α + μ*: W. *prynaf*, Mid.Bret. *benaff*.

**cren(a)id** has a 3 sg. ipv. **criad** Tec. Corm. § 1, 41, formed from the subjunctive stem (§ 611). Similarly in 3 pl. ipv. **·eiplet** Ml. 73<sup>d</sup>7, *aipleat* 104<sup>b</sup>2 (from *at·baill* 'dies', § 552), the palatal consonance points to formation from the subjunctive stem; cp. *at·bela* § 597. *cosrad* 'studeat' Ml. 124<sup>a</sup>5 and *cosrid* 'studete' 68<sup>a</sup>15 also recall the subjunctive stem **sera-**, but have non-palatal *-sr-*, as though they went back to a basic form without a vowel *co(m)-sr-*; cp. the vb.n. **coisir** 'studium' ZCP. VII. 484.

As a result of the confusion of compounds of the substantive verb with B IV (§ 551), some verbs of this class can form a separate consuetudinal present modelled on **biid**, **·bí** (§ 784); e.g. *hó bu·rorbaiter* (**bu·** = **fu·**) 'when it has been completed' Ml. 15<sup>a</sup>6, from **for·fen** (cp. *ACL*. III. 230, 146), like *hó ru·bíther*; *tinbi* 'is wont to slay' *IT*. II. 185, 289 (*to-ind-ben-*); possibly even the simplex *benaid*: 3 sg. rel. *bíis* (*bís*) *RC*. XVI. 46 § 95 (but cp. *Ériu* XI. 150 f.).

## B V

**595.** Attested forms include: pres. sg. 1 *·gnin(a)im* (poetic *·athgniniu* § 562), 3 *·gnin*; pl. 3 *·gninat*; pass. *·gnintar*, pl. *·gnintar* (= *·gnindar*).

3 sg. *ro·finnadar*, pl. *·finnatar*; pass. *·fintar*, pl. *finnatar*. Ipf. 3 sg. *·finnad*. Ipv. (always without *ro*) 2 **fint(a)e**, 3 **finnad**; 1 pl. **finnamar**.

*ro·clu(i)nethar* is inflected like B II, cp. § 584.

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# STEM AND FLEXION OF THE SUBJUNCTIVE

**596.** The subjunctive stem is contained in the present and past subjunctive. There are two formations:

- I. the *a*-subjunctive,
- II. the *s*-subjunctive.

The *s*-subjunctive is formed only by strong verbs whose root or verbal stem ends in a dental or guttural stop or spirant, or (in the present and preterite) in *nn*. It is attested for about fifty verbs altogether.

All other verbs have the *a*-subjunctive.

The strong verbs **agid** 'drives' and *ad·gládathar* 'addresses', despite the roots in *-g* and *-d*, have the *a*-subj. Later forms of **ad·gládathar** with *-s-*, like 1 sg. *conid·arlasar* LU 3032, are secondary formations modelled on the *s*-preterite.

Both types of subjunctive are independent of the present stem; only where this is identical with the general verbal stem does the *a*-subjunctive resemble it. They are clearly descended from the Indo-European aorist.

In Latin also, a few archaic forms such as *aduenat* subj. of *aduenio*, *attigat* subj. of *atingo*, and *tulat* beside, *tollo*, show that the *a*-subjunctive did not originally belong to the present stem.

## I. THE *a*-SUBJUNCTIVE

**597.** The stem is formed by adding an originally long *a* to the general verbal stem; the former quantity of the *a* is attested by the conjunct 3 sg. in *-a* < *-ā*t. Accordingly the formation is the same as that found in the old Italic present subjunctive.

In the weak *a*-verbs (A I) the *ā* of the subjunctive has fused with that of the stem final, so that the subjunctive stem (*móra-*) is indistinguishable from the present stem. Somewhat clearer traces of the *-ā* are found in A II (cp. Lat. *fīni-a-t*, *mone-a-t*).

To the B I present class belong such subjunctive stems as *ber-a-*, *cel-a-*, *mel-a-*, *can-a-*, etc. (cp. Lat. *fer-ā-*, *can-ā-*).

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In B II the subjunctive stem is distinguished from the present stem by (a) the absence of palatal quality in the final consonant and (b) the appearance of the normal instead of the reduced grade of the root; thus **gab-a-**, **gar-a-**, **dam-a-**, **gen-a-** (to **gainithir**), **men-a-** (to **·moinethar**, **·muinethar**).

Those verbs of B IV whose present stem ends in *-en* have a subjunctive stem in *-ia*, whether or not the *-e-* goes back to original *i*: *bia-*, *cria-*, *fia-*, *glia-*, *lia-*, *ria-*, *tlia-*, ( § 611 ).

**ern(a)id**, **sern(a)id**, **marn(a)id** **·mairn**, and **at·baill** have subjunctive **era-**, **sera-**, **mera-**, **bel-**, inflected like B I.

In the past subj. pass. **·sernte** *Wb.* 18°8*n* has been taken over from the present stem; cp. the regular 3 sg. pres. subj. act. **·sera** *Laws* IV. 318, 13. etc.

For B V see § 612.

## 1. THE PRESENT OF THE *a*-SUBJUNCTIVE

### 598. A. ACTIVE

	AI	ABSOLUTE	AII
sg.	1 <b>móra</b>		<b>léceca</b>
	2 <b>mór (a )e</b>		<b>léce</b>
	3 <b>mór (a )id - (a )ith</b>		<b>lécid -ith</b>
rel.	<b>móras (s )</b>		<b>léces (s )</b>
pl.	1 <b>mórm (a )i - (a )immi</b>		<b>léicmi</b>
rel.	<b>mórm (a )e (labraimme )</b>		<b>léicme</b>
	2 <b>mórth (a )e</b>		<b>léicthe</b>
	3 <b>mór (a )it</b>		<b>lécit</b>
rel.	<b>mórd (a )e -t (a )e, mór (a )ite</b>		<b>lé (i )cde -te, lécite</b>
		CONJUNCT	
sg.	1 <b>·mór</b>		<b>·léic</b>
	2 <b>·mór (a )e</b>		<b>·léce</b>
	3 <b>·móra</b>		<b>·léceca</b>
pl.	1 <b>·móram</b>		<b>·lécem</b>
	2 <b>·mór (a )id -aith</b>		<b>·lecid -ith</b>
	3 <b>·mórat</b>		<b>·lécet</b>

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### 600. STRONG VERBS (B I)

		ABSOLUTE			CONJUNCT
sg.	1	<b>bera</b>			·ber
	2	<b>ber (a )e</b>			·ber (a )e
	3	<b>ber (a )id - (a )ith</b>			·bera
rel.		<b>beras (s )</b>			
pl.	1	<b>berm (a )i</b>			·beram
rel.		<b>berm (a )e</b>			
	2	<b>berth (a )e</b>			·ber (a )id - (a )ith
	3	<b>ber (a )it</b>			·berat
rel.		<b>berd (a )e bert (a )e</b>			

### 601. B. DEPONENT

A paradigm of the absolute flexion is given only for the largest class, the weak i-verbs.

		ABSOLUTE	AII			CONJUNCT
sg.	1	<b>*suidiger (erladaigear )</b>				·suidiger
	2	<b>suidigther</b>				·suidigther
	3	<b>suidigidir</b>				·suidigedar
rel.		<b>suidigedar</b>				
pl.	1	<b>suidigmir</b>				·suidigmer
rel.		<b>suidigmer</b>				
	2	<b>suidigthe</b>				·suidigid -ith
	3	<b>suidigitir</b>				·suidigetar
rel.		<b>suidigetar</b>				
<b>602.</b>		<b>AI</b>			<b>B</b>	
			<b>CONJUNCT</b>			
sg.	1	·comalnar				·menar
	2	·comaln (a )ither - (a )ider				·mentar (§139)
	3	·comalnathar -adar				·menathar -adar
pl.	1	·comalnammar				·menammar, ·menmar
	2.	·comaln (a )id - (a )ith				·men (a )id - (a )ith
	3	·comalnatar				·menatar.

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### 603. C. PASSIVE

The same paradigm covers both active and deponent verbs, which have identical forms in the passive.

		A I			B			A II (DEPONENT)
				ABSOLUTE				
sg.	3	<b>móρθ (a )ir</b>		<b>berth (a )ir</b>			<b>suidigthir</b>	
rel.		<b>móρθar</b>		<b>berthar</b>			<b>suidigther</b>	
pl.	3	<b>móρθ (a )ir,</b> <b>móρθ (a )itir</b>		<b>bert (a )ir</b>			<b>suidigtir</b>	
rel.		<b>móρθar, móρatar</b>		<b>bertar</b>			<b>suidigter</b>	
gen. form		·móρθar (·comalnither )		<b>CONJUNCT</b>			·suidigther	
pl.	3	·móρθar ·móρatar		·bertar			·suidigter.	

**604.** In most of the persons the endings are the same as those of the present indicative. Owing to the change of quality and the loss of unstressed vowels, most forms of the subjunctive of weak *a*- and *i*-verbs are no longer distinguishable from the indicative.

The conjunct 1 sg. active has no ending. On the analogy of Latin it must have formerly ended in *-ām*, which disappeared in accordance with § 93. But such a basic form accounts only for **·ber** and **·mór**. It does not explain **\*·léic, no ·foíd** *Wb.* 23<sup>d</sup>l, **con í·árim -se** 14<sup>d</sup>17 (**ad ·rími**), **arna ·de-r-lind** 10<sup>c</sup>14 (**do ·sluindi**), for an ending corresponding to Lat. *-iam, -eam* would have remained as *-e*; hence A II must have been levelled under the other classes. From them it also took over the *-a* of abs. 1 sg. **lécea** and conj. 3 sg. **·lécea**. For the absolute 1 sg. ending *-a*, see § 564 f.

The deponent ending after neutral consonance is *-ar*, in the absolute as well as the conjunct forms (abs. **labrar** *Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup>36); it corresponds to Lat. *sequ-ar*, from *-ār*. After palatal consonance it becomes *-er*; of the absolute form there happens to be only one example, and this has the unusual spelling **erladaigear** *Ml.* 106<sup>c</sup>6 ( § 87), possibly influenced by the active

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ending *-ea*; but cp. the regular forms **gaimigfer** *Wb.* 14<sup>a</sup>9, **adbartaigfer** *Ml.* 37<sup>c</sup>12 in the future.

In the 2 sg., absolute and conjunct, forms are identical both in the active and the deponent. For the ending *-e, -ae*, later also *-a* ( § 99), see § 568. In deponent **·mentar**. *-tar* for *-ther* after neutral *n* is regular.

In the 3 sg. passive, strong verbs invariably have the ending with *th*, so that subjunctive **berth(a)ir**, **·berthar** is clearly distinguishable from indicative **ber(a)ir**, **·berar**.

## 2. THE PAST OF THE a-SUBJUNCTIVE

**605.** Active and deponent, are not, distinguished. The weak *a*-verbs and the strong verbs are each represented by an active verb, the weak *i*-verbs by a deponent.

		A I	B	A II
sg.	1	·mór (a)in (n)	·ber (a)in (n)	·suidigin (n)
	2	·mórtha	·bertha	·suidigthea
	3	·mórad -ath	·berad -ath	·suidiged -eth
pl.	1	·mórm (a)is	·berm (a)is	·suidigmis
	2	·mórth (a)e	·berth (a)e	·suidigthe
	3	·mórt (a)is (·intamlitis)	·bert (a)is (·tomnitis)	·suidigtis (·roissitis)
			<b>PASSIVE</b>	
gen. form		·mórth (a)e (·comalnide)	·berth (a)e	·suidigthe
pl.	3	·mórt (a)is	·bert (a)is	·suidigtis

**606.** The flexion is identical with that of the imperfect indicative (§ 580 ff.). In A I and II no difference survives between subjunctive and indicative. In strong verbs, on the other hand, the neutral quality of the last consonant of the root, due to the effect of the old *-ā-*, is frequently shown in the spelling.

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## FORMS OF THE a-SUBJUNCTIVE IN CLASSES A II-III AND B IV-V

### A II

**607.** A number of verbs in this class, particularly such as are not denominative but are formed with the *o*-grade of the root and the suffix *ei + e/o*, do not conform to the paradigm. In forms where the subjunctive

vowel *-a-* is retained, it comes immediately after the final consonant of the verbal stem, and this consonant is not palatalized. But where the vowel has been syncopated, the subjunctive shows the same palatalization as the indicative. In both cases the subjunctive has *o* for the *u* (< indicative. the of>

Examples: **do-lugi** 'forgives': subj. 2 sg. **du-logae**, 2 pl. **du-logaid**, but pass. **du-loigther** ; **cuirethar** 'puts, throws' : subj. 3 sg. **·corathar**, past **·corad**, but 2 sg. pres. **·coirther**, 3 pl. past **·coirtis** ; **ad-suidi** 'holds fast': subj. 2 sg. **ad-sode** ; **·soíbi** 'falsifies': subj. 3 pl. **·soibat** ; but **in-tuigther** 'induitur' : subj. **in-toichther**.

Where the verbal stem is unstressed its final consonant may or may not be palatalized. Examples: **do-lugi** : subj. sg. 3 **·dílga** *Ml.* 30<sup>d</sup>3, 46<sup>e</sup>5 beside **d-a-ro-lgea** *Wb.* 31<sup>a</sup>2, sg. 2 **·de-r-laig** [e ] *Ml.* 21<sup>b</sup>7; **con-tuili** 'sleeps': subj. (with *-ad-*, § 532 ) **·comtala** (MS. *-thala*) *LU* 5649.

Forms like **imme-ráda** *Wb.* 23<sup>b</sup>24, etc., 3 sg. subj. of **·rádi**, may also be classed here, though verbs with *-ā-* have forms without palatalization even in the indicative: **im-rádaim**, **im-rádat**, etc.

Collection: Pokorny, *KZ.* XLIX. 75 ff. The development of these forms may be due in part to the influence of the *s*-preterite.

### A III

**608.** (a) Among the verbs in *-i*, **gniid** 'does' agrees with **biid** in all the forms with stressed stem. Thus conjunct pres. **·gnéu** **·gnéo**, **·gné** , **·gné** ; **·gnem**, **·gneith** **·gneid**, **·gnet** ; pass. **·gne(i)ther**, pl. **·gnetar**. Absolute: 3 pl. rel. **·gnete**. Past sg. 1 **·gnein** **·gnenn** (**·gnén** *Wb.* 10<sup>e</sup>6, see § 45 ), 3 **·gneth** **·gned** ; pl. 1 **·gnemmis**, 3 **·gnetis** ; pass. **·gnethe**.

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But where the stem is unstressed it is inflected as though the *n* were the final of the root. Thus with the prep. **de** : pres. **·dén**, **·dén(a)e**, **·déna** ; **·dénam**, **·dén(a)id**, **·dénat** ; pass. **·déntar**, pl. **·dénatar** ; past 3 sg. **·dénad**, pl. **·dént(a)is**, etc.

In this position most of its forms had by regular development become identical with the *a*-flexion, which was then analogically extended to the few divergent personal forms.

Cp. **fo-gní** 'serves': subj. 3 sg. **·fogna**, pl. 1 **fo·gnem**, 2 **fo·gneith**, etc. **cī + íd** 'weeps' has past subj. 3 pl. **·cetis** *Wb.* 1066.

**609.** (b) The compounds of **eí** 'sees' have deponent forms: pres. sg. 1 **ad·cear**, with enclitic stem **·accar**, 2 **·aiccither** **·aicther**, **·déicider do·écaither**, 3 **·accadar** **·accathar** ; pl. 1 **·décammar**, 3 **·accatar**. Past sg. 1 **·accinn**, 3 **ad·ceth ad·ced** ; pl. 2 **ad·cethe**, 3 **·accaitis**. Passive pres. pl. **ad·ceter** ; past sg. **ad·cethe**.

In the passive, when the stem is unstressed, an ssubjunctive appears instead, which presumably represents the earlier formation: pres. sg. **·accastar**, **do·écastar**. But the form **·accastar** is also used as indicative *Wb.* 25<sup>b</sup>28, 26<sup>e</sup>12, *Trip.* 206, 6 (deuterotonic **ad·cíther** ). An active 2 sg. **for·aicis** (*foraices*, *foircis* MSS.) occurs *Laws IV.* 18, 21. The deponent flexion is doubtless due to the influence of **ro-cluinethar** ( § 612 ).

**610.** (c) Forms from verbs in *-o* include sg. 2 **·soe**, with enclitic stem **du·intae** (*\*ind-šoe*), 3 **do·intá** (*\*ind-šoa*), 2 pl. **·tintáith** ; past 3 sg. **·impád** (*\*imb-šoad*), etc.

But **foíd** 'spends the night' has 3 sg. **·fia** *Laws IV.* 318, 2, 10, *Ériu XII.* 34 § 44 (from *\*wes-ā-*), past **·fiad** *Liadain and Cuirithir* 20, 6. The relation of the isolated subjunctive 3 sg. **ro·bria** 'he may spoil, destroy' *O'Dav.* 300, pass. **ro·bria** (*sic*, not *\*brether* ) *ibid.* 287 and 214, *Laws IV.* 100, 7, V. 168, 15, to pres. ind. **bronnaid** (A I) 'spoils, destroys' is obscure; cp. Marstrander, *Observations sur les présents indo-europ. à nasale infixée*, p. 26 ff.

**ro-lā-** ( §§ 534, 762 ): sg. 1 ·**ral**, 3 ·**rala**, like, A I.

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**bā-** 'die': 3 pl. ·**baat** ; past 3 sg. ·**baad**, ·**báad**.

**as-luí** : 3 sg. **as-loa**, ·**éla** ; past 1 sg. **as-loīn**, **fu-luīnn**, 3 pl. ·**élaitis**.

#### B IV

**611.** Pres. conjunct sg. 1 ·**créu** (like ·**béu**, § 787 ), 2 ·**crie** ·**criae**, 3 ·**crīa** (with enclitic stem: **-be**, to **benaid** ); pl. 1 ·**crīam**, 3 ·**crīat** (enclitic **-bet** ); pass. ·**crether**. Absolute: 3 pl. rel. **crete** ; pass. sg. **crethir**, pl. **cretir**. Past: 3 sg. ·**crīad** (enclitic **-bed**, **-bath** ), 3 pl. ·**cretis** ; pass. ·**crethe**, pl. ·**cretis**.

#### B V

**612.** **ara-chrin** : 3 pl. (with **-ro-** ) **mani-aurc [h ]riat** *Laws IV*. 318, 20; past 3 sg. **ní-archriad** *Liadain and Cuirithir* 20, 7, pl. **ar-id-rochrietis** *Ml.* 85<sup>d</sup>.

The attested subjunctive forms of ·**gnin** are: pres. pass. **asa-gnoither** *Sg.* 180<sup>b</sup>2 (probably modelled on **ro-cluinethar** ; the pl. ·**en-ggnatar** 209<sup>b</sup>13 is possibly indicative); past 3 pl. act. **remi-ergnaitis** *Ml.* 19<sup>b</sup>8 (cp. p. 346 footnote). In later MSS. there are forms like 3 sg. act. ·**aithgné** (read **-gne** ) *LU* 5870, past **at-gnead** 10323.

**ro-clu(i)nethar** has pres. ·**cloor**, ·**cloither**, ·**cloathar** ; ·**cloammar**, ·**cloid**, ·**cloatar** ; pass. \*·**cloither** (cp. ·**gnoither** ); past 3 pl. ·**cloitis**.

This is apparently formed from the stem of the old root-aorist *kleu* (Skt. *ásrot*, Gk. *ipv. κλυ + θι*).

#### THE S-SUBJUNCTIVE

Collection: Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society* 1899-1902, p. 291 ff.

**613.** The stem of the *s*-subjunctive is formed by adding to the root an *s*, to which the final consonant of the root is assimilated.

Examples (B I and II): **fedid** : **fess-** ; **rethid** : **ress-** ; **techid** : **tess-** ; **aingid** ·**anich** : **an(e)ss-** ; **laigid** (*leg-*): **less-** ; **saidid** (*sed-*): **sess-** ; **dligid** : **dless-** ; **midithir** : **mess-** ; **gu(i)did** : **gess-** , with the same ablaut as Gk. aor. *θέσσασθαι*, pres. *ποθέω*.

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**614.** In verbal stems which do not contain *-e-* the quantity. of the vowel varies:

(a) Of the roots with *a*, **saigid** certainly has long *a*: **sāss-** ; cp. 2 sg. **ro-sáis** *Thes.* II. 28, 35; 3 pl. **fo-sásat** *Wb.* 8<sup>c</sup>19; past 3 sg. ·**sásad** *Sg.* 62<sup>b</sup>2.

So also has **maidid** 'breaks' (intrans.): 3 sg. **máis** *LL* 332<sup>c</sup>56; cp. fut. ·**mema** with *a* retained ( § 667 ). The similar retention of *a* in ·**vena**, future of **nascid** 'binds' (*√nad-*), and ·**sela**, future of **slaidid** 'slays', points to subjunctive stems **nāss-** , **slāss-** .

On the strength of these instances it is safe to postulate **clāss-** and **snāss-** as subj. stems of **claidid** 'digs' and **snaidid** 'carves', even though none of the attested forms has the mark of length.

**615.** (b) Some roots of the *i-* *ei-* series have *é*, *ía*; e.g. **tíagu** (3 sg. **téit** ) 'I go': **tēss-** **tíass-** ; **con-rig** 'binds': **rēssríass-** ; **snigid** 'drips': **snēss-** **sníass-** .

Of those with initial *f-* (from *w-*), *wid-* *weid-* (**ro·fitir** 'knows') fluctuates in quantity: sg. 3 **·festar** and **·fiastar**, 2 **·fésser** Féil. Feb. 4, Oct. 24, pl. 3 **·fesatar** *Wb.* 26<sup>d</sup>23; past 2 sg. **·festa** 10<sup>a</sup>10, etc. For others only forms with short vocalism are attested; e.g. **ad·fét in·fét** 'relates', pl. **·fiadat** : 1 pl. past subj. **in·fesmais** *Ml.* 17<sup>d</sup>8; **do·fich ·feich** 'avenges' ( $\sqrt{\text{wikweik-}}$ ): subj. pass. **du·fessar** 32<sup>c</sup>20.

é, ía is doubtless earlier, ě having spread subsequently from the preterite pass. (**·fess**).

**616.** (c) The verbs of B III, which have a nasal before the final consonant of the root in the present stem only, apparently make forms with a long vowel.

**for·ding** 'oppresses': **dëss- díass-** (3 pl. pass. **·díassatar** *Ml.* 39<sup>b</sup>12); root dhigh- dheigh- (Lat. *ingere, fictus*).

**fo·loing** 'supports, endures': **·löss-** (1 sg. **·lós** *Ml.* 33<sup>a</sup>2, 62<sup>b</sup>12); root *lug- leug-*. From this may be inferred **böss-** to **bongid** 'breaks', **töss-** to **tongid** 'swears', etc., though neither

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the mark of length nor the diphthong *úa* is ever found. Cp. also **·old** 'lends' (with *o + ũ < u*): 2 sg. **·ois** *LU* 3489.

**617.** (d) Roots in which *-n-* is not confined to present forms likewise show a long vowel. Thus **·ic** (from  $\sqrt{\text{in̄k-}}$ ): **·iäss-**; **sennid, do·seinn** : **sëss-** (1 sg. **du·sés** *Ml.* 61<sup>c</sup>16, past pass. **do·t** · [š]ésta [e ] *Ériu I.* 200 § 25); **in·gleinn** 'investigates': **glëss-** (2 sg. **in·gléis** *Ml.* 140<sup>c</sup>7, cp. past 3 sg. **fo·glésed** *Ériu II.* 63 § 1). This ē is sometimes diphthongized to ía (through confusion with § 615 b); e.g. **in·greinn** 'persecutes': past 3 pl. **·gríastais** *Ml.* 38<sup>d</sup>5; **lingid** 'leaps': 3 sg. rel. **lías** 33<sup>c</sup>8.

**do·bré** *O'Dav.* 320, 620, 1209, subj. 3 sg. of **do·bruinn**, points to a stem **brëss-**; cp. § 549.

**618.** Where the final consonant of the root is preceded by *r* or *l*, a further development of *rs(s)*, *ls(s)* to *rr*, *ll* takes place. Thus **fo·ceird** 'throws': subj. stem **·cerr-** (e.g. 2 sg. **fo·ceirr**); **orgid** 'slays': **orr-**; **mligid** 'milks' (with *li mell-* (with strong grade of the root, cp. OE. *melcan*, Gk.

**619.** Deponent flexion is found in the following stems: **midithir** 'judges': **mess-**; **ro·fitir** 'knows': **fess-** (**fëss-**);  $\sqrt{\text{ed-}}$  'eat': **ess-** ( § 766). Further, the preterite-present **·dúthraccair** 'wishes' has subj. sg. 2 **·dúthairser** *LB* 26<sup>a</sup>9, 3 **·dúthrastar**, pl. **ci** [a ] **dutairsetar** (read **du·duthairsetar**?) *Ml.* 56<sup>c</sup>7; and **·com·airc** 'asks' has 2 sg. prototonic **·comairser** *Laws IV.* 18, 18, *O'Dav.* 488 (cp. 1012), past 3 sg. **imme·chomairsed** *Ml.* 20<sup>b</sup>18, 63<sup>c</sup>9 (present **-are-** <\*(p)r + skfor \*pr + k-sk-; subj. **-ress-**, full grade, <\*prek-s-, cp. Lat. *preces*, hence the palatal consonance).

## 1. THE PRESENT OF THE S-SUBJUNCTIVE

**620.** In the paradigm *ss* is written after a short vowel, *s* after a long vowel; in the MSS. no distinction is observed, see § 144 f.

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		ABSOLUTE		A. ACTIVE		CONJUNCT	
sg.	1	tíasu		·tíad		·gess (·é-rus )	
	2	tési		·téis		·geiss	
	3	téis		·téi, ·té		·gé (·sá, ·í, ·ló )	
				enclit. -t		enclit. *-g (-l )	
rel.		tías (gess )					
pl.	1	tíasm (a )i		·tíasam		·gessam	
rel.		tíasm (a )e					

	ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT	
	2	1)	·tísid	·gessid
	3	tías (a )it	·tíasat	·gessat
rel.		tíast (a )e		

### 621. B. DEPONENT

The only absolute forms quotable are sg. 2 **meser** *Corm.* 1135; 3 **estir** *Wb.* 6624, rel. **mestar** *MI.* 127<sup>d</sup>12. Conjunct (for by-forms with *fēss-* *fīass-* see [§ 615](#)):

sg.	1	·fessur	pl.	·fessamar (·fīassar TBC. 1193)
	2	·fe(i)sser		·fessid
	3	·festar		·fessatar

### 622. C. PASSIVE

Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike.

	ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT	
sg.	3	gess (a )ir	gen. form	· gessar, · messar
rel.		tíasar, gessar (mestar )		(du · indnastar )
pl.	3			· gessatar
				(for · díguilsiter )

**623.** The flexion of the s-subjunctive is identical with that of the s-preterite ( [§ 674 ff.](#) ) and, except for the absolute 1 sg. act., with that of the s-future ( [§ 663](#) ).

<sup>1)</sup> The form **tíastá** *LU* 4764 is not old; but **nótresstæ** *Wb.* 9<sup>b</sup>19 has been emended, doubtless correctly, to **no-tésstæ** by Sarauw ( *Irske Studier* p. 136). One would expect \***téiste**.

It is a mixture of thematic and non-thematic forms. The former have the same endings as the pres. ind. of B I. On the other hand, in the 3 sg. and the deponent 2 sg. the personal ending is added directly to the -s of the stem. (*s*)*st* has become *ss* (2 sg. depon. -*sser* < -*s-ter*), except in the old group -*st* of the 3 sg. depon.; the vowel in *estir*, *·festar* is a secondary development. The development of -*ss+t* to -*ss-* is regular only where the final -*ss-* of the stem goes back to -*ts-*; where it has come from -*ks-* (-*χs*) one would expect rather -*cht-*; cp. *echtár* 'outside of' from \**eks*, **ess-**, *úachtár* 'the upper part' from *ōs* 'above'. But guttural and dental stem-finals are treated alike. In final position -*ss* is lost (-*ré* for \**-ress*, \**-ret-s-t*). The absolute 3 sg. *téis*, *estir*, as contrasted with the conjunct, points to a lost palatal vowel, the relative form *tías* to a lost neutral vowel.

The thematic forms can be explained as old subjunctives of the s-aorist, like Homeric  $\square\rho\upsilon\sigma\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu, \tau\square + \acute{o}\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ , Skt. *darśasi*, *nēṣatha*. The non-thematic forms might be due to the influence of the s-preterite, where non-thematic flexion was original. But there remains the further possibility that they were originally forms identical with the aorist indicative, but used modally.

Pedersen ( *Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Hist.-fil. Meddelelser III.*, 5, 1921, XIX. 3, 1933) has pointed out that in various languages, notably Italic and Lithuanian, stems in s with non-thematic endings appear as futures; e.g. Osc. Umbr. *fust* 'erit', Umbr. *ferest* 'feret', Osc. *pertemest* 'prohibebit', where a vowel (-*i*) seems to have been lost after the -*t* but none between *s* and *t*. This formation, if it is old (as Pedersen suggests), may also have had some influence on the flexion of the Irish s-subjunctive.

**624.** In the conjunct 1 sg. the forms attested for the Old Irish period--*tías*, *·ís*, *·ges*, *·tes*--do not reveal the original quality of the -*s* (cp. the *u*-stem **mess** 'judgment'). But that it had *u*-quality, as in the *s-*

future, is clear from *do-ro-thuusa* gl. *decīdam* *MI.* 23<sup>c</sup>23, misspelt for *·ro-thus-sa* (from *dí-* and *·tuit* 'falls'), as well as from later attested forms like *·lius*, *·sius*, *·érus* in Patrick *Hymn* (*Thes. II.* 357, 17), to *laigid*, *saidid*, *·érig* (*ess-reg-*), with the vocalism of *·biur*.

The palatal ending of *do-dúthris* *Wb.* 20<sup>b</sup>9, *do-futhris-se* 32<sup>a</sup>9 'I would fain' ([§ 516](#)), is peculiar. This looks like a second sg. (cp. *ní-dúthrais* *Thes. II.* 291, 10, which seems to be actually 2 sg.), and is perhaps a petrified form. The verb is usually deponent ([§ 619](#)).

The 2 sg. act. *du-fess* *MI.* 44<sup>a</sup>9 (to *do-fich* 'avenges') is merely an inaccurate spelling of *·feiss* ([§ 86](#)); cp. 3 sg. *cía* *thes* 23<sup>d</sup>23, for *théis*.

**625.** In the conjunct 3 sg. the stem final + *s* + the personal ending has disappeared; only in *Wb.* is *-i* written after *-é*: *·téi*, *ad-sléi* 20<sup>b</sup>2 to *ad-slig* 'induces' ([§ 56](#)).The

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stem vowel has combined with a preceding vowel in *do-coí* 'he may go', from *di-co-wess-* ([§ 534, 4](#)), in *ar-coí* *MI.* 46<sup>d</sup>11-cp. indic. 3 sg. rel. *ara-choat* 'prevents, injures', ipf. *ara-choided* (with *óí* or *oí?*)--and in *·taí* *Sg.* 26<sup>b</sup>7, *MI.* 31<sup>d</sup>6, pres. subj. of *do-tét*, prototonic *·taít*, 'comes' ([§§ 591, 770](#)); cp. *fo-rroí* ([§ 628](#)). Elsewhere *-i* is never found. A short final vowel, when stressed, is lengthened ([§ 44 b](#)); thus not only *·té*: *·tiagu*, *·gré*: (**in**) *·greinn* (*grēss-*), *·ré*: *du-rig* (*rēss-*, *riass-*), *·í*: *·ic* (*īss-*), *·má*: *maidid*, *·ná*: *nascid*, *·sá*: *saigid*, *bó*: *bongid* and (*as-*)*boind*, *·ló*: *fo-loing*, *·tó*: *tongid*, but also *·ré*: *rethid*. *·fé*: *fedid*, *·gé*: *gu(i)did* (*gess-*); cp. *·fé*: **in** *·fét*, *ad-fíadat*. **626.** Of all Irish verbal forms the most peculiar are those that are found here (i.e. in the conjunct 3 sg.) when the stress falls on a preverbal preposition, leaving the root syllable unstressed. The entire verbal stem is then often reduced to the initial consonant. This reduction is regular only where the stem vowel was originally short, but it is also found sometimes where the vowel was long; here it was doubtless mainly due to the fact that the two classes had fallen together in unstressed middle syllables, where long vowels were regularly shortened. In certain verbs (e.g. those with *-ong-*, *-ond-* in the pres. ind.) the *s*-future, where possibly the radical vowel had always been short ([§ 669](#)), may also have served as a model for the reduction.

Stems with original short vowel:

*aingid*, *·anich* 'protects' (*√aneg-*): subj. stem *aness-*, 3 sg. *·ain* *LL* 251<sup>a</sup>25 (3 pl. *·anset* *Thes. II.* 301, 3).

*ad-er-rig* 'repeats, amends' (*√reg-*): *ath-eirr*, *·errÉ* *Eriu* VII. 146 § 32, 172 § 2, *·aithir* 162 § 4 (pass. *·aithirrestar* *MI.* 32<sup>d</sup>13).

*·díurat* 'remains over' (cpd. of *rethid* [§ 592](#), subj. stem **ress-**): *for-duair* (read *·diúair*) 'supersit' *MI.* 23<sup>d</sup>7 (cp. past subj. 3 pl. *di-fúairsitis*).

*condon-fóir* *Thes. II.* 348, 4 belongs to **fo-reth** 'succour'; but it rhymes with *nóeb* (gen. sg. masc.) and hence apparently contains the diphthong *oí*. Perhaps *foí-* has spread from the fut., where it is easier to explain; cp. [§ 660](#), also [§ 588](#).

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*scochid* (later *scuchid*), subj. stem \***scess-** (cp. **gess-**, [§ 613](#)): *con-roi-sc* 'until it has come to an end' *LU* 4673.

*t-in-fet* 'inspires' ([§ 592](#)): *t-ini-b* *Wb.* 4<sup>a</sup>27 (initial of root: *sw-*).

*do-tuit* (later *do-fuit*), prototonic *·tuit* 'falls': *·tod* *ZCP.* XVIII. 403, *do-fot[h]*, with **-ro-**: *do-ro-th*, *·deroth* (with prep. **de-**) *Laws.* Cp. 3 pl. *·todsat*, *·totsat* (*t* from *th* before *s*); past *con-dositis* *Wb.* 5<sup>b</sup>11 (with assimilation of *th* to *s*, [§ 139](#)); with **-ro-**: pres. 1 pl. *·torthissem* 32<sup>c</sup>16; 3 *·torthaiset* *Laws* IV. 318, 20, *·dert[h]aiset* V. 390y.

The last two examples (roots *swizd-*?, *tud-*) could also belong to the class with original long vowel (IE. *-ei-*, *-eu-*; Ir. *-ē-*, *-ō-*).

**627.** Stems with original long vowel:

*saigid* (*sāss-*) retains the *-a-*: *·cuintea* 'he may seek' *MI.* 51<sup>a</sup>18 (\**cun-di-ša*).

But *téit* (*tíagu*), subj. stem *tēss-*: *con·éi-t* *Wb.* 6<sup>c</sup>1, 7 (*con·éitet* 'yields'), *do·ei-t* *Laws IV.* 192, 10 (*do·etet* 'tracks down, follows'); *in·úai-t* 'he may enter' *Ériu IX.* 29 (1 pl. *in·o-tsam* *MI.* 16<sup>a</sup>16). Cp., however, *con·imthæ* ( § 656 ) from the same stem.

The compounds of *·ic* (*īss-*) sometimes keep the stem vowel, sometimes drop it. Thus *con·r-ic* 'meets': *con·rí*, prototonic *·comuir* ( <-mr + ) *Wb.* 24<sup>a</sup>17; cp. 1 pl. *·comairsem* *Wb.* II. 33<sup>a</sup>9 (deuterotonic *con·rísam*), *con·ic*, *·cumuing* *·cumaing* 'can' ( § 549 ): *con·-í*, prototonic *·cumai* *MI.* 31<sup>c</sup>19, 32<sup>d</sup>15<sup>b</sup> (*a* in accordance with § 166 ) and *·cum* 87<sup>d</sup>13 (misspelt *·cu* 129<sup>b</sup>6); cp. 3 pl. *·cumset* 39<sup>c</sup>26. *ad·cumaing*, *·ecmaing* 'happens' has only *·ecmi* *Wb.* 5<sup>b</sup>35, *·ecmai* *MI.* 15<sup>a</sup>5, 22<sup>c</sup>8, 121<sup>c</sup>13, 122<sup>b</sup>5; cp. past subj. *do·ecmoised* *Wb.* 5<sup>d</sup>26, pl. *·tecmaistis* *MI.* 102<sup>a</sup>24. So also *ar·ic* 'finds': *ar·í*, prototonic *·airi* *MI.* 30<sup>d</sup>24, cp. 14<sup>d</sup>16, 27<sup>b</sup>12. Beside *tairi* 'he may come' SP., etc., *tair*, *do·mm·air* is common in poetry.

*as·boind*, *·opaind* 'refuses': *·op* *MI.* 20<sup>b</sup>6, *·oip* 42<sup>a</sup>2 (with palatal *p* = *bb*, modelled on roots with palatal vowel), *as·ro·bÉriu XI.* 73 § 3; cp. 2 sg. *·obbais* *ZCP. III.* 454, 10.

*bongid*, subj. *·bó* *Ériu II.* 210 § 33: *to·aithi·bibid*. VII. 162 § 5 (cp. pass. *to·aith·bestar* *Bürgschaft* p. 30 § 81), *·to·rai·b*

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§ 533, and even *·toirb* *Anecd. III.* 24, 20 (cp. 2 sg. *·torbais*); but *·conbba* (read *·com·ba*) *Laws IV.* 334, 5.

*fo·loing*, subj. *fo·ló*, *fu·ló*: prototonic *·ful* *MI.* 32<sup>d</sup>5; cp. 1 pl. *·fulsam* *Wb.* 14<sup>c</sup>2<sup>a</sup>.

*im·cing* 'disregards': *im·de·roi·ch* *Laws V.* 178, 3 (H. 2. 15); cp. pass, *cessair* (with *ē* ?) *ZCP. XII.* 362. 2 = *ciasair* *Cóic Con. Fug.* p. 43, 1.

*as·gleinn*, *·eclainn* 'discutit' (*glēss-*): *·ecail* *MI.* 56<sup>c</sup>8; *for·díuclainn* 'devours': *·fordíucail* 30<sup>a</sup>32; cp. 3 pl. *for·díucuilset* 4<sup>c</sup>32.

But *in·greinn* 'persecutes': *arna·ingre* *MI.* 111<sup>c</sup>6, with the vowel retained.

**628.** Since *w* is lost after vowel, and *-owe-* *-owi-* contract to *oí*, stems beginning with *f* (from *w*) often disappear almost completely in the 3 sg.; cp. *ar·coí*, *do·coí* (3 pl. *do·coíset*), § 625. The last form usually has prototonic *·dich* *·dig* (from *di·c(om)-wess-*, see § 108 ), e.g. *Wb.* 9<sup>d</sup>24, *Thes. II.* 349, 2; with **to-** : *·tudig* *ZCP. III.* 453, 29 (R); less regularly *·decha*, e.g. *Wb.* 18<sup>b</sup>30 (cp. § 769 ).

*fo·fich* 'injures': perfective subj. (tel.) *fo·rroí* *Laws IV.* 220, 12; cp. pass. *fo·rruastar* II. 396y, and past subj. act. *fo·róesad* (read *-sea*) *Corm.* 883 (Laud).

*to·dí·fed-* 'conduct, bring', 3 sg. pres. ind. *do·diat* ( § 592 ): subj. *du·dí* *MI.* 35<sup>c</sup>30; cp. past pass. *du·diastae* 45<sup>c</sup>4.

*as·ind* *MI.* 23<sup>d</sup>2, subj. of *as·ind·et* (*-íet*) 'expounds' ( § 592 ), would seem to have lost the ending of the disyllabic preposition *ind(e)* as well as the verbal stem. But forms like fut. *ass·inde* *ZCP. VII.* 483 and 3 pl. subj. *as·indiset* *MI.* 23<sup>a</sup>19 suggest that it is a scribal error for *·inde*.

**629.** Final *rr* and *ll* ( § 618 ) are not lost. Hence orgid makes 3 sg. subj. *·orr*, with enclitic stem *du·com·arr* *MI.* 85<sup>c</sup>3, *·comar* 23<sup>d</sup>5, etc. (3 pl. *·orrat*, pass. *·orratar* *ZCP. VII.* 480) and mligid (with *to·ind·uss-*) makes *·tiumell* (MSS. *tuinmell* 'he may assemble' (with false analysis *do·fiunmell*) *ZCP. XVI*

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XVI. 275, *du·inmail* gl. *eliceat* (read *-iat*) *MI.* 50<sup>b</sup>1 (cp. pass. *·meltar* *TBF.* 179).

**630.** In the passive, forms with stressed stem always in the earlier MSS. have the ending *-ar* (absolute *-ir*), as in the pres. ind. of strong verbs; the only exception is rel. *mestar* *Wb.* 9<sup>c</sup>6, *MI.* 24<sup>a</sup>10, which has been influenced by the deponent form. On the other hand, where the stem is enclitic the ending is always *-tar*: *du·indnastar*, *du·dichestar*, *con·dárbastar*, *·furastar*, *·accastar* ( § 609 ). In later sources *-tar* is also common in forms with stressed stem: rel. *dlestar*, (conjunct *·ríastar*, *·nástar*, etc.

There are two examples of *-er* in the passive: *ce·ni·fesser* *MI.* 24<sup>d</sup>22, *con·feiser* *Sg.* 209<sup>b</sup>30. In both cases, however, it seems probable that the scribe was thinking of the 2 sg. deponent.

## 2. THE PAST OF THE s-SUBJUNCTIVE

**631.** Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike; e.g. *ro·fessinn* like *·gessinn*.

sg.	1	<b>·gessin (n )</b>	( <b>·téissin,</b> <b>·sésainn )</b>	pl.	<b>·gesm (a )is</b> ( <b>·roi-msimmis )</b>
	2	<b>·gesta</b>			<b>·gest (a )e</b> ( <b>·orth (a )e )</b>
	3	<b>·gessed (·bósad )</b>			<b>·gest (a )is</b> ( <b>·toirsitis )</b>
				<b>PASSIVE</b>	
gen. form		<b>·gest (a )e</b>		3 pl.	<b>·gest (a )is</b>
		<b>(do ·imm-arthae )</b>			

**632.** The endings are the same as those of the imperfect indicative of **B I**. For *t* instead of *th* after *s*, see § 139.

In *MI.* the ending *-ad* for *-ed* sometimes spreads to the 3 sg. from the *a*-subjunctive, and *-ainn* for *-inn* to the 1 sg.; e.g. *·bósad* 18<sup>a</sup>7 (*bongid*), *·orrad* 124<sup>d</sup>8 (*orgid*), *·sésainn* 41<sup>c</sup>5 (*·seinn*). In the plural too. *MI.* sometimes has *-mais*, *-tais* with neutral quality.

In the 1 pl. of the pres. subj. *·tössam* (not *-om*) occurs as early as *Cam.* *-tae* later becomes *-ta* ( § 99 ).

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## STEM AND FLEXION OF THE FUTURE

**633.** The future stem is contained in the future and secondary future tenses. According to their formation future stems fall into two main classes, which in general correspond to the difference between weak and strong verbs.

I. Weak verbs have the *f*-future.

Most strong verbs have reduplicated forms, with a stem similar to that of their subjunctive. According as they have the *a*- or the *s*-subjunctive their future is either

IIa. the asigmatic or *a*-future, or  
IIb. the *s*-future.

**634.** A few strong verbs adopt the weak future formation. They are:

1. The compounds of *·ic*, fut. *·icfea*;
2. Those of *·moinethar*, *·muinethar*, such as *do·moinethar* 'thinks', fut. *·moinfethar*, *·muinfethar*;
3. Sometimes those of **em-**; e.g. *do·emfea* 'will protect' *MI.* 128<sup>c</sup>8 beside *du·éma* 67c5.

Conversely, the weak verb *car(a)id* 'loves' has a strong fut. *·cechra* ( § 648 ).

For the *ē*-future of certain weak verbs see § 651.

### I. THE f-FUTURE

Collection: Kieckers, *IF.* XXVII. 325 ff.

**635.** The stem of the *f*-future has the suffix *-fa-* and is inflected like an *a*-subjunctive. Only the conjunct 1 sg. act. has *u*-quality (ending *-ub*).

In syllabic auslaut the *f* becomes spirant *b* (§ 130, 3). After consonants it is as a rule retained. In *MI.*, however, it is occasionally replaced by *b*, especially after *s*; e.g. 2 sg. *do·nesbe* 112c3; 3 pl. *ar·túaisbet* 126b12; pass. 3 sg. *for·brisbedar* 51<sup>b</sup>1; beside act. *con·nesfea Wb.* 4<sup>b</sup>15. After other consonants *b* is very seldom found; e.g. secondary fut. 3 sg. *·soírbed MI.*

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53<sup>d</sup>6; fut. *cot·n·erba gl. confidet* 112<sup>a</sup>3 (pres. **erbi-**). For *f* < *bf* in *atrefea* (\**ad·trefea*), fut. of *atreba*, and in *con·tifea*, fut. of *con·tibi*, see § 138; but we also find *atrebea MI.* 35<sup>b</sup>24, *·noíbfea Wb.* 13<sup>b</sup>19.

Between unstressed vowels, *f* and *b* are used indifferently; e.g. *du·róseaifea* 'will surpass' *MI.* 139<sup>b</sup>3 beside *du·róscaibea* 89<sup>c</sup>12.

**636.** The vowel before the suffix *-fa-* was, of course, palatal in A II, so that here syncope results in a palatal soundgroup (*·léicfea*). But in the *a*-verbs also (A I) palatalization generally takes place. Examples: 1 sg. *ainfa* (*Wb.* 14<sup>a</sup>8), sec. fut. 2 sg. *·ainfeda*, 3 *·ainfed*, to *·ana* 'stays'; 1 sg. *ad·e(i)lliub*, to *ad·ella* 'visits'; 3 sg. *·soírfea*, to *·soíra* 'frees' (the same sound may be represented by *·soírfa Wb.* 11<sup>b</sup>4; see § 97); *fu·céillfea MI.* 90<sup>c</sup>15, to *fo·ciallathar* 'takes care of'; pass. *fo·m·firfider·sa* 33<sup>b</sup>10, to *fo·fera* 'prepares'; sec. fur. 3 pl. *for·ceinnfítis*, to *for·cenna* 'terminates', etc.

Neutral quality is, of course, found where, through syncope of a preceding vowel, a neutral group has arisen. Examples: *·labrafammar* 'we shall speak' *Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup>4, from *·labar..*; *·samlafammar* 'we shall liken' 17<sup>b</sup>12, from *·samal..*; similarly *·comálnabadar MI.* 46<sup>c</sup>20 (*á* in accordance with § 45) 'he shall fulfil', from *comlán* 'full'.

But apart from this special case, there are other instances too where the future of *a*-verbs shows the neutral consonance found in all the remaining tenses; e.g. 1 sg. dep. *·molfar Wb.* 9<sup>a</sup>22, pl. 3 *molfait MI.* 69<sup>b</sup>1, sec. fut. 3 sg. *·molfath* 94<sup>a</sup>14, to *·moladar* 'praises'; *·cumsanfa* 80<sup>d</sup>5, to *con·osna* 'rests'; 1 pl. *con·delcfam Wb.* 17<sup>b</sup>10, to *con·delga* 'compares'; *im·timc[h]élfam MI.* 24<sup>a</sup>7, to *im·timchella* 'encircles', etc.

Further, neutral quality may appear even in original *i*-verbs whose final consonance had been depalatalized in other forms according to the rule in § 166. Examples: 3 sg. *·tucafa Wb.* 12<sup>d</sup>3, etc., 2 pl. *da·ucbaid* 21<sup>c</sup>12, to *·tuc(a)i* 'understands'; *atluchfam* (*ad·tluch-*) 17<sup>a</sup>2, to *atluchethar buidi* 'gives thanks'; *du·lugfa MI.* 58<sup>c</sup>18 beside *du·luichfea* 128<sup>c</sup>6, to *do·lugi* 'forgives'.

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**637.** This formation, which is confined to Irish and is not found in Britannic, has not yet been satisfactorily explained. All the phonological evidence points to *f* as the original consonant, which remains after other consonants, becomes *b* ( $\beta$ ) in syllabic auslaut, and may be either voiceless or voiced between unstressed vowels, thus corresponding exactly to *th* (§ 123 ff.). This rules out the comparison, so frequently suggested, with the Latin future with *b* (Faliscan *f*): *cantabo, monebo*, Faliscan *carafo*, etc.; for here the *b* (*f*) goes back to IE. *bh*, which should have given *b* in Irish. The cases where, as a result of syncope, the labial came to stand after voiceless consonants, i.e. where  $\beta$  could have become *f* (§ 124), are too few to make it at all likely that *f* should have spread from them, and should be most firmly established precisely in the earliest sources. According to some scholars, Lat. *-b-* in the future and imperfect goes back to *-bhw-* (to the root of *fui*, etc.), and Sommerfelt suggests (Mén. See. Ling. XXII. 230 ff.) that Ir. *-fis* is the result of *- $\beta$ w-*; but he gives no other example of such a development. Nor does the Irish flexion with *-a + -* correspond to that of the Latin future (but only to that of the imperfect). The isolated 1 sg. in *-ub* (but depon. *-far*) is certainly not a survival from an earlier flexion, but has doubtless taken its *u*-quality from the *s*-future, a development which was facilitated by the labial  $\beta$ .

It is impossible to ascertain whether the frequent palatalization of consonants in the *a*-verbs is inherited or has arisen by analogy with the *i*-verbs. At the same time it is noteworthy that such confusion should have occurred in the *f*-future only, and not in the *s*-preterite.

The Old Welsh future forms with *-hau-* (from *-sa + -*), like *briuhaud* 'he will break', *cuinhaunt* 'they shall weep', seem to offer a more promising line of comparison. But It. *f* points to *-sw-*, not to *-s-* alone, which in noncompound words is lost between vowels. The theory advanced by Pisani (R. Accad. dei Lincei, Ser. VI vol. IV (1933), 545 ff.) that *-a + -* was added to the 1 sg. in *-sū* ( < *-sō*), thus giving *-swa + -*, is too artificial to be convincing. The Mid.W. 2 sg. pres. subj. *cer(h)ych* may conceivably go back to an old (middle) personal ending with *-sw-*, as in the Sanskrit middle ipv. in *-sva*, but it is impossible to establish any connexion between this and the Irish future. Nor are there any parallel instances which would support the assumption that at an earlier period Irish had forms with *-bes(a + )-*, whence *-βeha + -*, and that *-e-* was syncopated before *h* (from *s*) had become silent, so that *βh* gave *f*.

### FLEXION OF THE F-FUTURE AND SECONDARY FUTURE.

**638.** It will be sufficient to give one active and one deponent paradigm of the *i*-conjugation (A II). Examples with neutral consonance are given [§ 636](#).

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		ACTIVE	1. FUTURE	DEPONENT
			ABSOLUTE	
sg.	1	<b>léicfea</b>	<b>suidigfer</b>	
	2	<b>léicfe</b>	<b>suidigfider</b>	
	3	<b>léicfid -fith</b>	<b>suidigfithir * -fidir</b>	
rel.		<b>léicfes (s)</b>	<b>*suidigfedar</b>	
pl.	1	<b>léicfimmi</b>	<b>*suidigfimmir</b>	
rel.		<b>léicfimme</b>	<b>*suidigfemmar</b>	
	2	<b>*léicfithe -fide</b>	<b>*suidigfide (folnibthe)</b>	
	3	<b>léicfit</b>	<b>*suidigfitir</b>	
rel.		<b>léicfite</b>	<b>*suidigfetar</b>	

### 639. CONJUNCT

sg.	1	<b>·léiciub (do·lugub, ·predchob)</b>	<b>·suidigfer (fo·sisefar)</b>
	2	<b>·léicfe (do·nesbe)</b>	<b>*·suidigfider</b>
	3	<b>·léicfea (do·róscibea)</b>	<b>*·suidigfedar (·comálnabadar)</b>
pl.	1	<b>·léicfem</b>	<b>*·suidigfemmar (·labrafammar)</b>
	2	<b>*·léicfid (da·ucbaid)</b>	<b>*·suidigfid (·samlibid)</b>
	3	<b>·léicfet (·cumgubat)</b>	<b>·suidigfetar.</b>

### 640. PASSIVE

Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike.

		ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg.	3	<b>léicfidir -ithir</b>	gen. form <b>·léicfider</b> ( <b>·dílgibther, ·predchabthar</b> )
rel.		<b>léicfider</b>	
pl.	3	<b>léicfitir</b>	pl. 3 <b>·léicfiter -fetar</b>
rel.		<b>léicfiter -fetar</b>	

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### 2. SECONDARY FUTURE

**641.** Active and deponent verbs have the same flexion.

#### ACTIVE (AND DEPONENT)

sg.	1	·léicfin (n)	pl.	·léicfimmis
	2	·léicfeda		*·léictide -fithe
	3	·léicfed -feth (·cumcaibed)		·léicfitis.

**642.** Since the inflexion is the same as in the *a*-subjunctive, *f* should properly be neutral in all positions except where, as the result of syncope, it comes immediately after a palatal consonant. But since this occurs in most of the forms, palatal *f* (or *b*) often spreads to such forms as keep the preceding vowel. Examples: 3 sg. *do·fuircifea*, *do·aidlibea*; pl. 1 *do·aidlibem*, 2 *con·fodlaibid*, *·samlibid*; pass. *·dílgbither*; sec. fut. 3 sg. *do·coischifed*, *du·aircibed*, *·cumcaibed* *MI.* 42<sup>c</sup>32 (beside 3 pl. fut. *·cumgubat* 54<sup>a</sup>19), etc.; and even conjunct 1 sg. *fo·dádib-sea* 78<sup>a</sup>10, *no·prithchib* 45<sup>a</sup>8, cp. 53<sup>b</sup>8.

Conversely, however, neutral *f* or *b* in place of palatal occurs in isolated forms: 1 sg. dep. *·scíthigfar* *Thes.* II. 5, 28; sec. fur. 3 sg. *do·n-icfad* *Wb.* 21<sup>a</sup>3 (more frequently *-icfed*). In pass. *for·brisbedar* *MI.* 51<sup>b</sup>1 *-dar* has replaced *-der*.

**643.** In *MI.* most of the short verbal stems remain unsynocopated in the 1 sg. deponent: *fo·ásisefar* 58<sup>c</sup>17, *fris·ailefar* 38<sup>a</sup>10, *do·ceuirifar* 3<sup>a</sup>1; but *ad·áchfer* 68<sup>c</sup>17, like *no·molfar* *Wb.* 9<sup>a</sup>22.

#### 644. A III

Most verbs with *-a-* and *-i-* have strong futures ( §§ 648, 655 ). But, *ad·roilli* (*·ro-slí-*) 'deserves' has fut. 3 pl. *adid·roillifet* *MI.* 61<sup>a</sup>20 (like A II).

*snáifid* 'she will swim' *LU* 2965 is not an old form.

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For the *o*-verbs, cp. sg. 2 *·soife* *MI.* 33<sup>a</sup>1; 3 *sóifid* *RC.* XXVI. 40-42; pass. *·cloifether* *MI.* 67<sup>a</sup>11, pl. *sóifitir* *Wb.* 26<sup>a</sup>21 (read *-of-* in all cases?). Forms such as *cot·n-ófathar* (dep.) *ZCP.* XI. 91 § 6 are less likely to be original.

A peculiar future is formed by *foid* 'spends the night', subj. *·fia* § 610 : sg. 3 *·fifea* *IT.* II. i. pp. 180, 186 f. (doubtless to be read everywhere with *i*), 1 *fiba Ériu* II. 3, with suffixed pronoun *fífit-sa* *IT.* III. 322 § 70 ; pl. 1 *[f]ifam-ni* *LL* 274<sup>b</sup>7, 3 *fibait* 116<sup>b</sup>5; pass. *fiibthir* *ZCP.* VIII. 565, *fibthair* *LL* 275<sup>a</sup>42. Cp. 3 pl. sec. fut. with **ro** : *·raibfitis*, *·rufitiss* *Laws* v. 132 n. 3 (read *·roifitis*).

This formation may be based on a reduplicated future (with *wi-*) of the root *wes-*, which, owing to the loss of the *-w-* (and the *-s-*?), had become obscure and was eventually attached to the *f*-future. Doubtless it would be rash to conjecture that an original *\*wiw's..* had by metathesis become *\*wisw..*, which then gave *visv-*, *fif-* ( § 132 ), and that the starting-point of the *f*-future is to be found here; the long *i* is an argument against it.

*as·luí*: sg. 1 *·élub*, 2 *·élafe*, etc.

## IIa. THE ASIGMATIC FUTURE OF STRONG VERBS

Collection: Strachan, *ZCP.* III., 480 ff. **645.** The asigmatic future is formed by those strong verbs that have an asigmatic subjunctive. Three main types of it can be distinguished:

1. the normal reduplicated formation,
2. the *ē*-future,
3. the future of the present class B IV (type *crenaid*), which diverges from 1. in flexion.

Besides the above there are a few isolated formations.

## 1. THE NORMAL REDUPLICATED FUTURE

**646.** As in all Irish reduplicated formations, the reduplication syllable contains the first consonant of the root. The original reduplication vowel was clearly *i* (as in the s-future). Before an originally neutral syllable it is usually lowered to *e*, though there are exceptions (**did(a)ma-**). The flexion is identical with that of the *a*-subjunctive ( § 600 ) in all forms, including the conjunct 1 sg. active.

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**647.** Examples:

a. Reduplication with *i*:

*gainithir* 'is born' subjunctive stem *gena-*, future stem *gigne-* < \**gigena-*: 3 sg. *gignithir*, *·gignethar*, pl. *gignitir*; see. fut. 3 sg. *·gigned*.

*daimid* 'suffers, concedes', subj. stem *dama-*: sg. 2 *·didmae*, 3 *·didma*, pl. 3 *·didmat* (1 sg. *·didam* Ériu III. 136, 9, *·dídem* LU 5232); sec fut. 3 sg. *·didmed* Sg. 137<sup>b5</sup> (where the palatalization of *-dm-* is peculiar). The prototonic 3 sg. fut. *·fuidema* Ml. 56<sup>c9</sup> is either written for \**·foídema* (cp. § 660) or is an early instance of the spread of the *ē*-future.

*ro·la(i)methar* 'dares': fut. 3 pl. perhaps *ní·lilmatar* Ml. 69<sup>b3</sup> (so Strachan emends MS. *ní lib matar*).

The interpolator in LU 8473, 9004 writes 3 sg. *fo·limathar*. Other late MSS. (see Contrib. p. 474) have *·linfadhar*, *·linfaithir*, modelled on the *f*-future.

*ibid* 'drinks', fut. stem *íba-* (with contraction of the reduplication vowel, cp. § 658a): sg. 1 *íba*, *·íb*. 3 *·íba*, 3 pl. *íbait*.

**648.** (b) Reduplication with *e*:

*canid* 'sings', subj. stem *cana-*, fut. stem \**cehana-*: sg. 1 *·cechan*, 2 *·cechnae*, 3 *·cechna*; abs. rel. *cechnas*: sec. fut. 3 sg. *·cechnad*.

By analogy with this the weak verb *car(a)id* 'loves', subj. stem *cara-*, has fut. 3 sg. *·cechra*, pl. *cechrait*, *·cechrat*; sec. fut. 1 sg. *·cechrainn*.

*ad·gládathar* 'addresses': sg. 1 *·gegallar* (*ll* < *ld*) LU 1489; 3 *·gegalldatharibid*, *·acelladar* Corm. 1059 (Harl.).

In the reduplication the second *g* of \**geglad-* should have disappeared: cp. § 125 and *·cechladar* below.

*do·goa* 'chooses' ( § 522 ), subj. 3 sg. *·gó*: fut. 3 sg. *do·gega*, pl. *·gegat*; sec. fut. sg. 1 *·gegainn*, 3 *·gegad*, 1 pl. *·gegmáis*.

A III verbs:

*bā-* 'die', subj. 3 pl. *·baat*: fut. sg. 1 *beba* ZCP. XX. 197, *·beb* RC. XVI. 41; 3 *bebaid*, *·beba*; pl. 2 *bebthe* (-*thi* MS.) *Anecd.* III. 59, 2; 3 *·bebat* ZCP. III. 461, 24; rel. pl. *bebte* (-*té* MS.) Wb. 25<sup>b</sup>16.

*rā-* 'row': 3 sg. *do·rera* ZCP. XI. 87 § 49, 97 § 57.

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*ad·co-ta*, *·éta* 'obtains' ( § 544 ): fut. 3 sg. *·étada* Ml. 129<sup>b5</sup> (*-a-* from older *-e-*, cp. § 680), 1 pl. *·étatham-[n]i* Cam. ( *Thes.* II. 247, 23); pass. *·étastar* Trip. 118, 23, sec. fut. *·étaste* Ml. 43<sup>d</sup>20, both modelled on the s-future (cp. pret. pass. *·étas* § 708).

*gniid* 'does' (subj. § 608): fut. sg. 1 *du·gén, fu·gén* (< *·ge-gn-*), 2 *·génae*, 3 *·géna*; abs. rel. *·génas*; pl. 1 *·génam*, 2 *·génid*, 3 *·génat*. With enclitic stem: sg. 1 *·digén*, 3 *·digneá*; pl. 1 *·dignem* (also *·digénam* MI. 30°90), 3 *·dignet*. Pass. *·géntar*. Sec. fut. 3 sg. *·génad*, 1 pl. *·génmis*; enclit. 3 sg. *·digned*, pl. 1 (with **-ro-**) *do·rigenmaís* (read *·génmaís*) LU 4638, 2 *·digénte*.

After this model *con·sní* 'contends' has fut. 3 sg. *\*con·séna, ·cosséna* LU 8791, pl. *im·cossénat* (MS. *·consenat*) TBC. 3088, cp. LL 95°43; sec. fut. 3 sg. (with *ad-ro-*) **·airc[h]sénad** Laws I. 150, 18.

B V verbs:

*·gnin* 'knows' (subj. § 612): 3 pl. *·génat*, pass. gen. form *·géntar*.

*ro·clu(i)nethar* 'hears', subj. *·cloathar* (§ 612): fut. 3 sg. *·cechladar*. The passive has s-forms: *·cechlastar* TBC. 3379, sec. fut. *·cechlastai* (read **-tae**) LU 7180, probably influenced by *ad·cí* 'sees' (§ 655). In poetry we also find passive forms without *s*, e.g. 3 pl. (rel. ?) *cechlaiter* LL 47a12, and even active forms: 3 sg. *·cechla* 47°13, pl. *·cechlat* RC. XXVI. 42§ 222.

**649.** (c) *eb-* instead of reduplication:

*ernaid, ·ern* 'bestows', subj. *·era*, has future stem *ebra-*: 3 sg., with suffixed pronoun, *ebarthi* MI. 46°12, pass. *ebarthir* Wb. 32°27. As the root originally began with *p-* (Gk. *πορει + v̂*), *ebra-* must go back to earlier *\*piprā-* (§ 227 e).

Similarly *ebla-*, which serves as the future stem of *a(i)gid* 'drives', goes back to **\*piplā-**, if the comparison with Lat. *pellere* (Pokorny, *IF*. XXXVIII. 115 f.) is correct: 3 sg. *·ebla*, rel. *eblas*, pl. *eblait*; see. fut. 3 sg. *·eblad*.

Collection: Miscellany K. Meyer 62 ff.; Marstrander, *IF*. XXXVIII. 194 ff.

But *eb-* has spread to other verbs also:

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*ailid, ·ail* 'rears': 3 sg. *·ebla* (spelt *·eabla* Laws V. 200, 20 and n. 4, *·eblae, -ai* *IT*. I. 141, 18); pass. *\*ebaltair* (*ebeltair, -tar, ébáltair* MSS.) TBC. 537; sec. fut. pass. *·ebalta* BB 397°16 (*·ebelta* RC. XVI.154, 2).

*airid* 'ploughs': 3 pl. *·ebrat* (*-ad* MS.) RC. XII. 106 § 160.

## 2. THE ē-FUTURE

**650.** In place of the radical *e* or *a* of the subjunctive stem a compensatorily lengthened *ē* (§ 54) appears.

This future, which latter becomes widespread, is found in the Old Irish period with the following verbs:

(a) Verbs with *e* in the subjunctive stem: *berid* 'bears', subj. stem *bera-*: fut. 3 sg. *·béra*.

Similarly *celid* 'conceals': fut. *·céla*; *melid* 'grinds': *·méla*; *fo·geir* 'heats': *·géra*; *do·fuissim* 'generates, creates' (*√sem-*): fut. pass. *do·fuisémthar* Wb. 4°7 *dí-em-* 'protect': *·éma* (beside *·emfea*, § 634).

*marn(a)id, ·mairn* (B IV) 'betrays', subj. stem *mera-*: fut. *·méra*.

*at·baill* 'dies', subj. stem *belā-*: fut. *·béla*.

**651.** (b) Verbs with *a* in the subjunctive stem:

*ga(i)bid* 'takes', subj. stem *gaba-*: fut. *·géba*.

*ga(i)rid* 'calls', subj. stem *gara-*: fut. *·géra*.

*mar(a)ith*, *·mair* 'remains' ( § 554 ), subj. stem *mara-*: fut. *·méra*.

By analogy with these the weak verb *gat(a)id* 'takes away, steals' (A I), subj. stem *gata-*, has fut. *·géta*.

The weak verb *scar(a)id* 'parts', subj. stem *scara-*, has fut. 1 sg. *·scairiub* Ml. 43a23; but its compounds *etir·scara* 'separates' and *con·scara* 'destroy' have *·scéra*.

(c) *gon(a)id*, *·goin* ( § 554 ) 'wounds, slays', subj. stem *gona-*: fut. *·géna*.

Forms like pass. *·gignethar* LL 288<sup>b</sup>51 found in later sources do not appear to be old.

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**652.** The flexion of the *ē*-future is the same as that of the *a*-subjunctive: *·bér*, *·bér(a)e*, *·béra*; *·béram*, *·bér(a)id*, *·bérat*; pass. *·bérthar*, pl. *·bértar*; absolute sg. 3 *béraid*, rel. *béras*, etc.; sec. fut. 3 sg. *·bérad*; pl. *·bérmáis*, *·bérth(a)e*, *·bért(a)is*.

The prep. **to-** when stressed before *-béra* has the form *ti-*: 1 sg. *·tibér* (deuterotonic *do·bér*). The model was probably *do·gén*, *·digén* ( § 648 ), with the prep. **di-** ( § 831 ).

As a rule enclitic forms do not drop the *é*; e.g. *·tibérae* Ml. 77<sup>a</sup>16, *·tibérad* 97<sup>d</sup>10, *·tibértais* 15<sup>c</sup>7, *con·ocáeba* 20<sup>b</sup>5. But since syncopated forms like *·tibre* RC. XX. 12 § 20, *·tired* LU 3171, are found in texts of not much later date, the absence of such forms from our sources may be merely accidental. Cp. also *·digneá*, *·dignem*, *·dignet*, § 648.

### 3. THE FUTURE OF THE B IV VERBS

Collection: Strachan, ZCP. III. 481.

**653.** (a) Clearly reduplicated forms:

sg. 1 *as·ririú-sa* Wb. 18<sup>a</sup>14; 2 absolute *lile* (? MSS. *lile-ssu*, *lile-sa*, etc., emended by Stokes to *lilli*) Féil. Prol. 309, 311; 3 *lilith* Ériu V. 242, 178, *as·riri* Wb. 25<sup>b</sup>6, Ml. 30<sup>c</sup>13, rel. *liles* Wb. 10<sup>a</sup>5; pl. 3 *lilit* Trip. 180, 26, *gúlaít* 'they shall adhere to' Ml. 56<sup>b</sup>7 (from *\*gi-gl-*); pass. *as·rirther* Wb. 1<sup>c</sup>3, *do·rirt[h]er* Laws IV. 20, 6 (H.3.17); sec. fut. 3 sg. *·gúlad* LU 6822.

*ara·chrin* (B V) follows the same pattern: 3 sg. *·airchíuri* (MS. *-chiure*) ZCP. XI. 88 § 8, pl. *ara·chíurat* Ml. 59<sup>b</sup>9.

**654.** (b) In the fut. of *fen-*, with *f-* < *w-*, the loss of *-w-* after *-i-* has resulted in seemingly non-reduplicated forms. Thus the fut. pass. of *aith-fen-* 'requite' is written *ad·fether* Wb. 20<sup>b</sup>7 and, perhaps more correctly, *ad·fither* Ériu I. 68 § 4.

The future of *ben(a)id* is modelled on that of **fen-** (as is the preterite, § 691a ), making reduplicated forms with *\*biw-* instead of *\*biβ-* (from *bib-*); cp. sg. 1 *coich biu* 'whom shall I slay?' TBC. 3592, *ata·bíu* ZCP. III. 216, 28, LL 119b40; 3 *du·fó-bi* Ml. 96<sup>a</sup>7, *ar·dí-bi* LU 5573, rel. *bias* TBC. 2651; sec. fut. *·biad* 2942, pass. *fo·ind-a-r-paide* Ml. 26<sup>a</sup>1.

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If the absolute forms pres. 3 sg. *bied*, pl. *biet* *Anecd.* v. 28,18, 29,22 are not mistakes for *biid*, *biit*, they have been attracted to the future of the substantive verb ( § 788 ).

Similarly *do·rorban*, *·derban* 'hinders' ( § 852 ): fut. 1 sg. *do·rorbiu-sa* ZCP. III. 246§ 56.

#### 4. SPECIAL FORMATIONS

**655.** The verb *·cí* 'sees' (A III) has future stem *cich..* which, unlike the subjunctive ( § 609 ), has active flexion: 3 sg. *du·é-cigi* (misspelt *·écicigi*) Ml. 111<sup>c</sup>13, *·accigi* Trip. 130, 18, pl. *·aiccichetibid.* 158, 11; sec. fut. 3 sg. *at·chiched* (-*ead* MS.) BDD. § 11, *·aicciged* Trip. 130, 17, *·acciged* LU 5336, 3 pl. *ad·cichitis* Wb. 7<sup>a</sup>2.

The flexion is the same as that of § 653. In the late poem printed Ériu VI. 122 § 6 the 2nd (not 3rd) sg. *condas·ciche* 'so that thou shalt see her' rhymes with *Liphi*, and hence is to be read *·cichi*. This may be evidence in support of a form *lili* in § 653. The flexion would then correspond entirely to that of the A II presents. The 2 sg. *·airc[h]echa* § 535b is a later transformation.

The passive has a sigmatic formation (like the enclitic subjunctive): *atat·chigestar* Ml. 59<sup>c</sup>12 (*at·chichestár* LU 2760 is more regular, since *ch* after a stressed vowel does not become *γ*). Sigmatic forms are, however, found in the active also: 3 pl. *at·chichset* Ériu III. 30 § 10; perhaps, too, 1 sg. *do·n·écuchussa* LU 1431, 1490 should be analysed *-us-sa* rather than *-u-ssa*.

*ciid* 'weeps': fut. pl 1 rel. *cichme* LL 119<sup>b</sup>11; 3 *cichit* Anecd. V. 29, 22.

**656.** The verb 'to go' ( § 769 ), subj. stem *tēss-*, *tíass-*, has an unreduplicated future stem *rega-* or *riga-*, inflected like an *a*-subjunctive; e.g. **sg.** 1 *·reg* Wb. 7<sup>d</sup>15 beside *·rig* Ml. 87<sup>b</sup>18; 3 *·rega* 28<sup>a</sup>10 (absolute **regaid** Sg. 36<sup>b</sup>1) beside *·riga* Ml. 85<sup>b</sup>1a, Wb. 25<sup>a</sup>38; sec. fut. *·regad* Ml. 118<sup>b</sup>6 beside *·rigad* Thes. II. 242, 6 (Arm.).

Before this stem the stressed vowel of the prep. **to-** assumes *e* or *i* quality; e.g. *·ti-rga* Ml. 121<sup>a</sup>17 beside 1 pl. *-te-rgam* 107<sup>d</sup>11, as if *·torega-* had been transformed into *·teroga* before syncope took place.

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The *i* beside *e* is possibly due to the influence of the numerous futures with *i*-reduplication. The solitary instance of *í* in *ni·rígad* Wb. 11<sup>a</sup>22 (cp. § 46) may be disregarded. For the origin of this formation, cp. § 769.

Compounds of *tíagu* with two prepositions, however, have the *s*-future (without reduplication, § 661): *con·im-thæ* 'it will accompany' Wb. 12<sup>c</sup>4; *·inotsat* (*in-oss-*) 'they shall enter' 33<sup>a</sup>14.

## I Ib. THE s-FUTURE

Collection: Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society 1899-1902*, p. 291 ff.; cp. ZCP. III. 474 ff.

**657.** The stem of the *s*-future is generally formed by reduplicating that of the *s*-subjunctive ( § 613 ff.). The stem vowel, being unstressed throughout, is always short when not elided.

The reduplication vowel is *i*. Only before stems with *a* is it usually lowered to *e*; e.g. *ma(i)did* 'breaks', subj. stem *māss-*: fut. **mem..s-** (3 sg. *memais*); *nascid* 'binds': **nen..s-**; *sla(i)did* 'strikes': **sel..s-** (1 sg. *·selos* or *·selas* Liadain and Cuirithir, p. 20, 15.17).

But *ad·claid* 'hunts' has fut. 1 sg. *ad·cichlus* Filargirius Gl. ( Thes. II. 48, 6; 362z).

In the remaining stems it always appears as *i*, even where the subjunctive stem contains *ō*; thus not only in

*gu(i)did* 'prays', subj. *gess-*: fut. **gig** <sup>1</sup>..s- , *con·rig* 'binds', subj. *rēss-*, *ríass-*: **rír** <sup>1</sup>..s- , *nigid* 'washes' **nin** <sup>1</sup>..s- , *ligid* 'licks': **lil** <sup>1</sup>..s- , *con·clich* 'dashes, tosses': **·cichl..s**, *cingid* 'steps', subj. *cēss-*, *cíass-*: **cich** <sup>1</sup>..s,

*for-ding* 'oppresses', subj. *·dēss-*, *·díass-*: **did** <sup>i</sup>..s- , *tennid* 'cuts': **tith** <sup>i</sup>..s- , *fo-gleinn* 'learns': **·gigl..s-** , *fo-ceird* 'puts, throws', subj. **·cerr-** ( § 618 ): *·cicherr-*; but also in *bongid* 'breaks', subj. *bōss-*: **bib..s-** , *fo-loing* 'supports', subj. *·lōss-*: **·lil..s-** , *tongid* 'swears', subj. *tōss-*: **tith..s-** *·dlongid* 'cleaves': **didl..s-** .

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**658.** FORM OF THE REDUPLICATION SYLLABLE Besides the irregular retention of *ch*, *g*, and *d* before *l* in **cichl..s-** , **·gigl..s-** , **·didl..s-** , the following points should be noted:

- Verbs beginning with a vowel reduplicate with *i* alone: **orgid** 'slays', subj. **orr-** ( § 618 ): fut. **iorr-** (flexion § 665). *ess-*, subjunctive of the verb 'to eat' (*·ved-*, § 766): fut. *íss-* (cp. § 113), which, however, by analogy with **íba-** ( § 647 ) is inflected like an *a*-subjunctive: sg. 1 **·ís (s)** , 3 **íssaid**, **ísa** (KZ. XLVIII. 59); sec. fut. 3 sg. **·íssad** ( RC. VIII. 58), pl. **·ístais**.
- Roots beginning with *sl* drop the lenited *s* after reduplication ( § 216; elsewhere *sl* becomes *ll*, § 153 b), cp. **sel..s-** above (fut. of **sla (i) did** ). So too **sligid** 'fells': fut. **sil** <sup>i</sup>..s(3 sg. **silis** ); cp. **fu-silis** gl. **damnabis uotis Filargirius** Gl. ( *Thes.* II. 46, 23; 361).
- sennid** and **do-seinn** (U+221Aswenn-, § 548), subj. **sēss-** , have regular **sif..s-** , with *f* from lenited *sw*: sg. 3 **sifis**, **·sib** ( § 667 ), 1 **sibsa** ( § 666 ).
- saigid** 'seeks, makes for', subj. **sāss-** : fut. **siass-** , with *-s-* dropped: sg. 3 **siais** ZCP. IX. 455, 24, **·sia**, 1 **sesa** (from <sup>\*</sup>*siassa* ) *Bürgschaft* p. 13 § 44, pl. 2 **·sesaid** LU 1850; sec. fut. 3 sg. **·ses (s)** ed.

**659.** (e) In roots with *f-* (subj. § 615) the initial is regularly lost after the reduplication: **fiess-** , **fiass-** < <sup>\*</sup>*wiess-*. Since *ia* normally becomes *e* except where the stem syllable constitutes the final syllable ( § 106 ), the future and subjunctive forms fall together in most of the persons.

**fichid** 'fights': sg. 1 **·fius**, but absol. **fessa**, 3 **·fí** ; pass. **·fiaster** (trissyllabic, *Fianaig.* p. 36), but pl. **·fesatar**, abs. **fessaitir**.

**in-fét** 'relates', pl. **·fiadat** : 3 sg. **·fí** (as against subj. *·fé*); sec. fut. **in-fessed** LU 11048.

**ro-fitir** 'knows': sg. 3 **·fiaster** (*tar* < *tr* + ); but sg. 1 **·fessur**, pl. 2 **·fessid**, 3 **·fessatar**. In some forms the confusion

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with the subjunctive spreads still further; thus **·festar** as fut. Wb. 12<sup>d</sup>27.

So too **fesar**, subjunctive rel. pass. of **fichid**, is later used as future, ZCP. III. 462, 6.

**midithir** 'judges' (subj. *mess-*) has been attracted by these verbs and forms a future stem <sup>\*</sup>*miwess-* instead of <sup>\*</sup>*miíess-* : sg. 3 **con-miastar** (four syllables) Ériu I. 195 § 10, rel. **miastar** Wb. 1<sup>d</sup>9; pass. **miast (a) ir**, **·miastar** (trissyllabic, *Fianaig.* p. 36, or deponent?), rel. **miastar** ; but 1 sg. dep. **·mesur**, **·mesor**, pl. **messimmir**, **·messammar**.

**660.** (f) Stressed **fo-** and **to-** before the reduplication syllable become *foí-* and *toí-*, *tóe-*, with loss of the reduplicator ( § 179 ); e.g.

**·foí [I]sitis** Wb. 15<sup>a</sup>20, < <sup>\*</sup>*fo-lil..sitis*, to **fo-loing**.

**·foíchiurr** Ml. 78<sup>c</sup>8 (**·foíchur** LL 251<sup>b</sup>20, with mark of length in MS.), deuterotonic **fo-cichurr** **·cichiurr**, to **fo-ceird**.

**do-tóeth** 'will fall' *Thes.* II. 248, 8, pl. **·tóetsat** LL 112a40, 1 sg. **do-fóethus-sa** ZCP. VIII. 318, 5, etc.: pres. **·tuit (do-tuit, do-fuit)** , subj. **·tod** ( § 626 ).

Cp. *coem-* for **com-** ( § 688 ) in **im-coemrus-** [s]a 'I shall ask' BDD. § 15 (Stowe MS.), to **im-com-airc** (subj. § 619).

## FORMS WITHOUT REDUPLICATION

**661.** 1. Where the verbal stem is preceded by two prepositions, thus remaining unstressed in all forms, it shows no trace of reduplication (except in such forms as **do-tóeth**, § 660); the future is then identical with the subjunctive.

Thus simplex **·ninus** 'I shall wash', fut. of **nigid**, *TBC.* 3625, but compounded with two prepositions **do-fo-nus** *MI.* 47<sup>a</sup>19.

**ar-fui-rig** 'detains' (cp. **con-rig**, fut. **·riri..s-**): 3 pl. **·fuirset**.

orgid, fut. **iorr-** (§§ 658a, 665): sg. 2 **to-ss-imm-uirr** Bürgschaft p. 22 § 65a, 3 **do-ess-arr** *Wb.* 5<sup>c</sup>12, and similar forms; pass. **du-imm-arthar** *MI.* 90<sup>a</sup>9.

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Cp. further **ar-utaing** (*·uss-ding-*, § 550) 'refreshes': 2 sg. **ar-utais** *MI.* 56<sup>a</sup>1; **du-fu-tharcair** 'wishes': 3 pl. **du-futharset** 54<sup>a</sup>28; *im·roimdetahr ·ruimdethar* (*·ro-med-*) 'sins': 3 pl. **im·roimset ·ruimset** 54<sup>a</sup>23, 54<sup>a</sup>27; **do-fór-maig** 'increase': 3 sg. pass. **du-fórmaster** 105<sup>a</sup>8 (cp. subj. **·tómaste** 20<sup>a</sup>19). In the secondary fut. *do·foirmsed* 35<sup>a</sup>17 the palatal quality more probably represents the influence of stems with a front vowel than a trace of the reduplication. **du-di-chestar** 'will be led' 30d25, to pres. act. 3 pl. **·dichdet** *Sg.* 8a8, sg. 1 **do-dichthim** *ZCP.* XV. 298 gl. 20 (*to-di-c(om)-wed-*).

*tíagu* 'I go': 3 pl. **·inotsat** 'will enter' (§ 656) *Wb.* 33<sup>a</sup>14, like subj. *in·otsam* *MI.* 16<sup>a</sup>16; **do-coised** (probably = **·coised**) 'he would be able to go' *LU* 5919, like subj. (§ 625).

But **·indail** *MI.* 96<sup>a</sup>8, fut 3 sg. of **in-dloing** 'cleaves', with only one prep., is a scribal error for **·indidail**; cp. pass. 3 pl. *in·didloissiter* (*MS. indidloissither*) *TBC.* 3458.

The reduplication is likewise obscured in the prototonic forms of **ro-saig** 'reaches', fut. stem **·sïass** - (§ 658d): sg. 2 **·róis** (disyll.) *Sg.* 229 (*Thes.* II. 290, 13), pl. **·roisset** *MI.* 74<sup>a</sup>11; sec. fut 3 sg. **·roised** 39<sup>c</sup>34. Similarly **con-desat** 46<sup>c</sup>13, to *con·dieig con·daig* (*·dí-sag-*) 'demands'.

**662.** 2. In the following six verbs reduplication does not occur even where the stem is stressed; the future stem accordingly falls together with the of the subjunctive:

**aingid**, **·anich** 'protects': 3 sg. **·ain**; sec. fut. 3 pl. **·ansitis** *TBC.* 3557, etc.

**la (i) gid** 'lies': 3 sg. **con-lee** (= **·lé**) *Imram Brain I.* 25 § 51, pl. **·lesat** (*MS. leasad*) *TBC.* 3449.

**sa (i) did** 'sits': 3 sg. abs. **seiss** *SR.* 8273 (illegible in *Wb.* 26<sup>a</sup>8); sec. fut. **·sesed** *Mon. Tall.* p. 140, 9, etc. Here also belongs dependant *ar-ta·nesamar* (for *O.Ir. arus·*) 'we shall await them' *TBC.* 3132 (*-nes- < -ne-šess-*).

**reg -**: sg. 1 *atamm·res* *MI.* 31<sup>c</sup>14, enclitic **ad·er-rius** 89<sup>b</sup>3, **du·æ-rus** 137<sup>c</sup>7; 3 **at-ré** *ZCP.* VIII. 200 § 9; pl. 3 **·resat** *IT.* III. 490, 372, etc.

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**rethid** 'runs': sg. 3 **reiss** *LL* 252a33, **in-ré** *MI.* 113<sup>a</sup>7, **fu-ré** *Thes.* II.241, 13 (*Arm.*); pl. 3 **f-a-rresat** *ZCP.* XI.92 § 10.

**techid** 'flees': 1 sg. **·tess** (misspelt **·téis** *LU*5747).

The 1 sg. absolute is not quotable; it is therefore impossible to say whether it had the same ending as the s-subjunctive or the s-future. Some of these verbs also have a peculiar form in the 2 sg. ipv. (§ 588).

# FLEXION OF THE REDUPLICATED S-FUTURE

## 663. 1. FUTURE

		A. ACTIVE	
		ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg.	1	* <b>gigsea</b> ( <b>bibsa</b> )	· <b>gigius</b> ( <b>fo·lilus</b> )
	2		· <b>gigis</b> ( <b>fo·lilais</b> )
	3	<b>gigis</b> ( <b>memais</b> )	*· <b>gig</b> ( <b>·cich</b> , <b>·mema</b> )
rel.		<b>giges</b>	
pl.	1	<b>gigsim</b> ( <b>m</b> ) <b>i</b>	· <b>gigsem</b> ( <b>·memsam</b> )
rel.		* <b>gigsim</b> ( <b>m</b> ) <b>e</b>	
	2	<b>gigeste</b>	· <b>gigsid</b>
	3	<b>gigsit</b>	· <b>gigset</b> ( <b>fo·lilsat</b> )
rel.		<b>gigsite</b>	

## B. DEPONENT

The attested forms of **ro·fiter** and **midithir** as in [§ 659](#).

		C. PASSIVE	
sg.	3	<b>miastir</b>	· <b>rirastar</b> , <b>·lilastar</b>
rel.		<b>gigestar</b> , <b>miastar</b>	
pl.	3	<b>fessaitir</b>	· <b>didsiter</b> , <b>·fesatar</b>
rel.			

## 664. 2. SECONDARY FUTURE

Act. (dep.) sg. 1 **·lilsain**, 3 **·gigsed** ; pl. 3 **·memsaitis** (**·dídlastaís** *LU*, **·dedlaistis** *YBL*, in *BDD*. [§§ 128, 137](#)); pass. **·lilastæ** , etc., as in the s-subjunctive.

## 665. SPECIAL FORMATIONS

**orgid** ([§ 658](#)) : fut. sg. 1 **·iurr**, 2 **·iirr** (**·hierr** *MI*. 77<sup>a</sup>16), 3 **·iarr**, **·ior**, pl. 3 **·errat** *MI*. 00<sup>c</sup>9 (regular, from \**iarrat*) beside

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**·iurat** 33<sup>a</sup>1, abs. **iurait** *ZCP*. III.465, 4; pass. **·furthar** *LU* 7478; sec. fut. pass. **·furtha** *BDD*. [§ 83](#).

It is uncertain if the 3 sg. rel. **íuras** *LU*7107, 7154, 7172, etc., is an old form.

**fo·ceird** 'throws': sg. 1 **·cichiur** (**r**) **·cichur** (**r**) (**·foíchiurr**, [§ 660](#)), 3 **·cicherr**, pl. 3 **·cichret** ; pass. **·cicherrthar**; sec. fut. 3 sg. act. **·cichred**. **666.** The flexion of the s-future corresponds for the most part to that of the s-subjunctive. The following additional points should be noted: (a) The absolute ending of the 1 sg. is **-sa**; e.g. **sesa** [§ 658d](#) (to **saigid** ), **fessa** *LU*10921 (to **fichid** ), **bibhsa** *O'Cl.* (to **bongid** ). After palatal consonance the normal spelling would be **-sea**; but in the attested forms either the glide **-e** remains unexpressed--e.g. **gigsa** *Ériu* I.68 [§ 6](#), **sibsa** (*MS. sibra*) *Filargirius* *Gl.* (to **sennid** ), and probably **silsa** *LU*6328 (to **sligid** )--or **-ea** has become **-e**, e.g. **gigse-sa** *MI*. 47<sup>a</sup>4, **rirse** *ZCP*. VIII. 330, 9 (to **reg-** ). In the conjunct 1 sg. **u**-quality is normal; but cp. **do·imm-arr** *Wb.* 9<sup>a</sup>20 (from **·iurr**, **orgid** ), unless this is an error for **-urr**. In the late transmitted form **ar·nenas** *RC*. XII.82, 80 (to **nascid** ) the neutral quality may, according to [§ 170](#), be earlier than the **u**-quality in **ad·cichlus** ; cp. the fluctuation in the MSS. between **·selos** and **·selas** ([§ 657](#)). The absolute 2 sg. occurs only in the obviously misspelt **cichseo** *LL* 119<sup>b</sup>12 (3 **cichis** (**s** ), pres. **cingid** ); a form like \***cichsi** would be expected. **667.** (b) The conjunct 3 sg. shows the same variation regarding the final sound as in the s-subjunctive ([§ 626 ff.](#)). In roots with **-a-** the stem vowel is usually retained, but there are a few exceptions:

**ma(i)did** 'breaks' (intrans.): **·mema** *MI.* 89<sup>c</sup>11 (absol. **memais** ).

*do-for-maig* (or *do-fór-maig*) 'increases': *du-for-ma* ( Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society 1899-1902*, p. 293).

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*nascid* 'binds': **tu-s-nena** *Zu ir. Hss. I.50* (cp. 52, 24), **ar-nena** *ZCP. III.465*, 14; but **fo-nen** *ibid.* 464, 12 and 465, 1, beside **fo-nena** 465, 22, etc.

**sla(i)did** 'strikes': **ar-sela** *Fél. June 23*, but **·sel** *LU8650*.

**saigid** : **·sia** ( § 658d ), e.g. *ZCP. XI.87 § 52*, *con·dia* (*com-dí-sag-*) *ibid.*

Verbs from other roots which keep the stem vowel are

**téit** (1 sg. **tíagu** ) : **con-im-thæ** 'will accompany' *Wb.* 12<sup>c</sup>4.

**bongid** 'breaks, conquers': **·biba** *Trip.88*, 1; *far-bbiba*, *for-biba* (meaning obscure) *TBF.187* almost certainly belongs here (cp. *ZCP. XIII.101 f.*; 1 sg. **do-bibus** ).

Most verbs, however, drop the radical vowel:

*aingid* (*√aneg-*) 'protects': **·ain** *Wb.* 1<sup>d</sup>1, 25<sup>d</sup>14: **do-ind-in** 13<sup>b</sup>29.

*do-bruinn* 'drips, pours', subj. **do-bré** ( § 617 ): **do-bibuir** ( < *·bibr* + ) *LB* 260<sup>b</sup>32.

*cingid* 'steps': **·cich** *ZCP. III.463*, 18, etc. (abs. **cichis** ).

*con·clích* 'dashes': **con-ciuchail** (for O.Ir. **·cichuil** ) *Anecd. II.8*.

*in·dloing*: **·in[di]dail** § 661 (palatal *-l* due to the influence of verbs with palatal root vowel).

*fo·gleinn* 'learns': **·giguil** *ZCP. III.448*, 9.

*fo·loing* 'supports': **fo·lil** *Ériu II.208 § 28*, **·foíl** *MI.* 23<sup>a</sup>8 (1 sg. **·lilus** ).

*·dérig* (*dí-ess-reth-*) 'abandons': **dér** *MI.* 57<sup>a</sup>7.

*·díurat* (*dí-oss-reth-*) 'remains over': **·diúair** *MI.* 56<sup>d</sup>2.

*fo·rig* 'delays': **·foír** *Fél. Prol.322*, 326 (**fo-riri..s-** ).

*do·seinn* 'pursues': **do-s·sib** *LU10677* ( § 658c ).

**sligid** 'fells': **ar·sil** *Fél. Sept. 29* (abs. **sills** ).

*do·téeth* 'will fall', § 660.

668. Verbs with initial *f* (cp. §§ 628, 659):

*do·fich* 'avenges' *du·fí* *MI.* 67<sup>c</sup>5 (pass. **do·fiastar** § 659, **·diastar** *TBC.2981*).

**ad·**, **in·fét** 'relates', **as·indet** 'expounds': **ad·fii** (= *·fí*) *Imram Brain I. 25 § 52*, II. 285 § 1 (Laud),

**ass·inde** *ZCP. VII. 483* (cp. sg. 1 **·ais-nd-ius**, pl. 1 **as·ind-isem**, 3 **as·ind-isset** ).

**ar·co-at** 'injures': **·irchoí** *Wb.* 7<sup>a</sup>11 (cp. § 625 ).

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## EXPLANATION OF THE STRONG FUTURE STEMS

669. Despite their apparent diversity, the future formations of strong verbs can be traced to a more or less uniform original type (see *IF. XXXVIII.* 143 ff.). In the first place, the *ē*-future ( § 650 ff. ) is closely related to the reduplicated future of § 646 ff. For that there were reduplicated futures in which the radical vowel was dropped is clear from fut. **ebra-** . < *\*piprā* ( § 649 ), beside subj. (*p*)*erā*. Accordingly **céla-** can be traced back to *\*cechla-*, *\*kiklā* .., **géra-** (fut. of both **fo·geir** and **gairid** ) to Celt. *\*gigrā*.., **géna-** (fut. of **gonaid** ) to Celt. *\*gignā* ... From such models, reinforced by the example of **géna-** (future of both **gniid** and **·gnin**, § 648 ) the *ē*-formation had already spread in the Old Irish period far beyond its original limits; thus **béra-** and **méra-** do not represent the regular development of *\*bibrā-*, *\*mimrā-*.

Furthermore, the sigmatic and asigmatic reduplicated futures originally constituted a single class. There exists in Sanskrit (and Old Iranian) a desiderative formation which, as Zimmer first noted ( *KZ. XXX.128* ), corresponds substantially to the Irish *s*-future. The reduplication vowel is *i* (*u* with *u*-roots only); roots ending in a stop add *s* to the weak grade of the root; and the resulting stem is inflected like a thematic present indicative: 3 sg. *vivr* + *tsati* from ∞ *vart-* *vr* + *t-*, *bibhitsati* from √ *bhēd-* *bhid-*. The Irish formation differs but slightly from this: *u*-roots also have *i* as reduplication vowel, e.g. **lil..s-** from √ *leug-* *lug-*; the 3 sg., and presumably the unattested 2 sg. deponent, have non-thematic forms--a feature which has already been discussed in connexion with the *s*-subjunctive § 623 ; and the absolute 1 sg. act. ends in *-sa*, not *\*-su*, presumably by analogy with most other futures. As a rule the Irish forms afford no

definite information as to the vocalism of the root; but the assumption that in the *u*-roots, for example, the weak grade was used for the future (*lug-s-* < √ *leug-* *lug-*, as against subj. *leug-s-*, Ir. **lōss-** ) would explain why the *i* has not been lowered to *e*, and why in 3 sg. **fo·lil** the root syllable has been reduced to *-l*.

Of the roots ending in a vowel, those in *-ī* ( § 653 ) correspond to the abovementioned Sanskrit formation. \***·liliu** (cp. **·ririu** ) may come from \**lilisū* (*-sō*) with regular loss of *-s-*, 3 **·lili** from \**lilisēt* (\**lilis-t* seems to be excluded by absolute **lilith** ), cp. Skt. *cikrīṣatē* 'wishes to buy' (√ *krī-*). The 2 sg. *lile* is a very doubtful form; should it be correct, the must have been taken over from the other futures. On the other hand, roots in *-ā* ( § 648 ), after the loss of *-s-*, conformed to the flexion of the *a*-subjunctive.

Originally, as has been shown by Wilhelm Schulze ( *Kl. Schriften* 101 ff.), in roots with final liquids and nasals *-s-* did not immediately follow the final consonant of the root, but was separated from it by *ə*. The *ə* combined with the preceding liquid or nasal to give the sounds which de Saussure represents by *r + ə* ; *l + ə* , *n + ə* , etc., and which appear in Celtic as *rā*, *lā*, *nā* ( § 215 ); e.g. Skt. *cikīrṣati*, from ∞ *kar-*, where *-kīr-* corresponds to IE. \**kr + ə* . This makes it almost certain that the primary forms postulated above for the *ē*-future, such as \**kiklā-*, \**gignā-*, \**gigrā-*, have likewise lost *-s-* and thus go back to \**kiklās<sup>e</sup>* / *o-* < \**kikl + ə* / *o*, etc. It is probable that **généaid** 'will wound' corresponds exactly to Skt. **jīghāṃṣati** (*-ām-* for *-n + ə* ) from √ Skt. *han-*. The loss of *s* and the contraction of *a* with the following vowel must have given rise to many

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forms which had the same endings as the *a*-subjunctive; and this in turn led to the entire flexion being levelled under that of the *a*-subjunctive. Assuming that weakening of the root was the rule originally, there are nevertheless several Irish forms which clearly show an unweakened root; e.g. **fo·cicherr** ( § 665 ), theoretically < \**kikerd-s-t*, not \**kikr + d-s-t*; **·gignethar** ( § 647 ), < \**gigena-*, not \**gignā-*. Similar instances are also found in Sanskrit, e.g. the form *jījaniṣatē* itself. But it is quite possible that all such forms have developed independently in each language; e.g. **·cicherr**, **·gignethar** by analogy with subjunctive **·cerr**, **·genathar**, where the normal grade of the root is regular. To this originally uniform future formation the only exceptions (besides **rega-** , § 656 ) are the six verbs of § 662 which have no reduplication. They correspond in their thematic forms to the Greek future; cp. **ress-** and Gk. *□ρῆξω*, **less-** and *λέξομαι*, also Lat. *faxo*. On the other hand, the absence of reduplication after two prepositions ( § 661 ) is undoubtedly a secondary development.

## STEM AND FLEXION OF THE ACTIVE AND DEPONENT PRETERITE

**670.** This stem is found only in the preterite indicative. Our sources do not supply a full paradigm of the absolute flexion, because the preterite of completed action takes **ro** before it, and so always has conjunct flexion ( § 530 ), and there is but little occasion for the use of the simple preterite, or narrative tense, in the Glosses. Nor can the paradigm be completed from later MSS., for in these too preterite forms of the 1st and 2nd persons are very rare, and in any case a tendency to replace the narrative tense by the perfect with **ro** developed rather early ( § 530 ). **671.** The preterite stem is formed in one of three ways:  
I. All weak verbs have the *s*-preterite.

Of the strong verbs the two stems in *-b* have adopted this formation, **ibid** 'drinks' being inflected like an *i*-verb, and **ga(i)bid** 'takes' like an *a*-verb: 3 pl. **·ibset**, **·gabsat**. Only in the 3 sg. is **·gaib** sometimes written instead of **·gab** in *Ml*.

Further *ad·gládathar* 'addresses', pret. *·gládastar*. The 1 pl. *ad·glaasmar-ni IT. II. ii. 228, 49* is hardly correct, despite the occurrence of shortened forms with enclitic stem (and **-ro-** ) such as **ata·raglastar** BDD. § 62, **co·n·árlastar** (*-arlastár* MS.) LU8269.

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There are sporadic instances, particularly in the later Glosses, of preterite forms of other strong verbs also; e.g. **ar·ru·muinset f[é]id** 'they have honoured' *Ml. 90<sup>a</sup>1*, **fo·ru·r·aith·minset** 'that they have remembered' 135<sup>a</sup>1, beside strong **·ménatar** ( § 687 ); **ni·ru·frescisset** 'they have not

hoped' 72<sup>c</sup>13 (cp. 34<sup>c</sup>11), beside **ni-ru-frescechtar** 34<sup>d</sup>17 (cp. 26<sup>b</sup>25), to *ad·cí* 'sees'; **ad-comcisset** *Wb.* 4<sup>d</sup>13, to *ad·cumaing* 'happens, hits'; *nád·arroímsat* 'who have not accepted' *Wb.* 26<sup>a</sup>23, usually *ar-ro-ét* § 682 (*air-fo-em-*); deponent **ro-dligestar** *Ml.* 36<sup>a</sup>29, pf. of *dligid* 'is entitled to', *dligsius* (with suffixed pronoun) *Ált. Jr. Dicht. I.17* § 7. Cp. **for-derisiur** gl. *lustrai Ml.* 133<sup>b</sup>8, pres. ind. 3 sg. **for-deret** § 592. **ad-ro-neestar**, **ar-ru-neestar** ( § 690 ), to \***in-neat**, **ar-neat** (-*ne-sed-*) 'expects', may be old forms, but 3 pl. **ar-ru-neithset**, and probably also sg. 1 **ar-ro-t-neithius**, 3 **ar-ro-neith**, etc., in *Ml.* are weak formations (cp. § 846 ).

For the spread of the s-flexion in the Middle Irish period, see Quiggin. *Ériu IV.* 191 ff.

- II. The strong verbs in *-l* and *-r*, and some in *-m* and *-g*, have the *t*-preterite.
- III. All the other strong verbs have the suffixless preterite, i.e., forms in which no consonant intervenes between the verbal stem and the ending. There are two formations, a reduplicated and an unreduplicated, both of which, however, have the same flexion.

## I. THE S-PRETERITE

Collection: Pöpke, *Über das irische s-Präteritum*, Jena Dissertation ( Bremen 1880).

**672.** The stem of the *s*-preterite is formed by adding *s*, originally *ss*, to the final vowel of the general verbal stem. This vowel was short in the *a*-verbs (A I), hence the preterite stem ended in *-äss-*; cp. *O.Bret.* *ro-gulipias* 'has moistened', *Mid.W.* *bradas* 'he betrayed' (pl. *-assant*), In A II also the normal loss of the ending in the conjunct 3 sg. shows that forms with short palatal vowel had become predominant. These may be compared with the *Mid.W.* 3 sg. in *-es*, like *colles* 'he lost' (for verbs with medial *-o-* see § 677 ); Middle Welsh, however, also has forms in *-is*, like *erchis* 'he besought' (*i* from *ī*, cp. § 677 ), and, most frequently of all, in *-wys* (pl. *-yssant*; *wy*, *y* from earlier *ē*). The Irish flexion is the same as that of the *s*-subjunctive ( § 620 ff. ), a mixture of thematic and non-thematic forms.

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**673.** There can hardly be any doubt that this preterite formation from verbal stems with vocalic final, which is common to all the Insular Celtic languages, has developed from the Indo-European *s*-aorist. This implies that only the non-thematic forms are original. But single *s* after a vowel should have been lost. It would be unsafe to assume that *s* has been kept either for the sake of clarity or by early analogy with roots ending in a consonant, as has been suggested in explanation of *Gk.* *ἔτριψα*, etc. For even though *-ss-* and *-s-* are already interchangeable in MSS. of the Old Irish period, yet the writing of *-ss-* in the great majority of forms ( § 676 ) seems to point definitely to double *s*, as do the *Mid.W.* spellings pl. 1 *-assam*, *-yssam*, 3 *-assant*, *-yssant*. It is true that the only comparable Gaulish form, 3 sg. *legasit* Dottin no. 47, has single *s*; but that is a different formation from the Insular Celtic 3 sg., where the *-t* of the ending came immediately after *s* (conjunct *\*-as-t*, absolute with additional palatal vowel after *t*); unless, indeed, *s* has been written for *ss* in the Gaulish form, the ending of which would then correspond to that of *OW.* *prynessid*. The source of the gemination of the *s* is not clear; perhaps final *-st* in the 3 sg. had become *-ss* at an early period in Celtic, and from thence *ss* spread to all the other forms in place of *s* (cp. the *t*-preterite § 683 ). The explanation suggested by Vendryes, *RC.* XLII. 389, is not convincing.

### FLEXION OF THE S-PRETERITE

#### 674. A. ACTIVE

For the absolute flexion, which is rarely found outside the. 3rd person, a composite paradigm of the attested forms is given.

ABSOLUTE		CONJUNCT	
		A I	A II
sg.	1 <b>gabsu</b>	· <b>mórus</b> (· <b>predehos</b> )	· <b>léicius</b> (· <b>múnus</b> )
	2 <b>sóers</b> ( <b>a</b> ) <b>i</b>	· <b>mór</b> ( <b>a</b> ) <b>is</b>	· <b>lécis</b>
	3 <b>mór</b> ( <b>a</b> ) <b>is</b> , <b>ális</b> ( <b>s</b> )	· <b>mór</b>	· <b>léic</b> (· <b>creti</b> )

		ABSOLUTE	A I	CONJUNCT	A II
rel.		<b>sóeras, foídes</b>			
pl.	1	(* <b>-simmi</b> )	· <b>mórsam</b> (· <b>predchissem</b> )	· <b>léicsem</b>	
rel.		<b>celebirsimme</b>			
	2		· <b>mórs (a)id</b> (· <b>roilgisid</b> )	· <b>léicsid</b>	
	3	<b>cars (a)it,</b> <b>cretsit</b>	· <b>mórsat</b>	· <b>léicset</b> ( <b>at·roillisset</b> )	
rel.		<b>cáiechsite</b> ( <b>gláidsete</b> )			
	2 D				

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#### 675. B. DEPONENT

Only a few absolute forms are quotable: 3 sg. (A II) **cichnaigistir**, gl. *striderat* *Sg.* 152<sup>b2</sup>, **eissistir** 'besought' *Imram Brain* I.56, 7 (*ráthaigestair* 'perceived' (*raithigestair* MS.) *TBC.*2943); 1 pl. rel. (A I) **célsammar** (-*ár* MS.) 'which we foreboded' (?) *LU*6974. The 3 pl. **tuilsitir** 'they slept' in the late poem *IT. I.*162 may be correctly formed.

#### A II (CONJUNCT)

sg.	1	· <b>suidigsiur</b>	pl.	· <b>suidigsemmar</b>
	2	· <b>suidigser</b>		· <b>suidigsid</b>
	3	· <b>suidigstar</b>		· <b>suidigsetar</b>

In A I the only conjunct forms of common occurrence are those of the 3rd person: sg. **·molastar**, **·labrastar**, pl. **·samlasatar**. An example of the 2 pl. is **·comalnisid** *Wb.* 26<sup>b6</sup>. **con·folmaissiur** 'I was on the point of' *Ml.* 50<sup>d8</sup> seems to belong here also (3 sg. **fo·lámastar** *Trip.*80, 1). The 2 sg. **mad·lobraiser** and **ro·samalsir** *Festschrift Stokes* p. 3 § 2 are misspelling, probably for **·labraiser** and **·samlaiser**.

In the 3 sg. the deponent ending begins to spread to active verbs at an early period: *a·rru·n·éillestar* (to *as·léna*) 'when he polluted' *Ml.* 63<sup>a14</sup> (where **ru** stands before a compound verb, a position which it normally occupies only when preceded by a conjunct particle, § 527a), **ro·dligestar** § 671. This becomes common towards the end of the ninth century: **ro·bendachastar**, **ro·ordnestar**, etc., *Trip.*

**676.** In the plural of the active, when the vowel before s(s), is retained, this has palatal quality: **·pridchaisem** **·predchissem** (A I), **fu·roillissem**; **do·ríltiset**, **con·éicnisset**, **at·roillisset**, **·tartisset** (beside **·tartsat**). But this does not imply that the endings originally had a palatal vowel; for archaic forms have *-at*, e.g. **tu·ercomlassat** *Wb. I.* 7<sup>a7</sup>, **·fuiglessat** *Anecd. III.*27, 16; and the 1 pl. **ro·gellsom** *Imram Brain* I.47, 21 shows that, as in the B I present, the endings once contained *-o-*. The palatalization, therefore, probably started from

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syncopated forms such as **·árilsem**, **·árilset**; cp. also **·folmaissiur** above and the *s*-subj. **·torthissem** § 626.

## FORMS OF THE S-PRETERITE IN CLASSES A II-III A II

**677.** (a) In the preterite, as in the subjunctive, the group of verbs mentioned in § 607 show non-palatal consonance when the vowel of the suffix is kept, palatal when it is elided, and have -o- in the stem, against -u- in the present. Examples: **·cuirethar** : **·corastar**, pl. **d[o]-coirsetar** *Y Cymmrodor XIV. 114 § 13*: **con-ruidiur** 'I intend' *Fél. Prol.277*: **·rodastar** *Wb. 7<sup>a</sup>14*; *ad-su(i)di* 'holds fast': *ad-ro-soid* *MI. 97<sup>d</sup>16*; *slucid* 'swallows': *·sloic LU10652*, with suffixed pron. **sloicsi** *Trip.130, 19*, pl. **sloicsitt** 58, 12. The explanation is that the vowel before -ss- was e ( § 672 ). But beside these we find forms like *do·sluindi* 'denies': **du·ru·sluind** *MI. 93<sup>c</sup>8*, etc., pl. *do·ru·sluindset* 90<sup>b</sup>17 (cp. pres. subj. **·cía sluindid** *Sg. 197<sup>a</sup>11*), which show either that -ĭss- also occurred or that forms with -ĭss- had modelled themselves on those with a short vowel (see § 678.).

**678.** (b) *cretid* 'believes': pret. sg. 3 **·creti** (only sporadically **·creit** *Wb. 5<sup>c</sup>2*, **·cret** *MI. 33<sup>b</sup>5*), 1 **·cretus**, pl. 3 **·creitset** **·cretset** etc. The stem had ī < ē ( § 547 ).

*ad·roilli* 'deserves' (*ad-ro-slí-*) really belongs to A III, though generally inflected like A II; but pret. 3 sg. **ad·roilli** *MI. 124<sup>d</sup>7*, pl. 1 **·roillissem**, **·árilsem**, 3 **·roillis(s)et**, **·áril(l)set**, also **·áril(1)set** *MI.* (no deuterotonic forms of the preterite of **fo·**, **do·slí** have hitherto been discovered).

But -i is found in other verbs also: *tibid* 'laughs': pret (with *fo-ad-*) **fo·r·aitbi** *Tur.62*, **fó·aitbi** *Trip.98, 7* (E); *rádid* 'says': **ru·rádi** *Wb. 7<sup>d</sup>9* beside **imme·ro·raid** *Sg. 197<sup>b</sup>15* (rel. **im·raid** *MI. 90<sup>d</sup>14*, probably a misspelling); *ro·da·uccai* 'which brought them' 46<sup>a</sup>19, *du·d·uccai* 27<sup>d</sup>23, usually **·uc**, **·uic**.

It is uncertain whether some of these verbs originally had ī or whether the ending has been taken over from **·creti**, etc. In *Fél. Prol.177* **ro·scáchi**

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appears instead of normal *ro·scáich* ( § 692 ), and in the course of the ninth century the ending spreads even to *a*-verbs: *ro·celebrai* *Trip. 198, 4*, *ro·légai* 208, 10, etc.

### A III

- a. 679. Verbs in -ō + ĭ with stressed stem: sg. 2 **·cloís**, 3 **·cloí**, pl. 2 **·soisid**, 3 *·soisset* (with -oí-?); with enclitic stem: 3 sg. *do·intarraí* (*·ind-ro-so-*) *Wb. 16<sup>b</sup>18* **do·r·intai** *MI. 3<sup>a</sup>7*, **du·intarrae** 54<sup>d</sup>3, **·toroe** 123<sup>b</sup>7 (probably to be read -aí-, -áe, -óe). But **nō + ĭ**, 3 sg. pres. (or pret.?) **at·noí** 'he entrusts (entrusted?) him' *Trip.140, 3*: **ad·ro·ni** *Wb. 29<sup>d</sup>29*, **imm·r·á·ni** 'has bequeathed', pl. **imm·ránsat** *Thes. II. 239, 12-13* (Arm.).
- b. **(as)·luí** : sg. 1 **as·ru·luús** (= -lūs) *Wb. 17<sup>d</sup>16*; 3 **as·lóa** *ZCP. XVI. 343 § 34*, **as·ru·chum·láu**, **·rochumlai**, **con·húa·lai** *Thes. II. 320, 7*, etc.; pl. 3 **as·luiset** (with -uí-?) *Laws I. 64, 3*, **ro·luasetar** 'they flew' *Anecd. III.59, 22*, **·fo·luassat** *MI. 67<sup>c</sup>16* (probably with *úa*).

680. (c) Verbs in -ā + ĭ and two verbs in -ī + ĭ, **gnī + ĭ** and **snī + ĭ**, in which ī goes back to ē, have a mixed formation, an *s*-preterite combined with reduplication; the reduplication vowel is e.

**bā + ĭ** = 'die': 3 sg. **bebais**, **·bebe**, later **·beba**; pl. 3 **bebsait**.

**rā + ĭ** = 'row': 3 sg. **imm·reræ** *Sg. 62<sup>b</sup>7*, pl. **·rersat** *LL 134<sup>a</sup>18*.

Here also seems to belong **rer(a)is** 'he moved (?)', **rel. reras** *Imram Brain I.29 § 61 and 43, 8*.

**con·slá** 'goes (away)': 3 sg. **con·selai** **con·sela**, cot·sela (for O.Ir. -lae ), pl. **con·selsat**, *Contrib. p. 481f*.

**ad·co·ta**, **éta** 'obtains' ( § 544 ): sg. 1 **ad·cotadus** (**ad·chodados·sa** *Wb. 7<sup>a</sup>16*), 3 **ad·cotadae** *Thes. II.240, 23* (Arm.), **ad·cotade**, **·étade** **·étada**; pl. 1 **ad·cotadsam**, 3 **ad·cotatsat**, **·étatsat**.

Another (and rarely found) √ tā- 'vanish, dwindle' (vb.n. **tám** ), subj. **arna·tta** (for O.Ir. **·taa** ) *Mon. Tall.159, 35*; pret. **ro·tetha** *Fél. Prol.193* (cp. § 772 ).

**ro·lā + ĭ** ( §§ 534, 762 ) has unreduplicated forms but the same 3 sg. ending as the foregoing verbs: **ru·lae** (trissyllabic) *Trip. 212, 23*, **ro·laa** *Sg. 75<sup>a</sup>4*, **r·a·lá·som** *Tur.80*, **·rale** *MI. 23<sup>c</sup>16*,

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**·ralae** 90<sup>c</sup>17; pl. 2 *ro·lásid*, *·ralsid*, 3 *·rolsat* *MI. 16<sup>d</sup>2*; cp. sg. 1 *ro·da·lláüs* *LL 249<sup>b</sup>40*, 2 *ro·lláüs* 251<sup>b</sup>14.

The ending *-(a)e* which, judging by *ru·laë*, was once disyllabic, is difficult to explain. Does it point to *-ā + -ēss-*, the *ē* of which did not contract with *a* in the 3 sg.? And is it to be compared with W. *-wys* ( § 672 )? In compounds with more than one preposition the *s*-preterite is modelled on the *a*-verbs: 3 sg. *ad·rochomul* Ml. 58<sup>b</sup>12, *do·rinól* 51<sup>a</sup>21.

For **snā + -** 'swim' no reduplicated forms are attested: 3 sg. **ro·sná** as early as Imram Brain 1. 21 § 42 (hardly pres. ind.), like later **ro·snaus-[s]a** LU 9436, **·rá(i)set**, etc.

**681.** (d) *gniid* 'does' has preterite stem **géniss-** < \**gegnīss-*: 3 sg. **·gēni**, pl. **·gēinset** Ml. 29<sup>a</sup>4, **·gēnset** 80<sup>c</sup>6.

In the compound with **de (dī)** and **ro** (which becomes *ri*, § 852.) the forms are:

	DEUTEROTONIC	PROTOTONIC
sg. 1	<b>do·rignius, ·rígénus</b>	<b>·deirgénus, ·dernus</b>
2	<b>·rignis</b>	
3	<b>·rigni, ·rigéni</b>	<b>·de (i)rgéni, ·dergini, ·deirgni</b>
pl. 1	<b>·rigénsam</b>	
2	<b>·rigénsid</b>	
3	<b>·rigénsat</b>	<b>·dergénsat</b>

The mark of length in *do·rígeni*, *·rígensam*, *·rígénsat* Wb. 11<sup>a</sup>28, 12<sup>a</sup>29, 24<sup>d</sup>3, 28<sup>d</sup>19 has no significance (see § 46). In *do·ringensat* Ml. 16<sup>d</sup>6 the first *-n-* is, perhaps, not a scribal error but an anticipation of the nasal, as in the Middle Irish future 3 sg. *·dingne*, sec. fut. 3 sg. *·dingned*, etc. (cp. § 648).

The preterite of **con·sní** 'strives for' has been modelled on the above formation: *ad·ru·choisséni* (or **ad·ru·?**) Ml. 69<sup>d</sup>4, **con·séna[i]** Thes. II. 315, 3; pl. 3 (with **-ad-**, § 532) *con·asénsat* ZCP. VIII. 313, 31.

For the preterite of **(ad)·cí** 'sees' and **ciid** 'weeps', see §§ 702, 691.

## II. THE t-PRETERITE

Collection: Windisch, Kuhns Beitr. VIII. 442 ff.

**682.** In the stem of the *t*-preterite a *t* appears after the final consonant of the root; *-em-t* becomes *-ét*, with *t = d*, ( § 208 ), *-g-t* becomes *-cht* ( § 221 ).

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*berid* 'bears': preterite stem **bert-**; *fo·geir* 'heats': **-gert-**; **marn(a)id** *·mairn* 'betrays' (subj. **·mera**): **mert-**; **sernid**: **con·sert** 'conseruit' (RC. XX. 431, 433), **ro·sert** 'he has spread (?)' Féil. p. 248; **dairid** 'bulls': **dart-**; **gairid** 'calls': **gart-**.

*at·baill* 'dies' (subj. **bela**): \***belt-**, enclitic **-balt-**; **celid** 'conceals': **celt-**; **gelid** 'grazes': **gelt-**; **melid** 'grinds': **melt-**; **alid** 'rears': **alt-**.

(**dí-** and **air-fo-**) **em-**: **ét-**; (**to-ess-** and **to-uss-**) **sem-**: \***·sét-**, enclit. **-sat-**, **-set-**.

**agid** 'drives': **acht-**; **aingid** 'protects': **anacht-** (< \**anecht-*); *do·for·maig* 'increases': **-macht-**; **ess-reg-**: **·recht**, **-é-racht**; **orgid** 'slays': **ort-** (< \**orcht-*).

**saigid** ( § 549 ): **siacht-**, apparently with reduplication, is isolated; it may be an analogical formation after *síassair* ( § 690 ). *ro·siacht* has prototonic *·roacht*.

Since the 3 sg. act. and pass. fell together in **·acht**, **-ét**, **-ort**, etc., other passive preterites in *-t* subsequently acquire an active meaning; e.g. **tairchet** 'prophesied' Trip. 152, 24, to **canid** ( § 687 ); **ro-dét** 'endured' SR. 6873, **to daimid** ( § 692 ); perhaps even so early a form as (**ess-**)**recht-** has arisen in this way. So too it is impossible to decide whether a form like **ro-dlechtatar** Laws v. 226, 20, beside **ro-dligestar** ( § 671 ), is old or comes from the passive *ro-dlecht*. The meaning of **fiacht** LU 5324, Ériu II. 3, 4 (Eg.) is obscure; but *fo-rúachtatar* Ériu XI. 44 § II (cp. Laws IV. 178, 17), *da-riuchtatar* Ériu VI. 149, 72, and sg. **fo-riacht** Trip. 234, 15, suggest that **fo-fich** 'commits (a crime)' and **dí-fich-** 'avenge' had a preterite stem **fiacht-** (beside **fích-**, § 693 ), apparently formed like **siacht-**.

**683.** The *t*-preterite goes back to the IE. root aorist, in which the root itself (without suffix) functioned as the aorist stem, i.e. as preterite in the indicative. The *-t* is really the personal ending of the 3 sg. but, being no longer felt as such, has been introduced into the other personal forms too (see KZ. XXXVII. 111 ff.). The formation is also found in Britannic; e.g. W. *ceint* 'I sang', 3 *cant*; *kymerth kymyrth* 'he took' (*ber-*); *aeth* 'he went' (*ag-*). The suggestion that it is derived from original present stems with suffix *-te/o-* (Sommerfelt, *Symbolae Grammaticae* in hon. T. Rozwadowski, I. 255 ff.) explains neither the flexion nor the preterite meaning satisfactorily. The 1 and 2 sg. (as in the *s*-preterite) have the flexion of the B I present. The plural flexion is modelled on that of the suffixless preterite, where the monosyllabic stems ( § 692 ) doubtless provided the pattern.

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### FLEXION FOR THE t-PRETERITE

#### 684. CONJUNCT

	STRESSED STEM	ENCLITIC
sg. 1	<b>·biurt (-ét )</b>	<b>as·ru·burt</b>
2	<b>·birt</b>	<b>·ru·b (a )irt</b>
3	<b>·bert (-alt, -ort )</b>	<b>·ru·bart (do·rósat )</b>
pl. 1	<b>·bertam (m )ar</b>	<b>·ru·bartm (m )ar (do·rochtammar )</b>
2		<b>·ru·bartid</b>
3	<b>·bertar, ·bertatar</b>	<b>·ru·bartatar (att·ru·baltar ),</b> <b>·ru·bartat (?)</b>

In the absolute flexion only forms of the 3rd person are quotable: sg. **birt**, **sirt** ZCP. XIX. 200, **milt** ZCP. VIII. 308, 3, **uirt** Ält. ir. Dicht. II. 27, rel. *berte Fianaig*. p. 28, **altae** LU 10602; pl. 3 **geltatar** 4733, rel. **bertar** Ml. 127<sup>a</sup>6, **bertatar** Tur. 130.

The only attested deponent forms belong to **com-em-** 'preserve' ( § 767 ): 3 sg. (with **ro** ) *con·roíter* RC. XX. 162 § 13, 178 § 43, *Otia Merseiana* I. 128 § 23, *conid·roíter* (*sic leg.*) Laws I. 30, 24; 1 sg. *con·róetar* LL 119a33 (ending as in § 697 ); the 3 pl. form *con·roítatar* Ml. 55<sup>c</sup>1 may also be active.

**685.** For the 1 sg. cp. *do·m·biurt* ZCP. IV. 43, 4, *dond·m·biurt·sa* TBC. 3556; enclitic *as·ruburt*, **·tormult**, *fo·s·rócurt*, *dunda·rairgiurt*, *fris·comurt*. On the other hand, *u*-quality is not shown in *do·rrét* Wb. 31<sup>a</sup>1, *ar·roíét·sa* 6<sup>a</sup>14 (cp. §§ 54, 688 ), *con·aitech* (*·ad·dí·siacht*) Ml. 132<sup>a</sup>5; cp. also *as·comort* Sg. 210<sup>a</sup>6 (see § 101 ).

2 sg. *do·birt* Ml. 56<sup>a</sup>13, **at·birt** TBC. 1755 (in **ro·meilt** Hib. Min. p. 71 the vocalism is not original); enclitic *con·tochmairt* Ml. 17<sup>a</sup>2, 19<sup>c</sup>7, *du·rairngirt* 74<sup>c</sup>20, *do·romailt* LL 246<sup>a</sup>8. But forms with *-cht* are not palatalized ( § 162 ): *du·n·écomnacht* Ml. 56<sup>a</sup>18, **·comtacht** 60<sup>b</sup>20 (but *ma'ra·rubart* 112<sup>b</sup>5 is an error for **·bairt** ).

Similarly the later attested absolute 3 sg. forms **anacht**, **siacht** are regular, but **bert**, **alt** are secondary.

2 pl. *do·rérachtid* Wb. 18<sup>c</sup>6, **ar·[r]oíttid** 13<sup>a</sup>30.

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In the 3 pl. the first *a* of *-atar* should be syncopated in an original second syllable, and remain in an original third syllable, but a certain amount of levelling has taken place. By-forms without *-ar* like *as-rubartat*, *fris-comartat*, which are found only in MI. (except for *con-geltat*, *fo-geltat* LL 58<sup>a</sup>25-26), are possibly scribal errors.

The endings of the absolute 1 and 2 sg. were probably *-tu*, *-ti*.

### III. THE SUFFIXLESS PRETERITE

Collection: Windisch, KZ. XXIII. 202 ff.

**686.** Most of the forms of this class have the reduplicated formation, which is attested for upwards of forty verbs. Smaller groups have an unreduplicated preterite with medial *ā* and *ī*; there are also a few isolated formations.

#### THE REDUPLICATION PRETERITE

##### 687. STEM FORMATION

In most of the roots ending in a consonant the reduplication vowel is *e*. But, since roots of the *u*-series reduplicate with *o* (from *u*), the *e* is secondary in roots with *-i-*, where it represents lowered *i* (cp. also § 691), and original only in the remaining roots. The following consonant, which is the initial of the radical syllable proper, always has neutral quality, even where the verbal stem normally has a palatal vowel. After the reduplication syllable the groups *gl*, *gr*, *chl* are often preserved. contrary to the general rule ( § 125 ); initial *sl-*, *sn-* combine with the reduplication to give *sel-*, *sen-* ( § 216, cp. 658b ).

Examples: **braigid** 'farts, bleats': preterite stem **bebrag -**; **canid** 'sings': **cechan -**; **cla(i)did** 'digs': **cechlad-**; **ma(i)did** 'breaks' (intrans.): **memad-**; **nascid** 'binds': **nenasc-**; **reg-** 'regere': **rerag-**; **(fo)·gleinn** 'learns': **·geglann-**; **(ad)·greinn** 'persecutes': **·gegrann-**; Mod.Ir. **sceinnim** 'I spring off, fly off': **sescann-** (or **sescand-** ?); **sennid** 'plays (an instrument)' and **do·seinn** 'drives': **sephann-** ( < *sesw-*); **sligid** 'fells': **selag-**; **cingid** 'steps': **cechang-**; **gonaid** 'wounds, slay': **gegon-**; **bruinnid** ( § 549 ): **\*bebrann-** (3 pl. **bebarnatar** ). In

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**génair** ( < *gegn-* ), 3 sg. pret. of **gainithir** 'is born', the radical vowel had already been elided in the pre-Celtic period. On this is modelled **·moinethar** ( § 549 ): **·ménair**.

As early as MI. the vocalism of the present has spread to the reduplication syllable in 3 sg. *ro·cachain* 48<sup>b</sup>11 (later common) instead of regular **·cechain** **·cechuin** (also **·cechainn** 64<sup>c</sup>22, 66<sup>c</sup>12, with unlenited *-n*, which may have developed in front of the emphasising particle **som** ).

*i*-roots: **ligid** 'licks': **lelag-**; **nigid** 'washes': **nenag-**; **con·rig** 'binds': **rerag-**; **snigid** 'drips': **senag-**; **(for)·ding** 'oppresses': **dedag-**; **ród-**, **riád-** 'drive': **rerad-** (O'Dav. 841).

*u*-roots: **(oss-)bond-** 'refuse': **bobad-** (3 sg. **at·bobuid** LU 10954); **bongid** 'breaks': **bobag-** (3 sg. **·bobig** RC. XI. 446, 69); **(in)·loing** 'unites, occupies': **lolag-** (**in·lol(a)ig** Laws IV. 16, 21).

**ro·clu(i)nethar** 'hears': pret. sg. 1 and 2 **·cúala** ( < *\*·cúla*, *\*cochlow-*, *\*kuklow-*; cp. Mid.W. 1 and 3 sg. *cigleu* ), 3 **·cúal(a)e**; pl. 1 **·cúalammar**, 2 **·cúal(a)id**, 3 **·cúalatar**.

It is not certain that *do·ru·thethaig* (meaning obscure) Tur. 17 and *con·tethaig* (with present meaning) 'has in common', pl. *con·tethgatar* (Laws), belong to *tongid* 'swears'. If so, they are formed from the by-stem **tig-** ( § 550 ; cp. *du·cuitig*, § 694b ).

**688.** The combination of **ro** with such a preterite stem in close composition gives *róe- roí-*, with loss of the reduplicator ( § 179 ); e.g. **·roíchan-** , **·roímad-** , **·roínasc-** , **·roígrann-** , etc.

By analogy with this the preposition **com-** , when used as a verbal particle ( § 533 ) in the same position, often becomes *coím-*, *cóem-*. Examples: 3 sg. *du·coímarraig* ( *·com-reraig* ), to *du·rig* 'strips', 3 pl. *du·coímrachtar*; 1 sg. *fo·cóemallag* ( *·com-lolag* ), to *fo·loing* 'supports, endures', 3 pl. *fo·coímlachtar*; *do·cóemnachtar*, to *do·nig* 'washes'.

Similarly *·coímnucuir*, *·coímnacuir*, etc., prototonic forms of *con·ánacuir* ( § 689 ); but always *for·comnucuir*, *for·comnactar* and *teccomnucuir* 'happened', *attot·chomnicc*.

In Ml. confusion sets in among **ro** -forms. Sometimes *ro-* appears for *roí-*: *for·ro-chain* 68<sup>b</sup>8, *in·ro-grainn* 26<sup>b</sup>24, *fo·ro-raid* 51<sup>a</sup>23 (to *fo·roind* 'reddens, darkens'); sometimes *roí-* appears where the reduplication syllable is kept: *fortan·roíchechnatar* 63<sup>b</sup>1, *ad·roígegrannatar* 25<sup>b</sup>11. So also *comfor* *coím-*: *do·comarraig* 48<sup>d</sup>15, *·comnactar* 76<sup>a</sup>7.

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On the other hand, *róe-* spreads rather early to non-reduplicated preterite forms; e.g. *ad·róethach* 'I have besought' Thes. II. 353, 5, to **ad·tech-** , pret. **tách-** ( § 692 ); *ad·róegaid* LU 9810, to **guidid**, pret. **gáid** ; *do·róemadair* SR. 7955, to **míd(a)ir** ( § 693 ), etc. Cp. also the *t*-pret. (stem **ét-** ) of **air·fo·em-** 'accept': sg. 1 *ar·roiéit-sa* Wb. 6<sup>d</sup>14; 3 *ara·roiat* Ml. 24<sup>d</sup>28 (beside *ar·roét*). In this verb *roí* had arisen regularly by contraction of *ro-f* + *ó-ét-* in forms like *ara·roitmar* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup>10, but spread farther; cp. *con·roíter* ( § 684 ).

## **689.** FORMS WITH PECULIAR REDUPLICATION

(a) Roots beginning with a vowel:

The compounds of **-ic(c)** (from *ik-*, § 208 ; cp. § 549 ) have preterite stem **-ānac-** (*c = g*, **-ānecc-** Wb. 14<sup>c</sup>40), which may be compared to Skt. *ānámśa*, pf. of *ásnō* + *tī* 'reaches'.

The verb 'to eat' forms its preterite from  $\sqrt{ed-}$ , but no forms of the narrative tense have so far been found. The perfect, which is preserved only in later MSS., is characterized by the prepositions **de-fo-** ( § 534 ), and the contraction of *fo* and the verbal stem gives **fód-** , **fúad-** ; e.g. sg. 3 *do·fúaid*, prototonic *·dóid*, *·dúaid*; pl. 3 *do·otar* (= *·f* + *ótar*) Trip. 198, 8, *du·fuetar* (read *·fúatar*) Ériu VII. 164 § 8, prototonic *·dótar*, *·dúatar*. But by-forms like *do·feotar* LL 291<sup>b</sup>20, *deotar* Anecd. II. 59, 11, and 2 sg. **deodh-sa** (= **deod-so** ) RC. VIII. 58 n.2 have probably arisen from assimilation of the vocalism of the perfect to that of the narrative tense. From such by-forms we may infer almost with certainty that the preterite stem was **ëod-** , with syllabic reduplication, which was presumably suppressed in the perfect after the two prepositions (cp. § 694b ).

**·oid** 'lends', pass. **·odar** (*o < u*), has pret. sg. 2 *ro·húad-so*, 3 **·úaid** Laws, Otia Merseiana I. 123 § 6, with obscure stem formation (from *uōd-* *uoud-* ? or *uwoud-* ?)

(b) **lingid** 'leaps'; pret. stem *leblang-* (with **ro** : *·roíblang-*), which points to a root with initial *p* (see § 649 ): cp. pres. *do·eir·bling* gl. *desilit* Tur. 59, *tairbling* LU 6697. By analogy with this, *dringid* 'climbs' has pret. 3 sg. *drebraing* Féil. (corrupted to *dreblaing* in some MSS.).

Since *pepl.* . should have given Ir. **ebi-** , the *l-* of *leblang-* has been introduced from other forms of the verb. The *p* makes the equation with Skt. *lāghati* 'overleaps' and its cognates (cp. Walde-Pokorny II. 426)

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unlikely. For the equation with Gk. *πλίσσομαι* 'I stride out', *πλιχάς* 'interfeminium' (Osthoff, Morphol. Untersuchungen VI. 23), it would be necessary to assume that, starting from the present stem **ling-** , the root, under the influence of **cing-** 'step', had shifted to the *en-* grade (which W. *llam* 'a leap' seems to suggest); for the equation with O.Slav. *plēsati* 'to dance' (if this goes back to *plark* + *ti*), that the final

guttural of the root had become voiced (perhaps by analogy with **cing-** also). All these comparisons are therefore uncertain.

(c) For roots with initial *f-*, from *w-*, see \***·fi** and **·fúair** § 691, **fiu** § 702 (also § 693).

**690.** The formation of *síasair* (disyllabic) 'she sat' Thes. II. 327, 13, rel. 3 pl. **sías(s)atar** TBC. 822, narrative preterite of **saidid**, √*sed-*, is unique (1 sg. **·sessar** Aisl. MC. 93, 2 is probably a later form influenced by subj. and fut. **sess-**). It looks like a mixture of a reduplicated pret. \**sesod-*, \**sēad-* and an old *s*-aorist \**sed-.s-*, \**sess-*. The perfect (with **de-en-**, § 534) has active singular *do·essid des(s)id* 'has sat, has been settled' (1 **·dessad-sa** Met. Dinds. III. 440, 3), pl. 3 **do·estetar** (also **do·es(s)etar**), and may contain *sesod-*. An exactly parallel formation to **des(s)id**, etc., is **dellig**, pl. **dellgetar** (LL 43<sup>b</sup>22), to **laigid** 'lies'.

Instead of *síasair* the form *siadair*, which could represent O.Ir. \**siatair*, occurs in a poem (RC. v. 202, 1). Should this be the earlier form (with *t* = *d(d)*, as in *ro·fitir* § 703), both the *-s(s)-* and the deponent flexion of *síasair* could have been taken over from *to·air-siss-* 'stand fast' (perfect *·tarrastar* Thes. II. 6, 36), just as *tarrasair* was later formed on the model of *síasair*. But two facts speak against this explanation: (1) a perfect form **de(i)ssestar** occurs in poetry (RC. XX. 400 § 120), and (2) the old compounds of *sed* with *ind-ne-* and *air-ne-* 'await' have perfect *ad·ro-neestar* (or *ad·ro-n.*) Wb. 4<sup>c</sup>35, *ar·ru-neestar* Ml. 50<sup>b</sup>8. Hence it is probable that there was an old preterite stem **sess-** with deponent flexion. Unfortunately no form of the narrative tense of *laigid* has so far been found. Cp. also **siacht-** § 682.

**691.** Most verbs whose roots ended or were felt to end in *i* have a reduplicated preterite, which is formed as if the radical final had been lost and the personal endings added directly to the preceding consonant.

(a) B IV:

\***den(a)id** (3 pl. **denait**) 'sucks': sg. 3 \***did** (written **dith**, **díth** Thes. II. 346, 3), rel. **dide** ZCP. XVIII. 397.

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**cren(a)id** 'buys': sg. 1 **·cér** (< *cechr.*), 3 **·cíuir** (< *cichr.*).

**glen(a)id** 'sticks fast': sg. 3 **·gíuil**, abs. rel. **gíulæ**.

**len(a)id** 'follows, adheres to': sg. 3 **·lil**, pl. **·leldar**.

**ren(a)id** 'sells': sg. 1 **·rer** (**as·com-rar**), 3 **·rir**, abs. rel. **rire**.

**tlen(a)id** 'takes away': sg. 3 **·ro-t[h]íu[i]** ZCP. XX. 212.

In compounds of **fen-** (§ 551), \**wiw-* would have regularly lost *-w-* after *i*, thus giving 3 sg. \***·fí**. The only attested form is **for·chui** (MS. *forthui*) Ml. 33<sup>a</sup>18, pf. of **for·fen** 'completes' (with **co(m)** -, § 533).

**ben(a)id** 'strikes' has here, as in the future (§ 654), modelled itself on this verb, with stem *biw-* instead of *biβ-*, whence sg. 1 **béo-sa** (FM. 701), **in·rá[r]ba** Ml. 46<sup>b</sup>10; 2 **·ruba** Wb. 13<sup>d</sup>25; 3 **bí**, **·rubai** LU 5334, **·rindarpai** Wb. 5<sup>a</sup>18, etc. (*etir·rudib* Ml. 123<sup>b</sup>10 has perhaps been remodelled after **-lil**, **-rir**): pl. 2 *fo·rubid* Wb. 27<sup>c</sup>27; 3 **·béotar** LU 5110.

(b) B V:

*ara·chrin* 'decays': pf. 3 sg. *ara·ruichíuir* Ml. 136<sup>a</sup>8, *ar·rochíuir* (or **ar·ro·**) Féil. Prol. 67, 127; pl. *ar·rochíuirtár* (read *-chíurtar*?) LU 1698, **·arrc[h]éoratar** Ml. 26<sup>d</sup>6.

**·gnin** 'knows': sg. 1, 2 **·gén** (< *geyn.*), 3 **·géuin**, **·géiuin**; pl. 1 **·génammar**, 3 **·génatar**.

(c) **ciid** 'weeps': **cich** (written *cich* LU 10964, likewise **ro-chich** BDD. § 106 (YBL), but *deichmo·* (read *dechmo·*) *rochich* RC. XVII. 188, with *ī*).

(d) The active preterite corresponding to passive *·fríth* 'was found' ( § 706 ) is sg. 1 *·fúar*, 3 *·fúair*, pl. 1 *·fúamar*, 3 *·fúatar* (*fúar-* < *fōr-*, *wour-*, *we-wr-*); cp. § 763.

This formation probably started from those verbs in which *i* is not inherited, i.e. where *li*, *ri* have developed from *l + , r + ,* or where, as in **·gnin**, the vocalism is secondary (cp. Skt. pf. *jajñáu*); in **·fríth** the *í* may go back to *ē* (cp. Gk. *ἠϙρη-κα,εϙρη -σομαι*). In place of the final vowel of the root, which had coalesced with the personal ending, the normal personal ending was then attached, as in Gaul. *δεδ-ε* 'has given', from *√dō-*. The reduplication vowel was apparently *i* in (a) and (c), *e* in (b) (at all events in *gén-*) and (d). For the preterites of **gniid** and **con·sní** see § 681, of (**ad·**) **cí** § 702.

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## B. FORMS WITHOUT REDUPLICATION

### 1. THE *ā*-PRETERITE

**692.** In the preterite stem of some verbs a long *ā* (shortened, of course, in unstressed syllables) replaces the *o* or *ā* of their radical syllable:

*techid* 'flees': **tách-** (for *ad·róethach* see § 688).

*rethid* 'runs': *ráth-*.

But in the enclitic 3 pl. forms *in·ro·rthetar* MI. 104<sup>b</sup>8, *do·rrúairthetar* Sg. 18<sup>a</sup>6, beside regular *in·rorthatar* MI. 35<sup>a</sup>21, *do·rúarthatar* Sg. 5<sup>a</sup>13, the palatal *r* of the other forms of *rethid* has spread to the preterite; similarly in *ma du·d·r·imthirid* 'if she has attended' Wb. 28<sup>d</sup>30 (cp. 32<sup>c</sup>15), pl. *do·r·imthirthetar* 32<sup>b</sup>5.

**fe(i)did** 'goes' O'Dav. 944, 1616, pl. *fedait Bürgschaft* p. 19 § 59 (later *fethid*, *do·feith*, influenced by *rethid*): pret. 3 sg. *du·fáid* Trip. 72, 16 (Eg.), later *ro·fáith*, *do·fáith*; pl. *ro·fádatar* Wb. 29c13, later *ro·fáthatar*. More frequent than these forms is the compound of *fed-*, pret. *fáid-*, with *di·co(m)-*, which supplies the perfective forms (§§ 534, 4; 769) of the verb 'to go' (pres. *téit*, sg. 1 *tíagu*): pf. sg. 1 *do·cood*, *·coad*, 3 *·coïd*, *·cooid*, *·coaid*; *·cuaid*; pl. 1 *·commar* (= *·cómmar?*), 3 *·cotar* (= *·cótár?*), *·cuatar*. Prototonic sg. 1 *·dechud*, 3 *·dechuid*, *·dechuith*; pl. 1 *·dehommarr*, *·dehummar*, (2 *·dígith* Wb. 9<sup>b</sup>19 may be perfective present), 3 *·dechutar*.

That *-d-* is earlier than *-th-* is shown by Mid. W. *go·di·wawd* (*-d* = *-ð*) 'he overtook'. The verb was probably the same as *fedid* 'leads' (cp. § 693).

*figid* (*feg-*) 'weaves': 3 sg. *fárig* RC. XX. 248 § 52, *ro·d·fáig* Met. Dinds. IV. 96, 52, *con·ru·aig* MI. 99<sup>a</sup>2.

The *i-* preterite *ro·fích* Met. Dinds. III 100, 17 is not certain.

*gu(i)did* 'prays' (subj. stem *gess-*): *gád-*.

*scochid*, later *scuchid*, 'departs, ends' (subj. stem *\*scess-*, § 626): *scách-*.

*ro·laimethar* 'dares': 3 sg. *·lám(a)ir*.

Plural forms are not attested in O.Ir. sources; *ro·lamratur* (read *-tar*) Circuit of Ireland 65 (composed 942) is certainly a late formation, like *ro·mídhatur* AU. 1088 for O.Ir. *·mídatar* (§ 693).

*daimid* 'grants, admits': *·dámair*. The plural has the remarkable form *fu·ro·damnatar* MI. 96<sup>b</sup>8, 105<sup>b</sup>9 (misspelt *-damnamtar* 90<sup>c</sup>13); cp. *damnatar* LL 262<sup>b</sup>30, *ro·damnatar*

Fél. Prol. 32 (R<sup>2</sup>), *at-damnatar* ZCP. III. 243 § 46, *ad-rodamnatar* Ériu I. 214 (in later MSS. often misspelt *damdatar*, *damatar*, etc.). Such forms suggest influence by the weak verb *damnaid* 'tames' (hardly *damnaid* 'damnat'), but the reason for this is not clear.

## 2. THE *i*-PRETERITE

**693.** A few verbs have medial *i* in the preterite:

*ern(a)id* 'grants', subj. *·era*: pret. 3 sg. *ír* Wb. 17<sup>b</sup>13, 20<sup>d</sup>11, etc.

*midithir* 'judges': sg. 1 *·mídar* Wb. 9<sup>b</sup>5, encl. *·ammadar*, 3 *·míd(a)ir*, *do-ru-madir*; pl. 3 *·mídatar* Trip. p. lix, 14, *·ir-madatar*, *·im-rui-mdetar*.

*fichid* 'fights': sg. 3 *fích*, rel. *fíche* ZCP. XI. 109 § 19, enclitic *da-ru-ích* Ml. 43d19; pl. 1 *fichim(m)ar* (*·immir* LU) Imram Brain I. 48, 7.

*in* ·, *ad-fét* (*fēd-*, *fíad-*) 'relates': 3 sg. *in·fíd* LL 292<sup>b</sup>6-7. It is uncertain if 3 pl. *ad-fíadatar* RC. XI. 442, 5 (*at-fíadhatar* ACL. III. 6, 1) is an old form. With *-co(m)-* (§ 533): 3 sg. *ad·cuíd* *·cuaid*, prototon. *·écid*; pl. 1 *ad·coídemmar*, 2 *·éicdid*, 3 later *ad·cuadatar* (RC. III. 346, 1, etc.); for the prototonic form in BDD. § 52 the MSS. point to *·écdetar* or *·écdatar*. Similarly the decompounds *as·ind-et* 'expounds' and *t-ad-bat* 'shows' (§ 592): 3 sg. *as·rindid* and *do·árbith·árbuid·árbaid*; in the latter verb spirant *b* instead of *f* + · after **r(o)** is due to the analogy of forms without **ro**, where *w* came immediately after *ð* (cp. § 201.a).

In the pret. of *do·fet* (*fed-*) 'leads', *i* is not actually attested but may be postulated as certain: 3 sg. \***·fíd** (misspelt *du-d·fich* RC. XI. 446, 44), enclitic *du-da*, *ruíd* Ml. 63<sup>b</sup>12 (cp. *du-s·ñ-deraíd* 99<sup>b</sup>13, with *to-di-ro-*), 3 pl. rel. *dut·fidedar* Thes. II. 242, 13 (Arm.), probably to be read *du-d·fídetar*.

*t-in-fet* 'inspires' has the same formation: 3 sg. *do-r·infid* Hib. Min. p. 6, 173, *do-r·infith* Trip. 2, 7.

## 3. OTHER FORMS WITHOUT REDUPLICATION

**694.** (a) *fo·ceird* 'throws, puts' : pret. 3 sg. *fo·caird*, pl. *fo·cartar*, *scerdid* 'scrapes off' : 3 sg. *ro·scaird* Ml. 14<sup>b</sup>2.

This is possibly the same formation as that of § 692, with shortening of *ā* before the two consonants.

(b) Where a verb is compounded with more than one preposition, and the verbal stem is thus always unstressed, it is often difficult to decide whether the absence of reduplication is original or, as in the reduplicated future (§ 660), secondary. Thus *ad·con-dairc* 'has seen' (*√derc-*) (§ 535b) may either be formed like *fo·caird* or go back to *-dedarc-*. Cp. further *do·ommalgg* (§ 534, 3) 'I have milked' Sg. 23<sup>b</sup>2, *du-r-inmailc* gl. *promulgauit* Ml. 31<sup>d</sup>3 (to *mligid*, *√melg-*); *du-futharcair*, *·dúthraccair* 'he wished, wishes'; *im·, fris-comarcair* (§ 695).

*con·rótaig* 'has built', to *con·utuig* (§ 550), has almost certainly lost the reduplication; likewise *du·cuitig*, pf. of *tongid* 'swears' (§§ 534, 550). Cp. also *dellig*, *dessid*, § 690.

(c) Narrative preterite of the verb 'to go' (§ 769) : sg. abs. and conj. 1, 2 *lod*, 3 *luid*, rel. *luide*; pl. 1 *lodmar*, 3 *lotar*, enclitic *in·rúa-lđatar*, \**·tulđatar* (whence *·tullatár* LU 8746), also *·tultatar* Thes. II. 240, 25 (Arm.), RC. XVI. 63 § 112 (influenced by the *t*-preterite? Or by *do·estetar* § 690, where *ð* has become *t* after *s*?).

A similar form is *·buich* RC. XX. 174 § 39, *con·buig* (*combuig* MS.) Ält. ir. Dicht. II. 18, archaic by-form of *·bobig* (§ 687), to *bongid* 'breaks'.

These are evidently old aorists like Gk.  $\square\lambda\upsilon\theta\omicron\nu$ ,  $\square\varphi\upsilon\gamma\omicron\nu$ .

(d) For *ro·fitir* 'knows, knew', see [§ 703](#); for *do·cer* 'fell', [§ 704](#); the preterite of the verb 'to be'--sg. 1 *bá*, 3 *boí*, etc.-- [§ 789](#).

### FLEXION OF THE SUFFIXLESS PRETERITE

**695.** The great majority of the forms are active, but deponent flexion is found in ten verbs. Of these six are deponent in all other forms also:

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*gainithir* 'is born': pret. *·gén(a)ir*; *ro·laimethar* 'dares': *·lám(a)ir*; *midithir* 'judges': *·míd(a)ir*; *(do)·moinethar*, *·muinethar* 'thinks': *·mén(a)ir*; and the two preterite-presents *ro·fitir* ([§ 703](#)) and *du·futharcair*, *·dúthracc(a)ir* ([§ 694b](#)).

The remaining four have active inflexion in the present:

*da(i)mid* 'admits': *·dám(a)ir* (probably modelled on *·lámair*); *con·ic*, prototonic *·cum(u)ing·cumaing* ([§ 549](#)), and its compounds: *con·ánacuir*, *co·t·áneccar·sa* *Wb.* 14<sup>c</sup>40 (but active 3 sg. *co·t·ánic* once, 8<sup>a</sup>14), *for·comnucair*, *teccomnucair* (but *attot·chomnicc* 6<sup>b</sup>13, etc.); *sa(i)did* 'sits': preterite *siasair* (but perfect *do·essid*, *dessid*) [§ 690](#); *(im)·com·airc* 'asks': *im·chomarcair* *LU* 5102, *fris·comarcair* *Laws I.* 72, 25.

In the course of the ninth century, other verbs also, doubtless owing to the similarity between their plural endings and those of the deponent flexion in general, come to be inflected as deponents in the singular. Examples: *fo·loing* 'supports': *fo·th·róelagair* *Met. Dinds.* IV. 38, 36; *·dellechuir* *Trip.* 240, 20, instead of *dellig* ([§ 690](#)); *conU+00B7é·tet* 'yields to': *con·r·étiguir* *Ériu* II. 224, 4, *con·r·étegar* *Trip.* 214, 10 (earlier pret. form unknown); *con·aitig(a)ir* 'besought' 228, 7, and 230, 17, instead of the t-preterite *con·aitech*; *ar·róerachair* 'attained' 104, 14, etc., apparently to *ar·reth-* (cp. [§ 708](#)).

#### 696. A. ACTIVE (CONJUNCT)

sg.	1	<b>·rerag (·gegon )</b>	<b>·ánac</b>	<b>·gád</b>
	2	<b>·rerag</b>	<b>·ánac</b>	<b>·gád</b>
	3	<b>·rer (a )ig (·cechuin</b> <b>§172)</b>	<b>·án (a )ic</b>	<b>·gáid</b>
pl.	1	<b>·rergammar</b>	<b>·áncammar</b>	<b>·gádammar</b>
	2	<b>*·rerg (a )id</b>	<b>·ác (a )id</b>	<b>*·gádid</b>
	3	<b>·rergatar</b>	<b>·áncatar</b>	<b>·gádatar.</b>
		<b>(·leblangtar )</b>		

#### 697. B. DEPONENT (CONJUNCT)

sg.	1	<b>·ménar</b>	<b>·coímnæar</b>
	2	<b>·ménar</b>	<b>·coímnacar</b>
	3	<b>·mén (a )ir</b>	<b>·cimnucair ·coímnæuir</b>

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pl.	1	<b>·ménammar (·derménmar )</b>	<b>·coímnacmar</b>
	2	<b>·mén (a )id</b>	<b>·coímnac (a )id</b>
	3	<b>·ménatar</b>	<b>·coímnactar.</b>

**698.** The absolute flexion, of which there are very few examples in the early MSS. (*luid* § 694c, *táich* *MI.* 32<sup>b</sup>24), was identical with the conjunct in the singular, as is shown by numerous forms in late transmitted texts: sg. 1, 2 *lod*; 1 dep. *génar-sa* *Ériu* II. 102 § 9; 3 *rerig, selaig, líl, bí, gáid, fích*, etc.; dep. *génair* *Thes.* II. 308, 16, *dámair* *ZCP.* XIII. 144 § 2. The active flexion had a 3 sg. relative form in *-e*; e.g. *luide* *MI.* 127<sup>d</sup>3, etc.; *gíulæ* *Tur.* 125; *gegna[e]* *Fél.* Oct. 23 (R<sup>1</sup>); *dide* *ZCP.* XVIII. 397; *rire* *ZCP.* XIII. 334, 8; *gáde* *Thes.* II. 339, 5; *fiche* *ZCP.* XI. 109 § 19.

In the 1 and 3 pl. the non-relative forms show fluctuation between *-ar* and *-ir*: *bámar* § 789, *ó lodmar-ni* *LL* 246<sup>b</sup>26, beside *femmir* § 702; *fíchimmar* or *-mmir* § 693; *báatar* and *bátir* (§ 789, cp. § 810); *ráthatar* *Fél.* Sept. 18, *gádatar* *Thes.* II. 313, 1, *lelgatar* *ZCP.* IX. 127, 9, beside *memdaitir* *LU* 5316. *táchaitir* *Trip.* 70, 28; *lotir* (emended to **-tar** by a later (?) hand) *LU* 10575, *lotair* *SR.* 3457, usually *lotar*.

It is probable that here too the absolute forms were originally identical with the conjunct. But the resemblance of the plural endings to those of the deponent flexion, which in the absolute distinguishes relative *-mar*, *-tar* from non-relative *-mir*, *-tir*, led to the occasional use of *-mir*, *-tir* in non-relative forms, though the earlier endings were not entirely superseded.

**699.** The personal endings, except the conjunct 2 pl., show a marked difference from the normal endings of the indicative. The first and second singular have neutral consonance, the third palatal.

The 1 and 3 sg. could equally well go back to either the old aorist (Gk. (□)λέλαχ-ον, -ε; □φ υγ-ον, -ε) or the IE. perfect (Gk. -α, -ε.). Undoubtedly some of the Irish forms are old aorists (cp. *luid*, *·buig* § 694c, also § 704). But that the great majority go back to the perfect is suggested by (1) the r-endings in the plural; (2) the neutral quality of the initial radical consonant after the reduplication in roots which have a palatal vowel (e or i) in other forms; this is obviously the effect of the o-grade, which regularly appeared in the singular of the active perfect (Gk. τέτροφα, πέποιθα); further, the lowering of u to o in the reduplication syllable, e.g. *·bobuid* (§ 687), which

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represents earlier *\*bubōd.*, *\*buboud-*, cp. Skt. *bubhōda*. The 2 sg., however, remains unexplained, for the old ending of the perfect was *-tha*, of the aorist *-es*. It recalls the 2 sg. in *-ost* in Middle Welsh irregular preterite forms like *aethost* 'thou didst go', *buost* 'thou wast', *dugost* 'thou didst carry', *gwđost* 'thou knowest', *atwaenost* 'thou dost recognize'; here *-t* is doubtless a suffixed pronoun, so that the earlier ending would have been *-os*. But the source of this *-o-* is equally obscure (from a 1 sg. in *\*-on*, earlier *\*-om*?).

The 3 pl. ending is clearly distinguishable from the similar ending of the deponent flexion by the fact that the first vowel of *-atar* can be elided: *fo·coímlachtar*, *du·coímrachtar*, *do·cóemnachtar*, *for·ru·leblangtar*, *do·n·arnactar*. Even though it is often retained in the second syllable (*·gádatar*, *·táchatar*, etc.), still forms like *·leldar*, *·lotar*, *do·cotar* (*·cótár*?) show that this is not regular.

Similarly in the 1 pl., beside *·gádammar*, *·génammar*, we find the more regular form *·lodmar*. *do·commar* (with *-ō-?*, § 692) cannot be regarded as evidence that at one time *-mar* came directly after the final consonant of the root, for in Irish *dm* does not become *mm*; perhaps it is due to the influence of the 3 pl. *·cō + t̄ar*.

*-r* may be taken as the old 3 pl. ending of the active perfect, corresponding to Avest. *-arə*, Skt. *-uh* (= *\*-ur*); cp. Tochar. 3 pl. pret. *-ər*, *-ar*, *-ār*, and probably Lat. *-ēre*. But it is attached to another active ending with *nt*, possibly *-ont*. The fact that the vowel before *-tar* (*-dar*) may be elided, shows that in Irish this ending is not a development of *-dr +* (as in the deponent). but that at an earlier period a vowel stood between *nt* and *r*.

According to this theory, *-r* would then have spread from the 3 pl. to the 1 pl.; and eventually the endings of both forms were taken over by the *t*-preterite (§ 683).

The earlier MSS. contain no example of the absolute 2 pl. either in the suffixless or the *t*-preterite. From the end of the ninth century onwards the ending *-abair* is found for absolute as well as conjunct: *ortabair-*

*si* (t-pret.) LU 7132 (possibly conjunct), *do-dechabair* Trip. 100, 6; cp. *·tudchaibair* (sic) LU 8867, 9156, from *do-dechuid* 'has come', *t-áncabair* SR. 3472, *·cúalaba[i]r-si* 1393, etc. It is possible, though of course quite uncertain, that the use of this as the absolute ending dates from the Old Irish period, since *-id* appears nowhere else in the 2 pl. absolute; *-bair* seems to be based on the 2 pl. possessive pronoun *bar*.

Collection from LU: Strachan, ZCP. II. 492 f.

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**700.** The deponent flexion has *-r* in the singular also. But the quality of this *-r* is obviously conditioned by the active endings: neutral in the first and second persons, palatal in the third. In the forms that provided the starting-point, the r-ending seems to have come immediately after the final consonant of the root (see § 703).

The plural is also modelled on the active, for medial *a* in the third person may be elided here too: *·coímnactar*, *du·futhractar*. Similarly in the 1 pl.: *·coímnacmar*, *·derménmar*.

**701.** The *ā*-preterite, in which *ā* most probably represents old *ō* rather than *ā*, was common to all the Insular Celtic languages. Cp. OW. *guo-raut*, *gwa-rawt* = O.Ir. *fo·ráith* 'he helped'; Mid.W. *dy-wawt* 'he said', *go-di-wawd* (§ 692); O.Bret. *ar-im-rot gl. functus est* RC. XXXI. 218 n.5. Preterite forms with a long vowel are found in other Indo-European languages also (see in particular Brugmann, *IF*. XXXII. 179 ft.), but it is not clear what place they occupy in the verbal system of the parent speech. Homer. *πλέω* (*pleu-*), aor. *□π-έπλω*, is perhaps to be compared.

In the *ī*-preterite two classes are doubtless to be distinguished: *ro·ír* and the remaining verbs. Since the former goes back to a root with initial *p* (§ 649c), *ī* < *ē* is probably based on a very early contraction: *\*(p)e(p)or..* (?). On phonological grounds one would expect rather a basic form *\*(p)e(p)er-*, but the vocalism would be difficult to explain; an aorist form *\*eper..* is unlikely, for nowhere else in Irish is there any trace of the augment. All the remaining verbs have initial *f* (from *w-*), except *do·r-in-fid*, with *f* < *sw*, which could easily have joined the others, and *·míd(a)ir*. But the future of *midithir* has obviously been modelled on that of the verbs with initial *f-* (§ 659), and the same thing has undoubtedly happened in the preterite. That the latter, as has often been suggested, corresponds to forms with a long vowel (*mēd-*) in other languages (e.g. Goth. 1 pl. pret. *us-mētum*) is wholly improbable. It is also improbable that the verbs with *f-* include any examples of the early formation with the lengthened grade of the root, comparable with Lat. *uīcī*, *uīdī*. Since two of them belong to the *i*-series (*fích*, *in·fíd*), the origin of the formation is more likely to be connected with the loss of *w* after *i*, the stems having been *\*wiwik-*, *\*wiwid-* (or the like), with reduced grade of the root. *do·fíd-* (*√fed-*) has doubtless displaced earlier *-fād-* (§ 692). In the plural the length of the *i* is not directly attested but, is almost certain. *ro·ír* may also have played some part in the evolution of this type; unfortunately none of its plural forms has yet been found.

**702.** Verbs whose root once ended in *-s* lose the *s* between vowels, but are nevertheless differentiated from those ending in a vowel (§ 691) by the retention of the root vowel in the singular.

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*ad·cí* 'sees', *do·é·cí* 'looks (at)' and their decompositions: sg. 1 *fris·racacha*, 3 *fres·n·accache*, *·frescachae*; pl. 1 *·remdercachmar*, 3 *·frescachtar* (*·frescechtar* Ml. 34<sup>d</sup>17), *do·récachtar*; or with the reduplication suppressed: sg. 3 *·acæ*, pl. 1 *·accamar*, 3 *·accatar*, *frit·racatar*, *do·récatar*.

The fact that *c* is not palatalized in the forms without reduplication seems to suggest that the reduplication syllable had been completely suppressed (§ 694b) rather than that *-e-* had been merely syncopated (otherwise Pokorny, *KZ*. XLVII. 163 f.).

From *do·goa* 'chooses', vb.n. *togu* (*√geus-*, *gus*), only perfect forms with *ro(i)* are found in early MSS.: sg. 1, 2 *do·roíga*, 3 *·roígu*; pl. 2 *·roígaid*. 3 *·roígar*.

The 3 sg. ending *-u* appears again in *fíu, fíu* 'he spent the night' *Trip.* 156, 19; 174, 6; 184, 15, etc.; cp. pl. 1 *femmir LU* 10242; pl. 3 *féotar*, once *fétir LU* 10602, (pres. *foïd*, vb.n. *fess*, √*wes-*); 2 sg., with enclitic stem, *·ro-a* (for-*f* + *ä*) Ériu II. 224, 3.

It is unlikely that O.Ir. *-u* could have come from *-ose*. On the other hand, a basic form *-use* seems possible; hence we should doubtless postulate forms with the reduced grade of the root *gus-*, *us-*. The latter, with syllabic *e*-reduplication, would give *\*wëus-*, whence *fíu*, before a neutral ending **féo**-. In later attested forms like *at·gege*, *ata·gegai ZCP.* XVIII. 325, the ending **has** probably been changed. In *femmir* and *fétir* (read *fēt-* ?), *-w-* (< *-uś-*) seems to have disappeared without leaving any trace.

### SPECIAL FORMATIONS

**703.** (a) The preterite-present *ro·fetar* 'I know, knew' (*·fetar* only once, *Thes. II.* 241, 10, Arm.), 2 *·fetar*, 3 *·fitir*; pl. 1 *·fitemmar Wb. Sg.*, *·fetammar ML.*, 2 *·fitid* (*·fitis Wb.* 6<sup>a</sup>18, 14<sup>c</sup>12, probably extracted from *·fiti(d)-sí*, cp. § 139). 3 usually *·fitetar*, seldom *·fetatar ML.* 54<sup>b</sup>14. *·fetar Wb.* 28<sup>c</sup>12. *ML.* 96<sup>b</sup>2 (cp. § 543).

In the singular the variation in the stem vowel shows that *r* once stood immediately after the dental. This also explains the unlenited *d* (§ 119 b), which, however, is further extended to the plural. The stem corresponds to the IE. unreduplicated perfect: Goth. *wait*, Gk. *ο□ + δα*. Skt. *vēda*; pl. *witum*, *□δμεν*, *vidmá*; the 3 sg. *·fitir* to Mid.W. *gŵyr* and Mid.Bret. *goar* 'knows', which, however, seem to have the grade *\*weid-*. The closest parallel to the Irish forms is Vedic 3 pl. middle *vidrē*; a similar form was perhaps the startingpoint of the Irish flexion. The explanations offered by Wackernagel, *IF.* XXXIX. 223, and Krause, *ZCP.* XV. 204 f., are not convincing.

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**704.** (b) The 3 sg. *do·cer* 'he fell' has neutral *-r*; 3 pl. *do·certar TBC.* 2925, rel. *do·chertar Anecd.* III. 62, 19. The form with **ro** tends to be inflected normally: 3 sg. *do·rochair Sg.* 29<sup>a</sup>8, 29<sup>b</sup>7, *Tur.* 19, beside *·torchar ML.* 34<sup>c</sup>14; further, sg. 1 *·torchar Trip.* 124, 25, (2 *·torchair LU* 6039 = TBC. 1568 is scarcely correct); pl. 3 *do·rochratar*, *·torchartar* *·torchratar*.

*at·bath* 'he died' (§§ 758, 423) is similarly inflected: 3 pl. *at·bathatar*. In the plural form the ending of the passive preterite also occurs: *at·batha ML.* 98<sup>b</sup>8, *condid·apha AU.* 830, etc.

**·cer** (base *\*k + érē-*, principal ablaut forms *\*kerə-* and *\*krē-*) is an old radical aorist *\*kerət*; cp. Skt. *a-śarīt* 'he crushed', Ir. *crín* (adj.) 'rotten' and pres. ind. *ara·chrin* (§ 552, B V). **·bath**, with its cognate meaning, may have been attracted. That it has been evolved from a passive form, so that the passive plural ending would be the earlier, is less probable. In later MSS. it is often written *·báth*, *·báthatar*; but short *a* is confirmed by rhyme, e.g. Fianaig. 12 § 22, *Met. Dinds.* I. 46, 3, IV. 354, 43; cp. the abstract noun *báth LU* 2956.

## STEM AND FLEXION OF THE PASSIVE PRETERITE

**705.** In Irish and Britannic the stem of the passive preterite corresponds to the Indo-European verbal adjective in *-to-*, *-tā-*, which was once used, as in Italic (Lat. *captus*, *-a*, *-um est*), to supply this tense-form. But in Irish the forms are felt entirely as verbs; compounds take the verbal, not the substantival stress.

**706.** The *t* of the suffix appears after vowels as *th* or *d* (= *δ*). Thus in all weak verbs: A I *móra-d*, A II *·léce-d*, *·su(i)dige-d* (from a deponent).

In Mid.W. the endings are *-at*, *-wyt*, *-et*, *-it*.

For the vocalism of *for-corad* ZCP. XV. 350 § 39, pass. pret. of *for-cu(i)rethar* (A II) 'ravishes', see § 677; *ad-rodad* Laws I. 52, 3, Trip. 72, 21 (to *ad-su(i)di* 'holds fast'), from \**ro-sodeth*, should regularly have *th* from *š* + *ð* (§ 131), but has kept the *-ð-* of the other forms.

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**ibid** 'drinks' has adopted the formation of the *i*-verbs, *ga(i)bid*, 'takes' that of the *a*-verbs (cp. § 671): *·ibed*, *·gabad*.

*o*-verbs (A III: *cloid* 'subdues': *·cload*; *soïd* 'turns': *·soad*, 3 pl. *·soithe* (probably with *oi*) Sg. 73<sup>a</sup>11 (-*e* from *-ea*).

*ro-lā-* (§ 762): *ro-laad*, 3 pl. *·látha*.

*gniid* 'does': *·gníth*, with enclitic stem *do-rónad* (< *-ro-gníth*); *fo-fúair* 'he found' (§§ 691d, 543a): *fo-fríth*.

Long *i* is also found in the preterite passive of B IV verbs with *-ena-* in the present: *ben(a)id* 'strikes': *bíth*, enclitic *ro-im-di-bed*, *du-fo-r-bad*; *cren(a)id* 'buys': *·críth*; *ren(a)id* 'sells': *·ríth*.

**707.** Before *t* a guttural appears as *ch* (§ 221); e.g. *aingid*, *·anich* 'protects': *·anacht* (from \**·anecht*); *reg-* 'stretch out': *·recht*; *dligid* 'is entitled to': *·dlecht*; *sligid* 'fells': *·slecht*; *figid* 'weaves' and *fichid* 'fights': *·fecht*; *bongid* 'breaks, reaps': *·bocht* (for the vocalism of *to-n-aid-becht* RC. XXII. 401 § 168, see § 550); *·ic* 'reaches', etc.: *·icht* (cp. § 210), enclitic *·air-echt*.

*orgid* 'slavs': *·ort*, < \**·orcht*.

**708.** Where the root ends in a dental (or *s*), the latter combines with the *t* of the suffix to give *ss* (*s*). Examples: *ro-fitir* 'knows, knew': *fess* (used as present and preterite); *ad-fét* 'relates': *·fess* (with **to** and **ro**: *do-árbas*, like active *do-árbuid* § 693); *midithir* 'judges': *·mess* (*imme-ro-mas*); *gu(i)did* 'prays' (subj. stem *gess-*): *·ges(s)*; *cla(i)did* 'digs': *·class*; *sla(i)did* 'strikes': *·slass*; *nascid* 'binds' (vb.n. *naidm*): *·nass*; *rondid* 'reddens': *·ros* ZCP. VIII. 419, 15 (cp. *Ériu* V. 238. 101); *do-dechuid* 'has come' (§ 692): *do-dechas*, *·tuidches* Sg. 199<sup>b</sup>1.

Verbs with *nn* (from *-ndn-*) in the present stem undoubtedly have long *e* before *s(s)* in stressed syllables, as in the *s*-subjunctive, although the mark of length happens to be always omitted. Examples: *do-seinn* 'pursues': 3 pl. *to-sēssa* LU 6748; *tennid*

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'cuts open': *·tēs* O'Mulc. 474; *fo-gleinn* 'learns': *fo-glēs* *ibid*. 665; *do-eclainn* (*·eg-glenn-*) 'selects': perfect *du-érglas* MI. 120<sup>d</sup>2.

*do-etar-rat* 'overtakes' (cpd. of *rethid*) has the peculiar form *do-r-etarracht* MI. 33<sup>c</sup>20 (cp. the vb.n. *comtetracht*, § 737).

*ad-cí* 'sees' (*√k<sup>w</sup>is-*, *k<sup>w</sup>eis-*): **·cess**, 3 pl. *co-n-accassa* LU 5880. By analogy, *ro-clu(i)nethar* 'hears' has *·closs* beside earlier *·cloth* (KZ. XXVII. 549), 3 pl. *·clotha* Féil. Aug. 24.

*-s* has also spread beyond its original limits in *fo-m-lámas báduid* 'drowning impended over me' Wb. 17<sup>d</sup>4 (*fo-lámathar*), *ar-folmas* (modelled on *do-árbas*?); similarly in *·étas* 'was obtained' (KZ. XXVIII. 350), cp. § 648.

On the other hand, *do-goa* 'chooses' (*√gus-*, *geus-*) forms its preterite passive like a weak verb: *do-roígad* (cp. § 711) MI. 123<sup>a</sup>14, *do-rogad* 124<sup>c</sup>13.

**709.** Strong verbs which contain the sound-groups *er*, *el* have *re*, *le* (representing IE. *r + , l +*) in the passive preterite. Examples: *berid* 'bears': *·breth*; *fo·ceird* 'throws': *·cress*; *sern(a)id* 'spreads': *·sreth* (Fél.); *celid* 'conceals': *·cleth*.

*do·gair* 'summons' has *do·grath* Anecd. I. 44, 20, enclitic *ar·ro·grad*, *fo·r·ógrad*, *do·r·airngred*, etc. Forms such as *ar·garad* BDD. § 13 and *do·r·airngerad* Ml. 113<sup>d</sup>5 are innovations.

*ra* also occurs in *·rath*, pass. pret. of *ern(a)id* 'bestows', act. pret. *·ír*.

But *alid* 'rears': *·alt*.

**710.** Strong verbs with roots ending in single *n* and *m* have *-ét* (*t = d*, § 208). Examples: *canid* 'sings': *·cét*; *da(i)mid* 'admits': *·dét* LL 113<sup>b</sup>13, ZCP. III. 38, 2; *ar·fo·em-* 'receive': 3 pl. *ar·foítea* ZCP. VIII. 312, 19; *do·es·sim* 'pours out, sheds': pf. *do·r·esset*; *do·moinethar* 'thinks': *\*·mét*.

*·goít* *·góet*, passive of *·geguin* 'wounded', is peculiar.

A form *\*gét* might have been expected. The *-o-* may have come from pres. *gon(a)id*, pret. 1 sg. *·gegon*. For *ro·det*, instead of *·dét*, see § 50b.

**711.** Sometimes the passive preterite is influenced by the active form. Thus *roí-* (§ 688) is taken over, e.g. in *do·roígad*

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(§ 708), *fo·roíblachta* 'sunt praeuenti' Ml. 58<sup>d</sup>6, modelled on *·roíbl(a)ing* (§ 689) 'has sprung'. Cp. further *con·árracht* 123<sup>b</sup>2, with *rr* as in act. *con·árrig* (*\*ad·rer(a)ig*), to *con·rig* 'binds'; *·siacht*, with reduplication like the active (§ 682). A somewhat later form is *·airnecht* 'was found' *Thes.* II. 348, 1, instead of *·air·echt*, by analogy with act. *·airnie* (*\*air·ánic*).

## FLEXION OF THE PASSIVE PRETERITE

	A I	ABSOLUTE	A II	STRONG VERBS
3 sg. and rel.	<b>móρθ (a) e</b>	<b>léicthe</b>		<b>breth (a) e</b>
3 pl.	<b>móρθ (a) i?</b>	<b>léicthi?</b>		
		CONJUNCT		
gen. form	<b>·mórad, -ath</b>	<b>·lécd, -eth</b>		<b>·breth (-brad)</b>
3 pl.	<b>·móρθa</b>	<b>·lécthea</b>		<b>·bretha</b>

**713.** The conjunct form in neutral *-th*, *-d* corresponds to the old singular of the verbal adjective. The plural in *-a* is doubtless the same form as that which functions as feminine and neuter plural in the adjectival flexion (§ 350 f.)

In the absolute singular, which may also be used in relative construction (e.g. *Thes.* II. 319, 7, ZCP. VIII. 330, 5), the intrinsic quality of *-th-* is neutral (*brethae*). The ending could have come from the masc. *-tos*, to which an element with palatal vowel, perhaps *is* (or IE. *est?*), had been added (cp. § 565). The plural is not attested in early MSS.; it first appears at a time when final vowels are confused in writing, and when, in addition, the distinction between absolute and conjunct flexion is being gradually abandoned, so that, for example, the conjunct form *bítha* 'they were slain' is also used as the absolute. But a few forms like *sástai·seom* (A I) 'they were sated' RC. IX. 18 § 15, *sudighi* (A II dep.) 'they were placed' LU 1446, suggest that *i* was the earlier ending; and if the spelling *cloisi* 'they were heard' Anecd. I. 54 § 28 can be relied upon, a form *\*brithi* may be postulated in the paradigm of the strong verbs. In that case the absolute plural would be everywhere the same as the nom. pl. of the participle (§ 714 ff.).

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# NON-FINITE VERBAL FORMS

## I. THE PAST PARTICIPLE PASSIVE

**714.** This adjectival formation, which is confined to transitive verbs, is closely connected with the passive preterite. It is formed with the suffix *-ti + o-*, *-ti + ā-*, and inflected like the adjectives in § 354. The participle of a compound verb is stressed on the first syllable ( § 36 ). Weak verbs: A **I mórthae**, **oirdnide** 'ordained, worthy'; AII **léicthe**, **foíte** (to **foídid** 'sends'), **suidigthe**. So also **cloithe** (probably **cloithe**), to **cloíd** 'subdues'. **ad·cota**, **·éta** 'obtains': **ét (ta) e** (as against pret. pass. **·étas**, § 708 ). **gaibid** 'takes': **dí-**, **tor-** **tur-gabth (a) e**. **715.** The participle of strong verbs generally has the same form of the root as the pret. pass. ( § 706 ff. ). Examples:

**benaid** 'strikes': **bíthe**, **tóbaide** (with *to-f + o-*), **imdibthe**, **aidchumthe**, **fubide** (without syncope) *ZCP*. VII480; so also **im-fen** 'encloses': **imbithe**, **-ide**; **for-fen** 'completes': **forbaide** *MI*. (the syncopated form **foirbthe** serves as the adjective 'perfect').  
**gnin** 'knows': pl. **ætnithi** (read **etar-** ?) *Wb.* l<sup>h</sup>14, **ingnaide** *MI*.  
**reg-** 'stretch out': **recht (a) e**; **déracht (a) e** 'abandoned'.  
**do-formaig** 'increases': **tórmacht (a) e**.  
**sag-**: **iarfach (a) e** 'asked'; **cuintecht (a) e** 'sought'.  
**fo-slig** 'smears': **fuillecht (a) e**.  
**con-rig** 'binds', **dí-rig-** 'strip': **cuimrecht (a) e**, **dírecht (a) e**.  
**for-ding** 'oppresses': **fortecht (a) e**.  
**fo-loing** 'supports', **in-loing** 'unites, occupies': **fulacht (a) e**, **ellacht (a) e**.  
**orgid** 'slays': **timmort (a) e-art (a) e**, **frithort (a) e**, **esart (a) e**, etc.  
**midithir** 'judges': **me (i) sse**, **cuimse**, **toimse**.  
**ind-reth-** 'invade': **indrisse**, **indirse**.  
**im-said** 'besieges' (*√sed-*): **impesse (-sesse)**.

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**as-indet** 'expounds': **aisndisse**.  
**cla (i) did** 'digs': **claisse**.  
**in-snaid** 'grafts': **esnaisse**.  
**ad-gládathar** 'addresses': **acailse**.  
**im-naisc** 'binds together': **immainse**.  
**for-diuclainn** 'swallows': **fordíucailse**.  
**rondid** 'reddens': **ruisse** (*IT*. II. ii. 191, 56, etc.).  
**do-goa** 'chooses': **tuigse**, **tuichse** *MI*. (**tuicse** *Wb.*, with *to-uss-*).  
**ro-clu (i) nethar** 'hears': **clothe**.  
**berid** 'bears': \***brithe** (cp. **srithe** 'exsertus' *MI*. 31<sup>c</sup>8).

In the syncopated participles of compounds there is fluctuation between palatal and non-palatal *rth* (cp. § 164 ); e.g. **tairberthae** *MI*. 130<sup>c</sup>7, pl. **tairbirthi** *Thes*. II. 234, 6; **remeperthae** *Sg*. 4<sup>a</sup>7, acc. pl. (substantival) **remeperthiu** *MI*. 69<sup>a</sup>4. In compounds of **gairid** 'calls' *rth* is as a rule non-palatal; e.g. **ergarthae**, **dingarthæ**, **esgarthe**; but **tairngirthe** *MI*. 110<sup>d</sup>5. In pl. **forngarti** *Sg*. 31<sup>b</sup>7 the *t* seems to be unlenited (if not a scribal error).

**celid** 'conceals': **clithe**; cp. **neph-glidi** gl. *intonsi* Filargirius Gl. (*Thes*. II. 46, 21; 361), to **gelid** 'grazes'.  
**alid** 'rears': **alt (a) e**.  
**canid** 'sings': **céte**; but the compounds, **for-cain**: **foircthe** *MI*. 35<sup>d</sup>6, **do-er-chain**: **terchant (a) e** (like a weak *averb*) 24<sup>d</sup>6, are irregular. So is **ataim (ad-daim)** 'acknowledges': **atmaithe** (*i,MS.*) *Laws* III. 12, 11.  
**air-em-** or **air-fo-em-** 'receive': **erite**.  
**do-es-sim** 'pours out, sheds': **teste**.  
**do-moinethar** 'thinks': **toimte**.  
**gonaid** 'wounds, slays': **goíte**.

The following show irregular formation:

**gniid** 'does': pl. **gnethi** *MI*. 115<sup>b</sup>2, also in compounds like **már-**, **caín-**, **mí-**, **rem-gnethi**. The *e* was probably long; cp. **gnéthid** 'operarius' *Wb.* 30<sup>b</sup>9, and later **gnéthech**, (gen. **-ige**, 'active voice'). The source of the *é* is not clear (cp. **snithe** 'twisted' *MI*. 24<sup>b</sup>7, to **sniid**); influence by **gné** 'form' is hardly probable.  
**fris-acci** (*·ad-cí*) 'hopes': **frescast (a) e**, where **t** has been

restored, doubtless under the influence of pass. subj. · **accstar** ( § 609 ).

In **frithtaquirsimem** gl. **infestissimam** *MI.* 106<sup>b</sup>15, to pres. pass. **fris-tacuirther** 'obiicitur' *Sg.* 21<sup>b</sup>4, -se seems to have spread from other verbs; contrast **taidchoirthe** 'reuersus' *MI.* 82<sup>c</sup>6.

**716.** Besides having the force of past participles, these forms are sometimes used to express possibility; e.g. **ríthe** 'uenalis' (to **renaid**) *MI.* 36<sup>a</sup>37; **tinfeiste** (to **tinfet**, formed like **frescastae** above) 'flailis' *Sg.* 17<sup>b</sup>7; **nephícthe** 'inmedicabilis' *MI.* 76<sup>a</sup>17.

Collection: Zupitza, *KZ.* xxxv. 456.

## 2. THE VERBAL OF NECESSITY

Collection: Zupitza, *KZ.* xxxv. 445 f.

**717.** The verbal of necessity is used only in predicative construction (after the copula) with the same meaning as the Latin gerundive, which it often renders in the Glosses. Intransitive as well as transitive verbs have this form, e.g. **is bu (i) thi** 'it has to be'.

It is probably an old predicative dative of the verbal noun with the suffix *-tei, -ti*; cp. *Skt. iṣṭáyē* 'for desiring', *pītáyē* 'for drinking.'

The suffix *-ti, -thi, -di* is not inflected. Only in *MI.* is the dat. pl. ending *-ib* sometimes attached to it; e.g. **donaib déedib betis chloithib** (with *-oí-?*) gl. *ad conuincendos desides* 131<sup>d</sup>11; **airtbidib** gl. *perimendis (malis)* 116<sup>d</sup>4. But this is an artificial formation, which is never found in purely Irish texts. **718.** The stem has usually the same form as in the past participle. Weak verbs: A I **móρθ (a) i**, **comalnaidi**. A II **léicthi, su (i) dichthi, fodlaidi**; without syncope: **sechidi** (to **sechithir** 'follows'). **cuirethar** : **coirthi** Strong verbs: **con-rig** 'binds': **cuimrehti**.

**do-fich** 'avenges': **diachti**.

**con-utuig** 'builds': **cumtacht (a) i**.

**to-aith-bong-** ( § 550 ): **taidbehti** gl. *enodanda ZCP.* VII. 482, 3.

**to- (fo)-org-** 'crush': **túart (a) i**.

**canid** 'sings': **céti** (but **for.cain** : **forcthi** *MI.* 132<sup>a</sup>4 and **forcanti** *Thes.* II. 22, 39).

**do-em** 'covers, protects': **díti**.

### 719. SPECIAL FORMATIONS

- a. Verbs whose radical final should have combined with the following *t* to give *ss* sometimes have *st* in the verbal of necessity (cp. **frescastae** § 715, **tinfeiste** § 716). Thus beside regular forms like **messi** to **midithir** 'judges', **gessi** to **gu (i) did** 'prays', **aisndissi** to **as-indet** 'expounds', **indrissi** to **ind-reth-** 'invade, lay waste', we find both **ecailsi** 'discutiendus' *MI.* 15<sup>d</sup>7 and **eclastai** *Sg.* 27<sup>a</sup>15 to **as-gleinn, imcasti** 'consideranda' *MI.* 18<sup>d</sup>22 to **ad-cí** (with **imm-**). Cp. **comitesti** *Wb.* l<sup>c</sup>12, to **con-tetécométig** 'yields to'; here there has also been influence by the *s*-subjunctive *-tēss-, -tes-*.
- b. **bre(i)thi**, to berid 'bears', is only attested later ( *Met. Dinds.* III.264, 51 }, but that it was the old form is shown by **srethi** 'substernendum' *Sg.* 68<sup>a</sup>5 (pres. **sernaid**); cp. compounds like **tabarthi, tedbarthi, eperthi**. Cp. further **clethi** *Thes.* II. 345, 1, to **celid** 'conceals', but **clithi** (rhyming with **michi**) *Fél.* Epil. 306. **benaid** 'strikes' (partc. **bithe**) : **bethi** *MI.* 114<sup>c</sup>12.

In Britannic the corresponding forms always have *ä* before the dental: O.Bret. *in-aatoe* 'ineundum' from *a(g)-*; W. *-adwy*, e.g. *credadwy* 'credible'; Corn. *caradow* 'lovable', *casadow*, 'hateful'. On these lines one could explain the *e* in **bethi** as < *-iä-*, but not that in *brethi, clethi*. That the last two forms were influenced by the verbal nouns **breth** and **\*cleth** is possible, but the reason for any such influence is obscure. **clithi** is undoubtedly a secondary formation based on the participle.

### 3. THE VERBAL NOUN

Collections: Windisch, *Bezenbergers Beitr.* II. 72 ff.; Fraser, *Miscellany Kuno Meyer* p. 216 ff.; B audiš, *ZCP*. IX. 380 ff.

720. An abstract noun is attached to every verb or verb

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system. This is of very common occurrence, being used in place of the infinitive and (in combination with a preposition) of all participles other than the past participle passive.

Syntactically it is a substantive: subject or object is expressed by a following genitive (cp. § 250, 1), and no question of tense, mood, or voice arises. In certain types of clause, however, its construction approximates to that of the infinitive in other languages, viz. where the agent or the object of the action is placed first and the verbal noun attached by means of the preposition **do**.

Examples: **is bés leo-som in daim do thúarcuin** 'it is a custom with them that the oxen thresh' (lit. 'the oxen for (the) threshing') Wb. 10<sup>a</sup>6; **ni-guid dégail (acc.) du thabairt foraib** 'he prays not that punishment should be inflicted on them' (lit. 'he prays not for punishment for bringing on them') Ml. 42<sup>a</sup>4; **atot-ágathar dia mrath** (*mbrath* MS.) 'he fears thou wilt betray them' LU 4707; **dénum maith** (gen.) **ocus imgabáil uile** (gen.) **do dénum** 'to do (lit. 'doing of') good and to avoid doing evil' Ml. 14<sup>c</sup>12; **dob-roíga-sa i-mmess** (or *im mess?*) **fíra do brith for éach** 'I have chosen you to pass true judgement on all' 103<sup>c</sup>15. Cp. also **ni-epur frib etarscarad** (acc.) **fri suidiu** 'I say not to you to separate from these' Wb. 9<sup>b</sup>19.

But is **mithich dán t(rá) intinseital ní do dénum** 'it is time for us, then, to begin to do something' *ZCP*. VIII. 175, with acc. **ní** instead of gen. **neich**, is probably a Latinism.

There is a difference between the two possible constructions **dénum tuile dæ +** Ml. 54<sup>a</sup>5 and **tol dæ + do dénum** Wb. 30<sup>a</sup>18 'to do God's will'. The first is analytical and can therefore be resolved: 'The doing of what?' 'Of God's will'. In the second the two concepts form a closer unity which excludes such analysis: **scarad fri indeb in domain ettol dæ + do dénum** 'to separate from the gain of the world and to do God's will': here the parallel to **scarad** is not **tol (dæ + )** but the entire clause **tol dæ + do dénum**.

As already noted (§ 250), where the verbal noun is accompanied by an objective genitive, the agent must be expressed by a prepositional phrase (usually with **do**), not by a genitive or a possessive pronoun. This construction is also permissible where there is no objective genitive, e.g. **buith dúib-si** 'your being' Wb. 10<sup>b</sup>2 beside **a m-buith** 'their being' 10<sup>a</sup>4.

Many verbal nouns are used in a concrete sense also; e.g. **cúimrech** 'binding' and 'fetter', **aithne** 'entrusting' and 'deposit'.

721. The formation of these verbal nouns is governed by no uniform rules. In general they are formed from the same

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root as the verb to which they are attached. But there are certain exceptions to this. Thus **gal** fem. serves as verbal noun of **fichid** 'fights' (**dí-gal** of **dí-fich-**, **to-gal** of **to-fich-**, etc.).

**serc** fem., vb.n. of **car(a)id** 'loves'.

**óol** neut., dat. sg. **óul** Ml., vb.n. of **ibid** 'drinks'.

**luige lugae** neut., vb.n. of **tongid** 'swears' (but **fretech** 'renouncing', dat. pl. **fritchib**, to **fris-toing**; **dí-thech** 'denying on oath'; **e-tech** 'refusing', to **as-toing**; cp. § 550).

**precept, precept** (fem. **ā**-stem), vb.n. of **predchid** 'preaches'.

**722.** An abstract noun from which a denominative verb has been formed usually serves as verbal noun of the latter. When such a verb is compounded with one or more prepositions, the verbal noun may be a similar compound of the abstract noun. Examples:

**ás** neut. 'growth': *ásaid*.  
*cor* masc. 'cast': *·cu(i)rethar* (and *fo-ceird*, § 762.); similarly *to-chor*, *freccor*, *t-aid-chor*: *do·cu(i)rethar*, etc.  
*scor* 'unyoking': *scu(i)rid*.  
*gat* (*gait*) fem. 'theft': *gat(a)id*.  
*ic(e)* 'salvation': *ic(c)aid*.  
*rád* 'speech': *rádid* (but *im-rádud*).  
*rím* fem. 'counting, number': *rímid*; cp. *áram*, *tuirem*: **ad·**, *do-rími*.  
*samail* fem. 'comparison, likeness': *samlathir*; cp. *intam(a)il*: *in·samlathar* (but, with *dí-*: *diamlad* Ml. 52).  
*slond* (dat. *slund*) 'signification': *sluindid* (but with *ad-*: *asslondud* FéI., with *dí-* *díltoth*, *díltud* § 131: simplex also *slondod* *Thes.* II. 292, 2).  
*togaís* 'deceit', vb.n. of *do·gaítha*, is somewhat different, based on the noun *gaís* 'wisdom', beside *gaíth* 'wise'.

**723.** Otherwise the normal ending of *a*-verbs (A I) is *-ad*, *-ath*; of *i*-verbs (A II) *-iud*, *iuth*, *-ud*, *-uth*: with *u*-flexion (§ 305 ff.).

Examples: *móraid*: *mórad*, *-ath*; *·comalnadar* 'fulfils'

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: *comalnad*, *-ath*; *lécid*: *léciud*, *-iuth* (for *foít*, vb.n. of *foídid*, see § 110.); *su(i)digidirsu(i)digud*, *-uth*.  
*sō* + *īd* (A III): *sō* + *ūd* (with *imb-*: *impuud*, *impúth*, *impúd*; with *to-ind-*: *tintúd*, etc.); *srē* + *īd*: *\*srē* + *ūd* (*as-sreud*, *æsreuth*); *lī* + *īd*: *liud*.

The ending contains the IE. suffix *-tu-* (cp. § 729). On the evidence of Welsh, *-e-tu-* is to be postulated for some of the A II verbs; hence, e.g., *slocod* *Thes.* II. 255, 16, vb.n. of *slucid* 'swallows'.

**724.** The verbal nouns of primary verbs show great diversity of formation. For the flexion, cp. § 256.

#### A. ENDINGS WITHOUT CONSONANTS

1. In many compounds the verbal noun consists of the root inflected as a neuter o-stem (§ 277). This is especially common where the root ends in a guttural, e.g. with B III verbs:

*con·boing* 'breaks': *combag*, *combach* (so also *to-bach*, *t-aid-bech*).  
*con·utuinc*, *·utaing* 'builds': *cumdach*, *cumtach*; *ar·utaing* 'refreshes': *ertach*.  
*in·dloing* 'cleaves': *indlach*.  
*fo·loing* 'supports': *fulach* (also *fulang*, with the *n* of the present stem), arch. *folog* Wb. I. 17<sup>b</sup>23;  
*in·loing* 'unites': *ellach*.

Other classes:

*do·for-maig* 'increases': *tórmach*.  
*atteich* (*\*ad·teich*) 'beseeches, takes refuge': *attach*.  
*do·fo-nig* 'washes off': *díunach*.  
*con·rig* 'binds': *cúimrech* (dat. pl. *cúimrigib* beside *cúimregaib*, § 280); *du·rig* 'strips': *dírech*.  
*ad·eir-rig* 'repeats': *aithirrech*, *aitherrech*.  
*ad·slig* 'induces': *aslach*; *ar·slig* 'slaughters': *airlech*.  
*do·seinn* 'pursues': dat. sg. *tofun(n)*, written *tosun* Ml. 55<sup>c</sup>1.  
*do·infet* 'inspires, aspirates': *tinfed*, *tinphed*.  
*ad·boind* 'proclaims': *apad*; *as·boind* 'refuses': *obbad*, *opad*.

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*in-laot* 'they put into, arrange': *inde-l*; likewise *fui-de-l*, *t-in-ó-l*, *accomol*, etc.

The verbal nouns of certain weak verbs also have this formation:

*con-delga* 'compares': *condelg*.

*ad-ella* 'visits', *do-ella* 'declinat', *sechmo-ella* 'passes by': *adall*, *diall*, *sechmall*.

*fo-fera* 'prepares': *fuar*.

*in-tinnscan(n)a* 'begins': *intinnscann* 'beginning' Sg. (cp. § 731).

In Ml. some examples are treated as masculine. These may be due to the influence of other verbal nouns which were always masculine, or they may be early examples of the disappearance of the neuter gender (§ 245). Thus *comrac*, vb.n. of *con-ric* 'meets', is treated as masculine in *is hé caín-chomrac* 19<sup>c</sup>14, acc. pl. *comtherchomrucu* 37<sup>c</sup>8 beside neuter plural *comtherchomrac* 37<sup>c</sup>6. Cp. further *int erchót* Ml. 61<sup>c</sup>8, vb.n. of *ar-coat* 'hinders, injures', and acc. pl. *cuimlengu* 'congressūs' 112<sup>b</sup>8 (*lingid* 'leaps'). There is no evidence to decide the gender (neut. or masc.) of *airec* (*ar-ic* 'finds'), *cumacc* and *cumang* (*con-ic(c)*, *cum(a)ing* 'can'), and *tecmang* (*do-ecm(a)ing* 'happens').

Isolated formations: *gon(a)id* 'wounds, slays': *guin* (neut. i-stem); *in-snaid* 'inserts, grafts': *esnaid* LU 4521, dat. *esnid* Wb. 5<sup>b</sup>42; *do-mathi* 'threatens': *tomad* 11<sup>a</sup>16, acc. dat. *tomaith* Ml. 31<sup>c</sup>26, 33<sup>b</sup>15, 18 (ā-stem?), but gen. *tomtho* 26<sup>d</sup>2 (like a u-stem); *con-sern* 'studet': *cossir* ZCP. VII. 484.

**725.** 2. Neuters in -e (*io*-stems), e.g.

*sa(i)did* 'sits' *su(i)de*, *indn(a)ide* 'awaiting'.

*la(i)gid* 'lies': *lige*.

Compounds of *gairid* 'calls'; e.g. *ar-gair* 'forbids': *irgaire ergaire*; likewise *esngaire*, *forngaire*, *tairngire*, *dingr(a)e*, *díucr(a)e*, *fócr(a)e*, *freocr(a)e*, *tacr(a)e*, etc.

*do-é-rig* 'abandons': *dé(i)rge*; similarly *éirge*, *esséirge*.

This formation is found especially in compounds belonging to the present-classes B IV and V, where in some cases the *i* (of \*-*io*-) may be regarded as the old final of the root:

*ben(a)id* 'strikes': *fub(a)e*, *tób(a)e*, *imdibe*, *etardibe*, etc.

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*do-rorban* 'profits': *torb(a)e* (see § 852.A).

*im-fen* 'encloses', *for-fen* 'completes': *imbe*, *forb(a)e*.

The vb.n. of *ad-fen* 'requisites' occurs later as *aithé* (\**aith-f* + *è*); but in Wb. the acc. is always *aithi*, and in Sg. 111<sup>b</sup>3 and *Thes.* II. 227, 21 this form seems to be written even for the nom.; cp. also *Trip.* 54, 5.

*do-tlen* 'takes away': *díthle*.

*ara-chrin* 'decays': *irchre*, *erchre*.

*ad-gnin* 'knows': *aithgne*; similarly *ecne*, *etarcn(a)e*, *ingn(a)e*.

*do-lin* 'floods': *tuile* (with *to-uss-* or *to-fo-*: *tólae*).

A peculiar formation is *aithne*, vb.n. of *ad-noí* 'entrusts'; so also *imn(a)e*, *timn(a)e* 'bequest', with (*to-*)*imm-ad-* (but *as-noí* 'vows': \**énud* or *-núd*, gen. *enudha* *Laws* III. 60, 20).

Here *-nae* may go back to *-nowi* + *o-*, and the palatal *n* in *aithne* may be due to *aith-*. But in *fuine*, dat. *fuiniu*, vb.n. of \**fo-noí* (pret. 3 pl. *fo-noíset*) 'cooks, bakes', the palatal *n* is hard to account for.

**726.** 3. Feminines in -e (*iā*-stems), e.g.

*cla(i)did* 'digs': *cla(i)de*.

*sla(i)did* 'strikes': *sla(i)de*.

*figid* 'weaves': *fige* (*coi-bge*).

*sligid* 'fells': *slige*.

*ithid* 'eats': *ithe*.

*reg-* 'stretch out': *rige* (ep. *déirge*, § 725).

*for-ding* 'oppresses': *fortige*.

*gu(i)did* 'prays': *gu(i)de*; with *ad-*: *aicde* (for the vocalism see § 549); *irrigde*, *ernaigde* 'praying, prayer' (§ 846).

## B. ENDINGS WITH ORIGINAL t

727. With a dental or s at the end of the root this *t* combines to give *ss*.1. Feminines inflected partly as *i*-, partly as *a*-stems (but gen. sg. always in *-e*, cp. § 294 b):

*berid* 'bears, passes (judgement)': *brith* and *breth*, gen. *brithe*, acc. dat. *brith*, *breith*; but in compounds a different grade of the root (*-bert*) appears: *epert*, *airbert*, *tabart* and *tabairt* (§ 256.), *forb(b)art*, *idbart* and *edbart*, etc.

*celid* 'conceals': *cleith*, *cleth* (pl. *cletha*); *di-chelt* beside *díchlid*.

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*gelid* 'grazes': *glith* ace. sg. *IT* III. 37 § 20, *gleith* Laws.

*melid* 'grinds': *mlith* dat. sg.; but *to-malt* (*ā*-stem), as against *com-mlith* *MI*. 118<sup>b</sup>3.

*sern(a)id* 'spreads, arranges': *sreth* (dat. *sreith*).

The verb 'to be' (§ 774 ff.) : *buith*, gen. *buithe* (rarely *both*, *beith*, *bith*, gen. *bithe*).

*tíagu* 'I go': *techt*, but gen. *tairmthecto* (once) *Wb*. 3<sup>d</sup>6 with the formation of § 729. Other

compounds are sometimes inflected as *n*-stems (having adopted the formation of § 730.): acc.

*fortachtain* beside *fortacht*, gen. sg. *fortachtan* beside *fortachtae*.

*bendach(a)id* 'blesses' and *maldach(a)id* 'curses' (A I): *bendachad*, *maldachad*; but also *bendacht*, *maldacht* (*bendachtu* *Trip*.28, 25; 254, 20), acc. dat. *bendachtin* *maldachtin* beside *bendacht*, gen. *bendachtan*.

Lat. *bene-*, *male-dictum* and *bene-*, *male-dictio* were confused.

*duúfutharcair* 'wishes': nom. dat. *dúthracht*, gen. *dúthrachtan* (nom. acc. pl. *dúthrachta*).

With intermediate vowel: *saigid* 'seeks, makes for': *saigid -ith* (*i*-stem); *con-dieig* (*com-dí-*): *cuingid* *cuindchid*; *fo-saig*: *fochaid* 'tribulation' § 131.728. 2. Neuter *o*-stems (suffix *-to-*), e.g.

*marn(a)id*, *·mairn* 'betrays': *mrath* (but *fo-mraith*, *fo-mraid*).

*ern(a)id*, *·ern* 'bestows': *rath*.

Various compounds of *·moinethar* such as *dermat* *dermet* 'forgetting', *aithmet*, *taidmet*, *foraithmet* 'remembering', *format* 'envying'. *bás* 'death' also belongs here if the root of the verb **bā +** 'originally ended in *s*. *baath* *RC*. XX. 170 § 31 is doubtless a secondary formation, but the compound *dí bath* *dí bad* is old. An intermediate vowel appears in

*dligid* 'is entitled to' : *dliged*,

*techid* 'flees': *teched* (*attach*, § 724.).

729. 3. Masculine *u*-stems (suffix *-tu-*, as in § 723.):

*midithir* 'judges': *mess* (*to-mus*, *ammus*, *com(m)us*. *immarmus*, etc.).

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*ro·fltir* 'knows': *fius(s)*, *fis* (for gen. sg. *fiss* see § 309). **com-em-** 'preserve': **comét**, gen. sg. **cométa** *MI*. 55<sup>d</sup>6, Laws.730. 4. Feminines with nom. sg. in *-tiu* (*-tu*), gen. *-ten* (*-tan*); cp. Lat. *tactio*: **t-ic** 'comes', **r-ic** 'reaches': *tíchtu*, *ríchtu* (cp. *comrac*, etc., § 724.). Compounds of **em-**, such as *airitiu* 'accepting', *dítíu* 'protecting'. Compounds of **sem-** : **te (i) stiu** 'pouring out', *tuistiu* '(pro)creating'. Compounds of *·moinethar*: *toimtiu* 'thinking', *foimtiu* 'attending to', *airmitiu* (*ermitiu*) *féid* 'honouring'. *daimid* 'admits, yields': **dé (i) tiu** ; *foditiu* *fodaitiu* 'enduring', **a (i) titiu** 'acknowledging'.

By analogy with this: *foísitiu* 'confessing', to *fo-sissedar* (cp. § 733.).

**ro·la (i) methar** 'dares': *létiu*.

*at·baill* 'dies': *epeltu* (*apaltu* *MI*. 30<sup>d</sup>4).

*ar·midethar* 'discerns': *ermaissiu* (cp. *mess*, etc., § 729.).

*in·fét* (*ad·fét*) 'relates': *indisiu*; *do·adbat* 'shows': *taidbsiu*.

But *as·indet* 'expounds' has nom. acc. dat. *aisndís* (*ais·idéis* Sg.) beside gen. sg. pl. *aisndísen*, nom. pl. *aisndísín*, acc. pl. *aisndísnea*; influenced by *fís* 'vision'?

The suffix *-ais(s)iu* has spread by analogy to *folmaisiu* 'being about to, on the point of' *LU5019*, vb.n. of *fo·lámadar*.

*do·eprinn* 'springs forth': *tepairsiu teipersiu tipirsiu*; cp. *bréisiu*, vb.n. of the simplex *bruinnid* (§ 549); with *dí-*: *díbairsiu*, dat. *díbuirsin*.

*ad·cí* 'sees': *aicsiu* (*frescissiu frescsiu*, *im(m)caisiu*, *remcaisiu*); similarly *déicsiu*.

With intermediate vowel: *áigthiu*, vb.n. of the weak *i*-verb (*ad*)·*ágathar* 'fears', later *áigsiu* (acc. sg. *áigsin* *MI*. 51<sup>o</sup>12).

**731.** 5. Neuters with suffix *-tlo-* (*-tro-*):

*canid* 'sings': *cétal* (*forcital*, *tairchital*, etc.); cp. *W. cathl*.

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Modelled on this, *do·inscan(n)a* 'begins': *tinscetal*, *intinscital* (cp. *intinnscann* § 724). *aingid* (*√aneg-*) 'protects, spares': *anacol -cul* (*adnacul*, *tindnacul*, etc.); cp. Gaul. ANEXTLO-MARVS. *alid* 'rears': *altram*, gen. *altram(m)a*, an extension of \**altar* (\**altro-*) which is preserved in the compounds *mí-altar* 'bad fosterage', *com-altar* 'joint fosterage'. The model for this extension is not clear; *saltram* *ZCP*. VI. 264 § 13, vb.n. of *saltraid* 'tramples upon', would appear to have lenited *m*. 732. 6. Feminines in *-acht* (*-echt*), only associated with weak verbs containing *-ss-:ce(i)ssid* 'grumbles': *cessacht*; *ar·cessi* 'pities': *airchissecht erchissecht*, gen. *erchisechttæ* *MI*. 120<sup>a</sup>5.

*dáistir imbi* 'he goes mad': *dásacht*.

*glúaisid* 'sets in motion': *glúasacht* (*to glúasacht*).

*gúasim* 'I risk' *Thes*. II. 350, 16 : *gúasacht* 'danger'.

*roissid* 'hesitates': *rossacht*, gen. *-achtae* *MI*. 19<sup>a</sup>5.

*ar·, in-túaisi* becomes silent, listens': *erthúasacht*, *éitsecht*, gen. *-secht(a)e*, (also 'dying').

The suffix resembles that of § 260. But if the proper name *Gósacht Gúasacht*, Ogam gen. GOSSUCTTIAS *Macal*. no. 41 (cp. *ibid*. 108, 223.) belongs here, the vocalism was different.

### C. ENDINGS WITH m

**733.** 1. Masculine *u*-stems (suffix *-mu-*), e.g. *gniid* 'does': *gním* (*dénium*, gen. *dénma*, *frithgnom -gnam*, *fognam*, etc.). *do·slí* 'earns': *tuillem* (similarly *fuillem*); but *ad·roilli:á(i)rilliud* (pl. nom. *árlitin*, as in § 730, beside *árliti*, acc. *árlitnea*).

*con·sní* 'contends for': *cosnam* (with *ad-*: *ascnam*, § 181).

*im·rá* 'nauigat': *imram*.

*con·nessa* 'condemns': *comainsem* (likewise *ái-nsem*, *tui-nsem*).

*fo·sis(s)edar* 'protects': *fóessam* (Mid.W. *gwaessaf* 'guarantee'; for *fóisitiu*, which has a different meaning, see § 730); *do·airissedar* 'stays, stands': *tairissem*, *terissem*.

If the Gaulish forms DIVERTOMY DIVORTOMY, OCIOMV (*Dottin* no. 53) have not lost *-s*, there was also a neuter suffix *-mu*.

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**734.** 2. Feminine *ā*-stems (suffix *-mā-*), particularly with A II verbs:

*ca(i)thid* 'consumes': *ca(i)them*.  
*cretid* 'believes': *cretem*.  
*ar-égi* 'complains': *airégem, erigem*.  
*fethid* 'attends': *fethem (indithem)*.  
*ad·gládathar* 'addresses': *ac(c)aldam*.  
*do·me(i)ccethar* 'despises': *dímiccem*.  
*moídid* 'boasts': *moídem*.  
*sechithir* 'follows': *sechem*.

The distinction between the two classes [§ 733](#) and [§ 734](#) is not always rigidly observed. Cp. dat. sg. *accaldam Wb.* 3<sup>c</sup>4, *moídem* 14<sup>d</sup>37; conversely *dínsim Hib. Min.* p. 10, 327, vb.n. of *du·nessa* 'despises'.

**735.** 3. Neuter *n*-stems (suffix Ir. *-men-*, more often *-smen-*, whence *-mmen-*):

*maidid* 'breaks' (intrans.): *maidn (tolmaidm)*.  
*nascid* 'binds': *naidm (fo-, for-naidm, etc.)*.  
 With original *-sm..*:  
*cingid* 'steps': *céim(m) (tochim)*; cp. W. *cam*.  
*dringid* 'climbs': *dréim(m)*.  
*lingid* 'leaps': *léim(m) (cuimleng, § 724)*; cp. W. *llam*.  
*rédid* 'rides, drives': *réim(m) (imrim(m), etc.)*.

*fo·gleinn* 'learns': *fogl(a)im(m)*; similarly *ecl(a)im(m)*; *for·díuclainn* 'swallows': *fordíuclaim(m)*.

*in·greinn (ad·greinn)* 'persecutes': *ingr(e)im(m), ingraim(m) (Ml.)*, pl. *ingremmen Wb.*, *ingramman Ml.* (similarly *tograim*).

*ga(i)rid* 'calls': *gairm (togairm)*, cp. Mid.W. *garm*; but *irgaire, frecrae, etc., § 725*. *gáir* fem., gen. *gáre*, 'shout' is apparently not felt as verbal noun of *gairid*.

*(do)·tuit* 'falls': *toth(a)im(m)*; likewise *cut(u)im, díthim, etc. béim(m)*, vb.n. of *ben(a)id* 'strikes', Bret. *boem*, seems to be formed from another root, *IE.bheid-, bhid-* (Lat. *findere*, OE. *bītan*, etc.). For compounds like *fub(a)e, imdibe*, see [§ 725](#).

The old vb.n. *bíth* survives possibly in *LU6932* and certainly in *fo bíth, fu bíthin* 'on account of, because' ([§§ 858, 905](#)).

With intermediate vowel: *senim Wb.* 13<sup>d</sup>18 (misspelt *seinim Hib. Min.* p. 2, 36), dat. *senm(u)im*, vb.n. of *sennid* 'sounds, plays (a musical instrument)'

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## D. ENDINGS WITH *n*

**736.** 1. Feminines fluctuating between *a-* and *i-*flexion:

*agid* 'drives': *án, áin*, likewise *imm-á(i)n, t-á(i)n*.

*·oid* 'lends': *ón (h)úan, óin (h)úain*.

*bongid* 'breaks, reaps': *búain* (\**búan* not attested); for *combach, etc.*, see [§ 724](#).

The gen. sg. in *-a (tána, óna, búana)* probably goes back in every instance to *-(a)e*; cp. *áne LU4869*.

2. Feminine *ā*-stems with intermediate vowel:

*orgid* 'slays': *orcun orcon orgun*, gen. *oircne* (but once masc. acc. pl. *comroi[r]cniu* 'errors' Sg. 1<sup>a</sup>2, as against *comroircnea* Wb. 30<sup>c</sup>21).

*fedid* 'leads': *fedan*, gen. *fednae*; similarly *tuididen* (with *to-dí-*), etc.

3. Neuter o-stem:

*mlegon*, vb.n. of *mligid* 'milks', dat. sg. *tinmlegun* Ml. 71<sup>c</sup>18.

## E. SPECIAL FORMATIONS

**737.** *ad·(h)aim* (*ad·* for pretonic *ind-*) 'washes (feet, hands)': *indmat* Ml. 126<sup>c</sup>16, etc.; also *indlat* Corm.597, 943.

Bergin, *Ériu* x. 112. One would have expected \**indat* from \*-ét ( § 729 ): possibly the *m* has been taken over from other forms like 3 pl. \**indmat*: *indlat* by analogy with *caplat* 'capitilauium' ( § 917 )?

*ciid* 'weeps': *coí* (indeclinable ? gen. not attested).

*ro·clu(i)nethar* 'hears': *clúas* (fem. *ā*-stem, but dat. sg. *clúas* Wb. 23<sup>c</sup>2).

The *s* is not to be explained as in *·closs* ( § 708 ); it appears also in W. *clust* 'ear'. Cp. Skt. *śruṣṭiḥ* 'obedience', OE. *hlyst* 'hearing', etc.

*cren(a)id* 'buys', *ren(a)id* 'sells': acc. dat. sg. *creicc*, *reicc ricc*, both fem.; nom. *taidchrec* Ml. 123<sup>c</sup>10, *taidchricc* Wb. 2<sup>b</sup>9, *fochr(a)ic* 'reward', *ér(a)ic* 'payment'; gen. always **-e**.

These forms have evidently been attracted by *icc* fem. 'healing, paying'. The starting-point was probably *é-ric* (to *as·ren*), since the regular formation \**é-r(a)e* (as in § 725, cp. *díre* 'fine' to *dí-ren-*) fell together with \**ér(a)e*, *éra* 'refusal'. An earlier form *críth* (to *crenaid*) occurs only in the title of the law tract *Críth Gablach* Laws IV. 298. Cp. also *fochrach* 'mercennarius' Sg. 35<sup>a</sup>2, formed from \**fochr(a)e*; \**to-chr(a)e*, *tochra* 'bride-price'.

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*glen(a)id* 'sticks fast', *len(a)id* 'follows, adheres to', *tlen(a)id* 'takes away': *glenamon* (*toglenemon* Sg. 78<sup>b</sup>1), *lenamon*, *tlenamon* (fem. *ā*-stems); cp. *díthle* § 725.

*dairid* 'bulls': *dáir*, gen. *dáira*.

*ga(i)bid* 'takes': *gabál* (fem. *ā*-stem); the nom. sg. is sometimes *gabáil*, and the dat. sg. *gabál* (e.g. Wb. 23<sup>b</sup>18, 23<sup>b</sup>21, 26<sup>b</sup>18). The numerous compounds have the same form: *etargabál*, *fácbá(i)l*, etc.

It corresponds to W. *gafael*, *cafael*; the ending is due to the influence of the synonym \**kaglā*, W. *cael*.

*do·icsa* 'raises': *ticsál* (modelled on forms like *cumgabál*, *turcbál* 'raising').

*·gainethar* 'is born': *gein* (neut. *n*-stem).

*do·goa* 'chooses': *togu* (indeclinable neut.).

*rethid* 'runs': *riuth rith* (masc. *u*-stem), likewise *com-rud*; but *ind-red* (neut. *o*-stem); *aid-rius* (formation of § 729 ); similarly *aururas*, *comthururas*, *intururas* (formation of § 728?). Here also belong *tíarmóracht*, to *doíarmórat* 'follows'; *comtetracht* (read *comth-* ?), to *con·tetarrat* 'seizes'; *timthirecht* Wb. (*timdirecht* Sg.), *timthrecht* Ml., to \**do·imthiret* 'serves' (pret. *do·rimthirid* § 692 ); all probably modelled on the compounds of *techt* ( § 727 ).

*scríb(a)id* 'writes', *lég(a)id* 'reads, studies': **scríbend**, **légend** (neut. *o*-stems), from the Latin gerund. By analogy with these forms, *dílgend*, vb.n. of *do·lega* 'destroys' (cp. Lat. *delendum*).

## COMPLETE PARADIGMS OF THE WEAK VERBS

**738.** The following paradigms of Classes A I and II and of an A II deponent are arranged in the order followed in Latin grammars. Only the principal forms are included, not every possible variant. Conjectural forms are given without any special indication. Examples as above: *mor(a)im(m)* 'I magnify', *lécim(m)* 'I leave', *suidigur* 'I place'.

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### INDICATIVE

	A I	A II	DEPONENT
	<b>PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§§ 556, 570)</b>		
sg. 1	<b>mór (a)im (m)</b>	<b>lécim (m) (áiliu)</b>	<b>suidigur</b>
2	<b>mór (a)i</b>	<b>lécid</b>	<b>suidigther</b>
3	<b>mór (a)id</b>	<b>lécid</b>	<b>suidigidir</b>
rel.	<b>móras (s)</b>	<b>1éces (s)</b>	<b>suidigedar</b>
pl. 1	<b>mórm (a)i</b>	<b>1éicmi</b>	<b>suidigmir</b>
rel.	<b>mórm (a)e</b>	<b>lécime</b>	<b>suidigmer</b>
2	<b>mórth (a)e</b>	<b>1éicthe</b>	<b>suidigthe</b>
3	<b>mór (a)it</b>	<b>1écit</b>	<b>suidigitir</b>
rel.	<b>mórd (a)e, móraite</b>	<b>1écide, 1écite</b>	<b>suidigetar</b>

#### **740.** PRESENT, CONJUNCT ( [§§ 557](#), 570)

sg. 1	<b>·mór (a)im (m)</b>	<b>·lécim (m) (·ráidiu)</b>	<b>·suiagur</b>
2	<b>·mór (a)i</b>	<b>·1éci</b>	<b>·suidigther</b>
3	<b>·móra</b>	<b>·1éci</b>	<b>·suidigedar</b>
pl. 1	<b>·móram</b>	<b>·lécem</b>	<b>·suidigmer</b>
2	<b>·mór (a)id</b>	<b>·lécid</b>	<b>·suidigid</b>
3	<b>·mórat</b>	<b>·lécet</b>	<b>·suidigetar</b>

#### **741.** IMPERFECT (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, [§ 580](#))

sg. 1	<b>·mór (a)in (n)</b>	<b>·létin (n)</b>	<b>·suidigin (n)</b>
2	<b>·mórtha</b>	<b>·1éicthea</b>	<b>·suidigthea</b>
3	<b>·mórad</b>	<b>·léced</b>	<b>·suidiged</b>
pl. I	<b>·mórm (a)is</b>	<b>·lécimis</b>	<b>·suidigmis</b>
2	<b>·mórth (a)e</b>	<b>·1éicthe</b>	<b>·suidigthe</b>
3	<b>·mórt (a)is</b>	<b>·léictis</b>	<b>·suidigtis</b>

#### **742.** FUTURE, ABSOLUTE ( [§ 638](#) )

A I as a rule inflected like A II ( [§ 636](#) ).

sg. 1	<b>lécifea</b>	<b>suidigfer</b>
2	<b>lécife</b>	<b>suidigfider</b>
3	<b>lécifid</b>	<b>suidigfidir</b>
rel.	<b>lécifes (s)</b>	<b>suidigfedar</b>

	<b>A I</b>	<b>A II</b>	<b>DEPONENT</b>
pl. 1			<b>léicfimmi</b>
rel.			<b>léicfimme</b>
2			<b>léicfide</b>
3			<b>léicfit</b>
rel.			<b>léicfite</b>
			<b>suidigfimmir</b>
			<b>suidigfemmar</b>
			<b>suidigfide</b>
			<b>suidigfitir</b>
			<b>suidigfetar</b>

**743.** FUTURE, CONJUNCT (§ [639](#))

sg.	1	·léiciub	·suidigfer
	2	·léicfe	·suidigfider
	3	·léicfea	·suidigfedar
pl.	1	·léicfem	·suidigfemmar
	2	·léicfid	·suidigfid
	3	·léicfet	·suidigfetar

**744.** SECONDARY FUTURE (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § [641](#))

sg.	1	·léicfin (n )	·suidigfin (n )
	2	·léicfeda	·suidigfeda
	3	·léicfed	·suidigfed
pl.	1	·léicfimmis	·suidigfimmis
	2	·léicfide	·suidigfide
	3	·léicfitis	·suidigfitis

**745.** PRETERITE, ABSOLUTE (§§ [674](#), [675](#))

sg. 3	<b>mór (a )is</b>	<b>lécis</b>	<b>suidigistir</b>
pl. 3	<b>mórs (a )it</b>	<b>léicsit</b>	<b>suidigsitir</b>

For the other persons see § [672](#).

CONJUNCT (§§ [674](#), [675](#).)

sg. 1	·mórus	·léicius	·suidigsiur
2	·mór (a )is	·lécis	·suidigser
3	·mór	·léic	·suidigestar
pl. 1	·mórsam	·léicsem	·suidigsemmar
2	·mórs (a )id	·léicsid	·suidigsid
3	·mórsat	·léicset	·suidigsetar

**SUBJUNCTIVE**

	<b>A I</b>	<b>A II</b>	<b>DEPONENT</b>
	<b>PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§§ 598, 601)</b>		
sg. 1	<b>móra</b>	<b>lécea</b>	<b>suidiger</b>
2	<b>mór (a )e</b>	<b>léce</b>	<b>suidigther</b>
3	<b>mór (a )id</b>	<b>lécid</b>	<b>suidigidir</b>
rel.	<b>móras (s )</b>	<b>léces (s )</b>	<b>suidigedar</b>

	A I	A II	DEPONENT
	<b>PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§§ 598, 601)</b>		
pl. 1	<b>mórm (a )i</b>	<b>léicmi</b>	<b>suidigmir</b>
rel.	<b>mórm (a )e</b>	<b>léicme</b>	<b>suidigmer</b>
2	<b>mórth (a )e</b>	<b>léicthe</b>	<b>suidigthe</b>
3	<b>mórait</b>	<b>léicit</b>	<b>suidigitir</b>
rel.	<b>mórd (a )e, móraite</b>	<b>léicde, lécite</b>	<b>suidigetar</b>

**747.** PRESENT, CONJUNCT (§§ 599, [601](#).)

sg. 1	<b>·mór</b>	<b>·léic</b>	<b>·suidiger</b>
2	<b>·mór (a )e</b>	<b>·léce</b>	<b>·suidigther</b>
3	<b>·móra</b>	<b>·lécea</b>	<b>·suidigedar</b>
pl. 1	<b>·móram</b>	<b>·lécem</b>	<b>·suidigmer</b>
2	<b>·mór (a )id</b>	<b>·lécid</b>	<b>·suidigid</b>
3	<b>·mórat</b>	<b>·lécet</b>	<b>·suidigetar</b>

**748.** PAST (ALWAYS COJUNCT, § [605](#).)

sg. 1	<b>·mór (a )in (n )</b>	<b>·lécin (n )</b>	<b>·suidigin (n )</b>
2	<b>·mórtha</b>	<b>·léicthea</b>	<b>·suidigthea</b>
3	<b>·mórad</b>	<b>·léced</b>	<b>·suidiged</b>
pl. 1	<b>·mórm (a )is</b>	<b>·léicmis</b>	<b>·suidigmis</b>
2	<b>·mórth (a )e</b>	<b>·léicthe</b>	<b>·suidigthe</b>
3	<b>·mórt (a )is</b>	<b>·léictis</b>	<b>·suidigtis</b>

**749.** IMPERATIVE

(Absolute and Conjunct, see §§ 583, 584)

sg. 2	<b>mór</b>	<b>léic</b>	<b>suidigthe</b>
3	<b>mórad</b>	<b>léced</b>	<b>suidiged</b>
pl. 1	<b>móram</b>	<b>lécem</b>	<b>(<sup>†</sup>suidigmer )</b>
2	<b>mór (a )id</b>	<b>lécid</b>	<b>suidigid</b>
3	<b>mórat</b>	<b>lécet</b>	<b>suidigetar</b>

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## PASSIVE

INDICATIVE

	A I	A II	DEPONENT
<b>750.</b>	<b>PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§ 577)</b>		
sg. 3	<i>mórth(a)ir</i>	<i>léicthir</i>	<i>suidigthir</i>
rel.	<i>mórthar</i>	<i>léicther</i>	<i>suidigther</i>
pl 3	<i>mórtair, móraitir</i>	<i>léictir, lécitir</i>	<i>suidigtir</i>
rel.	<i>mórtar, móratar</i>	<i>lé, lécetar</i>	<i>suidigter</i>

PRESENT, CONJUNCT (§ [577](#).)

gen. form	<i>·mórthar</i>	<i>·léicther</i>	<i>·suidigther</i>
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pl. 3 *·mórtar, ·móratar* *·lécter, ·lécetar* *·suidigter*

IMPERFECT (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 580.)

gen. form *·mórth(a)e* *·léicthe* *·suidigthe*  
 pl. 3 *·mórt(a)is* *·léictis* *·suidigtis*

**751. FUTURE, ABSOLUTE (§ 640.)**

sg. 3 *léicfidir* *suidigfidir*  
 rel. *léicfedar* *suidigfedar*  
 pl. 3 *léicfitir* *suidigfitir*  
 rel. *léicfiter -fetar* *suidigfiter -fetar*

**CONJUNCT (§ 640)**

gen. form *·léicfider* *·suidigfider*  
 pl. 3 *·léicfiter -fetar* *·suidigfiter -fetar*

A I as a rule inflected like A II (§ 636.).

gen. form *·léicfide* *·suidigfide*  
 pl. 3 *·léicfitis* *·suidigfitis*

SECONDARY FUTURE (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 641.)

sg. 3 *mórth(a)e* *léicthe* *suidigthe*  
 (and rel.)  
 pl. 3 *mórth(a)i (?)* *léicthi (?)* *suidigthi (?)*

**752. PRETERITE, ABSOLUTE (§§ 712, 713.)**

sg. 3 *mórth(a)e* *léicthe* *suidigthe*  
 (and rel.)  
 pl. 3 *mórth(a)i (?)* *léicthi (?)* *suidigthi (?)*

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	<b>A I</b>	<b>A II</b>	<b>DEPONENT</b>
		<b>CONJUNCT (§ 712)</b>	
gen. form	<i>·mórad</i>	<i>·léCED</i>	<i>·suidiged</i>
pl. 3	<i>·mórtha</i>	<i>·léicthea</i>	<i>·suidigthea</i>

**753. SUBJUNCTIVE**

PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§ 603.).

sg. 3	<i>mórth(a)ir</i>	<i>léicthir</i>	<i>suidigthir</i>
rel.	<i>mórthar</i>	<i>léicther</i>	<i>suidigther</i>
pl. 3	<i>mórt(a)ir, mórair</i>	<i>léictir, léicitir</i>	<i>suidigtir</i>
rel.	<i>mórtar, móratar</i>	<i>léicter, lécetar</i>	<i>suidigter</i>

**CONJUNCT (§ 603)**

gen. form	<i>·mórthar</i>	<i>·léicther</i>	<i>·suidigther</i>
pl. 3	<i>·mórt,</i> <i>·móratar</i>	<i>·léicter, ·lécetar</i>	<i>·suidigter</i>

PAST (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 605.)

gen. form	·mórth(a)e	·l+00E9icthe	·suidigthe
pl. 3	·mórt(a)is	·léictis	·suidigtis

#### 754. IMPERATIVE

(Absolute and Conjunct, § 585)

gen. form	mórtar	léicther	suidigther
pl. 3	mórtar	léicter	suidigter

#### 755. VERBUM INFINITUM

	mórth(a)e	léicthe	suidigthe
		<b>VERBAL OF NECESSITY (§ 718)</b>	
	mórth(a)i	léicthi	suidigthi
		<b>VERBAL NOUN (§ 723)</b>	
	mórad	léiciud	suidigud
gen.	mórtho -a	léictheo -ea	suidigtheo -ea

PAST PARTICIPLE PASSIVE (§ 714.)

	mórth(a)e	léicthe	suidigthe
		<b>VERBAL OF NECESSITY (§ 718)</b>	
	mórth(a)i	léicthi	suidigthi
		<b>VERBAL NOUN (§ 723)</b>	
	mórad	léiciud	suidigud
gen.	mórtho-a	léictheo-ea	suidigtheo-ea

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## EXAMPLES OF THE FLEXION OF STRONG VERBS

756. Owing to the great diversity of forms, complete paradigms of the strong verbs would be of little practical assistance; instead, a list of characteristic forms of the commoner verbs is appended. Except where otherwise indicated, verbs are cited in the 3 sg., even where this form is not quotable. For the s-subjunctive a few unattested 3 pl. forms whose reconstruction raises no difficulties have also been included.

*agid* 'drives', ·**aig** § 548; subj. ·**aga** § 596; fut. ·**ebla** § 649; pret. ·**acht** § 682, pass. \*·**acht**; vb.n. **án, áin** § 736, l.

*alid* 'rears', ·**ail** § 548; subj. ·**ala**, cp. § 597; fut. ·**ebla** § 649; pret. ·**alt** § 682, pass ·**alt** § 709; partic. **alt(a)e** § 715; vb.n. **altram** § 731.

*aingid* 'protects, spares', ·**anich** § 548; ipv. 2 sg. **ain** § 588; subj. ·**ain**, pl. ·**ainset**, §§ 613, 626; fut. ·**ain** § 662; pret. ·**anacht** § 682, pass. ·**anacht** § 707; vb.n. **anacol -cul** § 731.

**bā** + ~ 'die', 3 pl. ·**baat** § 547; subj. ·**baa** § 610; fut. **bebaid** ·**beba** § 648; pret. **bebais** ·**beb(a)e** § 680; vb.n. **bás** § 728.

**ben(a)id** 'strikes, cuts', ·**ben** § 551, 594; subj. ·**bia**, enclit. **-be**, § 611; fut. **bied** (?) (1 sg. **biu**), enclit. **-bi**, § 654; pret. **bí** (1 sg. **béo**), enclit. **-bi** and **-b**, pl. ·**béotar**, § 691, pass. ·**bíth** § 706; partic. **bíthe** § 715; v. necess. **bethi** § 719; vb.n. **béim(m)** § 735, enclit. **-be** § 725.

**as·boind**, \*·**op(a)ind** 'refuses'; subj. **as·bó** (2 sg. ·**bóis**), ·**op** ·**oip** (2 sg. ·**obbais**), §§ 625, 627; pret. **as·bobuid** § 687; vb.n. **obbad opad** § 724.

*bongid* 'breaks, reaps', ·**boing** § 550; subj. ·**bó**, pl. ·**bós(s)at**, § 616, 625, 627; fut. 1 sg. **bibsa**

·**bibus** § 657, 666; pret. **bobig** § 687, pass. ·**bocht** § 707; vb.n. **búain** § 736, enclit. **-bag -bach -bech** § 724.  
*bruinnid, do-bruinn (dobruínn MSS.)* 'springs forth, flows' § 549; subj. **do-bré** § 617; fut. **do-bibuir** § 667; pret. 3 pl. **bebarnatar** § 687; vb.n. **bréisiu, díbairsiu**, § 730.

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*canid* 'sings', ·**cain** § 548 (rel. **canas**); subj. ·**cana** § 597; fut. ·**cechna** § 648; pret. ·**cechuin, cechain** (later ·**cachain**) § 687, pass. ·**cét** § 710; partic. ·**céte** § 715; v. necess. **céti** § 718; vb.n. **cétal** § 731.  
*celid* 'conceals', ·**ceil** § 548; subj. ·**cela** § 597; fut. ·**cé1a** § 650; pret. ·**celt** § 682, pass. ·**cleth** § 709; partic. **clithe** § 715; v. necess. **clethi (clithi)** § 719b; vb.n. **cleith, cleth (díchelt)** § 727.  
*fo·ceird ·ceirt* 'throws'; subj. **fo·cerr**, pl. **fo·cerrat**, § 618; fut. **fo·cicherr** § 665; pret. **fo·caird** § 694a, pass. **fo·cres(s)** § 709; vb.n. **cor** § 722. Cp. also § 762.  
*cī + íd* 'weeps' § 547, rel. **ciäs**; ipv. 2 sg. **cí** § 589; past subj. 3 pl. ·**cetis** § 608; fut. 3 pl. **cichit** § 655; pret. **cich (cích?)** § 691c; vb.n. **coí** § 737.  
*cingid* 'steps', ·**cing** § 548; subj. pass. **ciasair** § 627; fut. ·**cich**, pl. ·**cichset**, §§ 657, 666f.; pret. ·**cech(a)ing** § 687; vb.n. **céim(m)** § 735.  
**cla(i)did** 'digs', ·**claid** § 548; subj. \*·**clá**, pl. ·**clás(s)at** (1 sg. past subj. written ·**clasaínd** RC x. 82), § 614; fut. 1 sg. ·**cichlus** § 657, 666; pret. ·**cechl(a)id** § 687, pass. ·**clas(s)** § 708; partic. **claisse** § 715; vb.n. **cla(i)de** § 726.  
*ro·clu(i)nethar* 'hears' §§ 552, 543a; subj. **ro·cloathar**, 1 sg. **ro·cloor**, § 612; fut. **ro·cechladar**, pass. **ro·cechlstar** § 648; perf. **ro·cúal(a)e**, 1 sg. **ro·cúala**, § 687, pass. **ro·clos(s) (·cloth)** § 708; narrative pret. **co·cúal(a)e**, pass. **co·closs (·cloth)**, § 536; partic. **clothe** § 715; vb.n. **clúas** § 737.  
**ar·coat** 'hinders, checks, injures' § 592; ipf. **ar·coided (·coided ?)**; subj. **ar·coí** § 625, past subj. **ar·coissed (·coissed?)**; fut. **·irchoí** § 668; perf. pass. **·archós** (cp. § 708); partic. **erchoisse**; vb.n. **erchoat, erchót** §§ 592, 724.

The root is Ir. *wed-*, but probably distinct from that of *fedid* (below); cp. *feidm* 'effort'? *cren(a)id* 'buys', ·**cren** §§ 551, 594; subj. ·**cria** § 597; pret. ·**ciuir**, 1 sg. ·**cér**, § 691a; pass. ·**críth** § 706; vb.n. dat. sg. **creicc** § 737.  
*ara·chrin* 'decays' §§ 423, 552; subj. pl. ·**aurchriat** § 612; fut. ·**airchíuri**, pl. **ara·chíurat**, § 653; perf. **ara·ruichíuir** § 691b; vb.n. **irchre, erchre** § 725.

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*fo·daim* 'endures', pl. *fo·daimet*, §§ 549, 553; subj. *fo·dama* § 597; fut. *fo·didma* § 647; pret. *fo·dám(a)ir*, pl. *·damnatar*, §§ 692, 695, pass. *fo·dét* § 710; vb.n. *foditiu* § 730.  
*for·ding* 'oppresses' § 550 (cp. *con·utuinc·utaing* 'builds'), pl. *for·dengat*; subj. pl. *for·díassat* § 616; fut. pass. pl. ·*didsiter* § 657; pret. *for·ded(a)ig* § 687, *con·rótaig* § 694b, pass. *con·rótacht*, cp. § 707; partic. *fortecht(a)e* § 715; v. necess. *cumtacht(a)i* § 718; vb.n. **fortige** § 726, **cumtach** § 724.  
*dligid* 'is entitled to', pass. *dleg(a)ir ·dlegar*; subj. ·**dlé**, pl. ·*dlessat*, § 613; pret. ·*dligestar* § 671 I. (cp. § 682), pass. ·*dlecht* § 707; vb.n. *dliged* § 728.  
*doš[e]im* 'covers, protects'; subj. *došema*, prototonic ·*dímea*, § 158, perfective ·*deroíma* § 852A; fut. *do·éma* and *do·emfea* §§ 634, 650; perf. *do·r·ét* § 682, pass. \**do·r·ét* (cp. § 710); v. necess. *díti* § 718; vb.n. *dítu* § 730.  
*ern(a)id* 'bestows', ·*ern(n)* § 551; subj. ·*era* § 597; fut. ·*ebra* § 649; pret. ·**ír** § 693, pass. ·**rath** § 709; vb.n. **rath** §§ 728, 215c.  
*fedid* 'leads' § 548, *do·fet* § 592; subj. ·**fé**, pl. ·**fessat**, § 613; pret. (with *to-ro-*) *du·ruíd*, pl. \**du·fidetar* § 693; vb.n. **fedan** § 736.  
*ad·fét (in·fét)* 'relates', pl. *ad·fiadat*, §§ 548, 592; subj. *ad·fé*, pl. *ad·fessat*, §§ 615, 625; fut. *ad·fí*, pl. *ad·fessat*, §§ 659, 668; perf. *ad·cu(a)id*, prototonic ·*écid*, 2 pl. ·*éicdid*, § 693, pret. pass. *ad·fess* § 708; vb.n. *indisiu* § 730.  
*do·fich do·feich* (§ 74) 'avenges, punishes', prototonic ·**díg** Ml. 24<sup>b</sup>17; ipv. 2 sg. **deich**; subj. pass. *du·fessar* § 615; fut. *du·fí*, pass. *du·fiastar*, pl. *du·fesatar*, § 659, 668; perf. *do·ruích* § 693, pass. *du·ruacht do·roacht* § 79; v. necess. *diacht(a)i* § 718; vb.n. **dígal** § 721.

*ro·fitir* 'knows, knew', 1 sg. *ro·fetar*, §§ 703, 543a, pass. *ro·fess* § 708 ; *ro·finnadar* 'gets to know' §§ 552, 519, ipf. *ro·finnad*, ipv. **finnad** ; subj. *ro·festar ro·fiastar* § 621 ; fut. *ro·fiastar*, pl. *ro·fessatar*, § 659 ; v. necess. *fissi*; vb.n. *fius(s)*, **fis** § 729.

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*fo(a)id* 'spends the night' U +00A7 522 ; subj. **·fia** § 610 ; fut. *·fífea* § 644 ; pret. *fiu fíu* § 702 ; vb.n. *fess (feiss)*, cp. § 727.  
*ga(i)bid* 'takes', *·gaib*, pl. *·ga(i)bet*, §§ 549, 593 ; subj. *·gaba* § 597 ; fut. *·géba* § 651 ; pret. **·gab** (**·gaib**), pl. *·gabsat*, § 671, pass. **·gabad** § 706 ; partic. *gabth(a)e* § 714 ; vb.n. *gabál (gabáil)* § 737.  
*·ga(i)nethar* 'is born' § 549 ; subj. *·genathar* § 597 ; fut. *·gignethar* § 647 ; pret. *·gén(a)ir* §§ 687, 698 ; vb.n. **gein** § 737.  
*ar·gair* 'forbids', pl. *ar·gairret*, §§ 549, 593 ; subj. *ar·gara* § 597 ; fut. *ar·géra* § 651 ; pret. *ar·gart* § 682, perf. pass. *ar·rograd* § 709 ; partic. *ergarth(a)e* § 715 ; vb.n. *irgaire, ergaire* § 725.  
*ad·gládathar* 'addresses' § 548 ; subj. 1 pl. (with **ro**) *·árladmar* Wb. 29<sup>d</sup>10; fut. *ad·gegalldathar* § 648 ; pret. *ad·gládstar*, perf. *·U+00E1rlastar* § 671 I.; partic. **acailse** § 715 ; vb.n. *ac(c)aldam* § 734.  
*fo·gleinn* 'learns' § 548 ; past subj. **·glésed** § 617 ; fut. *·giguil* § 667 ; pret. *·geglainn* § 687 ; v. necess. *fogailsi*, cp. § 719a ; vb.n. *fogl(a)im(m)* § 735.  
*glen(a)id* 'sticks fast', *·glen* § 551, cp. § 594 ; subj. **·glia** § 597, cp. § 611 ; fut. 3 pl. *gúlait* § 653 ; pret. *ígíuil* § 691a ; vb.n. *glenamon* § 737.  
*do·gní* does §§ 547, 589, prototonic *·dén(a)i*, perfective *do·rón(a)i ·dern(a)i*, 1 sg. *do·gníu*, prototonic *·dén(a)im*; ipv. 2 sg. *déne* § 589 ; subj. *do·gné ·déna* § 608, perfective *do·róna ·derna*; fut. *do·géna ·digneá* § 648 ; pret. *do·géni*, perf. *do·rigni do·rigéni*, pl. *do·rigénsat ·dergénsat*, § 681, pass. *do·gníth ·dénad*, perf. *do·rónad ·dernad*, § 706 ; v. necess. *déinti déinti* (misspelt *déntí* Wb. 1<sup>d</sup>7); vb.n. *dénom dénum* §§ 733, 170b.  
*as(a)·gnin* 'knows' §§ 552, 595, 834B, 535b, pass. *·gnitar*; subj. pass. *·gnoither* § 612 ; fut. *géna* § 648 ; pret. *·géuin*, 1 sg. **·gén**, § 691 ; vb.n. **ecne** § 725.  
*do·goa* 'chooses' § 522 ; ipv. 2 sg. **·tog** § 588 ; subj. *do·gó* Laws, cp. § 625 (with *uss-*: past subj. *·uicsed*); fut. *do·gega* § 648 ; perf. *do·roígu* § 702, pass. *do·roígad ·rogad* § 708 ; partic. *tuigse tuichse* § 715 ; vb.n. *togu* § 737.

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*gon(a)id* 'wounds, slays' § 522, **·goin** § 554 ; subj. **·gona** ; fut. **·géna** § 651 ; pret. **·geguin** § 687, pass. **·goít ·góet** § 710 ; partic. **·goíte** § 715 ; vb.n. **guin** § 724.  
*ad·greinn (in·greinn)* 'persecutes' § 548 ; subj. 3 sg. **·gré** pl. *·gríassat*, §§ 617, 627 ; perf. *·roígrainn* §§ 687, 688 ; vb.n. **ingrim(m)**, **ingraim(m)** § 735.  
*gu(i)did* 'prays' **·guid**, pl. *gu(i)det*, §§ 549, 593 (2 sg. ipv. with *ad-*: *aie(c)* § 588); subj. **·gé**, pl. *·gessat*, §§ 613, 625 ; fur. 1 sg. *gigs(e)a* §§ 657, 666 ; pret. **·gáid** §§ 692, 696, pass. **·ges(s)** § 708 ; v. necess. **gessi** § 719a ; vb.n. **gu(i)de** § 726.  
*t-ic* 'comes' (and *r-ic* 'reaches'), pl. *tecat*, §§ 549, 535b ; subj. **·tí**, pl. *tis(s)at*, §§ 617, 625 ; fut. *ticfea ticfa* §§ 634, 642 ; pret. *tán(a)ic(c)* § 689, (pass. **·rícht** § 707); vb.n. *tíchtu* § 730.  
Cp. *con·ic* 'can', *·cum(a)ic ·cum(u)ing ·cumaing* § 549, 1 sg. *con·ic(c)im*, *·cumcu ·cumgaim*, 3 pl. *con·ecat*, *·cumcat ·cumgat ·cumget*; subj. *con·í*, *·cumai ·cum*, pl. *con·ís(s)at*, *·cu(i)mset*, § 627 ; fut. 1 sg. *con·icub*, *·cumgub* § 634, cp. § 642 ; pret. *con·ánacuir*, *·coímnucuir -nacuir*, §§ 689, 695, 697 ; vb.n. *cumace cumang* § 724.  
*ro·laimethar* 'dares' §§ 549, 543 ; past, subj. **·lamad** LU 8208; fut. *ro·lilmathar?* § 647 ; pret. *ro·lám(a)ir* §§ 692, 695 ; vb.n. *létiu* § 730.  
*len(a)id* (with prep. **·di**) 'adheres to, follows', **·len** § 551, cp. § 594 ; subj. **·lia** § 597, cp. § 611 ; fut. **·lilith** § 653 ; pret. **·lil**, pl. **·leldar**, § 691 ; vb.n. *lenamon* § 737.  
*lingid* 'leaps', U+00B7ling, pl. *·lengat*, § 548 ; subj. rel. *lías* § 617 ; pret. *·lebl(a)ing* § 689b; vb.n. **léim(m)** § 735.  
*fo·loing* 'supports' § 550 ; subj. *fo·ló ·ful*, pl. *fo·lós(s)at*, §§ 616, 625, 627 ; fut. *fo·lil ·foíl*, pl. *fo·lilsat*, §§ 657, 667 ; perf. (with **com**) sg. 1 *fo·cóemallag* § 688 (pret. sg. 3 *in·lol(a)ig* § 687), pret. pass. *fulacht(a)e* § 715 ; vb.n. **fulach, fulang** § 724.  
*ma(i)did* 'breaks' (intrans.), **·maid** ; subj. *máis ·má*, pl. *·máis(s)at*, §§ 614, 625 ; fut. *memais ·mema*, pl. *·memsat*, §§ 657, 667 ; pret. *·mem(a)id* § 687 ; vb.n. *maidm* § 735.  
*do·for·maig* (also **·fór** -, § 838) 'increases'; subj. 2 sg. *·tórmais*, pass. *·tórmostar*; rut. *du·forma*,

pass. *du·fórmastar*,

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[§§ 661, 667](#); perf. *du·rórmacht* [§ 682](#), pass. *du·rórmacht*, cp. [§ 707](#); partic. *tórmacht(a)e* [§ 715](#); vb.n. *tórmach* [§ 724](#).  
*marn(a)id* 'betrays', *·mairn* [§ 552](#); subj. *·mera* [§ 597](#); fut. *·méra* [§ 650](#); pret. **·mert** [§ 682](#); vb.n. *mrath* [§ 728](#).  
*melid* 'grinds', *·meil* [§ 548](#); subj. *·mela* [§ 597](#); fut. *·méla* [§ 650](#); pret. **milt** **·melt** [§ 682, 684](#), pass. *·mleth*. cp. [§ 709](#); vb.n. *mlith (tomalt)* [§ 727](#).  
*midithir* 'judges', *·midedar* [§ 549](#); subj. *·mestar* [§§ 613, 619](#); fut. *·miastar*, pl. *·messatar*, [§659](#); pret. *·mid(a)ir* [§693](#), pass. **·mes(s)** [§ 708](#); partic, *me(i)sse* [§ 715](#); v. necess. *messi* [§ 719](#); vb.n. *mes(s)* [§ 729](#) (*ermaissiu* [§ 730](#) ).  
*do·moinethar* (*·mu(i)nethar*) 'thinks' [§§549, 213](#); subj. *do·menathar* [§§ 597, 602](#); fut. *do·moinfethar* [§ 634](#); pret. *do·mén(a)ir* [§§ 687, 697](#), pass. *du·mét* [§ 710](#); partic. *toimte* [§ 715](#); vb.n. *toimtiu* [§ 730](#).  
*nasc(a)id* 'binds', *·naisc* [§ 548](#); subj. **·ná**, pass. *·násar*, [§§ 614, 625](#); fut. *·nena* (*·nen*), 1 sg. *·nenas*, [§§ 657, 666, 667](#); pret. *·nen(a)isc* [§ 687](#), pass. **·nass** [§ 708](#); (partc. *imnainse*, to *im·naisc*, [§ 715](#); cp. [§ 112](#).); vb.n. *naidm* [§ 735](#).  
*ar·näat*, **·airnet** 'expects, sustains', 1 sg. *ar·näutin·näuth*, 3 pl. *ar·neithet*, [§ 592](#); ipv. 2 sg. (dep.) *indnite* [§ 137](#); subj. pass. *·eirnestar* Ml. 118<sup>d</sup>10; fut. 1 pl. *ar·nesamar* [§ 662](#); perf. *ad·roneestar ar·runeastar* [§ 690](#); (in Ml. forms with weak flexion are also found: subj. 2 sg. **·nethe**, perf. 1 sg. *ar·to-t-neithius-sa*, etc.; see [§ 846](#).); vb.n. *indn(a)ide* [§ 725](#).  
*·oid* 'lends', pass. *·odar*; subj. 2 sg. *·óis* [§ 616](#); pret. *·U+00FAaid* [§ 689a](#); vb.n. *ón (h)úan*, *óin (h)úain* [§ 736](#), 1.  
*org(a)id*, *orcid* 'slays', *·oirg* *·oirc* [§ 548](#); subj. *·orr*, pl. *·orrat*, [§ 618](#); fut. *·ior(r)* *·iarr*, pl. *·errat* *·iurat*, [§§ 658a, 665](#); pret. *uirt* *·ort* [§§ 682, 684](#), pass. *·ort* [§ 707](#); partic. *ort(a)e* [§ 715](#); vb.n. *orgun*, *oreon* [§ 736](#).  
*ren(a)id* 'sells', **·ren** [§ 551](#), cp. [§ 594](#); subj. *·ria* [§ 597](#), cp. [§ 611](#); fur. *·riri* [§ 653](#); pret. *·rir* [§ 691a](#), pass. *·ríth* [§ 706](#); partic. *ríthe* [§ 716](#); vb.n. dat. sg. *reicc*, *ricc* [§ 737](#).  
*rethid* 'runs', **·reith** [§ 548](#), cp. [§ 592](#); subj. and fut. **·ré** pl. *·ressat*, [§ 613, 625, 662](#); pet. **·ráith** [§ 692](#); vb.n. **riuth** [§ 737](#).

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*do·é-rig* 'abandons'; subj. and fut. *do·ér*, pl. *do·é(i)rset*, [§§ 662, 667](#); perf. *do·r-éacht* [§ 682](#), pass. *do·r-éacht*; partic. *déacht(a)e* [§ 715](#); vb.n. *dé(i)rge* [§ 725](#).  
*con·rig* 'binds'; subj. 1 sg. *con·rías* [§ 615](#); fut. 2 sg. *con·riris* [§ 657](#); perf. (with ad, [§ 532](#)) *con·árr(a)ig* [§ 687](#), pass. *con·árracht* [§ 711](#); participle *cuimrecht(a)e* [§ 715](#); v. necess. *cuimrehti* [§ 718](#); vb.n. *cuimrech* [§ 724](#).  
*sa(i)did* 'sits', pl. *sedait*, [§§ 83a, 549](#); subj. and fut. **seiss** [§§ 613, 662](#); pret. (narrative) *sías(sa)ir*, perf. *do·essid*, [§§690, 534](#); parte. **·sesse** [§ 715](#); vb.n. *su(i)de* [§ 725](#).  
*saigid* 'seeks, makes for', *·saig*, pl. *·segat*, [§§ 83a, 549](#); subj. **·sá**, pl. *·sás(s)at*, [§§ 614, 625](#); fut. *siais* *·sia*, pl. *·ses(s)at* (*·roisset*), [§§ 658d, 661](#); pret. *·siacht* (*·ro-acht*) [§§ 682, 685](#), pass. *·siacht* [§ 711](#); vb.n. *saigid* [§ 727](#).  
*do·es-sim* 'pours out'; subj. *\*do·eismae* (pass. *do·esmidor*); fur. *\*do·esséma*, cp. [§ 650](#); perf. *\*do·r-e(i)sset* [§ 682](#) (with *to-ro-uss-*: *do·résat* [§ 528](#)), pass. *do·r-esset* [§ 710](#); parte, *teste* [§ 715](#); vb.n. *te(i)stiu* [§ 730](#).  
*do·seinn* 'pursues' [§ 548](#); subj. 1 sg. *do·sés* [§ 617](#); fut. *do·sib* [§§ 658c, 667](#); pret. *do·sephainn* [§ 687](#), pass. *do·sés* [§ 708](#); vb.n. dat. sg. *tofun(n)* [§ 724](#).  
*fo·slig* 'smears', 1 sg. *fo·sligim*; subj. *fo·slé(i)*, ep. [§ 625](#); fut. *fo·sil*, cp. [§ 667](#) (2 sg. *fu·silis* [§ 658b](#)); pret., *fo·sel(a)ig*, pl. *fo·selgatar*, [§ 687](#), pf. pass. *fo·ruillecht* [§ 707](#); partic. *fuillecht(a)e* [§§ 715, 153b](#).  
*con·sni* 'contends', *·cosn(a)i*; subj. *·cosna* (past subj. pass. *·cosantae* Ml. 115<sup>d</sup>13); fut. *·cosséna* [§ 648](#); pret. *con·séna[i]* [§ 681](#); vb.n. *cosnam* [§ 733](#).  
*ad·co-ta* 'obtains', *·éta* [§ 544](#); subj. *ad·cota*, *·éta*, 1 sg. *ad·cot*; fur. *·étada*, pass. *·étastar*, [§ 648](#); pret. *ad·cotadae ad·cotade-étad(a)e*, pl. *ad·cotatsat-étatsat*, [§ 680](#), pass. *·étas* [§ 708](#); partic. *ét(ta)e* [§ 714](#); vb.n. *ét*, acc. dat. *ét*.  
*techid* 'flees', *·reich* [§ 548](#); subj. and fur. *·té*, pl. *·tessat*, [§§ 613, 662](#); pret. *táich* [§§](#)

[692](#), [698](#); vb.n. **teched** § [728](#).

*tongid* 'swears', *·toing* § [550](#); subj. *·tó*, pl. *·tós(s)at*, §§ [616](#), [625](#); fut. 2 sg. *·tithis* § [657](#); perf. *du-cuitig* §§ [535](#), [694b](#); vb.n. *luige*, *lugae* §§ [721](#), [166](#).

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## SUPPLETIVE VERBS

757. Although in most verbal concepts all the foregoing tenses and moods are based on a single root, Irish, like other languages, contains some verbs in which different roots are employed to constitute a verb system.

Cases where the root of the verbal noun alone differs from that of the associated verb have already been mentioned (§ 721). A list of the remaining suppletive verbs, arranged in alphabetic order according to the initial of the present stem, is appended here. Only the verb 'to be', which requires more detailed treatment, is dealt with separately (§§ 774 ff.).

For *·ebla*, fut. of *agid* 'drives', see § [649](#).

758. *at·bail(l)* 'dies' (prep. *ess-* with infixed pronoun, § [423](#)), *ni·epil* (*·apail*) § [552](#); ipv. 3 pl. *·eiplet* § [594](#); subj. *at·bela* § [597](#); fut. *at·béla* § [650](#). In the earlier language the perfect is *at·ru·balt*, pl. *·baltar*, § [682](#); but the narrative tense is supplied by *at·bath*, pl. *at·bathatar* and *at·batha*, § [704](#). A separate vb.n. is formed from each of these stems: *epeltu* (*apaltu*) § [730](#), and *apthu*.

*ó't·balt-sa* LU 9496 (later hand) is probably an error for *ó't·rubalt-sa* (cp. *ibid.* 9514); but in LL 24b-26a (Trip. 516-526) we find 3 sg. *co·n·erbailt* (for *O.Ir.* *·érbalt*) interchanging with *co·n·ebailt*. The second form is obviously later; from it was formed a new plural *·eblatar* ZCP. XVIII. 308.

759. I. The simplex **berid** 'bears' (§ [548](#), *·belt·ber* § [554](#), pass. *·berar·berr* § [578](#); subj. *·beta* §§ [597](#), [600](#); fut. U+00B7*béra* §§ [650](#), [652](#); pret. *·bert* § [682](#), pass. *·breth* § [709](#); vb.n. **brith**, **breth** § [730](#)) has no **ro**-forms, § [534](#), 4. These are supplied by the weak verb *ro·uc(ca)iruc(ca)i* (*cc = gg*), pl. *·rucat*; subj. *·ruc(c)a*; past subj. pass. *·rueth(a)e*, pl. *·ruct(a)is*; perf. sg. 1 *ro·uiccius*, 3 *ro·uicero·uc*, *·ruc* (*·uccai* § [678b](#)), pl. *·rucsat*, pass. *ro·ucad rucad*, pl. *ro·uctha ructha*; cp. § [166](#). The imperative 2 sg. *uic*, without **ro** -, occurs in Tec. Corm. § 18 (cp. RC. IX. 466, 22).

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The compound *tremi·beir* 'transfers' also makes perf. pass. *trimi·rucad* Ml. 2<sup>b</sup>17.II. *do·beir*, *·ber*, prototonic *·tab(a)ir* (§ [82](#)), 'brings' and 'gives', is conjugated like *·beir* (fut. *·tibéra* § [652](#)); but vb.n. *tabart tabairt* § [727](#). The **ro**-forms are supplied:

- In the meaning 'bring' by *do·uc(ca)ituc(ca)i*, pass. *·tucthar*; subj. *·tuc(c)a*; perf. *du·uic tuicc tuc* (*·uccai* § [678](#)), pl. *tucsat*, pass. *tuc(e)ad tuiced*. Here, too, there is an imperative 2 sg. *tuic tuc*, pl. *tucaid*.
- In the meaning 'give' by *do·rat(t)i*, *·tarti* (*to·ro·ad·d.* § [50](#)); subj. *do·rata·tarta*, 1 sg. *·tart*, pass. *·tartar*; perf. sg. 1 *do·ratus*, 2 *do·rat(a)is*, 3 *do·rat*; pl. 1 *do·ratsam*, 2 *do·ratsid*, 3 *do·ratsat*, *·tartsat* and *·tartisset*; pass. *do·farad·tardad*, pl. *do·rata·tarta*.

So also *húandí fris·tarat* gl. *obdendo* Ml. 51<sup>d</sup>3.

It has been sought to connect *ro·det* 'has been granted' (in poetry) etymologically with **-rat** - (RC. XL. 399). But this would appear to be nothing more than a short form of *ro·dét* (verb *daimid* § [710](#)), which first arose in unstressed position in compounds; ep. § 50b.

III. The other compounds of **berid** make their perfective forms with **ro** -; thus *as·beir* 'says': *as·robair*; *for·beir* 'grows': perf. *for·rubart*; *ar·beir*: perf. *ar·rubart*, etc.

760. *ar·cela* 'robs' (A I) has double l in forms with unstressed stem: vb.n. **airchellad**, **erchellad** (**airchelad** only ZCP. XVII. 197); perf. *arid·rochell* Sg. 202<sup>a</sup>7.

There has apparently been confusion with another verb *do-im-chella*, *do-air(m)chella* 'surrounds'. *ar-cela* has no connexion with *ar-cíallathar*, which seems to mean 'takes care of, heeds', ZCP. XI. 83 § 27, LL 123a31, Corm. 799.

761. *ad-cí* 'sees' § 547, prototonic *·aiccí* and *·accái* § 166, sg. 1 *ad-cíu*, pl. 3 *ad-cíat*, pass. *ad-cíther* (cp. § 589) *·accastar* § 609; subj. sg. 1 *ad-cear*, 3 *·accadar* *·accathar*, pass. *ad-cether* *·accastar*; past subj. *ad-ceth* *·ced* § 609; fut. \**ad-eichi* *·accigi*, pass. *ad-cichestar*, § 655; pret. pass. *ad-cess* § 708; vb.n. *aicsiu* § 730.

In general ro-forms are not distinguished. The prototonic perfect is *·ac(ca)e* § 702, but the corresponding deuterotonic

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form (active) is supplied by *ad-con-dairc* § 694b, from a different root (cp. Gk. *δέρκεσθαι*), and the narrative pret. is preceded by meaningless **co**<sup>n</sup> (with prototonic forms): *co·n-ac(ca)e*. Perfective present *ad-ro-darcar* 'can be seen', 1 sg. act. *·airciu* § 535b.

*do-éi-ci*, *do-écai* 'looks at', whose flexion is otherwise identical with that of *ad-cí* (ipv. 2 sg. *dé(i)cce* § 589, fut. *du-écigi* § 655), makes normal **ro**-forms; e.g. perf. 3 pl. *do-récatar*, subj. 2 sg. *·dercaither*; cp. § 527b.

The decompound *fris·accái* 'hopes' has mowable ro; e.g. perf. 3 pl. *fris-racatar ni-ru-frescachtar*; partic. *frescast(a)e* § 715.

762. *·cu(i)rethar* (cp. § 525) 'puts, throws' (subj. *·corathar* § 607, pret. *·corastar* § 677, vb.n. **cor** § 722) is replaced in prose by *fo·ceird*, *fo·ceirt* (§ 756), a compound of another root, wherever absolute forms would be expected. But the ipv. 2 sg. is *cuirthe* and *cuire* (§ 589), pl. *cuirid*. In the future the simple verb is supplied by *fo·cicherr*, its compounds by prototonic *·foícherr*; e.g. 1 sg. *fris-foíchiurr céill* Ml. 78°8 (to *fris-cuirurcéill* 'colo'), 3 pl. *íarsindí* . . . *du-n-athfoíchret* (*do-aithchuiredar* 'returns') 72°1.

There are no **ro**-forms of either verb, these being supplied by *ro-lā-* (§ 534, 4); e.g. pres. *ní-ro-láim* 'I cannot lay (an eye on)' LU 4774, pl. 3 *nad·[f + ]rith-rolat* Laws IV. 210; subj. sg. I *·ral*, 3 *·rala* (§ 610); perf. *ru·lae ro·laa*, *·ral(a)e*, pl. *·ralsat* *·rolsat*, § 680, pass. sg. *ro·laad*, *·ralad* *·rolad* § 706.

Beside *do·cuirethar* 'puts, throws', sec. fut. *do·foíchred*, pret. *du·corastar*, perf. pass. *do·ralad*, vb.n. dat. sg. *tochur*, there, is another verb meaning 'fetches, invites', which has identical forms in the present but makes its perfective forms with ro and has a different future formation; e.g. *do-ro-chuirsemmar* Sg. 6°18; *do·cuirifar* Ml. 3°1; vb.n. *tochuirud*, the simplex *cuirud* being attested later (LU 3653). This is doubtless a new formation from **cor** in the sense of 'stirring, moving'.

The simplex *lā-* (without **ro**-) is rare in the earlier language: subj. *mani·laa* LU 4766. There are many compounds of it, however, such as *ind-lā-*, 3 pl. *in·laat*, vb.n. *indel*; *dī-lā-*, vb.n. *díl*; *do·in-óla* 'colleccts' (perf *do·rinól* Ml. 51°21, like A I), fut. pass. *tinólfith* [h]er Thes. II. 38, 3, vb.n. *tinól*; *ad·com-la* 'joins' (perf. *ad·rochomul* Ml. 58b12), vb.n. *accomol*, etc.

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763. *fo·gaib* 'finds', subj. *fo·gaba*, fut. *fo·géba* (see **ga(i)bid** § 756); but pret. *fo·fúair*, and *·fúair*, §§ 543a, 691d, pass. *fo·fríth*, and *·fríth*, § 706. Perfective and non-perfective forms are not distinguished, § 535.

764. It has been suggested (cp. Pedersen II. 511) that **gat(a)id** (A I) 'takes away, steals' (fur. *géta* § 651, vb.n. **gat** § 722) does not make its perfective forms with **ro** in the older language, these forms being supplied by the verb **t-all-**, **tell-** (subj. 1 sg. *·tall*, pass. *·talltar*; perf. *ma du-d'éll* Wb. 22°7, cp. § 83b). This is probably correct; still the perf. *nad·rogat* ZCP. XX. 212 occurs rather early.

**765.** *ibid* 'drinks', *·ib*, pl. *ebait*, § 548; fut. *·íiba* § 647; pret. *·ib*, pl. *·ibset*, § 671 I, pass. *·ibed* § 706; vb.n. *óol* § 721; perfective forms with *ess-* § 534, 3, e.g. 1 pl. perf. *ass·ibsem* *Wb.* 12<sup>a</sup>17. As subjunctive *eba-* is occasionally found even in the Glosses, e.g. 3 pl. pass. rel. *n·ebtar* *Ml.* 101<sup>d</sup>5; but usually the forms are supplied by the *s*-subjunctive *lús(s)-*: sg. 3 *·lú*, *as* *·lú*, 1 *·lús*, etc. (*ZCP.* X. 349, *Ériu* VII. 134, *Mon. Tall.* p. 126, *KZ.* XLVIII. 59).

Cp. *loim* (*m*) 'draught'. It is very doubtful if the weak *i*-verb *long(a)id* 'eats' (subj. 2 sg. *·longe* *Thes.* II. 258, 31; vb.n. *longud*) is connected. The form *róiba* gl. (*oportet . . . æpiscopum . . . esse . . . non uinolentum* *Wb.* 31<sup>b</sup>9, where we should perhaps read [*ni*] *·roiba* 3 sg. subj., contains, not the verbal particle *ro*, but *ro* in the sense of 'too much' (§ 852A), as in *róólach* gl. *crapulatus a uino* *Thes.* I. 5, 21.

**766.** *ithid* 'eats', *·ith* (pl. *ethait* *Laws* IV. 138, 9), vb.n. *ithe* § 726. All forms outside the present stem are based on the root *ed-*, *od-*: subj. *estir* *·estar* (dep.) §§ 619, 621; fut. *íssaíd* *·íis(s)a* § 658a; pret. probably 1 sg. *\*ëod* (§ 689a), pass. *\*·ess*; partic. *eis(s)e*. The perfective forms are preceded by the prepositions *de-fo-* (§ 534): subj. sg. 1 *·dóesur* (MS. *da esur* *LU* 8457), 3 *du-d·uoestar* (MS. *·uoester*) *Ériu* VII. 146 § 4 (*ZCP.* XIII. 103); perf. *do·fúaid*, *·dóid* *·dúaid* § 689a, pass. *·dóes* (*KZ.* XLVIII. 58).

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**767.** *con·oí*, also dep. *con·oadar·comathar*, 'guards' § 590; subj. 2 sg. *con·oither* (with *oí* ?) *Ériu* I. 202 § 28b; fut. *cot·n·ófathar* *ZCP.* XI. 91 § 6. The preterite is supplied by *com·em-*: perf. 3 sg. *con·roíter*, pl. *coniroítatar*, § 684; but (with *for-*) pret. 3 sg. also *·foremastar* *LL* 123<sup>b</sup>7; vb.n. both *comét* § 729 and *comad*.

**768.** *con·secha* 'corrects, keeps in check' is inflected as a weak *a*-verb when the stem is stressed. The remaining forms are divergent: ipv. 2 sg. *coissaig* *Corm.* 1013, perf. 3 sg. (with *-ad-* § 532) *cotam* *·assaig* *ZCP.* XIII. 342, 14. Forms in which the stem vowel would regularly be syncopated are supplied by the weak *i*-verb *·cose(a)i*, a denominative from the vb.n. *cose* (§ 724); e.g. ipv. 2 pl. *coseid*. But this verb is also found in other positions; e.g. pres. pass. pl. *coisetir* *Wb.* 31<sup>b</sup>25, *coseitir* 22<sup>c</sup>10. Subj. *cut·n·asca* *ZCP.* III. 451, 26 (R), with *-ad-* (§ 532), but *maniro·chosea* *Wb.* 28<sup>b</sup>28. with *ro*.

The simplex *sechid* 'pronounces' (used of a judge, physician, etc.), e.g. *Corm.* 611, is a weak *i*-verb, perf. pass. *ro* *·seched*, etc. So doubtless are the compounds with *fo-ad* and *to-fo-ad* (vb.n. *fáse*, *táse* 'announcing'): e.g. ipv. 2 sg. *fásaig* *ZCP.* XI. 80 § 2, 91 § 2; perf. pass. *do* *·fársiged* *Wb.* 7<sup>d</sup>11. But the verb corresponding to *in·cho-se* 'signifying' has strong flexion (like *saigid* § 756): 3 sg. *in* *·cois(s)ig*, also *·cosaig*, pl. *·coisget*, pass. *·coissegar* *·coisechar* (cp. § 123); past subj. *in·coissis(s)ed*: pret. pass. rel. *in·choisecht* *Ml.* 16<sup>c</sup>10, etc. But with *to-* (vb.n. *tinehose* and *tecosc* 'teaching'): perf. *do-d·n·archosaig* *TBC.* 564 (*-ar-* for *-err-*, *-en-ro-*) beside *do* *·rinehose* 567.

**769.** I. *téit* 'goes' *·tét*, rel. *téte*, 2 pl. also *·téit*. forms the remaining persons of the present tense from the root Ir. *tēg-*: sg. 1 *tíagu* *·tU+00EDag*, 2 *téigi* *·téig*, pl. 3 *tíag(a)it* *·tíagat* § 591, pass. *·tíagar*; ipf. *no·téged*.

Imperative:

sg. 1 *tíag*, *tíach* (§ 586.) pl. *tíagam*

2 *eirg(g)* *airg(g)*, *aire* *\*erg(g)id* (*eircid* *LU* 8473, etc.)

(§ 83a), neg. *na·téig*

3 *tét* *tíagat*

pass. *tíagar*

Subj. *téis* *·té (i)*, pl. *·tías(s)at*, §§ 615, 620, past subj. *·té(i)sed*

[§ 631](#); fut. **·rega ·riga** [§ 656](#); pret. **luid**, pl. **lotar lot(a)ir**, [§§ 694c, 698](#), pass. \***eth(a)e, etha**; vb.n. **techt** [§ 727](#).

The perfective forms are supplied by a root *wed-* combined with the preps, **di** and **co (m)**, [§§ 534, 4, 830A](#), a; unstressed \*-*cowed-* became \*-*cwed-*, \*-*ched-* at all early period ([§ 108](#)): pres. **do-s·cuat** 'he can go it' ('the road', fem.) Corm. 1082 (L), **·dichet** [§ 592](#), sg. 1 ×**dichtim** (read **-thim?**) *LU* 5180-1, ×**digthim** SR. 3203; subj. **do-coí**, prototonic **·dich ·dig ·decha**, 1 sg. **·dichius** *Birth & Life of St. Moling* (ed. Stokes) p. 20 [§ 26](#) (also **·dig(i)us ·dechos**), 1 pl. **·dechsam**; past subj. and sec. fut. 3 pl. **du-coístis**, prototonic **·dechsaitis ·digsitis**, [§§ 625, 628, 661](#); perf. **do-coíd ·dechuid** [§ 692](#), pass. (later) **do-cúas** IT. I. 130, 8.

The root of *tíagu*, etc., corresponds to that of Gk. *σείχειν*, Goth. *steigan* ([§§ 184b, 217](#)); the root of **luid** to that of (Homeric) *ἄλυθον*, (fut. *ἄλευσομαι*); for √ *wed-* (IE. *wedh-*) see [§ 692](#). In **téit ·tét** Bergin (*Ériu XII*. 227 [§ 21](#)) sees, perhaps correctly, a form of IE. √*ten-* 'stretch' (cp. Ir. *tét* 'string, rope'), either a non-thematic present or, more probably, an original preterite (cp. the t-preterites). The imperative **eirg** is certainly cognate with Gk. *ἴροσθαι*, and the fut. **·rega** may go back through \**r + ghā-* to the same root. The pret. pass. \***ethae** is a survival of the root found in Gk. *ἴβαι*, Lat. *ire*, Skt. *ēti* 'goes'; from this root also come the rare verb **ethaid** 'goes', pret. **ethais**, and its frequent compound **ad ·etha** 'seizes'.

**770. II.** The compound **do-tét** 'comes', pl. **do-tíagat**, is in general inflected like **téit** except for some of the imperative forms. But \**to-thēg-* in the prototonic forms appears as **taíg-**, **táeg-** ([§ 179](#)); thus sg. 1 **do-tíag**, protot. **taíg ·táeg**, 3 **do-tét**, protot. **·taít**, pl. **do-tíagat**, protot. **·taígat**, etc.

Imperative: sg. **2 tair** ([§ 588](#)) pl. **taít** ([§ 110](#))

### 3 taít taát taígat

Subj. sg. 1 **do-tías**, protot. **·táes**, 3 **do-té (i)**, protot. **·taí**, etc.; fut. **do ·rega do ·riga**, protot. **·terga ·tirga**, [§ 656](#); pret. do·luid, pl. do·lotar ·tultatar, [§ 694c](#), pass. do·eth *TBC*. 1126, etc.; vb.n. tuidecht [§ 123b](#).

The perfective forms are like those of I: subj. **do-decha** and \***do-dich**, protot. **·tuidig**; past. subj. **do-dichsed ·tuidchised**, 1 pl. **·tuichesmais** (from **·tuidohesmais**, [§ 127](#)); perf. 1 sg. **do-dechud**, **·tuidched**, 3 pl. **do-dechutar**, **·tuidchetar**.

**771. III.** The compound with *in(d)-oss-* (pres. 3 pl. **in-otgat** 'they enter', subj. 3 sg. **in-úait** [§ 627](#), vb.n. inotacht) forms its future like the subjunctive (3 pl. **in-otsat** [§ 661](#)) and its perfective forms with *ro*, e.g. perf. **in-rúalaid** beside narrative **in-olaid**, **im-tét** 'goes about' also makes its perfective forms with *ro*: perf. 3 pl. **·imruldatar** beside narrative rel. **imme-lotar**. The decompound with *com-* has fut. 3 sg. **con-imthæ** [§ 667](#) (vb.n. **coímthecht** [§ 179](#)).

In **con-é-tet** (*com-en-*) 'yields to, is indulgent', protot. **·cométig**, vb.n. *com(a)itecht cometecht* (read *-ét-?*), more forms are based on the stem *tēg-* than in the simplex ([§ 591](#)): 2 pl. **con-éitgid**, ipv. 3 sg. **·coméitged**; subj. 2 sg. **·coméitis**. 3 **con-éeit** [§ 627](#); v. necess. *comitesti* [§ 719](#).

The flexion of other compounds, like **for-tét** 'helps', **remi-tét** 'precedes', is identical with that of I, though no imperative forms are quotable. Cp. further subj. 3 g. **do-eit** [§ 627](#) (vb.n. **tetacht, titacht**).

**772.** *tinaid* 'vanishes' is but sparsely represented in early texts (Sg. 4b6). It has been assumed, no doubt rightly, that forms such as perf. 3 pl. **ro-thinsat** *LU* 8769 are late, and that subj. **·ta[a]**, pret. **·tetha[e]** [§ 680](#) (vb.n. *tám*) originally belonged to pres. *tinaid*.

The weak verb *·deda* 'dwindles' (perf. *ro-ded*, pl. *ru-dedsat*) in *Ml.* is apparently unconnected with the above, despite the isolated 3 sg. perf. *con-ro-deda* gl. *contabuit* 118b2. It is difficult to connect with either verb the noun *teidm* (n-stem) 'pestilence', to whose influence the scribal error *no-tedmais*, for *·dedmais*, in *Ml.* 131<sup>d</sup>4 should doubtless be attributed.

**773.** *·do-tuit* 'falls', later *du-fuit*, protot. *·tuit*, · 110, 543, pl. *·tu(i)tet*, pass. *·tuiter* ; subj. *do-foth* *·tod*, pl. 1 (perfective) *·torthissem*, 3 *·todsat* *·totsat*, *·torthaiset*, § 626; fut. *do-tóeth*, pl. *·tóetsat*, §§ 660, 667; vb.n. *toth(a)im* § 735.

The preterite is supplied by *došcer*: perf. *do-ro-chair*, protot. *·torchar* and *·torchair*, § 704.

Since *·tuit* is apparently based on a compound *to-tud-* (cp. Lat. *tundere*), one would have expected deuterotonic *\*do-tuid* and protot. *\*toit* or the like (cp. § 110.); *·tuit* represents a mixture of both forms. The *-t* has spread, however, to other compounds; e.g. 3 pl. *conštuitet* Sg. 205a4 (vb.n. *cut(u)im*); with *dī-*: sg. 1 *do-fuittim* gl. *decido* ZCP. XV. 298. sg. 3 *·dithat* § 592 (vb.n. *dithim*).

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## THE VERB 'TO BE'

Collection of all the forms occurring in early MSS.: Strachan, Trans. Phil. Society 1899-1902, p. 1 ff. An earlier collection (which does not observe a clear distinction between Old and Middle Irish forms): Stokes, *ibid.* 18851887, p. 202 ff. = KZ. XXVIII. 55 ff. Further: J. H. Lloyd, *Ériu* I. 49 ff. (passive forms). For the development of forms and syntax down to the Modern Irish period see Ó Máille, *Ériu* VI. 1 ff., Dillon. ZCP. XVI. 313 f., XVII. 307 ff. **774.** The verb 'to be' has two sets of forms which are usually distinguished as the **substantive verb** and the **copula**. The copula consists of unstressed (proclitic) forms which immediately precede the predicate and denote the connexion between it and the subject. The substantive verb is stressed and usually has a wider connotation: existence, presence, being in a certain condition, etc. But it can also have the meaning of the copula and is always so used when the predicate does not immediately follow. This use is found:

1. Regularly, where the verb stands in a (nasalizing) relative clause ( § 500 ) and refers to a predicate expressed by a word in the principal clause; e.g. *óndí rond-gab* 'from that which it (the word *nupta*) is', *Thes. II.*, 227, 29; *is faittech rond-boí-som* 'it is cautious he was' *Ml.* 21<sup>d</sup>4 (for the *-d-*, cp. § 424 ); cp. *oldaas*, *indaas* § 779, 1.

Cp. also the use of the pres. subj. of the substantive verb (**bed**) in *fer . . . nadip romár bed a sommæ* 'a man . . . whose wealth should not be too great' *Thes. II.* 241, 8 f., where in the last clause the relational connexion remains unexpressed.

2. In the rare cases where the subject stands between verb and predicate; e.g. *atá día atach n-dún-ni aís déthrebo* 'God is a refuge to us the people of the Two Tribes' *Ml.* 66<sup>d</sup>1; *a-rro-boí a rígtech lán de rígaib* 'when the palace was full of kings' *Imram Brain* I. 3 § 1; *ataat mesai dá nephchomtetarrachtí amal abis* 'the judgements of God are incomprehensible like an *abyssus*' *Ml.* 55<sup>d</sup>11 (perhaps an attempt to keep the order of the Latin *Iudicia Domini abisus multa*). Isolated examples where the predicate follows the verb directly,

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as in *biid ersoilcthi ar c[h]iunn for rí* 'be ye (doors) opened before your king' 46<sup>a</sup>7, are unexplained.

Collection: Ó Máille, *Ériu* VI. 73 ff., who (p. 64) rightly amends (*ataam for*) *tectiri* *Wb.* 15<sup>a</sup>13 to *tectirecht*, cp. 13<sup>b</sup>5. Only in verse is the copula occasionally separated from the predicate, e.g. *nibu sanct-Brigit sanach* 'St. Brigid was not drowsy' *Thes. II.* 332, 2.

**775.** Instead of the substantive verb and a case governed by a preposition, a compound may be formed, particularly in relative clauses, by putting the preposition before the verb and keeping the dependent case unchanged. The prep. **cen** becomes *cenmi-*, *cenma-*, *cenmo-* (cp. **sechmosechmi-** § 853.) in this position. Examples: *bóaire remíibi bóairechaib* 'a *bó-aire* (freeman) who takes precedence of *bó-aire*' *Laws* IV. 316, 5; *donaib chelaib* (read *cenélaib*) *imme-rabtar Iudeu* 'to the nations who were around the Jews' *Ml.* 37<sup>a</sup>16; *la rí* *for-bí túatha* 'with a king who is over the laity' *Ériu* VII. 166 § 2. There is a

tendency towards a petrified use of the 3 sg. in this construction; cp. *dú i-rrobotar secht cét míli fer n-armach cenmo·robai* (read **-bae**, sg.) *mná ocus maccu* 'where there had been 700,000 armed men besides women and children' [ibid. 164 § 9](#). In particular the present-tense forms in **-thá** become mere by-forms of the prepositions; thus *cenmithá cenmathá cenmothá* (*cenmá* Sg. 201<sup>b</sup>18), also used as a conjunction 'besides that' [§ 887](#); *íarmithá deud* 'after the end' *Ml.* 58<sup>c</sup>16; *arathá sin* 'therefore' *Laws V.* 372, 7; (**h**) **óthá** 'from'; **cotá** 'till'. Later *íarmothá*, *ríarmothá* are also used adverbially for 'afterwards', 'previously'. A similar formation is *immathá*, *imthá* (with or without following *samlaid*) 'so is', neg. *nímthá* 'not so is' *Laws*, etc.

## A. THE SUBSTANTIVE VERB

**776.** The interchange of different verbal stems is particularly evident in the pres. ind., where *atá*, *fil*, and *rond · gab* supplement each other. In the other tenses all forms begin with a *b* that comes from the root found in Skt. *bhávati* 'is', Gk. *φύομαι*, *□φύυ*, Lat. *fui*, *futurus*, *fio*, etc.

Besides the ordinary present this verb has a special consuetudinal present. ([§ 519](#)). The particle **ro** in its various meanings can be combined only with forms of the consuetudinal, not of the ordinary present. All forms containing the stem **bi-** ([§§ 784 - 786, 788](#)) take **ro** (not **no** like other verbs) to support an infixed personal pronoun; e.g. *ros·bí* 'they (always) have', *ron·bíth* (ipv.) 'let us have', *rom·bia* 'I shall have', *ronda·biad*

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'that they would have'; but without an infixed pronoun *no·m·biad* 'that it would be', etc. *ZCP.* xx. 204. The exception *fochraicc na·m·bí* 'a reward that he gets' *Ériu VII.* 150, 2 is quite isolated.

### THE ORDINARY PRESENT INDICATIVE

**777.** I. The commonest form is *attá*, *atá*, i.e. *\*ad·tá*, which drops the prep. **ad·** after a conjunct particle (**·tá**) [§ 543a](#). It has the same root as Lat. *stāre*, Gk. *□στην*, etc. These forms are used:

1. In sentences which are non-relative according to Irish syntax, when no conjunct particle precedes the verb.

Only once (*Wb.* 8<sup>a</sup>17) does **ataat and** appear to be used in a leniting relative clause.

2. After conjunct particles in clauses of every kind:
  - a. When an infixed personal pronoun with a dative sense is attached to the particle ([§ 409b](#)); e.g. *ni·n·tá* 'there is not to us', 'we have not'; ind *indobál no·b·tá* 'the glory ye have.'
  - b. When the conjunct particle consists of a preposition + the relative element (**S**)**a**<sup>n</sup> ([§ 492](#)), and after **i**<sup>n</sup> 'in which, whom'; e.g. *lassa·tá* 'with whom (which) is', *hua·taat*, *hó·taat* 'from whom (which) are', *i·táú* 'in which I am'.

**778.** Conjunct flexion:

sg. 1	·táú, ·tó	pl.	·taam
2	·taí		·taid, ·taaid (·taad), ·taaith
3	·tá (·táa <i>Wb.</i> , <a href="#">§ 27</a> )		·taat
pass.	·táthar		

**779.** Absolute flexion is found only in the third person (sg. and pl.):

1. After comparatives in nasalizing subordinate clauses introduced by **ol-** 'beyond' or (in *Ml.* and later) by **in(d)-**, dative of the neuter article (cp. [§ 473](#)). In accordance with

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the pronunciation, these forms are nearly always written with *d-*, not *t-*: sg. *oldoas* (*oldoas* only once, *Thes. II.* 10, 10), *indaas* (= *ind daas*) *indáas indás*; pl. **oldát(a)e oldáta, indát(a)e**.

The other persons and tenses are apparently not formed with absolute endings: sg. 1 *oldáu-sa oldó-sa*, 2 *oldaí* (*oltaí* *Ml.* 112<sup>c</sup>2), *indaí-siu*; consuet. pres. 2 sg. **olmbí** *ACL.* III. 312 [§ 4](#); pret. 3 sg. *olmboí, imboí* *Ml.* 53<sup>d</sup>6 (read *inmboí* or *inboí?*), pl. *olmbátar*. Later forms with absolute endings, pl. 2

*oldáthe IT. II. i. 12, 319, pl. 1oldammit LL 55<sup>b</sup>25*, are not evidence for the earlier usage.

Beside **ol-** and **in-** we sometimes find **a-**, the neuter accusative of the article. At first, presumably, this was used only after *amal* 'as' and after equative forms, which require the accusative; cp. *amal a-ddaas* 'as it is', lit. 'like that which it is' *Ériu II. 114 § 159*. Thence it may have spread to the position after comparatives; e.g. *nech bas ferr nod-gléfe . . . ataí-siu* 'one who will decide it better than thou' *LU 8751 f.*; *adoasa gl. prior me Tur. 25a* (read *adó-sa?*), cp. *Sg. 190<sup>a</sup>4*. **ol** combines with *a* only in 2 pt. fut. *olambieid-si Wb. 26<sup>d</sup>26*.

Later the 3 sg. is found with the ending **-dá** (perhaps already in *Ml. 83<sup>b</sup>8*), pl. **-dát**.

In such combinations the verb 'to be' has lost all meaning. They come to be used as a kind of particle with the meaning 'than', though they still distinguish singular and plural; cp. *citius diuites egebunt quam* (gl. *oldátae*) *timentes Deum Ml. 53<sup>c</sup>7*; *mou . . . indáte bitis cranna* 'more than if they had been trees' 92<sup>d</sup>6. Once, indeed, the singular occurs before a plural verb: *oldaas ata n-díglaidi* 'than that they are vindictory' 111<sup>c</sup>8. The 1st and 2nd persons, in addition to their ordinary meaning 'than I (am)', 'than thou (art)', may express other relations; e.g. *is áildiu a-mmag ro-gab súil oldó-sa* 'the field which the eye has taken in is more beautiful than mine' *Wb. 12<sup>a</sup>25*.

Cp. *ZCP. XX. 244 ft.*; for the various possible construction, [Hertz, \*ibid.\* 252 ft.](#)

2. In nasalizing relative clauses where **tā + ʔ** has the meaning 'to be angry, vexed'; the antecedent denotes the cause of the anger. Examples: pass. *is hed dáthar dom* 'that is why people are vexed with me' *Wb. 21<sup>9</sup>* (pret. *is hed ro-m-both dossom 19<sup>9</sup>*); act. *iss ed daas in* (for O.Ir. a) **cenn** 'that is what ails the head' *RC. VIII. 62, 9*.

With the 1 and 2 sg. and :2 pl. **no·** is used ( [§ 538b](#) ); e.g. *ni nach cin aile no-táid dom* 'it is not any other fault that makes you vexed with me' *Wb. 19<sup>d</sup>26*; sg. 1 *cid no-tó ZCP. VIII. 176, 5*; 2 *cid no-tá IT. I. 97, 9, ZCP. XIII. 24, 23*, etc. (but *ced táí LU 4897*).

3. The 3 sg. with suffixed pronoun, e.g. *táthunn, táithiunn* 'there is to us, we have ', [§ 430, 2](#).

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**780. II.** Besides **at(t)á** the form **fil**, also **fel** ( [§ 168](#) ) feil (later sometimes **fail** with neutral *f*), is used. That which it follows in the accusative or is expressed by an infixed personal pronoun. In origin **fil** is the imperative ('see!') of the verb which appears in Middle Welsh as *gwelet* 'to see'. But it has come to be felt entirely as the substantive verb. It is used:

1. After conjunct particles not followed by a dative personal pronoun ( [§ 777, 2a](#) ); e.g. *nicon-fil nach rainn* 'there is no part' (**rann** fem.); *ni-s. fil* 'they are not' (*ni-s. tá* means 'they have not', lit. 'there is not to them'); *ce nud-fil gním* 'although there is action'; *ci-ni-n-fil lib* 'although we are not with you'.
2. In leniting relative clauses, where it often has the form *file fele* (cp. rel. *téte, luide*, etc.); e.g. *a fil* 'that which is'; *inna fer fel and* 'of the men who are there'; *a-rrad file and-som* 'the grace that is in him'. Here probably belongs the use of *fil* in reply to a question ( [§ 38, 3a](#) ); e.g. '*In-fail naill (= na aill or a n-aill) con-desta?*' '*Fil' ol Pátraie*' "'Is there aught else that thou wouldst demand?' 'There is', said P.'" *Trip. 116, 18 f.* (neg. *nad-fil*).

The use of *fil, file* in a relative clause which otherwise belongs to the nasalizing class is exceptional; e.g. *oorro-fessid file cuimrecha form-sa* 'so that ye may know that there are fetters on me' *Wb. 23<sup>a</sup>5*, cp. 11<sup>d</sup>2, 12<sup>b</sup>12.

3. In archaic texts and poetry it may be used in other positions also with the meaning 'there is, are'; e.g. *fil-us* (with proleptic pronoun) *daneu tre cené1e martre atta lógmara* 'there are, moreover, three kinds of martyrdom that are precious' *Cam. 38b (Thes. II. 246, 27)*.

The compound *do-fil, do-feil* 'is nigh, approaches' is likewise followed by the accusative; e.g. *do-fil na slúagu dún* 'the hosts are near to us' *LU 5502*.

**781.** III. In nasalizing relative clauses the perfect of the verb **ga(i)bid** 'takes' with infixed pronoun 3 sg. neut. is used in the sense of 'is', etc. ( § 424 ); the *d* can disappear between *n* and *g*: *ron(d)·gab*, 1 sg. *ron(d)·gabus*, 3 pl. *ron(d)·gabsat*. Examples: *amal rond·gab* 'as he is'; *is follus rund·gabsat* 'it is clear that they are'.

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**782.** IV (a) In relative clauses we find also *do·cois(s)in*, *di·cois(s)in* with impersonal construction; e.g. *amal do-n·coisin* 'as we (really) are' *Wb.* 17<sup>b</sup>10. It usually has a somewhat wider meaning, e.g. 'to exist': *arnab uilib cumactib di·choissin* 'for all the powers which exist' 21<sup>a</sup>13.

In a principal clause it occurs only in *Laws IV.* 320, 30 (*written dichussin*).

(b) Etymologically connected with *do·cois(s)in* is the personal deponent *·dixnigedar*, often used by the Glossators to render the present-tense forms of Lat. *esse* (even when serving as the copula) when severed from their context, or in attempts to reproduce non-Irish constructions: e.g. *cía hé nu·ndixnaigther-siu* gl. *qui sis* *MI.* 75<sup>o</sup>9.

*in·dixnigedar* is used to render *inest*.

(c) In relative clauses the preterite of *ad·cumaing* 'it happens, befalls' with infixed personal pronoun can be used approximately in the sense of 'to be'; e.g. *cindas persine attot·chomnic* 'what sort of person art thou' *Wb.* 6<sup>b</sup>13; cp. *LU* 4892, *Trip.* 238, 3 (where *atat·c[h]omnaic-siu* means simply 'thee').

**783.** In composition (except with **ad**) **·tá** does not interchange with **fil** or *rond·gab*, but is used for the present, indicative in every type of clause; e.g. rel. *ara·thá* 'who remains over', *dod·es-ta* 'which is lacking' ( § 425 ); after conjunct particles: *ní·dí·thát* 'non differunt', etc.

On the other hand, such compounds are often assimilated to those of *ben(a)id* 'strikes' (to which they approximate in form in the subjunctive and preterite), with the result that all their forms begin with *b-*, e.g. *tesbanat* beside *testat* 'they are lacking' ( § 551 ).

### CONSUEUDINAL PRESENT

**784.** Attested forms:

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	<i>bíuu</i> (-sa <i>Wb.</i> 16 <sup>d</sup> 8)	<i>·bíu</i>
2		<i>·bí</i>
3	<i>biid</i> , <i>biith</i> , <i>bíid</i>	<i>·bí</i> , enclitic <i>·ru-b(a)i</i>
rel.	<i>bís</i>	

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pl. 1	<i>bímme</i>	<i>·biam</i>
rel.	<i>bímme</i>	
3	<i>biit</i> , <i>bíit</i>	<i>·biat</i> , <i>·bíat</i> , enclit. <i>·ru-bat</i>
rel.	<i>bíte</i>	
PASSIVE		
3 sg.	<i>bíthir</i>	<i>·bíther</i> , enclit. <i>·rubthar</i>
rel.	<i>bíther</i>	

The stem form, which is also found in the imperfect and imperative, as well as in *W.* *byddaf* 'I am wont to be', *Mid.Bret.* *bezaff*, *Mod. Bret.* *bezan* + ( < *bii-* ), doubtless corresponds exactly to that of Lat. *fiō*.

Those compounds which have been assimilated to **ben(a)id** in the ordinary present ( § 551 ) retain none the less their own consuetudinal present forms: **cita · bí** 'he is wont to perceive'; *nicon · r-ocmi* 'it cannot touch' *Ml.* 76<sup>a</sup>12; pass. · **r-ocmaither** O'Dav. 1373. Cp. § 594.

### 785. IMPERFECT

sg. 1	·biinn,	·bíinn	pl.	·bímmis
3	·bíth			·bítis
Pass. sg.		·bíthe		

### 786. IMPERATIVE

sg. 2	bí	pl.	biid ( <i>na·3bith</i> Wb. 22 <sup>b</sup> 26)
3	bíth, bíd ( <i>bíith, biid</i> Wb., § 27)		biat

Monosyllabic 3 sg. ipv. **bíth** corresponds exactly to Mid. W. *bit*, which, however, has 3 pl. *bint*.

### 787. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

sg. 1	<i>beu, beo</i>	·b <sup>o</sup>
2		·bee
3	<i>beith beid, beth bed</i>	·bé, enclit. ·roi-b
rel.	<i>bes(s)</i>	
pl. 1	<i>be(i)mmi</i>	·bem, enclit. ·ro-bam
2	<i>be(i)the</i>	·beith, ·beid, enclit. ·ro-bith
3	<i>beit</i>	·bet, enclit. ·ro-bat
rel.	<i>bete</i>	

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sg. 3	<i>bethir</i>	·bether
rel.	<i>bether</i>	

### PAST SUBJUNCTIVE

sg. 1	·beinn	pl.	·bemmis
2	·betha		·bethe
3	·beth, ·bed, enclit. ·ro-bad		·betis, enclit. ·roibtis

The short e of the stem and the ending of 1 sg. **beu** seem to indicate that the It. subjunctive is really based on the IE. subjunctive of the root *es-* (see the copula § 791), i.e. 1 sg. originally \**esō-* = Gk. □ω, Lat. *ero*. The *b* has been taken over from the other forms. The conjunct 3 sg. · **bé**, enclit. **-b**, may have been formed like the *s*-subjunctive ( § 623 ) and theoretically go back to \**best* (cp. § 804). The remaining persons are formed as if the stem were *be-*.

The 2 sg. subj. · **bee** is inferred from **slán bee** gl. *sana sis* ZCP. VII. 484, but this may be rather the absolute form (cp., however, **slán · seiss** § 384). **do · esta** 'is lacking' makes subj. 3 sg. **tes(sa)ib** ZCP. XIII. 30 n.7, *Laws* v. 312, 4, rel. **do-d · esaib** (*sic leg.*) II. 358, 5 (pl. · **tesbat**). In *Ml.* the subjunctive forms **fris · m-bia** gl. *mediri* (read *-eri*), pl. 3 **do · fórbíat**, 1 **dund · órbiam-ni** gl. *peruenire* 27<sup>a</sup>10, 105<sup>b</sup>6 have been assimilated to **ben(a)id** ( § 611 ). like indicative **fris · ben, du · fórbán** ( § 551 ).

### 788. FUTURE

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	<i>bia</i>	
2	<i>bie</i>	
3	<i>bieid, bied</i>	· <i>bia</i> , · <i>bía</i>
rel.	<i>bias</i>	
pl. 1	<i>be(i)mmi</i>	· <i>biam</i> ( <i>ni-piam</i> )
2	<i>bethe</i>	· <i>bieid</i> , · <i>bied</i>
3	<i>bieit, biet, bíet</i>	· <i>biat</i>
rel.	<i>be(i)te</i>	
sg. 1	· <i>beinn</i> (= · <i>beïnn</i> ?)	pl. · <i>bemmis</i>
3	· <i>biad</i>	· <i>betis</i>

Since the Welsh indicative *byddaf* means 'I shall be' in addition to 'I am wont to be', and Corn. *bedāff*, *bythaf* is likewise used as the future, it has been suggested with some probability that the inflexion of Irish **bia**

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like an *a*-subjunctive is due to analogy with other futures. On the other hand, *bia* could conceivably be a real subjunctive of **biid**, formed like Lat. *fiam*. In Middle Welsh, too, future forms like *bythawt bydawt*, pl. *bydawnt*, are found.

**do · es-ta** 'is lacking' makes fut. 3 sg. · **tesseba** (= -éba?) ZCP. XI. 81 § 9, *Ériu* III. 140, 169.

#### 789. PRETERITE

#### CONJUNCT

sg. 1	· <i>bá</i> , enclit. · <i>roba</i> · <i>raba</i>
2	· <i>bá</i>
3	· <i>boí</i> · <i>baí</i> , enclit. · <i>rob(a)e</i> · <i>rab(a)e</i>
pl. 1	· <i>bámmar</i> , enclit. · <i>robammar</i>
2	· <i>baid</i> (= · <i>baïd</i> ?), enclit. · <i>robaid</i>
3	· <i>bátar</i> , enclit. · <i>robatar</i> · <i>rabatar</i> (· <i>rabtar</i> Ml. 37 <sup>a</sup> 16)
Passive	· <i>both</i>

ABSOLUTE: sg. **1 bá** LU 9407; 3 **boí baí**, rel. **boíe**; pl. **1 bámar** Imram Brain I. 48, 5; 3 **bátar** (also relative), **bátir** Trip. 164, 19; pass. \***both(a)e**, **botha** (also relative).

The 3 sg. *boí* could go back to \**bhowe*, an unreduplicated perfect, or alternatively to \**bhōwe* (whence Celt. \**bāwe*); but this would leave unexplained the *ā* of the other forms, which show no trace of *w*. It is not certain that the conjunct 3 sg. of the copula *-bo* (*-bu*) § 810 represents a shortening of **boí**. It could also go back to \***bou** (\**bow*'), with early loss of the ending, thus corresponding to Welsh *bu*. But in Britannic, too, the stem forms are obscure, and there may have been early levelling of the stressed and unstressed forms.

#### 790. VERBAL OF NECESSITY: **bu(i)thi**.

VERBAL NOUN: **buith**, **buid** (gen. **bu(i)the**), rarely **both**, **bith** (gen. *bithe*), § 727.

## B. THE COPULA

**791.** The forms of the copula are always unstressed, and hence are very much reduced. They show a mixture of two roots, IE. *es-* (cp. § 787.) and the root of **biid**, **buith**, with initial *b-*.

There is no distinction in form between the imperfect indicative and the preterite.

For lenition and nasalization of the following initial in relative clauses, see [§ 495e](#), [504d](#); for lenition in other clauses, [§ 233](#), 1; for gemination after **nī** +  $\tilde{}$  ([§ 794](#)) and 3 sg. **ba** ([§§ 802](#), [810](#), [813](#)), see [§ 242](#).

### PRESENT INDICATIVE

#### 792. 1. ABSOLUTE

sg. 1	<i>am</i>	pl.	<i>ammi</i> , rarely <i>ammin</i> , <i>amminn</i>
2	<i>at</i>		<i>adib</i>
3	<i>is</i>		<i>it</i>
rel.	<i>as</i>		<i>ata</i> (in <i>MI.</i> also <i>at</i> ).

No relative form of the 1st plural is attested.

In close combination with **air** 'for' *a-* sometimes turns into *i-*: 2 sg. **air-it** *MI.* 55<sup>d</sup>11, pl. **ar-idib** *Wb.* 16<sup>b</sup>9; for **airammi** we find **airmi** *MI.* 23<sup>d</sup>23. Without preceding **air** the 2 sg. **it** occurs *MI.* 108<sup>d</sup>2. Conversely **airat** for **air-it** (3 pl.) 123<sup>d</sup>3.

1 sg. **am** (later also written **amm**) may be traced back to IE. \**es-mi*, is to \**esti*, **it** to \**sentī* ([§ 178](#)); so too **ammi** to \**esm..*. In **at** (*W. wyt*), **adib** (perhaps = Mid.Bret. *edouch*, *W. ydywch ydych*, cp. *IF. Anz. XXXIII.* 32), **ammin(n)** *Wb.* 14<sup>d</sup>28, *MI.* 83<sup>c</sup>3, etc., the personal pronoun is suffixed. The form **adi** without *-b* *Wb.* 21<sup>c</sup>17 is probably a mere scribal error, as is also 3 pl. rel. **et** (instead of **at**) *MI.* 27<sup>a</sup>9 (for **adimmaic** *Wb.* 9<sup>a</sup>13, see [§ 152e](#)). Cp. further [§§ 115a](#), [510](#).

**793.** Combined with **ce**, **cía** 'although' and **ma**, **má** 'if' the forms of the third person are:

sg.	<i>cesu cíasu</i> , <i>ceso cíaso</i> <i>mas(s)u (másu)</i> , <i>maso</i>	Pl.	<i>cetu</i> , <i>ceto cíato</i> <i>matu</i>
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These forms lenite ([§ 233](#), *ld*). The apparently suffixed *-u*, *-o* may have been taken over from **bésu**, **-o** 'is perhaps' ([§ 804](#)). In *MI.* we also find **cíasa** 34<sup>d</sup>6 and **masa** 108<sup>c</sup>16, 118<sup>a</sup>5.

**cid** ([§ 795](#)) is apparently sometimes used as indicative also (*Wb.* 5<sup>a</sup>16). The other persons, which are but scantily attested, show various formations: 2 pl. **cenutad** (with **no**, cp. [§ 426](#)) *Wb.* 4<sup>a</sup>10, **cenotad** *Wb. II.* 33<sup>b</sup>8 (cp. [§ 795](#)); but pl. **1 cíammin** *LU* 6807, sg. 2 **madda** *IT. I.* 81, 16 (possibly a later formation).

#### 794. 2. CONJUNCT

	<b>(a)</b>	<b>(b) WITH NEGATIVE <i>nī</i> + <math>\tilde{}</math></b>
sg. 1	<i>-da</i>	<i>nī + t̃a</i> , <i>-da</i>
2	<i>-da</i>	<i>nī + t̃a</i> , * <i>-da</i>
3	<i>-t</i> , <i>-did</i> ( <i>-id</i> )	<i>nī + <math>\tilde{}</math></i>
pl. 1	<i>-dan</i> (arch. <i>-dem</i> )	<i>nī + t̃an</i> , <i>-dan</i> (arch. <i>-tam</i> )
2	<i>-dad</i>	<i>nī + t̃antad</i> , <i>-dad</i>
3	<i>-dat</i>	<i>nī + t̃antat</i> , <i>-dat</i> ( <i>nit</i> Thes. I. 437 note <i>h</i> ).

Thus with **co** <sup>n</sup> 'so that': sg. 1, 2 **conda**, 3 **condid**, **conid** ; pl. 1 **condan**, 2 **condad**, 3 **condat**.

With **amal** 'as': sg. 1, 2 **amal nonda**, 3 **amal as** <sup>n</sup>; pl. 1 **amal nondan**, 2 **amal nondad**, 3 **amal ata** <sup>n</sup> (**no** <sup>n</sup> only in those persons which have no absolute relative forms, see [§ 538](#), 2b).

795. Forms as in (b), written with *t*-, are found after *cani* 'is not?' (2 sg. **cenita** *MI.* 84<sup>c</sup>3), and also after **sechi** 'whoever, whatever it is', pl. **sechitat** and **sechit** ([§ 461b](#)); cp. further 2 pl. **ce-nu-tad** [§ 793](#) (arch. **cenuded** [§ 799](#)).

**cota** 'that I am' *MI.* 44<sup>c</sup>11 is peculiar, since **co** (without *n*-, [§ 896](#)) normally takes absolute verbal forms; it has probably been influenced by the parallel *conda*.

796. After **ce-ni**- 'although not' and *ma-ni*- 'unless' the 3 sg. is **cenid**, **cinid** (**cinith**) and **manid**; the *-d* is the same as that of [§ 426](#).

In legal texts there occurs a 3 pl. form **nis** 'they are not' (*ZCP.* XX. 371 f.), evidently composed of the 3 sg. **nī** + *~* and the affixed 3 pl. pronoun (cp. **cis** [§ 457](#)). A similar formation is found in 2 sg. *nít Fél.* March 1 and in later forms like 1 sg. *nim SR.* 2069.

797. With the negatives **nā** + *~(d)*, **nā** + **ch**- ([§ 863](#)) the third persons have the following forms:

In leniting relative clauses sg. **nád**, pl. **natat**.

In nasalizing relative clauses sg. **nant nan** (in Sg. **nand**), or **nā** + **ť**, or **nách náich**; pl. **nandat** (but **cid natat** 'why are they not?' *Wb.* 28<sup>b</sup>1). Similarly **in-nach** 'is not?'.

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With **co** <sup>n</sup> 'so that': sg. **connách**, pl. **connatat** (*sic MS.*) *Laws v.* 516, 25.

Examples: **ní nad dír** 'something that is not proper' *MI.* 25<sup>a</sup>6; **natat beta** 'which are not small' 18<sup>b</sup>6; **amal nát anse**, **amal nách annse** 'as it is not difficult' *Wb.* 17<sup>c</sup>11, 6<sup>a</sup>9; **nant ní** 'that it is nothing' 10<sup>b</sup>26; **húare nand neutur** 'because it is not neuter' *Sg.* 64<sup>a</sup>11; **is follus nandat foirbthi** 'it is manifest that they are not perfect' *Wb.* 26<sup>b</sup>3.

Of the other persons only the 2 sg. is attested: **úais . . . forsna-túalaing saigt[h]e do slá[i]n** 'a high person . . . against whom thou art not capable of enforcing thy indemnity' *Laws v.* 224, 7. It is uncertain whether this implies a form *forsna[t]* or is a scribal error for *forsna[ta]*.

798. The forms of [§ 794](#) (a) appear in the same position as the infixed personal pronouns with *d* ([§ 413](#)), i.e. after the relative particle (**s**)**a** <sup>n</sup> preceded by a preposition, also after *in* 'in which', **co** <sup>n</sup> 'until, so that', the interrogative particle *in*, and nasalizing **no**, **nu** ([§ 504](#)).

The 3 sg. form **-id** occurs only in **con-id** 'that he is', beside more frequent **con-did**, and in *hónid MI.* 51<sup>c</sup>2 beside **óndid Wb. 12<sup>d</sup>23. It has doubtless arisen by assimilation of *nd* to *nn* (**connid MI.** 91<sup>a</sup>19), which then became *n* after an unstressed syllable.**

Beside **-did** there is a form consisting simply of a dental. As **-d** it appears only in **nand** in Sg. ([§ 797](#)), where it is due to the analogy of **hand** before verbs ([§ 419](#)). Normally it has either become *t* or has disappeared. This variation was doubtless originally governed by the same laws as that between **int** and *in* in the nominative singular masculine of the article ([§ 467](#) f.). In our sources, however, the forms with and without *t* are used indifferently. Before this dental the *a* in **la-sa** <sup>n</sup>, **ar-a** <sup>n</sup>, **fri-sa** <sup>n</sup> (but, not in **di-a** <sup>n</sup>, **fu-a** <sup>n</sup>) has become *i* (cp. [§ 492](#)); before forms constituting a syllable it has been elided (e.g. **arndid**). In *MI.nd* is occasionally replaced by *nn*.

Besides **condid**, **óndid** the following 3 sg. forms are attested: **diandid** and **diant**, **dian** (*den Ir. Texts IV. 8*); **arndid** (later **arnid**) and **arin**; **indid** (in *MI.innid*) 'in which is'; **frisin** (and later **frisnid** < \***frisndid**); **lasin**, **lasinn** (*MI.*); **in**, **inn** (*MI.*) 'is he?'

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799. The 1 pl., in archaic sources still **oire nu-n-dem** *Cam.*, **ni-tam** *Wb. I. 15<sup>b</sup>21*, has become **-dan** by analogy with the infixed pronoun ([§ 415 C](#)).

The series in [§ 794](#) (a) clearly contains the particle **d, id** discussed [§ 511](#); hence the original verbal form is only what appears after *d*. The form **-did** instead of **-id** has arisen through the influence of **-da**, **-dat**, etc.

In the 3 sg., including **nā + čh (náich)** [§ 797](#), the verbal form, which was undoubtedly IE. \**est*, has disappeared. **ní (ni)** probably represents an old contraction \**nēst* from \**ne-est*; the consonantal final is still shown by the gemination of the following initial and by the change of *d* to *t* in **diant** and **nant** ([§§ 185d, 242, 2, 243, 2](#)).

In the other forms of [§ 794](#) (b) which agree with the corresponding forms of (a), it is uncertain whether this coincidence is due to identical formation with (a) or to the levelling of two originally distinct series. Against the former alternative stands the fact that the particle **(i)d** is nowhere else found after **nī +** (**manid** and **cenid** in [§ 796](#) belong, of course, to a different category). Hence it has been conjectured that originally forms of the stem **tā-** ([§ 777](#)) were used in (b). This is to some extent confirmed by the fact that an impersonal construction with the same stem occurs in the 1 sg.: **ní-m-tha laám** 'I am not a hand' *Wb. 12<sup>a</sup>21*; **nímptha (sic) fírión** 'I am not righteous' 8<sup>d</sup>24. Possibly in the archaic period there was also a different vocalism after **nī +** to that after **(i)d**; cp. **nitam** above, as against **nundem**, 2 pl. **cenuded** *Thes. I. 713, 25, pl. 3 do-n-natdet* *ibid. 23, nadet Bürgschaft p. 27 § 74 c*. On the other hand, nothing is proved by the frequent spelling *-ta* beside *-da*, for it is very doubtful if *t* here ever represents anything except an unlenited *d*. In any case (b) must have been strongly influenced by (a), since the only explanation of the unlenited *d* is that it has spread from the position after *n* in (a); this can be clearly seen in **cenutad** ([§ 793](#)), where normally one would expect *cenuđ-* (cp. [§ 426](#)).

800. For the **consuetudinal present** the forms of the substantive verb ([§ 784](#)) are sometimes used, but generally with short *i*; e.g. **ni-pi fírderb an-ad · chíther tri themel** 'what is seen through darkness is not wont to be truly certain' *Wb. 12<sup>c</sup>12*.

Not infrequently, however, the ordinary present of the copula is found in sentences of this kind.

#### 801. IMPERATIVE

		pl. 1	<i>ban</i> ( <i>baán</i> <i>Wb. 5<sup>d</sup>22</i> )
sg. 2	<i>ba</i>	2	<i>bad, bed</i>
3	<i>bad (pad), bed</i>	3	<i>bat</i>

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#### 802. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	<i>ba</i>	<i>-ba</i>
2	<i>ba (be)</i>	<i>-ba</i>
3	<i>ba (bá § 48)</i>	<i>-b,-p, -----, -dib, -dip (-bo, -po, -bu)</i>
rel.	<i>bes, bas</i>	
pl. 1		<i>-ban</i>
2	<i>bede</i>	<i>-bad (-baid</i> <i>MI. 115<sup>b</sup>10)</i>
3		<i>-bat, -pat</i>

**ABSOLUTE**

**CONJUNCT**

rel. *bete, beta, bata*

803. For *-mb-* we sometimes find *-mm-*, e.g. **comman** for **com-ban** 'that we may be'. The 3 sg. has the same variants as in the indicative ( § 794 ), except that the dental is replaced by a labial. Thus with **aran** 'in order that': **arimp, arim** and **airndib, airndip, arndip** ; with **co** <sup>n</sup> 'that': **condib, condip** ; with **dia** <sup>n</sup> 'if': **diam (dem Laws II. 122, 23. 25)**; with **i** <sup>n</sup> 'in which': **im** and **indib** ; with the interrogative particle **in** : **imb, im, imp** and **indip** ; with **ro** : **rop, rob, rup, rub** ; with the negatives **nī + ˜** and **na : nī + ˜p, nī + ˜b, nap (naib Ml. 31<sup>d</sup>9)** and nadip: with **sechi** 'whosoever': **sechip**.

The 3 sg. conjunct has a rare by-form ending in *-o, -u*; e.g. **acht ropo** beside **acht rop** 'provided, if only (it) be'; **corbu** (with **con-ro-** ); **nibo, nípu** 'it shall not be' *Wb. 27<sup>c</sup>9, 9<sup>c</sup>17*. For **ro(d)bo robu** 'either, or', see § 886.

Here also belongs **bésu, béso** 'is perhaps', since **bés** 'perhaps' takes the subjunctive in Old Irish.

804. Most forms of the pres. subj. of the copula are shortened forms of the corresponding tense of the substantive verb. The *-di-* in **-dib,-dip** has been taken over from indicative **-did**. The *p* doubtless represents an unlenited *b* in every form except the 3 sg. **arimp, imp**, where it apparently points to a former ending with final *-s* (cp. § 787 ).

The absolute 3 sg. **ba** (Strachan, *Ériu I. 206*) and the conjunct by-form **-bo, -bu** appear to be forms of the preterite ( § 810 ) which were used in a modal sense ( § 813 ) and so came to be classed as present subjunctive forms. In **bésu, -u** the final vowel may have been taken from negative **bés nipo, nípu** (TBC. 601) beside **bés níp** ( *Fél. Epil. 417*); cp. § 793. and see KZ. XLVIII. 60.

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805. With **cía** 'although' and **mā + ˜** 'if':

3 sg.	<i>cid, cith, ced, ceith</i> <i>mad, (maid Thes. II. 251,</i> <i>6.8</i>	pl.	<i>cit (cát FéI.)</i>  <i>mat</i>
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These may contain old absolute subjunctive forms corresponding to indicative **is, it** (cp. Lat. *erit, erunt* < *\*eseti, \*esonti*). The other persons are formed regularly: sg. 1, 2 **cía ba (cía fa Ml. 36<sup>a</sup>32, see § 124 )**, 2 **mad (read mā )** be *Laws IV. 340, 3*. So also neg. 3 sg. **cinip, cenip, cenib ; manip**.

With the indefinite pronoun, however, the 3 sg. is **ci-p, ci-b** 'whoever, whatever may be'.

806. PAST SUBJUNCTIVE

There is an absolute flexion, which is otherwise never found in this tense.

**ABSOLUTE**

**CONJUNCT**

sg. 1		<i>-bin, -benn</i>
2		<i>-ptha</i>
3	<i>bid (bith)</i>	<i>-bad, -pad, -bed (manibbad Sg. 17<sup>b</sup>8)</i>
rel.	<i>bed, bad</i>	
pl. 1	<i>bemmis, bimmis</i>	<i>-bemmis, -bim(m)is</i>
3	<i>betis, bitis</i>	<i>-bdis, -ptis (-dis, -tis).</i>

Here too *mm (m)* for *mb* is common; e.g. **commin** for **com-bin**, pl. 1 **commim(m)is**, 3 **comtis** ; or sg. 3 **armad** beside **armbad (ara<sup>n</sup> )**, pl. **airmtis, airmdis**. On the other hand, the *m* has been elided in *arbed Wb. 2<sup>b</sup>4, arbemmis Ml. 102<sup>b</sup>16*; also in 3 pl. **ardis Wb. 4<sup>a</sup>10**. For **amal bid Ml. 37<sup>b</sup>22** has **amal fid** ( § 124 ).

**bid** is apparently confined to clauses where a relative verbal form is not obligatory. In origin it is possibly an unstressed form of the verbal noun **buith** ; thus the original meaning of **soilsidir bid hi lugburt** SP. ( *Thes. II.* 294, 16) may have been 'as bright as being in a garden', but later it was taken to be 'as bright as though it were in a garden'; similarly **oldaas bid** 'than if it were' after comparatives. This apparently absolute form **bid** could have given rise to other absolute forms, which, however, were modelled on the conjunct; and similar forms may then have arisen in the secondary future ( § 809 ).

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807. With **cía** 'although' and **mā** + 'if':

sg. 3	<i>cid</i> <i>mad</i>	pl.	<i>citis, cetis</i> <i>matis</i>
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The above forms may be explained like those in § 805; the agreement of 3 sg. **cid** and **mad** in the two tenses is accidental, for originally the present subjunctive had palatal, the past non-palatal auslaut.

808. FUTURE

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	<i>be</i>	
2	<i>be, ba</i>	<i>-be, -pa</i>
3	<i>bid bith</i>	<i>-be -pe, -ba -pa (ní-bbá Sg. 36<sup>b</sup>1)</i>
rel.	<i>bes, bas</i>	
pl. 1	<i>bemmi, bimmi, bami</i>	
2		<i>-beth (Fél. Prol. 188)</i>
3	<i>bit</i>	<i>-bat, -pat</i>
rel.	<i>beta</i> (in <i>MI.</i> also <i>bat</i> )	

The absolute 2 pl. *bethib* ZCP. VIII. 316, 5 is presumably a development of O.Ir. \**bethe*.

809. SECONDARY FUTURE

Where there is no preceding conjunct particle, **ro-** (not **no-**) is prefixed to this tense. Only forms of the third person are attested:

sg. **ro-bad, to-pad** (*rabad* *Wb.* 25<sup>b</sup>17), with nasalization **ro-m-bad** ; but **ní-bad, ní-bbad, ní-pad** ; with interrog. pronoun: **cipad, cíá-bed**.

pl. **ro-btis ro-ptis, ro-m-dis**.

A 3 sg. absolute relative form **bed** (as in the past subj.) is found now and again, e.g. *MI.* 105<sup>b</sup>14 (cp. 2<sup>d</sup>2).

810. PRETERITE AND IMPERFECT INDICATIVE

	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
sg. 1	<i>basa</i>	<i>-bsa, -psa, -sa</i>
2	<i>basa</i>	<i>*-bsa, -sa</i>
3	(& rel.) <i>ba</i> ( <i>bá</i> § 48)	<i>-bo, -po, -bu, -pu</i>

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	ABSOLUTE	CONJUNCT
pl. 1		-bommar, -bum(m)ar
3	batir, batar	-btar, -ptar (-tar, -dar).
rel.	batar	

**ba** geminates when non-relative and lenites when relative ( §§ 242, 1, 495c). The conjunct form **-bo, -bu** is also found after conjunctions which are otherwise followed by absolute forms, such as *cía* 'although', *ó* 'since': *cíabo, cepu* (pl. *cíaptar*); *óbu IT. III. 37 § 20*.

**811.** In the 1 sg. the emphasizing particle **-sa** has fused with the verb and is no longer felt as a particle (cp. § 404): *ro-bsa ro-psa, ní-psa, ópsa ZCP. XII. 365, 10*; with *-ms-* from *-mbs-*: *romsa* (for **ro-m-b-sa**). In *du·ruménar romsa día ocus rombith béu* 'I thought that I was God and that I was immortal' *MI. 49<sup>b</sup>13* the final words should certainly be emended to *rom[sa] bithbéu*, and hence *rom* is not to be regarded as an archaic form without **-sa**.

The 2 sg. also has **-sa**, not **-so (-su)**, obviously because in the suffixless preterite the 1 and 2 sg. forms are always identical: **basa** *RC. XXV. 22 § 4 (LL; in later MSS. baso)*; *húare romsa MI. 96<sup>d</sup>1*.

In the 3 pl. *m* always appears for **mb** before the ending: *romtar romdar; amtar* 'while they were' (with *a* <sup>n</sup>), *anámtar* 'while they were not'.

If the perfect (with **ro**) is preceded by the negative *nī + , nā +* or by *cía* 'although', the vowel of **ro** is elided and a nasal never appears before the *b*: sg. 1 *nirbsa, anarbsa* 'while I have not been' *MI. 127<sup>c</sup>17* (but **annarobsa** 45<sup>d</sup>6), *cíarpsa*; 3 *nírbo, cinirbo, hóre narbo, cíarbo*; pl. 1 *nírbommar*; 3 *connarbtar* 'so that they have not been'.

**812.** Examples of the conjunct forms:

With *nī +* : sg. 1 *nipsa*, 3 *nibo nipo*, *nī + bú nī + þu nī + þbu*; pl. 3 *niptar*.

With **ro** : sg. 1 *ropsa*, 3 *robo ropo* (*Wb.*), *robu ropu rubu* (*MI.*, etc.) *robba* (*Sg.*); pl. 1 *robum(m)ar*, 3 *robtar roptar*;

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nasalized: sg. 1, 2 *romsa*, 3 *rombo rombu*; pl. 3 *romtar romdar rumtar*.

With *nī +* <sup>þ</sup> *ro*: sg. 1 *nirbsa*, 3 *nī + rþbo nī + rþbu*; pl. 1 *nírbommar*, 3 *\*nirbtar* (later *nirdar*).

**813.** In the later Glosses there is a tendency to use the form with **ro** in place of that without **ro**.

The 3 sg. without **ro** is very common in modal use with a present meaning; it may also be used instead of the secondary future for the conditional. Examples: *ba maith, ferr, uisse, uissiu* 'it were good, better, meet, meeter'; *nibo decming* 'it were not impossible', *ba hed ón ba choir* 'that were proper' (*Wb. 10<sup>b</sup>9*), etc. Cp. the use of *ba* as present subjunctive, § 804.

A similar modal use of *boí*, the preterite of the substantive verb, is occasionally found, e.g. *Wb. 17<sup>d</sup>17*. Cp. Lat. *melius erat* and the like.

## SYNTAX OF THE COPULA

**814.** The copula may be used to bring forward not merely a particular word or phrase (§ 513) but also an entire subordinate clause; e.g. *is combat maithi coiscdir* lit. 'it is so that they may be good (that) they are corrected' *Wb. 31<sup>b</sup>25*; *nibo in tain no·m·beid ar súil tantum do·gneith toil far coimded* 'it should not be only when ye are before (his) eye that ye do your lord's will' 27<sup>c</sup>9.

**815.** As a rule the copula stands immediately in front of the predicate ( § 774 ). But where the latter is a definite nominative other than a personal pronoun--i.e. (a) a substantive defined by the article, a possessive pronoun or a definite genitive, or (b) a proper noun, or (c) a substantival demonstrative--then, occasionally in Wb., frequently in Ml., a pronoun of the 3rd person is inserted between the copula and the predicate. Examples: *is hé d'ia as éola indium-sa* 'it is God who is knowing in me' Wb. 8<sup>d</sup>23 beside *is d'ia rod-ordigestar* 'it is God that has ordained it' 6<sup>a</sup>3; *mat hé na bríathra-sa for-cane* 'if it is these words that thou teachest' 28<sup>c</sup>21, beside *matis mu námait*

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*duda-gnetis* 'if it were my enemies who that had done them' Ml. 73<sup>d</sup>1; *is ed tobchéta! nime in torainn* (pl. masc.) 'the thunders are the trumpet-song of heaven' Ml. 40<sup>d</sup>7 (the copula agrees in number with what comes immediately after it, cp. § 478 ). The pronoun must be inserted when the true predicate does not follow immediately, e.g. *ba hé a n-gn'ím-som molad dæ* + 'their work was to praise God' Ml. 24<sup>a</sup>4 (although in such examples it is sometimes difficult to decide with certainty which was felt as subject and which as predicate). The pronoun must, of course, be inserted also when the true predicate stands at the head of the sentence as an independent nominative; e.g. *nach gn'ím umal, bad hé do-n-gneith* 'every lowly deed, let it be it (masc.) that ye do' Wb. 5<sup>d</sup>27; *Crist didiu, is sí in chathir* 'Christ, then, he is the city' 21<sup>c</sup>5, ('the city is he', but the fem. pronoun is used to agree with *cathir*).

**Collection:** G. Ó Nualláin, *Ir. Ecclesiastical Record*, 4th ser., vol. XXX. ( 1911) pp. 137 ff, 361 ft., 501 ft.

**816.** Where an adverbial phrase is predicated of a personal subject expressed by a pronoun, we find, not the nominative of the pronoun (which hardly ever appears as subject, § 406 ), but the prep. **do** with the suffixed pronoun. Examples: *nibad a óenur dó* 'he should not be alone' Wb. 14<sup>a</sup>21; *mad co techt dí co fer* 'if it comes to her going to a husband' 9<sup>d</sup>32; *is de corpore dissi* 'it (the ear, personified) is *de corpore*' 12<sup>a</sup>26; *di Iudéib doib* (with suppressed copula) 'they (are) of the Jews' 27<sup>d</sup>4.

This construction is rarer where the personal subject is expressed by a noun; e.g. *de Iudéib do Barnaip* 'Barnabas (was) of the Jews' 18<sup>d</sup>6 beside *di chlaind Cham ind Egiptacdai* 'the Egyptians (are) of the race of Ham' Ml. 99<sup>b</sup>7; *can dia máthair* 'whence (was) his mother?' ZCP. XII. 246 § 21 beside *is úadib Críst* 'Christ is of them' Wb. 4<sup>c</sup>2. Cp. also *can-so* 'whence (earnest) thou?' (with the emphasizing particle alone) *Anecd.* 1. 22, 8.

**817.** The verbal noun of the substantive verb, **buith**, may also be used for the copula, the construction with a

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predicative nominative remaining; e.g. *buith nochtchenn* 'to be bareheaded' Wb. 11<sup>c</sup>12; cp. Ml. 44<sup>c</sup>6.

**818.** The copula is often omitted, especially when it would have been a form of the 3rd person indicative. This occurs regularly in singular interrogative clauses ( § 457 ); other forms are omitted only in a principal clause. Such clauses do not, however, constitute a separate class but are constructed exactly like those in which the copula is expressed; hence they cannot be compared with the nominal sentences of some Semitic languages. Thus *maic-ni dosom* 'we are sons of his' Wb. 19<sup>d</sup>8 is identical in construction with *ammi cland-ni doibsom* Ml. 101<sup>d</sup>9.

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## PREPOSITIONS.

**819.** The form assumed by a preposition may vary considerably according to its position. Here four main positions must be distinguished:

- A. In close composition, i.e. in all nominal compounds and in verbal compounds under or after the stress.
- B. Pretonic, as the first element of a deuterotonic verb ( § 37 ). For gemination, lenition, and nasalization of the following initial see §§ 243, 2, 495a, 504a.

C. Pretonic before a dependent case.

Collection of the forms in Wb.: Fraser, *ZCP*. VIII. 1 ft.

D. Before a suffixed personal pronoun (§ 432 ff.).

As a rule the original form is best preserved in A when the preposition constitutes the first syllable; elsewhere, notably in pretonic position, various changes have taken place. A certain amount of confusion also arises from the fact that the prepositions **ad**, **aith**, **in**, **ind**, **ess**, and **oss (uss)** have all the same form **at-** before an infix pronoun (§ 412).

**820.** Not all prepositions are found in each of the above positions. Some occur only in A and B; others are confined to C and D, or at all events are but rarely attested in A and B. Sometimes two prepositions supplement each other; cp. **ad** (§ 822) and **co** (§ 829), **do du** (§ 832) and **to** (§ 855), **com** (§ 830) and **la** (§ 845).

**821.** There is no restriction on the number of prepositions that may be employed in composition. Three are by no means unusual (for examples see § 37), and four or even five are occasionally found; e.g. *intururas* 'incursion', from *ind-to-air-uss-* (or *-fo-*) and *ress-*; *comtherchomracc* 'assembly', from *com-to-er-com-ro-* and *icc-*. For the use of the same preposition twice in compound verbs, see § 543b.

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**822.** *ad* 'to, towards'

A. Before vowels and earlier *w* (which becomes  $\beta$ ) it appears as **ad** (= *að*); e.g. *ad-amrae* 'wonderful', *adnacul* (*ad-anacul*) 'burial', *do-ad-bat* 'shows'.

The *d* is assimilated to *c*, *t*, *g*, *d*, *b*, *s*, *m*; e.g. *·accobra* (*ad-cobr-*) 'desires'; *atrab* (*ad-treb-*) 'dwelling'; *aititiu*, with *t* = *d(d)*, 'acknowledgement' (*ad-détiu*); *ac(c)aldam*, with *c(c)* = *g(g)*, 'addressing' (vb.n. of *ad·gládathar*); *apaig*, with *p* = *b(b)*, 'ripe' (cp. *bongid* 'reaps'); *taisilbiud* (*to-ad-selb-*) 'attribution'; *ammus* (*ad-mess-*) 'attempt'.

For the form assumed by *ǣ* before an original *u* in the following syllable in *audbirt* (acc. sg.), *idbart*, *edbart*, 'oblation' and *aupaith*, *epaid* 'charm' (*ad-buith*), etc., see § 80c. Cp. further *tautat* (*to-ad-uss-tét*) 'comes near, arrives' LU1579, 1581, *da·n-autat* 6199, *da·n-etat* (MS. *-ethat*) 6073; vb.n. *titacht* Wb. 25<sup>d</sup>13, *tetacht* *Thes.* I. 496, 26, in SR. also *tauttacht*, *tuttacht*.

Before *r*, *l*, *n* the preposition appears as *ā* (§ 125); e.g. *áram* (*ad-rīm*) 'number', *áirmi* 'counts'; *fo-álgim* (*fo-ad-log-*) 'I overthrow'; *áinsem* (*ad-nessam*) 'accusation'. But **ad-ro-** is sometimes confused with **a(i)r-ro-**; cp. *árrachtu* 'overtaking' *Thes.* II. 32, 29 (cp. *ibid.* 33, 22) with long *a-* and double *r*; later *tárrachtain* and *tarrachtain* (with the same meaning), vb.n. of *to-ad-reth-* or *to-a(i)r-reth-* (3 pl. *do-s-n-áirthet* LU4657), but influenced by *r-íchtu* 'reaching'. Cp. also *ni-airciu* 'I cannot see' (§ 535b).

For **ad** as perfective particle see § 532.

B. Always **ad**, even before consonants; e.g. *ad-ella* 'visits', *ad-cobra* 'desires', *ad·gládathar* 'addresses', *ad·slig* 'induces', *ad·midethar* 'attempts', *ad·rími* 'counts', etc. The *d* is assimilated only to *t* and *d*: *attá* *atá* (*ad·tá*) 'is', *ataimet*, with *-t-* = *-d(d)-*, 'they acknowledge' (*ad-daimet*).

With infix pronoun: sg. 1 *atom·* (*addom·*, *atdom·*) *atam·*; 3 **at·** (**ad·**), in relative clauses **adid·** (and **assid·**), etc., § 412, 413.

The fact that **ad-** and **ess-** (§ 834) fall together before infix pronouns has sometimes led to **ad** being replaced by **as** in pretonic position. Thus beside *ad·roilli* (*·ro-slí*) 'deserves' we often find *as·roilli* (prototonic *·áirilli*, *·áirilli*); *as·tóidi* 'shines'

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beside ipv. *attoided*, vb.n. *atoídiud*; *as-toither* (read *-oi-?*) 'is kindled' Ml. 38<sup>d</sup>18 (cp. § 139), from *ad-dō-*, vb.n. later *atód*.

C.D. **ad** is not found before a dependent case; here **co** (§ 829) is used instead.

**ad** corresponds to Lat. *ad*, Goth. *at*. It is still found with the meaning 'to' in Old Welsh before nouns, but in Mid. W. is superseded in that position by the form *att*. For the etymology of **ad**, cp. Vendryes, *RC*. XLII. 403. It is unlikely that It. **as** for **ad** originated in relative clauses containing a relative particle with initial *s* (see § 510).

### 823. **air** (**er**, **ir**, etc.) 'before, for'

A. There are two main forms of this preposition in our sources: **air** with palatal, and **er** or (in Wb.) **ir** with neutral *r*; both forms lenite. They often interchange in the same word and sometimes in the same text. Examples: *air-dirc* 'conspicuous' Sg., *irdirc* Wb., *erdairc* Ml.; *t-air-issem* and *t-er-issem* 'standing fast' Ml.; *air-mítiu* (*féid*) 'honouring' Wb., *ermitiu* Ml.; *airbertis* Wb. beside *erbirmis* Ml. (*ar-beir biuth* 'enjoys'); *airchissecht* 'pity' Wb., *erchissecht* Ml.; *irchre* 'decay' Wb., *erchre* Ml., and so on. The variation is limited only by a decided preference for **er** in Ml., and for **air** in Sg. *ad-eir-rig* 'reforms, repeats', with palatal *r*, is unique. The disyllabic form of the preposition is preserved in *aire-sc* 'stipulation' (cp. *aithesc*, § 824A).

Before **r(o)** the usual form is **ar**; e.g. *arrbartatar* Sg. 40<sup>b</sup>9, prototonic perfect of *ar-beir*. But there are also instances of **air** in this position; e.g. *t-air-r-chef*, *do-airehet* beside *t-ar-r-chet*, *do-arrchet* 'has been prophesied'.

Before the prepositions **uss-** (**oss-**) and **fo-**, which were often confused, the form **aur-** developed in the first instance; e.g. *aururas* (*air-uss-ress-* or *air-fo-ress-*) 'course' Ml. 2<sup>a</sup>3; cp. *comthururas*, *intururas* (with *corn-to-* and *ind-to-*). In our principal sources, however, this has generally been superseded by **air**, **er**, **ir**. Examples: *do-aurchanaimm* 'I prophesy' Sg. 60<sup>b</sup>12, *do-n-aurchain* *Thes.* II. 21, 33, probably from *to-air-fo-can-* (cp. W. *d-ar-o-gan*); but the vb.n. is *tairchital* in Wb., *terchital* in Ml. Similarly *aurlam* 'ready' Wb. 8<sup>a</sup>4, *ZCP*. VII. 481, from

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*air-fo-lam* (cp. synonymous *adblam* = \**ad-fo-lam*), but otherwise in Wb. *irlam* (*airlam* 3<sup>d</sup>12) and in Ml. *erlam*. *ar-utain* 'refreshes' (*air-uss-ding-*) has vb.n. *aurtach* *Corm.* 796 (L.Br.), but *irtach* Wb., *ertach* Ml., partic. *erdachtae*; cp. also *rem-eroirsid* 'precursor' *ZCP*. VII. 485, pl. *remerersidi* (*sic*) Ml. 115<sup>c</sup>1, from *aururas* above. The converse use of **aur-** in positions where it is not etymologically justified is rare in our sources; one example is *arnach-n-aurchoided* 'that it might not hinder him' Wb. 8<sup>a</sup>4 beside fut. *irchoí* 7<sup>a</sup>11, partic. *erchoisse* Ml. (ipf. rel. *ara-choided*). In other sources this **aur-** is often found, e.g. *ni-aurchoet Ériu* VII. 146 § 4, *aurgaire* 'prohibition' *ibid.* § 7, *aurc[h]elebrad* 148 § 7, etc.; and in Middle Irish **ur-** becomes quite common.

B. Always **ar**; e.g. *ar-ic* 'finds', *ar-tá* 'remains over', *ar-cessi* 'pities', etc.; in relative clauses usually **ara-**, arch. **are-** (§ 493, 4), e.g. *ara-thá* 'which remains over'.

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 *arum*· *arom*· *aram*·, rel. *ardom*· *ardam*·, 3 *ara*·, rel. *arid*·, etc. (the 1 pl. *arin*· is isolated), §§ 411, 413.

C. *ar* 'before, for' (**air** Ml. 51<sup>c</sup>2), leniting, with accusative and dative; e.g. (*techt*) *ar chenn* 'to meet', *ar chiunn* 'in front' (**cenn** 'head').

With the article: *arin*, *ara*, *arin(d)*, *arna*, *arnaib*; rarely *airind*, *airindí* Ml. 53<sup>a</sup>15, 31<sup>b</sup>17, *Tur.* 110, *airnaib* Ml. 90<sup>a</sup>11; with possessive pronoun: *armo*, *ara*, etc.; with the relative particle: *ara*·.

D. Here too **air** and **er** interchange as n A (**er** in Wb., never **ir**); e.g. sg.1 *airium* and *erum*, 2 *airiut* and *erut* (*aurut*), pl. 3 *airriu* and *erru* (rarely *erriu*); but always *a*<sup>i</sup> in 3 sg. masc. neut. *airi* (§ 437).

**air**, also used as conjunction 'for' ( § 906 ), is clearly the same as Gaul. *are* in *Are-moricus* (beside *Armoricus*), *Are-brigum*, O.Brit. *Are-cluta*, etc. The syncope of the *e* in *Armorici* (Caesar) points to a short vowel despite the spelling *Ἀρηκομίσκους* in Strabo, *Ἀρηκόμοιοι*, *Ἀρηγενοῶσα* in Ptolemy, and the scansion *Arēmoricus* in Late Latin poetry. It is doubtless cognate, with Gk. *πάρ πάρα*, *πάρος*, Lat. *por-tendere*, Goth. *faúr*, *faúra*, OHG. *fora furi*, Eng. *for*, Skt. *purā* + , *puráh* 'before'.

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**aur**, **er**, **ir** is obviously the form assumed by the preposition before *u*; hence the depalatalized *r*; for the variation in rendering the vowel see § 80 c. But it was confused with **air**, and the two forms became interchangeable. In pretonic **ar** (B, C) the loss of palatalization is regular.

It is not improbable that another preposition, IE. \**peri*'(round) about', Skt. *pári*, Gk. *περί*, was merged in this at an early period. Cp. **(h)ires(s)** 'faith' (with palatal *r*), with which the verb *ar-sissedar* 'innititur, stays, stops', vb.n. *erissem*, may be connected ( KZ. XLVIII. 72f.); *hirud* Sg. 52<sup>a</sup>13, *iriud* O'Dav. 807 'margin' < \**peri-itu-s?* cp. Skt. *parīta-h* 'surrounded'.

There is a Mid.W. prep. *yr* 'for' before nouns and pronouns (nonleniting), in composition *ar-* (leniting, *er-* only by umlaut). W. *ar* 'on' before nouns and pronouns (leniting), = Bret. *war*, belongs not here but under § 838.

824. **aith** 're-, ex-'

A. Before consonants **aith** - and **aid** - (leniting) are used indifferently ( § 126 ); e.g. *aithgne* and *aidgne* 'knowledge', *t-aith-minedar* and *t-aid-minedar* 'remembers, mentions'. A fuller form **aithe** - is preserved in *aithe-sc* 'answer' (cp. *co-sc* 'check'). Before a non-palatal initial *ath* ad is sometimes found ( § 159 ); e.g. *athchumtach* 'rebuilding' Ml. 135<sup>a</sup>8, *adchumtach* Tur. 80, beside *aidchumtach* Wb. 26<sup>a</sup>8; *t-ath-aír* 'reprehension'; with assimilation to a following dental: *atairbert* (*aith-to-air-*) 'redactio' Sg. 197<sup>b</sup>15. Only rarely does this form spread farther; e.g. *do-r-ad-chíuir* 'redēmit' Wb. 2<sup>b</sup>9 (beside rel. *do-rr-aid-chíuir* 32<sup>d</sup>10); *ath-chían* 'very far' Sg. 67<sup>a</sup>12. For occasional *taich-*, *tach-* in place of *t-aith-ch...*, *t-ath-ch...*, see § 127.

A peculiar treatment of **aith-ro** - (due to the analogy of **air-ro** -) is found in *du-air-chér* Thes. I. 498, 14 (Arm.), *du-archíuir* Ml. 73<sup>b</sup>5, beside *do-rraidchíuir* Wb. (above), where **ro** - has a different position.

B. Nearly always **ad**, very rarely **ath** ; e.g. *ad-eir-rig* 'repeats', subj. *ath-eirr* § 626 ; *ad-gén-sa* 'I know'; *ad-gainemmar* 'we are reborn'; *ad-renar* gl. *remuneratur* ZCP. VII. 482; with assimilation to a following dental: *atairbir* (*ad-t(o)-air-*) 'redigit'

With infixed pronouns the preposition is seldom found; e.g. 1 pl. *atann*· Ml. 114<sup>d</sup>10, 3 sg. neut. (rel.) *adid*· Wb. 12<sup>c</sup>13 ( §§ 412, 417, 418 ).

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C. D. do not occur.

This preposition, Brit. *at-*, later *ad-*, Gaul. *ate-* in *Ate-gnatus* (Ir. *Aithgnath*), *Ate-cingus*, *Ate-boduos*, is related to O.Slav. *ot-ŕ*, *ot-* 'from, re-', Lith. *at-* (*ata-*), e.g. in *at-miñti* 'to remember' (cp. Ir. *for-aithmet*), Lat. *at* 'but', etc.

825. **al** (**ol** -, etc.) 'beyond'

Collection: KZ. XLVIII. 55 ff.

C. With the accusative; e.g. *al cuing* (read *chuing?*) 'beyond (the) yoke' ZCP. III. 245 § 52 ; *al* gl. *ultra* Sg. 217<sup>b</sup>14. But **ol** in *oldáu* 'than I' after comparatives, lit. 'beyond what I am' ( § 779, 1); similarly in the artificial compound *ol-f* + *óirbthiu* (dat. sg.) 'pluperfect' Sg. 151<sup>l</sup> (*foirbthe* 'perfect').

D. Here the preposition survives in the adverb **all(a)e** 'yonder', which contains the suffixed pronoun 3 sg. neut. ('beyond it'); cp. also *ol-chen(a)e* 'besides', lit. 'beyond (and) on this side of it' (cp. § 827).

This preposition is obsolescent, in our period. The earliest form was presumably **oll**, corresponding to the adj. **oll** 'amplus', lit. 'being beyond' (cp. the adverb **ind oll** gl. *ultra* Sg. 220<sup>b</sup>6), = O.Lat. *ollus* (later *ille*) 'that (there)', cp. *ultra*. In pretonic position *o* become *a* and *ll* was simplified to *l*. The intermediate stage all has, however, made its way into stressed forms: **all(a)e**, **t-all**, **an-all** (§ 483), *all-muir* 'one from overseas', etc.; but *inn-onn* 'thither' appears to come from *\*inn-oll* with *o* retained. It, is not certain that **ol** in *olse* 'says (said) he' and before nouns (§ 408) originally meant 'further' and so belongs here; already in Ml. 44<sup>b</sup>10-11 there is an instance of **ar** used instead (later MSS. show constant fluctuation between **ol**, **or**, **al**, **ar**).

826. *amal* 'as, like'

C. *amal* (written in full Wb. II 33<sup>c</sup>2, *Thes.* I. 5, 37, but usually abbreviated *am* + , § 35), leniting, must be regarded from the Irish standpoint as a preposition, since it is always followed by the accusative (§ 249, 4); e.g. *am(al) chlanda* 'like children' Ml. 123<sup>c</sup>8; *am(al) in n-altain* 'like the razor' 72<sup>b</sup>8.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *samlum*, 2 *samlut*, 3 *saml(a)id*; pl. 3 *samlaib*; see § 434.

*amal*, which also serves as a conjunction (*amail* and *amal* § 911), is in origin adverbial dative of *sam(a)il* 'likeness' which has lost the *s-* in pretonic

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position (§ 178). It corresponds to Bret. *evel*; cp. OW. *amal*, later *val*, *mal*. The use of *samlith*, *saml(a)id* for the preposition with suffixed pronoun 3 sg. masc. and neut. is peculiar. That there was a pronoun with *t-* and a palatal vowel is unlikely, though *friss* (*leiss*) and *tarais* could also be explained in this way (*ss* from *t + t* and *s + t* respectively). Perhaps the ending has been taken over from an adverb of similar meaning corresponding to W. *hefyd* 'also' (the Irish equivalent of which would have been *\*samith*).

**827. cen** 'without'

C. With the accusative, leniting, e.g. *cen chinta* 'without faults'. For *cen suidib* Ml. 20<sup>d</sup>3, see § 480.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 2 *cenut*, 3 *cen(a)e*, etc. (§ 434.); for 3 pl. *cenaib* cp. § 451.

Cp. Corn. *ken* 'other'. The older meaning was 'on this side (of)', as is shown by the compound *cen-alpande* 'cisalpine' Sg. 217<sup>b</sup>8-9 and the derivative *centar* 'this world' (cp. also *olchen(a)e* § 825). This agrees with Lat. *cis*, *citra*. Should *cé* in *bith cé* 'this world' (gen. *in domoin chia* once in poetry, ZCP. VII. 309, 1) correspond exactly to Ogam C(C)I (beside COI), translated 'here', (cp. Gaul. *du-ci*? § 832), it would constitute an argument for Pedersen's theory that stressed *i* had to a large extent become *e* (§ 74); but an ablaut form *\*kei* is also conceivable. For *cenmathá*, *cenmithá*, see § 775.

**828. cét-**

Zimmer, KZ. XXVII. 470 ft.

Found only in composition with the substantive verb. A. *cét-* (leniting), B. *ceta·*, *cita·*: *ceta-bí* consuet, pres. 'feels,' perf. 1 sg. *cita-ro-ba*, vb.n. *cétbuid* *cétbaid* 'sense' (*cétfaid* § 124); *con-cétbani* 'thou consentest' Wb. 1 <sup>c</sup>9 (§ 551).

The later attested *cétluth -ud* 'companionship, cohabitation' possibly belongs here. In Britannic the preposition occurs not merely in W. *canfod* = Ir. *cétbuidh*, but also as a living preposition meaning 'with': OW. *cant*, later *can*, *gan*; Corn. *cans*, *gans*; Mid.Bret. *gant*. The Irish pretonic form *ceta·* shows that this preposition corresponds exactly to Gk. *katá* < *\*kn + ta* or *km + ta*; cp. § 116.

**829.** *co* 'to, till'

C. *co*, in Arm. and other MSS. *cu*, with the accusative, geminating; e.g. *co-llae*, *cu-llae* 'until the day'; Mid.Ir. **go h-** before vowels.

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With the article: *cos(s)in*, *cos(s)a*, *cosna*; with the relative particle: *cos(s)a·*.

D. See § 433. In *cuc(c)um*, *cuc(c)ut*, *cuc(c)i*, *cuc(c)unn*, *cuc(c)uib* the *c(c)* stands for *g(g)*, but in the fem. sg. *cuic(c)e* *cuc(c)ae* and the pl. *cuc(c)u* for *k(k)*, as is shown by later spelling and the modern pronunciation.

A. B. The preposition does not occur in these positions, being replaced by *ad* (§ 822).

*co* also serves as a conjunction 'so that', etc. (§ 896). When so used it lenites. *co<sup>n</sup>* (*con<sup>n</sup>*) 'until, so that', apparently from *co* + *sa<sup>n</sup>* (§ 473), also suggests lenition. Accordingly the gemination after the preposition seems to be secondary; it may be due to the analogy of *la* 'with' (§ 845). The peculiar form before suffixed pronouns is doubtless modelled on *ocum*, *ocut*, etc.

The Mid.W. prep. *py* 'to', with possessive pronoun *bwy* 'to its', shows that the original anlaut was *q<sup>w</sup>* or *kw*. The comparison with O.Slav. *kn* (with the dative) 'to' is somewhat doubtful in view of the fact that the latter originally ended in a nasal.

In the sense of 'until' *con-ric(c)i*, *corrici* with the accusative, lit. 'until thou reachest', is often used; *con-dici* (from *to-ic-*) ZCP. VII481, 9.

**830.** *com* 'with'

A. Before vowels and before *r*, *l*, *n*: *com* (with  $\mu$ ) or, under the influence of the following vowel, *cum*; e.g. *com-airle* 'counsel', *ad-com-la* 'joins', *com-nessam* 'neighbour', *cuim-rech* 'bond, fetter', *cumsanad* (*com-uss-anad*) 'rest'. For *coím-* *cóem-* before a preterite, see § 688.

In earlier forms *com-imm-* has become *coím(m)-* (§ 179); e.g. *coímthecht* 'accompanying', *coímmchlóud*, *coímchlód -úd* 'exchange', beside later formations like *com-imm-aircide* 'competens' *Thes. II. 27, 37*.

Before each of the remaining consonants two forms are generally found, representing (1) the older, (2) the later formation.

(1) Before *b*: *com*; before *d* and *g*: *con* (pronounced *kon* before *g*); before *t* and *c*: *co* (*cu*), the *t* and *c* being pronounced *d* and *g* (§ 208); before *s*: *co* with gemination of the *s* (§ 210). Examples: *com-bach* 'breaking'; *con-delg* 'comparison'; *con-gnam* 'assistance'; *cuitbiud* 'mockery' (*com-tibiud*); ipv. 2 sg. *cocart* 'correct' (*com-cert-*); *cosmil* 'similar' (*com-samil*).

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Before *w-* (Ir. *f-*) the *m* was lost in the earliest formations, and, since *-w-* disappears after *-o-* in Irish, nothing remains of the *-mw-*; e.g. *cō* + (*a*)*ir* 'proper, fitting', **W.** *cywair*, (*com-wari-*). This is particularly frequent where **com** is a perfective particle (§ 533); cp. **ad-cu(a)id**, perf. of **ad-fét** 'relates' (§ 693); **for-cu-ad** 'has been completed' Tur. 49, to **for-fen**; **do-coíd** 'has gone' (§ 769). For the early loss of the *o* in the post-tonic syllable see § 108. In a second stratum, which obviously arose after *w-* had become spirant *v-*, *m* + Ir. *f-* give *b* (=β); e.g. *cubus* 'conscience' (*com-fius*); **cub(a)id** 'rhyming' (*com-fid*, § 345); *cobodlus cobadlus* 'fellowship', from **com** and **fod(a)il** 'share'.

So too *-m + m-* seems in the earliest period to have given single *m*: arch. **cumen**, later **cuman** 'remembered' (*com + men-*), *cuimne* 'remembrance', Mid.W. *covein* (*v < m*), as against later *cum-masc* 'mixing' and the like.

(2) Later, prevocalic **com** - (with  $\mu$ ) came to be used before all consonants except *m* and *b*. It lenites by analogy with **rem-**, **trem-** (§ 851, 856), **imm-** (§ 841), etc. Examples: *com-dlúthad* 'condensation', *com-thinól* 'gathering', *com-chétbuid* 'consensus', *com-suidigud* 'composition', *com-f + ógur* 'consonant'.

For **com** as perfective particle see § 533.

B. Always **con** ·; e.g. *con·ic* 'he can', *con·boing* 'breaks', *con·tifea* 'he will mock', *con·certat* 'they correct', *con·suidighther* 'is compounded', *con·fodlaibid* 'ye will share', *con·mescatar* 'they are mixed', etc.

With infix pronoun: sg. **1** *cotam·cotam·*, **3** *cot·(cut·)*; but rel. *conid·*, in nasalizing relative clauses *connid·*, **1** sg. **condom** ·, etc. (§ 412 f.).

C. **co**, rarely **cu**, with the dative, nasalizing; e.g. **co** *n-etarceirt* 'with interpretation', *co foirbthetu* (*f = β*) 'with perfection'

With the article: **cos (s) in (d)**, *cosnaib*; with possessive pronoun: sg. **2** *cot (cut)* **3** *cona*, etc.

D. There are but few traces of this preposition combined with a suffixed pronoun of the third person: 3 sg. masc. *cono Ériu* XII. 32 § 39, neut. *conu* ZCP. VIII. 310, 24, pl. *condaib*

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Auraic. 954. Otherwise it is always replaced by **la** (§ 845) in this position as well as before the relative particle (**S**)**a** <sup>n</sup>.

**com-** (*W. cyf-, etc.*) corresponds exactly to Lat. *cum* (*con-*), Osc. *kom*. The *-n* in *B* originated in the old final position (§ 176).

### 831. **di, de** 'of, from'

Marstrander, *RIA. Dict., Fasc. I. 128 ff.*; Sommerfelt, *Dē en ItaloCeltique* (1920).

A. Before consonants usually **dí-**, but **dě-** before **r (o)**, both leniting. Examples: *dí-riug* 'straight'; *dí-gbáil* 'diminution'; *dí-thrub*, *díthrab* 'desert'; *dí-dnad* 'consolation'; *·de-r-gaba* (perfective subj.) 'he may diminish'; *dermat* (*de-ro-mét*) 'forgetting'. But in composition with *gniid* 'does', **dī** before palatal consonance and **dě** before non-palatal; e.g. fut. 1 sg. *·digén*, pres. 3 sg. *·dēni* (with *n<sup>a</sup>*, from \**dě-gnī*), pl. *·dénat* (and perf. 3 sg. *-dergēni*); further in *di-co(m)-wed-*, perfective form of the verb 'to go' (§ 769), e.g. 3 sg. pres. *·dichet*, perf. *·dechuid*. For other compounds with **dě-** see below.

Before vowels usually **dī**; e.g. *diall* (*di-ell*) 'declinatio'; in *diárim* (adv.) 'innumero' *MI. 17<sup>d</sup>6*; *díupart* (*di-uss-ber*) 'fraud'. (In this and similar words *diu-* is generally written, although the diphthong *íu* was doubtless pronounced). But **dé**, **de** in nonce formations such as *déainmmneichthech* 'denominatium' *Sg.*, *ní ·de-intamladar* 'non disimilat' *MI. 27<sup>d</sup>12*.

With *é* it combines to give *dé-*: *ipv. 2 sg. dé(i)cce* 'see' (*di-en-*), *·dérig* 'deserts' (*di-ess-*), etc.; but *dítu* 'protection' (*di-étiu*, influenced by verbal forms like 3 sg. subj. *·dímea* *MI. 88<sup>c</sup>2* from \**di-ema*). **dī-in** becomes *din*, e.g. *for-dingrat* 'they signify'; *decmaing decm(u)ic* 'strange, unlikely', from *di-ecm-* or *-acm-?*

In early examples it combines with the prep. **fo** to give *dú-*: *·dú-thraccar* 'I wish', *do-dú-rgimm* 'I excite', But beside these we find forms like *déol(a)id* 'gratis' (to *folad* 'substance'), *díunag* 'washing' (*di-fo-nig-* or *di-uss-nig-*, cp. 1 sg. *do-fo-nug* *Sg. 22<sup>b</sup>5*, etc., and *únach* 'washing' § 849, A). Before other instances of

old *w-*: *diad* and *dead* 'end' (*W. di-wedd*), *dídenach* and *dédenach* 'last'. Corresponding to deuterotonic forms like *ipf. do-fortad* 'he used to pour out' *MI. 36<sup>d</sup>22, perf. pass.*

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*do-rortad* (read **·rór** -?) *Fél. May 27*, we find later prototonic forms with *dōirt-* as well as *dóiert-*; the forms with a short vowel are doubtless the result of quantitative assimilation to deuterotonic *-fort-*.

Before *ś*, cp. *con-dieig* (*com-dí-saig*) 'seeks' *Wb. 23<sup>d</sup>5*, but more commonly *con-daig* (*pass. con-degar*), subj. *·cuintea* ( § 185 d); *i ndegaid*, *i ndigaid* (= *dígaid*?) 'after' (*dí-saigid*).

B. Generally **do, du**; e.g. *do-donaimm* 'I console', *du-roimnibetar* 'they will forget', **do-gní** 'does', *do-ella* 'declinat', *do-opir* 'defrauds', *do-fu-thractar du-fu-tharctar* 'they wish'.

Possibly the earliest form is **de**; later **di** is found fairly often beside **do**. Examples: *de-meccim* 'I despise' *Sg. 39<sup>b</sup>1*, *di-meccither* beside *do-mmeicither* *Wb.* (vb.n. *dímiccem*); *de-éctar* 'they are looked at' *Otia Merseiana I. 23 § 9* beside *do-écai* *MI.*, *du-écastar* *Thes. II. 239, 3* (Arm.); *di-rogbad* beside *do-rogbad* 'has been diminished'; *di-róscat* beside *do-róscat du-róscat* 'they excel' (prototonic *·derscaiget*).

With infixed pronoun: sg. **1 dom · dam** ·, 3 **da** ·, rel. **dod** ·, nasalized *dond*·, etc., § § 411, 413.

C. Mostly **di**, seldom **de**, with the dative, leniting; e.g. **di chorp** 'of a body', **de Iudéib** 'of the Jews'. But **do du** is also found, e.g. *bec n-do síd* (*s = ś*) 'little peace' *MI. 51<sup>a</sup>5* beside *bec n-di dechur* (*d = δ*) 'little difference' 72<sup>c</sup>9.

With the article: *din(d)* (*den, don, dun*), *dinaib* (*donaib*); with possessive pronoun: *dim, dit, dia* (*dua* *Thes. II. 241, 13, Arm.*), etc.; with the relative particle: **dia** ·.

D. With suffixed personal pronoun: **dím, dít, de**, etc., § 435.

The form **dí** - (Britann. *di-*) corresponds exactly to Lat. *dē*. The relationship between it and the other stressed form *dī dē* is not clear. If the latter is by origin merely a shortened form of *dí-* in pretonic position, it must have spread by analogy at a very early period, for it appears in obviously ancient forms of the verbs 'to do' and 'to go'. It is also apparently contained in **de** 'thereof, from him', and perhaps in Gaul. *βπαρου-δε* ( § 311). Further, *dú-* probably goes back to *dē-wo-* through intermediate *dow(o)-* ( § 72, cp. § 69). But **de** in words like **de-buith**, *de-chor* (and **de-red** 'end'?) seems to be of different origin (see § 392).

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It is difficult to explain on purely phonological grounds the pretonic **do, du** (B., C.) from either **dí** (\**dē*) or **de**. Its vocalism may have been levelled under that of other prepositions, particularly arch. **to, tu** (later **do, du**) § 855 and **do, du** § 832, both of which have the opposite meaning 'to'.

### 832. do, du 'to'

C. **do, du**, with the dative, leniting; e.g. *do thorud* 'to (the) fruit', *du choscrad* 'to destruction'.

With the article: **don (d) dun (d)**, *donaib dunaib*; with possessive pronoun: *dom, dot*, etc., but before *a*: *dia, diar* (**dear** Cam.), also *dí alailiu* 'to the other'; with the relative particle: *dia*·.

In other positions **di** for **do** is very rare; e.g. *bá brón di suidib* 'it was a sorrow to these' *MI. 44<sup>c</sup>6* (cp. 55<sup>c</sup>1).

D. With suffixed pronoun: *dom dam, duit dait* (*deit, dit*), *dó* (*dóu, dáu*), *dí, dún(n)*, *dúib, do (a)ib*, etc., § 435.

Normally this preposition is not combined with verbs, its place being taken by to ( § 855 ). But it is found in a few artificial imitations of Latin compounds with *ad-*; e.g. *do-bríathar* 'adverbium'; *do-acaldmach* 'appellatiuus' (*acaldam* 'address'); *do-c[h]étbid* 'adsensio' *ZCP. VII. 482*; *dó:suidigthi (sic)* 'apposita' *Sg. 63<sup>a</sup>15*.

The older view that this is the same preposition as to ( § 855 ) has been shown to be incorrect by Holmer ( *RC. L. 105 ff.* ). In pretonic position to eventually became *do, du* also; but even in the period when pretonic *t-* was still retained, this preposition is invariably written with *d-*. Thus in Cam. the forms are *du, dundaib*; with suffixed pronoun **do** = *dó, dunn duun = dún(n)*. If Gaul. *duci* 'and' has been correctly analysed as *du-ci*, lit. 'to this' ( *ZCP. XVI287* ), the Gaulish form also had *d-*. Further, in Welsh and Cornish it has a different initial from that of prepositions which originally began with *t-*: OW. *di* (probably = *ði*), Mid.W. *γ*, Corn. *ḍe* (only O.Bret. *do*, later *da*, is compatible with original *t-*).

The original vowel was apparently *u*. That it was long cannot be inferred with certainty from *dún(n)* and *dúib*, which could have been influenced by *dín(n), díb*. But *\*dū < \*dō*, of which *du do* could be a shortened form, would correspond well to OE. *tō*, OHG. *zuo* (adv.) 'to'. Direct connexion with Goth. *du* 'to' seems improbable. Cp. also O.Slav. *dŏ* 'up to'. Confusion with the preposition **di** ( § 831 ) was probably responsible for *di* (arch. *de*) before *a*, and certainly for the occasional appearance of **di** in other positions (C).

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833. *echtar* 'outside, without' (*sechtar* 'out of, outside')

A. Only in nominal compounds, e.g. *echtargeinde* 'alienborn'

C. With the accusative, e.g. *echtar comairbirt m-biuth* 'outside the practice' *Tur.108*.

D. Not attested.

The preposition *sechtar* occurs only before accusatives: *sechtar in degdais* (nasalized *tegdais*) 'out of the house' *MI. 61<sup>b</sup>22* (cp. 54<sup>c</sup>20).

*echtar*, together with Mid.W. *eithyr*, Mod.W. *eithr*, goes back to *\*ekster, \*ech(s)ter*; cp. *eter* ( § 835 ) and the adverbs *s-echtair, an-echtair* ( § 483 ).

834. *ess* 'out of'

A. *ess-*, *es-* before vowels and *s*; e.g. *ess-éirge* 'resurrection'; *es-artae* 'smitten'; *·esngaba* (*ess-ind-*) subj. 'he may exceed'; *t-es-sim* 2 sg. ipv. 'pour out'.

Before most consonants two forms occur, of which the first (a) in general represents the earlier, the second (b) the later type of formation.

(a) Before *r, l, n*, and doubtless also *m* (though there are no certain examples of the latter in our period, cp. Pedersen II. 578 f.): *é*; e.g. *érbara* 'he may say' (perfective subj. of *ess-ber-*), *é-lúd* 'evasion', *é-nirt* 'infirm'.

Before stops: *ě* followed by gemination; e.g. *ecr(a)e* 'enemy' (*car(a)e* 'friend'); *e(i)tech* 'refusal', subj. 2 sg. *·ettis LU3488*; *ecal* (*c = gg*) 'timid' (*gal* 'valour'); *etrocht* (*sic MSS., t = dd*) 'shining' *Fél. Feb. 10, rug-etrachtaib* gl. *praeclaris MI. 37<sup>d</sup>3* (cp. *andracht Sg. 112<sup>a</sup>1, indrocht O'Dav. 1142*, 'lustreless'), later *étrocht*, probably with secondary lengthening; *e(i)pe* (*p = bb*) 'cutting out' (vb.n. of *ess.ben-*).

(b) Before all the above sounds: *es*; e.g. *es-rechtaid* 'exlex' *Sg. 113<sup>b</sup>2*, *es-car(a)e* 'enemy', *esrigaire* 'proclamation' (*ess-com-gar-*, cp. § 180 ); *t-es-ta* 'is lacking', perf. *tesarbæ* (*to-ess-ro-boí*), vb.n. *t-es-buith*; *·es-gaibter* 'exciuntur' *MI. 145<sup>c</sup>1*; *es-bae, espe* 'uselessness, idleness' (*bae* 'good, profit').

DIVERGENT FORMATIONS: In the verb *ess-ren-* 'pay',

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beside frequent regular forms like 3 sg. *éren Ériu VII. 156 § 11* and the vb.n. which is always *ér(a)ic*, we find forms with *rr*: ipv. 2 pl. *errenaid MI. 20<sup>c</sup>2* (cp. *Ériu VII.160 § 2*), pres. ind. 3 sg. *·eirren Ériu I. 214*; to judge from *érrethcha, héréredcha gl. redditua Sg. 27<sup>a</sup>2, 30<sup>a</sup>16*, *e-* was long in these forms also. If syncopated forms, such as *érnem (preces) gl. impendamus (sic Stokes, Goidelica<sup>2</sup> p. 64, from the Liber Hymnorum, but ernem Todd I.75 and Bernard-Atkinson I.19)* are old, the unlenited (and hence doubled) *r* might have spread from them (cp. [§ 120](#)).

In various compounds *a-* appears instead of *e-*. Thus always in *aisndís*, vb.n. of *·aisndet* 'expounds' (deuterotonic *as·ind-et*), etc.; this may be due to the tendency of *e* to become *a* before palatal consonance ([§ 83](#)). The same tendency would account for three or four forms of *ess-ber-* 'say' which have *a-*. e.g. pass. pres. *·aip(er) MI. 14<sup>d</sup>13* beside *·eperr Sg. 73<sup>a</sup>11*, vb.n. *aipert MI. 50<sup>b</sup>8*, usually *epert*; only in Middle Irish does *ap* become common. In the verb *at·bail(l)* 'dies' (prep. *ess-* + inf. pron., see [§ 423](#)) the above explanation could account only for forms with *a-* in the subjunctive (stem *bel-*), e.g. past (*arnach*)·*aipled MI. 85<sup>d</sup>8* beside 3 pl. (*coni*)·*epéltais 99<sup>b</sup>2*. The early spread of *a* to other forms, e.g. pres. ind. (*conid*)·*apail 91<sup>d</sup>2* instead of more frequent *·epil*, was due to the fact that. in the deuterotonic forms with *at·* the prepositions *ess* and *ad* were indistinguishable. The form *as·sréud* 'scattering' *MI.*, beside *æstreuth (sic MS.) Sg. 70<sup>a</sup>11*, may represent, a change of preposition (*ad-* instead of *ess-*), though influence by *as(s)* 'out of it' (D below) is also conceivable.

It is probable that *w-* (Ir. *f-*) had been lost after *-s* at an early period; cp. *e(i)sert (ess + fert)* 'one who leaves his land' *Laws* (cp. Gaul. gen. *Exuertini?*). *es·foíte* 'sent forth' (*essfoíd-*) belongs to (b). It is otherwise with *indasfenad* (probably to be read int *asfénad*) gl. *detestatio ZCP. VII.481*, vb.n. of *as·fénim* 'testificor', in *MI. dat.sg. aspenad -ud, aispenuid (read -é-?)* with development of *sf* to *sp* (cp. Mid.Ir. *taisfénad* and *taisbénad* 'showing'); perf. *ad·ru·spén MI. 78<sup>a</sup>5*, with false analysis, the verb being taken to contain the prep. *ad*. It is not certain if here, too, *a-* is to be ascribed to the palatal pronunciation of *sf* (*sp*). Even before *r(o)* the *a-* remains: perf. *do·airfenus Wb. 18<sup>d</sup>7*, perfective subj. *do·airfena Laws v. 360, 18 f.*, etc.

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B. Always *as (ass)*; e.g. *ass·irset* 'they will arise', *as·oirc* 'strikes', *as·in·gaib* 'exceeds', *as·toing* 'refuses', *as·to·ascther* 'is expressed', *as·congarar* 'is proclaimed', *as·beir* 'says', *as·ru·bart* 'has said', *as·luí* 'escapes', *as·ren* 'pays'.

Disyllabic *as(s)a·* is found in the forms of *asa·gninaim* 'I know' in *Sg.* (but in *MI. as·gnintar*, etc.), vb.n. *ecne; assa·fiud* 'ex[s]ero' *Sg. 221<sup>b</sup>4*. In *MI.ess·gús(s)-* 'wish' (cp. partic. *ecguiste § 31 d*) has deuterotonic *assa·gúsi* and *ad·gúsi* in relative clauses, and the second form occurs also in *Sg. 148<sup>a</sup>4* (non-relative 1 sg. *ad·gúsiu SP. (Thes. II. 293, 3-4)*, later *asa·gússim, assa·gússem LU 3247*); similarly *assa·foíter MI. 48<sup>c</sup>8* beside *airindí as·foíte* 'because it used to be sent forth' *Tur. 110e*. Elsewhere *as·* is the only form, even in relative clauses.

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 *atom· atam·*, 3 *at· (ad·)*, rel. *as(s)id·*, nasalized *as(s)ind·*, etc., [§ 412 f.](#)

The homophony with the prep. *ad* in most of these forms has led to confusion of the two prepositions; e.g. *ad·gúsi, ·apail* above, and also, according to Pedersen ([§ 743, 2](#)), *in·glennat MI. 137<sup>c</sup>2* 'they investigate', etc., for *as·* (cp. sg. 3 *as·glinn, 2 ·eclainni*, etc.).

C. Before the dative of a noun *a (á § 48)*, geminating (Mid.Ir. *a h-*), e.g. *a·llatin* 'from Latin', *a túaith* 'from a people'.

But before proclitics *as(s)*. With possessive pronoun: sg. 1 *asmo*, 3 *as(s)a*, etc.; *as cách* 'out of each . . .'; with the article: *as(s)in(d), asnaib*; with the relative particle: *as(s)a·*.

D. With suffixed personal pronoun: sg. 2 *essiut*, 3 arch. *es(s)*, later *as(s)*, fem. *e(i)ssi*; pl. 3 *e(i)assib*, § 436.

This preposition, as is shown by Gaul. *Ex-obnus*, *Ex-cingus*, Lat. Gk. □ξ, goes back to \**eks*, Celt. \**echs*, which in Irish as a rule became *ess-*, pretonic *ass-*, *a*. Stressed *as(s)* 'out of him', for arch. *es(s)*, is doubtless due in part to the influence of and 'in him' (§ 842). In compounds the *s* of \**echs* was dropped before consonants, and *ch* (γ) was assimilated to a following stop, or at all events to a following media. For original *ksk* a different, and presumably earlier, type of reduction is shown in *sesca* 'sixty' < \**sweks-kont-s*. But *-tt-* in *e(i)t(t)ech* cannot have developed from either *cht* or *st*; the gemination must have arisen by analogy with the other consonants. *es-* before consonants (A, b) has been taken over from the prevocalic position.

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With the infixed pronouns containing *d* (§ 412. 455), *ey-d...* gave by assimilation pretonic *add...* (written at...), § 115.

The pretonic by-form *assa·*, which in *MI.* is confined to relative clauses, seems to be modelled on *ara·* (§ 823). Its non-relative use (in *Sg.*) may have been suggested by *ceta·*, *cīta·* (§ 828).

835. *etar*, *eter* 'between, among'

A. Before consonants usually *etar*; e.g. *etar-scarad* 'separation', *etar-gne* 'distinguishing, knowledge', *t-etar-cor* 'interposing'. Occasionally *eter-cert* 'interpretation', *MI.* 2d2, *Tur.* 64, otherwise *etarcert*; note also *ettorsondi* 'baritona' *Thes. II.* 42, 4, *itersnídith* 'spider' *ZCP. VII.* 483, lit. 'interspinner'. Only in the later Glosses (*MI.*, *Sg.*) is lenition sometimes found after it, e.g. *etarthothaim* 'interitus' *MI.* 40<sup>d</sup>6. Before a vowel: *err-* in *etr-áin* 'intervention', *etr-antach* 'intermittent' *Wb.* 23<sup>a</sup>13.

B. In *Wb.* and *Tur.* mostly *eter*, e.g. *eter-scértar* 'will be separated'; in *MI.* *etir*, e.g. *etir-gén* 'I understood'. Less frequently *itir* *Wb.* 5<sup>b</sup>34, *Tur.* 121; an exceptional form appears in the relative clause *itira-thá* 'which is between' *Laws IV.* 364, 9. 19 (formed like *ara·*).

Before infixed pronouns *etar-*; e.g. *lasse etardan-roscar-ni* 'when he has separated us' *MI.* 120<sup>a</sup>3, but also *itirnda-dibed* 'that he should destroy them' 45<sup>c</sup>6. For the form of the pronoun see § 412.

In late *O.Ir.* *etar*, *itar* is more widely used; e.g. *etar-scartar Sg.* 175<sup>b</sup>10 beside *etir-scartar* 73<sup>b</sup>2; *itar-gén Thes. II.* 2, 26.

C. With the accusative, earlier *eter*, *iter*, *etir* (the last occasionally even in *Wb.*), later (e.g. *Sg.*) also *etar*, *itar*. With the article: *itar in*, *etir na* and *etir inna*, dual fem. *etar-í-di*, § 467. With possessive pronoun: *eter-mo*, 3 *eter-a*, etc.; with the relative particle: *etara·*, *etira·*,

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *etrom etrum*, 3 *etir*, pl. 3 *etarru etarro*, etc., § 433.

This preposition, the *t* in which is to be read as *d*, corresponds either to Lat. *inter* (*O.Lat.* *en[ter]*) *Skt.* *antár*, or to *OHG.* *untar* (\**n* + *nter*) 'between'

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Taking \**enter* as the basic form in Celtic, one would expect *Ir.* \***éter**; accordingly it would be necessary to assume that the *ē* was shortened in proclitic position (B, C) and that *ě* spread thence to the stressed forms. Perhaps, however, we should rather postulate an early intermediate stage \**inter*, attracted by the preposition **in-**; cp. *OW.* *ithr*, *Corn.* *yntre*, *Gaul.* *Interambes* 'inter riuos' *Endlicher's Gloss.* In Irish *int-* had become *idd-* in the first instance (§ 208).

In the second syllable *e* remained when the word was unstressed (**eter**, **iter**), cp. § 116; the palatal *r* in the by-form **etir**, **itir** doubtless spread from the form with suffixed pronoun 3 *sg.* When the word was fully

stressed, the e of the second syllable was lost by syncope (**etr-**), and subsequently **etar** developed before consonants ( § 112 ). But the various forms interchange. In **dardain** 'Thursday' (lit. 'between two fasts'), of which there happens to be no example in the Glosses, the initial vowel has been apoeopated.

**836. fíad** 'in the presence of'

C. With the dative, leniting; e.g. **fíad chách** 'in front of everyone'. With the article: **fíad-in(d), fíadnaib**; with the relative particle: **fíada-**.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. **1 fíadum**, 3 masc. **fíado -a**, pl. **3 fíad(a)ib**, etc., § 436.

This word is a petrified case-form of the noun corresponding to W. *gŵydd* 'presence'; cp. Mid.Bret. *a goez, a gouez* 'coram'. Its government of the dative may be modelled on **ar** 'before'.

**837. fo** 'under'

A. Before consonants **fo** or **fu** (fa §§ 81, 82), leniting e.g. **fo-chr(a)icc** 'reward', **fo-ditiu** 'I endure', **fochith fochaid** (*fo-saigith*, § 131) 'tribulation', **fu-dumuin fu-dumain** 'deep', **ar-fui-rig** 'holds back', **foíret** (*fo-f + érat*) 'they prepare'. For the position before *w-* (Ir. *f-*) + consonant, cp. **fúialascach** 'small branches, shrubbery', from **flesc** (*\*wlisk-*) 'rod, wand'.

In medial position after the *ō* of **ad** we find *b* (= *β*) instead of *f*, e.g. **adblam** 'ready' (*ad-fo-lam*).

**aur-** (and **air-, er-, ir-**) for *air-f + ó-*, § 823. *to-f + ó-* becomes **tó-** ( § 855 ), and the *ō* sometimes spreads to deuterotonic forms, e.g. **du·fóbi** 'he will cut' *Ml.* 96<sup>a7</sup> beside 1 sg. pres. **do-fuibnimm** *Sg.* 12<sup>a1</sup>, 22<sup>a10</sup>, etc. (vb.n. **tóbe**); *de-f + ó* becomes **dú-, déo-, díu-** ( § 831 ).

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The *-o* fuses with following *o, u* to *ó (úa)* with *a* to *á*; and with *e, i* to *oí, óe*. Examples: **fócre** 'proclamation (*fo-uss, -gar*, or *-oss-gar-*), **fúasnad** 'perturbation' *Ml.* 16<sup>b12</sup> (*fo-osnad*); **fácaib** 'leaves' (*fo-ad-gab-*); **fóetatar** 'they accepted' *Anecd. III.* 63, 13 (*fo-,étatar*), with *air-to-*: 1 pl. **ara-roítmair** *Wb.* 9<sup>e10</sup>; **foíndel** 'roaming,' (*fo-ind-*). Here too the contracted vowel sometimes spreads to the deuterotonic forms; e.g. **fo-d · úacair** *Wb.* 11<sup>b24</sup>, **fo-ácbat** *Thes. II.* 12, 28.

Only in very late formations is *fo* retained in hiatus, e.g. **foammamugud** (*fo-ad-mám-*) 'subjugation'.

The interchange of unlenited and lenited (silent) *f* in **ar · foím**, prototonic **eroím** 'accepts', **im · folngi** and **immolngi** 'I causes' and the like, has not infrequently led to the introduction of *f-* into deuterotonic forms where the prep. *fo* is not present at all. Examples: **to · foing** 'which he swears' *Ériu VII.* 158 § 16, **do-d · fongad** *Ml.* 36<sup>a21</sup>, to the simplex **tongid**; **du · fuit** later deuterotonic form of **tuít** 'falls' (*to-tud-*), earlier **do-tuít** ( § 773 ). This is especially common before the prep. *oss, uss* (see § 849 ). So too the form **ar · femat** 'they receive' *Ml.* 15<sup>d4</sup> (ep. 105<sup>a8</sup>, *Wb.* 8<sup>d28</sup>, 28<sup>a19</sup>) is due, not to the loss of *o*, but to the fact that the compound *air-em-* (cp. vb. n. **airitiu, eritiu**, subj. **airema** *Cam.*) was influenced by *air-fo-em-* (3 pl. **ar.fóemat** *Wb.* 34<sup>a6</sup>, etc.).

B. In all positions **fo, fu** ( § 101 ); e.g. **fo-daim** 'suffers, endures', **fo-fera** 'prepares', **fo-llós** and **co fu-llós** subj. 'I may support', **fo-acanim** 'succino'.

But where the second element begins with a vowel, the prototonic form occasionally appears in place of the deuterotonic; e.g. **fácab** 'he left' *Thes. II.* 241, 17 (*Arm.*) instead of **fo-ácab**.

With infixed pronoun: sg. **1 fom·fum-**, **3 fa-**, rel. **fod-**, etc., §§ 411, 413.

C. **fo, fu**, with the accusative and dative, leniting; e.g. **fu chossa** 'under the feet', **fo deud** 'at the end'.

With the article: acc. **fon fun**, neut. **fua**, dat. **fon(d) fun(d)**; pl. acc. **fonna** *Ml.* 37<sup>a14</sup> (the form with the dative is not attested). With the possessive pronoun: sg. **1 fom**, **2 fot**, **3 foa, fua, fó**; § 439 (1 pl. **fóar** *Wb.* 9<sup>a1</sup>); with the relative particle: **foa-, fua-, fo-** ( - **fó -**, ? ), § 492.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. **1 foum**, 3 acc. **foí**, dat. **fóu**, etc., § 437.

**fo** --Britannic *gwo-*, whence W. *gwa-* and *go-*, Bret. *gou-*, Gaul. \**wo-* as in *Uo-reto-.uirius*--goes back to \**u-o*, \**upo*, and corresponds exactly to Gk. *ὑπό*, Goth. *uf* 'under', Skt. *úpa* 'to, at, on'; cp. Lat. *sub*.

838.- **for** 'on, over'

A. Always **for** or **fur**; e.g. **fortacht** 'help' (*-techt*), **for-as** 'increase', **fursundud** (*for-uss-andud*) 'illumination'. Sporadic examples of lenition after it first appear in the later Glosses, e.g. **forthacht** Ml. 93<sup>a</sup>15.

For **tór** - < *to-f* + *ör*-see § 855. The 5 sometimes spreads to deuterotonic forms; e.g. **do-fórmgat** 'they increase' Sg. 53<sup>a</sup>11 (vb.n. **tórmag**, **tórmach**) beside **do-n.fórmaig** Féil. Oct. 18; **du-fór-ban** 'arrives, happens' Ml. 61<sup>a</sup>22.

B. Usually **for**, sometimes **far** and **fur**; e.g. *for-tét* 'helps', **for-con-gair** 'orders', **for-ása** 'increases', areal *far-cuimsitis* 'as if they had occurred' So., 148<sup>a</sup>5, **ocus fur-aith-menter** 'and is remembered' Ml. 17<sup>b</sup>23.

With infix pronoun: sg. **1 ffordom·fordum·fordam·fortam·**, 3 **fort-**, rel. **forid-**, etc., §§ 412, 413.

For the division of *for* into *fo* + *r* by **to** or an infix pronoun, e.g. in *fo-rro-r-bris*, *fo-da-r-aithminedar*, see §§ 529, 410b.

C. **for**, sometimes **far**, with the accusative and dative. There is only one example of lenition after it: **for chenn** Ml. 44<sup>d</sup>29 for normal **for cenn**.

With the article: **forsin**, **forsa**, **forsind**, **forsna** and **forna**, **forsnaib** and **fornaib**; with possessive pron.: sg. 1 \***form** (**for-mu** § 439), 2 **fort**, 3 **fora**, etc.; with the relative particle **forsa-** and **fora-**.

D. With suffixed pronoun: **form** (**forum-sa**), **fort**, **for foil fair** (§ 81), etc., § 437.

**for**, Britannie *gwor*, whence W. and Bret. *gor*, appears in Gaul. *Uer-cingetorix*, *Uer-cassiuellaunus*, etc., as *wer-*. This form has developed from \**uper*, with loss of *p*, and corresponds to Gk. *ὑπέρ*, Goth. *ufar*; cp. 2K

Skt. *upári*, Lat. *super*. The influence of its opposite \**wo* 'under' (§ 837) was responsible **for** the change of vocalism to \**wor* in Insular Celtic. The late lenition after *for* was suggested by **air-er-**, **ar**, § 823.

839. **frith** 'against'

Collectioli for A and B: Zimmer, Kelt. Stud. II. 71 ff.

A. Before vowels mostly **frith**, seldom **frid**; e.g., **frithoreon** 'offence', **frid-oirced** (ipv.) 'let him offend' Wb. 14<sup>a</sup>27; **-frith-alim** (read **-álim**?) 'I expect' Ml. 49<sup>a</sup>3. In some decomounds **fres-** appears instead: **-frescat** (*frith-ad-ci-*) 'they hope', vb.n. **fresesiu**, **frescissiu**; [f] **resndal** 'attending, service' Bürgschaft p. 17 § 53, **fresdel** Wb. I 14c11 (later **frestal**, cp. pret. pass. **fres- ind-led** Féil. May 23). **frith-ess-** seems to have become *fres-* in **fresngabal** 'ascent, Ascension' (acc. **frisngabáil** Ml. 42<sup>c</sup>30, cp. **as-in-gaib** 'exceeds'); also in **freisáidís** 'diiudicatio' Wb. 13<sup>a</sup>11 (cp. **aisáidís** 'statement, explanation'). Before consonants an older (a) and a later (b) type of formation can be distinguished:

a. The final dental is assimilated to a following initial stop; e.g. **frecre**, with *c* = *g(g)*, 'answer' (*frith-gaire*); **freend (a) ire**, with *c* = *k(k)*, 'present' (*frith-con-derc-*); **fretech** 'renunciation' (to **tongid** 'swears'); **frepaid (frebaid** Ml. 5814), with *p* = *b(b)*, 'healing' (*frith-buith*). Before 1 : *fres-* in

**freslige** 'lying (with)'.

- b. **frith** remains unchanged before all consonants and lenites them (by analogy with **aith**, § 824.); e.g. **frith-chathugud** 'op-pugnatio'; **nad·frith-chom-art** 'who has not offended' Ml. 47<sup>a</sup>2; **frith-gnam** 'of-ficium' (**gnim** 'deed, doing', subj. pass. **·frith-ro-gnaiter** Laws II. 308, 16); **frithsuidigthe** (s = ś) 'op-positus'; even before t and d: **·frith-taised** (unlenited in accordance with § 231, 3) 'he should oppose' beside pres. **·frittaít** (*frith-to-tét*) Wb. 31<sup>a</sup>6, **frith-dún** ob-strue etc,

B. Always **fris(s)**; e.g. **fris(s)-oire** offends **fris-álethar** 'expects' **fris(s)-accat** 'they hope', **fris·gair** 'answers', **fris-toing** 'renounces', **fris·ben** 'heals', **fris·gní** 'practises', **fris-taít** 'opposes', **fris-dúnaim** 'I obstruct', etc.

With infixed pronoun: sg. **1 fritum·fritam·**, **3 frit·**, rel. **frissid·**, etc., § 412 f.

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C. **fri (re** Ml. 44<sup>b</sup>4 = f + **ri**) with the accusative, geminating (Mid.Ir. **fri h-**); e.g. **fri-nnech** 'against someone'.

With the article: **fris(s)in, fris(s)a, frisna**. With possessive pronoun: **frim, frit, fria**, etc.; with the relative particle: **fris(s)a· (fria·** Sg. 28<sup>a</sup>4, scribal error. ?).

D. With suffixed personal pronoun: sg. **1 frim frium(m), 2 frit(t) friut(t)**, **3 fris(s)**, fem. **frie**, etc. (pl. **1 rinn = frinn** Ml. 54<sup>a</sup>3), § 433.

**frith** undoubtedly belongs to the root *wert-* 'turn'; cp. Lat. *uertere, uersus*, Eng. *-ward*. It points to a basic form *\*wr + t* without any ending (whence *\*writ*, § 215). Whether **frith** corresponds exactly to Britannic *\*gwrth* (W. *gwrth-*, *wrth*, Corn. *gorth-*, *worth*, *orth*, Bret. *ouz-*, o, *oc'h*) is doubtful, as *t* becomes *th* in Britannic only when it stands directly after *r*. Perhaps, then, the Britannic forms go back rather to *\*wirt*, metathesized from *\*writ*? Cp. W. *gwr* 'man' for *\*wir[os]*.

Before nouns the only traces of the *-th* are the gemination of the following initial and the insertion of *h-* (first written in Mid.Ir.) before vowels, e.g. **fri h-ór** 'for gold'. The form **fri** eventually spread to the position before suffixed pronouns also; cp. **3** sg. fem. **frie**, **3** pl. **friu**. For the **3** pl. there are a few instances of a form **frithiu** Laws II. 118, 15, **frithu** ( ? written **fríthu, frihithu** LU 4671, ZCP. IX. 126, 3), which perhaps represents an early rather than a secondary form. The **3** sg., masc. neut. **fris(s)** is difficult to account for. Pedersen suggests wrong analysis of the emphatic form **fris(s)om**, the earlier form having been simply **fri (frí)**. But the *s* is apparently always palatal (ep. **frissium**), and this also makes it unlikely that the form is modelled on **es(s), as(s)** ( § 834). On the other hand, **es(s)-, as(s)-** before verbs may have been responsible for the corresponding use of **fres-, fris(s)-**. Cp. also § 845.

#### 840. **far, farm-** 'after'

A. **farm-** (*m* = *μ*), leniting; e.g. **do-ífarm-ó-rat** 'follows' **iarm-uidigthe** (for *-suidigthe*) 'postponed' Sg. **3<sup>b</sup>31, farm-uí** (read **-uí** ?) 'abnepotes' Ml. 119<sup>b</sup>12.

Before **fo-saig**, where the same form would be expected, we always find **íarf(a)igid** 'asking' (with unlenited **f**), pret. **·r-íarfact**, etc. Here *f* has probably replaced *μ* by analogy with deuterotonic forms like **íarmi-foig**.

In nominal compounds like **íar-thúaiscerddach** 'northwestern' Thes. II. 26, 41 the *m* has doubtless been dropped between *r* and a consonant; cp. **íar-bunatattu** 'posterity' Ml. 45<sup>b</sup>20. But in **íar-testimin** 'conclusion of a period' Ml.

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**the t** is never lenited, presumably owing to the influence of the nasalizing form **íar** (C). The disyllabic form in **íaram-geindi** 'postgeniti' Ml. 97<sup>a</sup>11 is isolated.

B. Generally **íarmii** e.g. **íarmi-foig** 'asks'; but cp. **íarmu-ru-sudigestar** gl. *postpossuit* Ml. 13<sup>a</sup>7, **armo-fuacht** LL 234,48; in relative clauses also **iarma. : iarma-foich** Sg. 198.".,,,.

With infixed pronoun 3 sg. rel. **íarmid·** , [§ 413](#).

C. **íar** with the dative, nasalizing, e.g. **íar n-dligud** 'according to law'. The form **ier** is found twice in Arm. (Thes. II. 240, 20, 24) and once, after the negative, in Sg. 197<sup>b</sup>10: **nier n-etargnu** 'not after knowledge' (beside **íar n-etargnu** *ibid.* 11).

With the article: **íarsin(d)**, **íarsnaib (íarnaib** Laws iv. 176, 5) with possessive pronoun: 3 sg. and pl. **íarna**, 1 pl. **íarnar** ; with the relative particle: **íarsa·** .

D. With suffixed personal pronoun: sg. 2 **íarmut**, 3 **íarum**, pl. 3 **farmaib**, [§ 436](#).

The original form of this preposition is unknown. In its various forms it resembles **re** 'before' ( [§ 851](#) ), and a great deal of levelling has undoubtedly occurred between the two prepositions. The composition form in *-mi, -mo -mu, -ma*, which both have in common, appears also with **cen, sech, tar, tre** (and **dech**, [§ 384](#) ). Possibly **Jar** was at least one of the starting points from which this form developed, since *m* appears also in forms like **íarmut** where it is not found with the other prepositions. It is conceivable that **íar** represents a development of IE. \**epi* (Gk.  $\epsilon\pi\iota$ , Skt. *ápi*) with a suffix beginning with *r*; \**epi*, with loss of the *p*, would have given Celt. *ei*, Ir. *ē*, in (cp. W. *wȳr* 'grandson' ?).

In pretonic position, especially in C, one would expect shortened forms. Perhaps such forms are to be seen in **er cúil** Thes. II. 289, 18 (written before A.D. 716), unless *e* here = *ē*; in **ersna suthaib** 'depost fetantes' Thes. I. 5, 33; and in later expressions like **arn-a bárach** (beside **íarn-a** ) 'on the next day'. As early as Wb., however, **íar** has been generalized in all positions. probably in order to avoid homophony with **ar** ( [§ 823](#) ).

#### 841. **imb, imm** 'about, mutually'

A. Before vowels (and *f* + ) and before *r* the form **imb** is still occasionally found, but **imm, im** ( [§ 152c](#) ) is more common; **both** lenite. Examples: **imb-echtrach** and **imm-echtrach**

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'external'; **imb-rádud** and **im-rádud** 'thinking'; **imbresnat** they contend' (deuterotonic **im-fresnat** ); **imm-(a)ircide im-(a)ircide** 'fitting'; **im-f + ógnam immognam** 'construction'; **t-imm-orte** 'constrained'; **immargal** (*imb-ro-gal*) 'strife'.

With a following *s* it combines to give **imp-** ( [§ 187a](#) ); e.g. **impúd** (*imb-soud.*) 'turning', past subj. **·impád** (*imb-soad*); **impesse** (*imb-sesse*) 'besieged'.

Before all other consonants **im**, less frequently **imm**, leniting; e.g. **im-thrénuġud** 'strengthening', **im(m)-chom-arc** 'inquiry, greeting'.

For *coím-* from **corn-im(m)-** , see [§ 830](#).

B. Always **im·** or **imm·** ; e.g. **imm-act** 'he drove', **im-rádi** 'thinks', **im-soí** 'turns', **imm-lúadi** 'moves, agitates', **im-com-aire** 'inquires', etc. But in relative clauses **imme·, imma·** ( [§§ 493, 4, 509](#) ); e.g. **imme-rádi, imma-rádi** 'who thinks'; **immo-forling** ' who has caused' Wb. 10<sup>c</sup>18 is isolated.

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 **immum-immim·** , 3 **imma·** and **imme·** , rel. **immid·** , etc., [§§ 411, 413](#).

C. **im, imm (himm)** with the accusative, leniting, e.g. **im(m) chenn** 'about the head'.

With the article: **immin** Wb., elsewhere **immun**, but in Arm. (Thes. II. 242, 15) once **immuan** (= **immúan**, modelled on **úan** § 847?); with possessive pronoun: sg. 2 **imdu**, 3 **im a** (also **imme**), etc.; with the relative particle: **\*imma·**, **immo·** SP., **immua·** (= **immúa·** ?) Ml. 18<sup>b</sup>4.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg., 1 **immum**, 2 **immut**, 3 **imbi**, fem. **impe**, pl. 3 **impu**, etc., § 433.

This preposition goes back to *\*imbi* or *\*embi* < \*m + bhi, corresponding to Gaul. *ambi* in *Ambi-toutus*, Ἀμβί-λικοι, W. *am*, *um-*, OHG. *umbi*, OE. *ymbe*, Skt. *abhí*; cp. Gk. ἄμφι, Lat. *amb-*.

By prefixing **imm** and **a** ll the prepositions in §§ 835, 845, 853 are turned into adverbs: **imm-an-etar**, **immenetar** (**immenetor** Sg. 28<sup>a</sup>10) 'invicem', **etruib immenetar** 'among you mutually' Wb. 27<sup>b</sup>21; **imm-a-lle**, **immelle**, in Wb. **immalei immelei**, 'together, simultaneously'; **imm-a-sech** 'in turn'. When used before verbs in the sense of 'mutually, each other', **im(m)**, which is then always unstressed ( § 410a ), may take the ordinary infixed pronouns after it; e.g. **immun-cúalamm** 'we have heard of one another' Wb. 18<sup>d</sup>3, **immus-asenat** 'they advance towards one another' Thes. I. 6, 4. But for

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a pronoun of the third person **-a<sup>n</sup>**- may be used also, the verb being then put either in the plural or the singular: **ni'ma· n-dígbat nemid** 'privileges do not diminish one another' Ir. Reclit p. 12 n. 2: **as-bert ni'ma·n-accigtis** 'he said they would not see one another' Trip. 212, 28, beside **cona'ma·n-derbara** 'so that they may not overreach one another' Laws II. 340, 2. With the singular verb there develops an impersonal construction in which the person concerned (not necessarily the third) is added by means of the prep. **do**; e.g. **imma-tarraid dún** 'we reached each other, we met' LL 113<sup>a</sup>2. Eventually we even get constructions like **ni'mma·n-acigi dó frim-sa** 'he shall not see me' Ériu II 194 § 8 (H), where *imm-* has virtually lost all meaning. The *a<sup>n</sup>*, which is undoubtedly the same both before prepositions and verbal forms, is more likely to be the petrified possessive pronoun 3 pl. (first used between the prepositions, and thence spreading to the verbal forms) than the infixed pro. 3 sg. masc., as some have suggested. On the other hand, we find **immus·** also petrified to some extent in **immus-apt[h]atar . . . ar n-da deogbaire** 'our two cup-bearers died by each other's hand' Fianaig. p. 12 § 19.

#### 842. **in, ind, en** 'in, into'

A. Before vowels two forms occur: **in** and, more frequently, **ind** e.g. **do-in-ó-la** 'collects **neph-in-o-tacht** 'non-entrance'; **-r-ind-úa-lad** 'thou hast entered' Ml. 93<sup>c</sup>14; **do-ind-naig** 'bestows' (to **aingid**, **anich**); **ind-o-cbál** 'glory'.

Before consonants no less than three or four basic forms can be distinguished: **en-** (and probably also **in-**), **ini-**, **inde-**.

1. **en-**, e.g. in **en-gne** 'understanding' Wb., Ml., pres. (subj. ?) pass. 3 pl. **·enggnatar** Sg. 209<sup>b</sup>13 (but also **ingn(a)e** Ml., etc.).

Before *c* and *t* it becomes **é**, the *c* and *t* being voiced ( § 208 ) e.g. **con· é-tet** 'is indulgent to', vb.n. **cometeeht com(a)itecht; éitset** (*en-túass-*) ipv. 'let them listen' (where the media has reverted to *t* before *s*, § 139); **do-éc(a)i** 'looks at' (*di-en-ci-*).

*en-s* . . . , *en-l* . . . , *en-r* . . . become *ess* . . . , *ell* . . . , *err* . . . Examples: **esn(a)id** dat. sg. 'engrafting', to *en-snad-* ( § 724 ); **d-es-sid** 'has sat down'; **el-lach** 'union'; **eirr**, gen. **erred**, 'warrior in chariot', probably to **rédid** 'rides, drives'.

In a few examples we find short *e* before *c* also. Thus beside **t-in-chose** (see 2 below) 'instruction' in Wb., later texts have **tecosc**, Mod.Ir. **teagasc** (but **é-cose** 'mark, appearance, kind', Scott.Gael. *aogasc*). The verb **ad-cum-aing** 'happens' (where **ad·** represents **in·**, see 2 below) has *ě* in prototonic forms like

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subj. 3 sg. **ecm(a)i** and in the decompound **do-eemaing** 'happens to', vb.n. **tecmang**, Mod.Ir. **teagmháal**. Similarly **do-e-cm-alla** 'gathers', vb.n. **tecmallad**, Mod.Ir. **teaglamhadh**, perf. (arch.) **tu-e-r-c[h]om-lassat** Wb. I 7<sup>a</sup>7. Lastly, **e-cor**, Mod.Ir. **eagar**, 'arrangement', to **cor** 'putting'. These examples can best be explained by assuming that in them the preposition had at one time the form **in-**; *ink-* gave *ig(g)-* ( § 208 ), whence *ĕg(g)-* (written *ec-*) before a neutral vowel. In somewhat later sources we find *-ar-* in place of *e-r-*; e.g. **tare[h]omlád** 'was gathered' LU 4480, **do[d]-n-archossaig** 'who has instructed him' 5052.

2. The leniting forms **in-** and **ind-** are often indistinguishable, for *ind-* has also become *in-* before most consonants (cp. the forms of the article, § 467 f.). It is impossible to say, for instance, whether **in-chose** contains **in-** or **ind-**. Disyllabic **inde** is preserved in **inde-l** Féil. Feb. 16 (vb.n. of **in-laait** 'they put in, adjust', etc.), later **innell** ( § 139c ); for **ini-** see below.

Before *r* the form **ind** can be clearly seen; e.g. **ind-reth** 'invasion', **ind-risse** and **indirise** 'invaded' ; **t-ind-at-scan** (*to-ind-to-*) 'has begun; the last form authorizes us to postulate the form **ind** in pres. **do-in-scana** also.

There is also a clear distinction between **ind-** and **in-** before single *s*, for *ind + ś* becomes *int*; e.g. **int-samil**, **intsamil**, **intamall** 'imitation' (inaccurately written **indsamuil** Wb. 13<sup>a</sup>27 and even **insamil** 30<sup>a</sup>25); **do-intám** (*ind-soam*) 'we turn, translate', vb.n. **tintúth** (*int* comes to be used before **to** also, e.g. in perf. **do-intarraí** for *ind-ro-soí*). On the other hand, examples with **in-** are: **insudighthi** 'statuta' (neut. pl.) Ml. 30<sup>b</sup>5, **insorchugud** (later written **intorehugud**, **inorchugud**) 'illumination'.

That leniting **in-** does not always represent merely the prevocalic form which has spread to all other positions (like **com** § 830 A, b, **es(s)-** § 834 A, b, **frith** § 839 A, b) is shown by early examples such as **in-gen** 'daughter' (*y = y*), Ogam INI-GENA; also b **t-ini-b**, 3 sg. subj. of **do-in-fet** (*-swet*) 'inspires, aspirates', where the second *i* is retained.

B. As a rule **in-**; e.g. **in. r-úa-lad** 'I have entered', **in-snadat** 'they graft', **in-longat** 'they unite', **in-t-in(n)-scana**

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'begins', **in-samlathar** 'imitates'; later sporadically **inn-**: **inn-árba[na]r** 'is expelled' Ml. 14<sup>c</sup>16 (cp. 15<sup>c</sup>5) beside **in-árba[n]r** 73<sup>a</sup>20 (vb.n. **indarb(a)e**).

But in words where the preposition has a meaning, other than 'in(to)', it is sometimes replaced by other prepositions in pretonic position:

(1) Usually by **ad-**: **ad-greinn** 'persecutes' beside **in-greinn**, but under the accent **in-**, e.g. ipv. 3 sg. **ingrainned**, vb.n. **ingreim** Wb., **ingraim** Ml.; **ad-fét** 'indicates, relates' beside **in-fét** Ml., perf. **ad-cuaid** beside **in-euaid** ( § 533 ), but prototonic 2 pl. **éicdid** (*-en-c. . .*), cp. **indidit** 'indicative mood' (*ind-f + . . .*); **ad-snidi** 'who postpones' Ml. 93<sup>a</sup>12 beside passive **in-snáter** 56<sup>c</sup>20, but prototonic ipf. pl. **essnatis** (*en-s. . .*) 98<sup>b</sup>3: **ad-co-ta** 'obtains' beside pass. **in-cotar** (O'Dav. 510), prototonic **éta** ( § 544 ), etc. So too the forms of **as(a)-gnin-** § 834 B seem occasionally to be connected with the vb.n. **engne**, **ingn(a)e** rather than with *eene*.

(2) By **as-**; e.g. **as-dloing** 'who cleaves' Ml. 48<sup>c</sup>32 beside I sg. **in-dlung** Sg., 15<sup>a</sup>5, vb.n. **indlach**.

The fluctuation is due partly to the fact that **in**, **ad**, and **ess** fall together before infixed pronouns; partly also, perhaps, to the existence of different, but virtually synonymous, compounds which came to be used without distinction of meaning. Thus **do-ad-bat** 'shows' points to an old compound **ad-fét** beside **in-fét**; ep. also **attach** 'entreaty', to **ateich** (**ad-teich**) 'entreats', beside **itge** (*in-t. . .*)

With infixed pronoun: usually sg. 1 **atom.**, **atam-**, 3 **at.**, rel. **as(s)id-** (e.g. **asid-grennat** 'who persecute him' Ml. 18<sup>d</sup>2), etc., § 412 f. But **in-d. . .** is also found, particularly in relative clauses: **indat-to-gar-sa** 'that I invoke thee' Ml. 72<sup>c</sup>4, a **n-unda**. (read **-inda-**) **greinn-siu** 'when thou dost

persecute them' 36<sup>d</sup>2, **inda-túaisi** (-se MS.) 'who listens to it (fern.) Laws III. 32, 33; once in a non-relative form (Class B): **inda-árben** 2 sg. ipv. 'expel them' Thes. 1. 4, 31.

C. Always **i** (í § 48.) with the accusative ('into') and dative ('in'), nasalizing. Where the nasalization is not shown, the preposition is often written **hi** (**hí**), § 25. Examples: **i n-airitiu** 'in the acceptance', **i m-bélre** 'into a language', **hi tír** (*t = d*)

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'into a land', **í tuil** 'in the will', **i-nnim** and **í nim** 'in heaven', **hí fáithib** 'in prophets', **i-llestur** 'in a vessel' and **i lóu** 'in (the) day', **hi-rriucht** 'in shape'. Later (*Ml.*, *Tur.*) also **inn-** before vowels: **innécín** 'in compulsion' *Tur.* 134, **innechaib** 'in horses' *Ml.* 43<sup>d</sup>3.

With the article: **is(s)in**, **is(s)a**, **is(s)ind**, **isna**, **isnaib**; also **ísin**, etc. With possessive pronoun: **im**, **it**, pl. 2 **ibar** and **ifar**; but with *nn* before *a*: 3 sg. and pl. **inna** (but arch. **ine** Cam.), pl. 1 **innar** (also **inn-alail** 'into another (neut.)'). In place of the preposition and the relative particle, **i** (**hi**) alone, followed by nasalization, is used, § § 492, 507. Here too *Ml.* has one example of **inn-** instead of **in-** before a vowel: **inn-imruimdetar** 'in which they had sinned' 105<sup>a</sup>1; and of **in-ru** instead of **irru**: **in-ru-frescechae** 'in whom he had hoped' 44<sup>c</sup>19.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 **indium(m)**, 2 **indiut**, 3 **ind**, **inte**, **and**, **indi**; pl. 1 **indiunn**, 2 **indib**, 3 **intiu**, **indib**, § 437.

The two forms of the preposition found in Gk.  $\square v$  and  $\square vi$  apparently existed in Irish also. The vowel of the shorter form seems to have fluctuated between *e* and *i* in Irish. One could explain **in** as due to the influence of *\*ini* < *\*eni*; but W. *yn, y<sup>o</sup>*, Corn. *yn*, Gaul. *in* *Alixie* Dottin no. 47, suggest rather that **in** had developed as a by-form of **en** at an early period. It is doubtful if the vocalism of **esin** for **isin** 'in the' *Thes. I.* 4, 25 is archaic.

With this preposition, however, there has been confused another one containing *nd*, just as in Latin archaic *endo indu* (*ind-uere*, etc.) has been levelled under *in* (earlier *en*). The corresponding form in Gaulish is *ande-* (perhaps an intensive prefix) in names like *Ande-roudus*, *Ande-camulos*, *Ande-trogirix*; in Britannic *an(ne)-*, leniting, e.g. *anne-l* = Ir. **indel**, *an-we* = Ir. **indech** 'woof' (cp. Ir. **fige**, W. *gweu* 'to weave'), *an-daw*, *gwr-an-daw* 'to listen' (*tewi* 'to be silent'). Whatever may have been the original difference between Ir. **in-** (**en-**) and **ind-**, they have become completely synonymous and occur side by side in the same compound: pres. **do-ind-naig** 'bestows', perf. (with **com**, § 533.) **do-é-com-nacht**.

Ir. **ind(e)-**, Gaul. *ande* and W. *an(ne)-* could all go back to a basic Celtic form *\*n + de*. But that leaves the vocalism of Ir. **and** 'in him' unexplained. It has been suggested that the latter is a totally unrelated adverb, which, however, is very improbable. It seems much more likely that *a* is the original vowel, especially as it is also found in Italic (e.g. Umbr. *an-ouihimu* 'ind-uito'), and that Latin *endo indu*, Ir. **ind-** have been assimilated to the prep. *en*, *in*.

Sometimes **ind-** has non-palatal *-d-*, e.g. **indn(a)ide** 'expectation' (1 sg. **in-neuth**). But this hardly justifies us in inferring a by-form in *-do -du*, which some scholars would see in Gaulish proper names containing *Ando-*,

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*Andu-* (Holder II. 148; Ihm, Glotta II. 49 f.). More probably the *d<sup>h</sup>* has been taken over either from forms where it stood before a neutral vowel (**do-indnaig** < *ind-anig*), or from pretonic *\*ind* which, having lost its palatalization (§ 168), had become, first **inn-** (**inn-onn**, §§ 503, 825), and then **in-**. This **inn-** is doubtless the starting point of the *nn* that appears first before possessive pronouns (**inn-a**) and then more generally in prevocalic position. A possible explanation of the **at...** before infixed personal pronouns is that the form *en-* was used before pronouns with initial *t-* (§ 455b), thus giving *ēd(d)-*, shortened in pretonic syllables to *ēd(d)- ad(d)-* (written **at-**), which was responsible for the confusion with other prepositions, particularly with **ess-**.

### 843. inge 'except'

C. In the earlier language **inge** can govern the accusative like a preposition; e.g. **each sochur ocus each dochur . . . , is astaithi . . . inge tri curu** 'every good and every bad contract is to be kept save for three contracts' *Laws* v. 286, 11. But it can also be used like the conjunction **acht**, and then requires no special ease after it; e.g. **níboí** (*·bui* MS.) **i n-Héire cona Hinge Coirpre** (*-ri* MS.) **Gal fili** (nom. sg.) 'there was no one in Ireland with his splendour but C.G. the poet' *Fianaig*. p. 32, 12; **ni fil claideb ina intiuch inge claideb craind** 'there is no sword in his scabbard save a wooden sword' *LU* 5640.

D. does not occur.

Cp. *ZCP*. XVI. 183. For **inge** as a conjunction see [§ 908](#). Cp. Skt. *aigá* 'just, precisely'?

### 844. (h)ís 'underneath'

C. With the dative, probably without lenition in Old Irish, like **ós** ([§ 850](#)); e.g. **is nélaib** 'below the clouds' *Fél*. Nov. 20.

There are no examples with the article, possessive pronoun, or relative particle.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. **1 ís(s)um**, 3 **íssa**, etc., [§ 436](#).

In Irish the word is exactly parallel to **ós**, **úas** 'above' ([§ 850](#)). Thus in addition to the adverbs **t-ís**, **s-ís**, **an-ís** ([§ 483](#)), we have **íhtar** 'the lower part' (like **úachtar**), **ísel** 'low' (like **úasal**). But Brittonic *is*, *isel* show that *s(s)* does not come from *ks*, and that **íhtar** is therefore an analogical formation.

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### 845. la 'with, among'

C. With the accusative, geminating (Mid.Ir. **la h-**); e.g. *la-mmaccu* 'with boys', **la-sse** [§ 480](#), **la auu** 'among (the) descendants', arch. **le dea** (*der* MS.) 'with God' *Cam*. (*Thes. II*. 247, 22).

With the article: *las(s)in*, *las(s)a*, *lasna*; with possessive pronoun' sg. **1 lam**, 2 **lat**, 3 **lia** (arch. **lea Zu ir**. *Hss. I*. 37 § 5), pl. 1 **liar** (so also *li alaile* 'by the other', *leléle* *Wb.* 16<sup>c</sup>24); with the relative particle: **las(s)a·**.

D. With suffixed pronoun, where it also represents *com* 'with' ([§ 830](#)): sg. 1 *lemm limm liumm*, 2 *lat*, 3 *leiss less laiss* (*letha*), fem. *lee*; pl. 1 *linn lenn*, 2 *lib*, 3 *leu leo* (*lethu*), [§ 433](#).

The oldest form was **le**, whence pretonic **la** (which spreads to D also), but **li** before *a* in hiatus. The *e* is also found in *i-lle* (*illei* *Wb.*) 'hither' ([§ 483](#)) and *imm-a-lle* (*-lle* *Wb.*) 'together' ([§ 841](#)).

This preposition undoubtedly has its source in the noun *leth* (neut. *s*-stem) 'side', but the origin of its form is uncertain. According to one theory (*KZ. XXXVII*424 ff.), it is based on a short stem-form *\*lets* (whence *\*less*, *\*les*, *le h-*), which would account for *leiss* 'with him'; but this is rendered unlikely by the forms *letha* (= *leth(a)e*), *lethu*, which are presumably archaic. It seems more probable that the preposition has been modelled on *fri(th)* ([§ 839](#)), and the form **less**, with non-palatal *ss*. on *ass* ([§ 834](#)).

### 846. ne (ni) 'down'

This preposition occurs only in close composition with the roots *stā-*, *sed-* and *g<sup>w</sup>hedh-* (Celt. *ged-*). Under the accent it usually has the form **ne**. Examples: *con·nessa* (from *ni-stā-*) 'tramples under foot, condemns', vb.n. *comainsem*; *do·nessa* 'contemns', vb.n. *dínsem*; *tui·nsem* 'crushing', *áinsem* (with **ad-**) 'accusing'. *in·neuth ar·neut-sa* (*ne-sed-*) 'I expect, sustain', 3 sg. *ar·neat*, *·airnet*, perf. *ar·ru-neastar* [§ 690](#) (from forms like 3 pl. pres. *ar·neithet* (*·ne-sedat*) a weak verb develops, e.g. perf. *ar·roneith*,

*ar-rúneid* *MI.* 50<sup>b</sup>8, 68<sup>a</sup>6), vb.n. *irnide*, *indn(a)ide*; *immid-nith* '(the bird) alighted' *Anecd. III.* 59, 27; *tuinide* 'possession', *comnaide* 'abiding'. *lase ara·n-neget* (3 sg.) gl. *orando MI.* 61<sup>b</sup>1, ipv. 2 pl. *irrigdid* 'pray' *Wb.* 22<sup>c</sup>8, vb.n. *irrigde* (*irnichthe Wb.* 17<sup>a</sup>5), *ernaigde*.

Bergin, *Ériu X.* 111, XI. 136. Cp. Skt. *ni* 'down', OE. *nīper* 'down', Mod.E. *nether*; also *net* 'nest' ( § 218 ).

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**847. ó, úa** 'from, by'

C. *ó, úa*, often *hó, húa* (*oa* Sg. 129<sup>a</sup>1), with the dative, leniting ( § 60 ).

With the article: *ón(d) (h)úan(d)*, *(h)ónaib (h)úanaib*; with possessive pronoun: sg. 1 *(h)úam*, 2 *(h)úat*, 3 *oa*, *(h)úa*, *ó*, etc.; with the relative particle: *oa·*, *(h)ua·*, *(h)ó·*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *(h)úaim*, 2 *(h)úait*. 3 *(h)úad*, fem. *úadi*, etc., § 435.

A is rarely found. An isolated formation is *húa-béla* 'openmouthed' Sg. 7<sup>b</sup>15 (*bél* 'lip'), later *ó(i)béla*, *óbélda*, Mod. Ir. *óibhéalta*. In later nonce formations *úad-* (presumably leniting) is used; e.g. *úad-fialichthi* 'reuelatā' *Wb.* 15<sup>b</sup>4 (*fial* 'veil'); *ind húad-airbertach bith* gl. *abusive* Sg. 3<sup>b</sup>24 (*airbert bith* 'use'); *húatúasailcthae* 'absolutus' 30<sup>b</sup>4. So too *huaderet* 'he uncovered' *MI.* 51<sup>d</sup>14 is to be analysed *húad-der(o)-ét*, doubtless an artificial verbal compound.

The primary form of the preposition was **áu**. which is possibly retained as an adverb in *co nómad n-áu* 'to the ninth (generation) from him on 'or 'from that on'; cp. Lat. *au(-fero)*, O.Pruss. *au-mūsnan* 'ablution', O.Slav. *u-myti* 'wash off'; OW. *hou*, later *o*, 'if'. *o* prep. 'from'. The *d* in *úad* (including the composition form *úad-*), *úadi*, and *úa(i)dib* may have been suggested by **and**, **indib** ( § 842 ).

For **ó** as conjunction, see § 893.

**848. oc** 'at'

C. *oc, occ*, in Arm. *uc, ucc*, in *MI.* very rarely *ac*, with the dative; e.g. *oc tuiste* 'at the creation' *uc sci* 'at the whitethorn', *ac tuidecht* 'coming'.

With the article: in *Wb.* always *ocin(d)*, elsewhere also *ocon(d)*, pl. *ocnaib* (*ocna* fem. Sg. 217<sup>a</sup>4). With possessive pronoun: sg. 1 *ocmu ocmo*, 2 *acdu MI.* (*occ t'adrad Wb.* 5<sup>a</sup>25), pl. 2 *ocbar*; but before *a* usually with *cc*: 3 sg. and pl. *occa*, also *occo (oco)*, once *ocua* (= *ocúa* or *ocu-a*?) *MI.* 18<sup>b</sup>4, pl. 1 *occar*. With the relative particle: *occa·*, *oco·*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *ocum*, 2 *ocut*, 3 *oc(c)o oc(c)a*, fem. *occ(a)i*, etc., § 436.

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A and B occur only in composition with the substantive verb in the sense of 'to touch', with *n-* forms in the pres. ind. ( § 551 ). In pretonic position the preposition has the form *ocu occu*, under the accent **oc**; e.g. *ocu-biat* 'they will touch', perf. *occu-ro-bae*, pres. pass. pl. *ocu-bendar*, prototonic *·ocmanatar*, vb.n. *ocmith ocmaid*, gen. *ocmaide*. The substitution of *m* for *b* (presumably  $\mu$  for  $\beta$ ) in the prototonic forms is probably due to the influence of the prep. **c(o)m-** ( § 830 ).

In this preposition *c(c) = g(g)*, cp. Mod. Ir. *ag. agam* 'with me'. It lenites with the article and the relative particle (which lose their *s-*), probably also in composition, but not immediately before a noun. Hence it is doubtful whether or not it originally ended in a consonant. It. *\*oggu-* is probably cognate with Mid.W. *wnc, wng* 'close, near', cp. *yn y wnc* 'near him'.

**849. os(s) (uss)** 'up, off'

A. Before vowels and *s* the form is *os(s)*, which, however, has the same effect upon a preceding syllable as if the vowel were *u*. Examples: *os-olggud* 'opening' *Laws IV.312, 11 (oslucud MI. 46<sup>b</sup>5, cp. § 181)*, *ar-os-aílci* 'opens', vb.n. *ir-s-olcoth er-s-olgd*; *osnad (oss-anad)* 'suspirium' (where *anad* has its original sense of 'breathing'), *con-os-na* 'rests, ceases', vb.n. *cum-s-anad*; *for-oss-ndi* 'which enlightens' *Anecd. v. 28, 12, vb.n. fursundud (andud 'kindling')*; *con-osciget, ·cumsciget* 'they remove' (*scoch-*).

The final is assimilated to a following media and also to *t* and *m*. Examples: *uccu* 'choice' (cp. *rogu, togu*); before **gab-** the vowel fluctuates: *con-ocba* 'he may raise', past subj. *con-ucbad*, etc., vb.n. *cumgabál (ócbál Thes. II.13, 24, error for oc- ?)*; *con-utuinc ·utaing* 'builds (up)', (*uss-d...*), and vb.n. *cumtach, cumdach*; *obbad, opad* 'refusal', subj. sg. 2 ·*obbais*, 3 ·*op ·oip ( § 627)*; *ad-opuir ·opair* 'offers' (*oss-ber-*), vb.n. *edbart, idbart*, acc. *audbirt*, etc., *do ·opir* 'defrauds', vb.n. *díupart*; *in-otgat* 'they enter', subj. 3 sg. *in-úait ( § 627*, the vocalism is peculiar and secondary), vb.n. *inotacht (tíagu 'I go')*; *do-ommalg* 'I have milked' ( § 534, 3); *díummus* 'pride' (*di-uss-mess*).

Before *l, r, n* the preposition appears as **ó (úa), ú**; e.g. *do-in-ó-la* 'gathers'; *·r-ind-úa-latar* 'have entered' (*luid* 'he went'); *con-a-r-gabad* 'has been raised'; *·di-úai-r*

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'will remain over' ( § 667), pres. *·díurat MI. 72<sup>b</sup>17 (rethid 'runs')*; *únach* 'washing (off)' *BR. p. 218, 19 (nigid 'washes')*.

**fo + o(ss)-** becomes *fó-, fúa-*, and *ro + o(ss)-* generally *ró-*; e.g. *fócre (fo-oss-gaire)* 'proclamation' (the long vowel has spread by analogy to 3 sg. pres. *to-d-úacair Wb. 11<sup>b</sup>24*, beside pret. pass. *fo-ocrad ZCP, VIII. 306, 22*); *do-fúasailcet, do-fúasalcat* 'they dissolve', vb.n. *túas(s)ulcud* (perf. pass. *do-forsailced*); *fúasnad* 'disturbing' (but deuterotonic *fu-fúasna*, see § 543b); further, the perfects *at-rópert, con-rótgatar*, but beside *di-rrúggel* 'has bought' *Thes. II.239, 15 (Arm.)* we find pl. *d-a-rucellsat MI. 126<sup>d</sup>7 (di-uss-gell-)*. On the other hand, **to + o(ss)-** apparently becomes *tǒ-, tǔ-*; e.g. *topur* 'well' (cp. *in(d)ber* 'river-mouth'); *tossach* 'beginning'; *tucbál* 'raising' *Arm. (KZ. XXXI.245)*, ipv. *tocaib Laws*, though the later language has forms with *tóe(a)b-*.

Forms such as *do-fúsailcet* beside prototonic *\*.túasailcet* have given rise to deuterotonic forms with *do-f...* where the verb did not contain the prep. **fo** at all; e.g. *do-fúarat* 'remains over'; perf. *do-fúargabsat* 'they have raised' beside sg. *túargab (to-oss-ro-gab-)*; *du-fuisledar* 'stumbles' beside 2 sg. *·tuíslider (to-uss-s(w)el-)*; *do-fuissim* '(pro)creates' beside vb.n. *tuistiu (to-uss-sem-)*, so also perf. *do-forsat* for earlier *do-rósat ( § 528)*; *du-furgaib* 'raises' beside *\*.turguib*, vb.n. *turcbál (to-ro-uss-gab-, ro* being the preposition, not the perfective particle), perf. *du-rurgab -gaib*.

B. **as(s)** ·; e.g. *ass ·oilgi* 'opens' *Corm.803 (L)*; *\*as ·boind* 'refuses' *Laws (aspoind, isboind MSS.)*, pass. *as-bonnar Ériu XII. 16 § 18*; with infixed pronoun *at-n-oilc* 'he opened it (masc.)' *LU 11025*.

For **o(ss)-** as perfective particle see § 532.

C. D. Not found.

Apart from the vocalism, the forms of this preposition correspond exactly to those of **ess** ( § 834). That would suggest a basic form *\*uchs* in Celtic, comparable with Gk.  $\square\psi\iota$  'on high', etc. This suggestion is supported by the Britannic form corresponding to Ir. *osnad*, viz. W. *uch-enaid* (Bret. *huanad*) 'sigh', in which the prefix is replaced by that of § 850. But a primary form *\*ud-s, \*uts*, as suggested by Skt. *ud-* 'up', is not absolutely excluded. The evidence of such Britannic forms as contain traces of the preposition--Mid. W. *d-r-y-chavel, dyrchacel* = Ir. *turcbál* (but with *kab-* instead of *gab-*), *di-e-bryd* = Ir. *díupart, ar-wy-re* 'to rise up--is inconclusive.

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**850.** *ós* 'above, over

C. *ós*, (*h*)*úas*, with the dative, apparently without lenition in Old Irish, though leniting in the later language; cp. *húas ciun Críst* 'over Christ's head' *MI.* 74<sup>b</sup>1.

With the article: *ósin(d) úasin(d)*, *ósnaib*; with possessive pronoun: sg. 1 *úas mo*, 3 *úas a*, etc. There are no examples with the relative particle.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *úasum*, 3 *úso -a*, pl. 3 *ósib*, etc., see [§ 436](#).

Besides the preposition the indeclinable form *úais* occurs, both as an adjective '(very) high', 'higher' (*Laws IV.* 326, 23), 'too high', and a noun '(very, too) high thing, person' (nom. pl. written **os** in *Bürgschaft* p. 26 § 72, read *óis?*); cp. Mid.W. *uch* 'above' and 'higher'. Ir. *s(s)* and W. *ch* go back to Celt. *chs*, see [§ 221b](#); the guttural appears in Irish also in *óchtar*, *úachtar* 'upper part' ([§ 266](#)). Cp. the adverbs *t-úas*, *s-úas*, *an-úas* ([§ 483](#)).

**851.** *re rí, rem-* 'before, pre-'

A. *rem*, leniting; e.g. *rem-suidigud* 'preposition' (*remuidigthe* 'placed before'), *rem-thechtas* 'precedence'.

B. *remi-* (*remí* [§ 48](#)), in relative clauses also *reme-* (*remé* *MI.* 15<sup>b</sup>3). Examples: *remi-suidigddis* 'they used to place before'; *remi-taat* 'praesunt'; *reme-bé do* 'who may be over him' *Ériu VII.* 158 § 19; *reme-n-uicsed* 'that he should prefer' (lit. 'choose before') *MI.* 47<sup>c</sup>12.

With infix pronoun: *remita-tét* 'which precedes them' [§ 412](#); *amal remindérbartamar* 'as we have said it before' *Ériu I.* 215, 10.

C. Generally *re* (*ré* *Wb.* 9<sup>b</sup>16, *Sg.* 169<sup>a</sup>1, cp. [§ 48](#)), less frequently *rí*, in later sources also *ría*, with the dative, nasalizing; e.g. *re n-airite* 'before accepting', *rí techt* (*t= d-*) 'before going', *ría cách* (*c= g-*) 'before everybody' *Thes. II.* 240, 19 (Arm.).

With the article: *resin(d)*, *\*resnaib*; with the possessive

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pronoun: *rem*, but before *a* usually written with double *n*: *renna*, *rinna* (*rena* *Wb.* 23<sup>d</sup>15); with the relative particle: *resa-*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *rium*, 2 *riut*, 3 *rīam ríam*, fem. *remi*, pl. 3 *remib* ([§ 436](#)).

If this preposition is the same as Gaul. *ris* (with the dative), as has been suggested (*ZCP.* XV. 381), it represents earlier *\*prīs*, reduced form of the comparative stem = Lat. *prior*, *prius*, which we also find in *prīs-cus*, *prīs-tinus*. In that case the nasalization after it is not original but has been modelled on *íar* 'after' ([§ 840](#)), from which the diphthong *ía* was also eventually taken over. The forms with *m* like *rīam*, *remi*, instead of being based on analogy with *íar..m-*, could be derived from a superlative stem *\*prī + šamo-* (comparable with Lat. *prīmus* < *\*prī + šmos*). The *nn* in *renn-a* is doubtless modelled on *inn-a* ([§ 842](#)).

**852.** *ro*

In Irish, as in Brittonic, the normal function of *ro* is that of perfective particle; see [§ 526 f](#). But it also occurs as a preposition in compound verbs. For *ro-fitir*, *ro-cluinethar*, *ro-laimethar*, see [§ 543a](#).

A. *ro*, *ru*, leniting. Simple *ro* before an adjective usually means 'too, excessively'; here the *o* is retained even before vowels; e.g. *ro-már* 'too great' (*W. rhy fawr*), *ru-bec* 'too small', *ro-ólach* 'too bibulous'. Before nouns it rarely has this meaning, e.g. *ro-ól*, *ro-chotlud* 'drinking, sleeping too much' *Tec. Corm.* p. 40 § 21. It may also be employed as a mere intensive prefix, e.g. *r-án* 'very splendid', *ro-mag* 'great field'; but when used with this meaning before an adjective *ro* is generally combined with other prepositions: *ér-* (*ess-ro-*) and *der-* (*de-ro-*); e.g. *érmall* 'very slow', *dermár* *dermar* 'very great, enormous' (*W. dirfawr*, O.Bret. pl. *dermorion*).

In compound verbs *ro* seldom constitutes the first element, but is often found after other prepositions. Examples: *·ro-gainn* 'finds room' ( *KZ. LXIII. 114*); *·ro-ig* 'reaches', for *·ro-sig* (to *saigid* 'seeks, makes for'); *do·roi-mnethar* 'forgets', vb.n. *dermat dermat*; *im·-rui-mdethar* 'sins' (to *midithir*), vb.n. *immarmus immormus*; *as·ro-choili* 'determines', vb.n. *érchoiliud*.

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Before vowels preverbal *ro*, whether preposition or particle, generally loses its *o* altogether, even where it should regularly bear the stress, except before *os(s)*, with which it combines to give *ró* ( § 849 ). Thus, e.g., *·r-ic* 'reaches', *·r-ad-*, *·r-air-*, *·r-aith-*, *·r-ess-*, *·r-imm-*, etc. An exception is provided by some forms of the compounds of *em-*: perfective subj. pres. *·deroíma* 'he may protect', past *·deroímed*, perf. *con·roíter* 'has preserved', §§ 684, 767. These are probably to be explained by the fact that in the compound with *air* ( § 837A ) there is confusion between the two forms *air-em-* and *air-fo-em-* (perfective subj. *·eroíma*, perf. *ar·róet ·roit ·roíat*), and that the *oí* has spread from the second; but perf. *do·r-ét* is regular.

For *ra-* in place of *ro* see § 82. In the preterite of the verbs *do·gni* 'does' and *do·sluindi* 'denies' *ri, rí* replaces *ro* as perfective particle, with assimilation of the vocalism to the forms without *ro*: *do. rigéni* 'has done' ( § 681 ), after *\*·di-géni*; *do·ríltiset* 'they have denied', after *\*·díltiset* (but *fo·gní* 'serves' has perf. *fo·ruigén*). Later there is an increase in such forms, apparently based on false analysis of *dí-* as *d-i-*; e.g. *doé riucart* 'he shouted' *Corm. 1059*, to *di-uss-gar-*, vb.n. *díucrae*. Before the verb *lécid* 'leaves' *re-* appears in place of *ro-*, e.g. perf. pass. *·reilced Ml. 49<sup>a</sup>10* (deuterotonic *ro·léced*), influenced perhaps, as has been suggested, by *re(i)lic* 'graveyard' from Lat. *reliquiae*; cp. *·teilc-* beside *do·léc-* § 855. *·ro-f* + *ó* and *·ro-f* + *ór* become *·ró-* and *·rór-* ( §§ 528, 529 ).

Between retained consonants unstressed *ro* usually becomes *ar* (*r* + *·* in the first instance, § 112 ); e.g. *t-ind-ar-scan* 'has begun'; *t-es-ar-bæ* 'was lacking'; *imm-ar-gal* 'strife'; cp. *immarmus, immormus* above; similarly *imim·th-imm-er-chelsat* 'they have surrounded me' *Ml. 44<sup>c</sup>25*.

From *torb(a)e* 'profit', probably a compound of *bae* 'profit' with *to-ro-*, a verb *·torban* 'profits' is formed by analogy with the compounds of *benaid* (such as *fo·ben* beside vb.n. *fub(a)e*); in the deuterotonic it has the peculiar form *do·rorben* (Bürgschaft p. 30 § 70), *do·rorban*. An analogical formation with the opposite meaning, the compound *·de-r-ban* 'hinders', has similar deuterotonic forms: fut. 1 sg. *do·rorbiu-sa ZCP. III. 246 § 56*.

B. *ro, ru* ( § 101 ); e.g. *ro-geinn* 'finds room', *ro-saig* 'reaches', *ro·fera* 'suffices'. In the verb *ro-ic-* 'reach'

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deuterotonic forms are often replaced by prototonic in a principal or a leniting relative clause; thus beside *ro·iccu, ru·icim*, subj. *ro·hí*, we find more frequently *ricu, rís, ránac*, etc. Similarly *rucad* for *ro·ucad* 'has been borne'

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 *rom.*, 3 *ra·, rel. rod·*, nasalized *rond·*, etc., §§ 411, 413.

For cases where the perfective particle *ro* occurs unstressed as the second element see §§ 39, 234, 2.

C and D not found.

This preposition corresponds to Gk. *πρό*, Lat. *prō-*, Goth. *fra*, Skt. *pra*, etc. Cp. Gaul. *hro* 'nimium' (where *h* has no significance) Endlicher's Gloss., *Ro-taluss*.

**853.** *sech* 'past, beyond'

C. *sech* with the accusative, e.g. *sech positi* 'beyond the positives' *Sg. 45<sup>a</sup>8*. It probably lenites, cp. *sech thenlach* 'past the hearth' Bürgschaft p. 28 § 76c; *sech positi* is not evidence to the contrary, as *p-* often remains unlenited ( § 231, 5).

With the article: *sechin, secha, sechna*; with possessive pronoun: *sechmo*; with the relative particle: *secha·*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *sechum*, 2 *sechut*, 3 *sech(a)e*, fem. *secce*, etc., [§ 434](#).

A and B occur only with verbs of going. Pretonic *sechmo·ella* 'passes by, lacks' *Sg.* 196<sup>b</sup>2 beside *lase sechmi·n·ella Ml.* 61<sup>a</sup>5, prototonic *·sechmalla*, vb.n. *sechmall*; *sechmadachte* 'preterite' (to *tíagu* 'I go').

*sech*, which also occurs as a conjunction ([§ 882](#)), corresponds to Mid. W. and Bret. *hep, heb* 'without', Lat. *secus* 'beside, otherwise'; cp. Lett. *sec (secen)* 'past'. For the forms with suffixed pronoun *secce, seccu*, see [§ 451](#). If (*ní*) *sechfaid, sechbaid* '(it is no) mistake' *Trip.* 228, 25, *RC.* IX. 480 § XII., is a compound of *sech* and *buith*, either the preposition has here been compounded without the *m*-suffix or the latter has been suppressed; for this suffix cp. [§ 840](#).

**854.** *tar, dar, tairm-* 'across, over'

A. *tairm-*, less frequently *tarm-*, leniting. It often renders Lat. *trans-*, e.g. *tairm·thecht* 'transgressio, transitus', verb 3 pl.

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*·tarmthíagat; tairmchrutto* 'transformationis'. But also *tarmorcenn, tairmorcenn* 'termination' (to *forcenn* 'end'), dat. pl. *tharmmorcneib Sg.* 43<sup>a</sup>5; *tairmchoslaid* 'praeuaricator'. In *tarbid* 'abiding' *Ml.* 131<sup>c</sup>9 (*-buith*) *m* has been lost between *r* and *b*; but in Féil. June 4 the MSS. have *ta(i)rmrith, tarmbreith* (acc.sg.) 'translation' (**-brith, -breith**).

B. *tarmi*, possibly not an old form, is comparatively rare; e.g. *tarmi·berar* 'transfertur' *Hib. Min.* 1, 24; also with *d-*: *darmi·regtais* 'they would go over' *Trip.* 204, 19. It is normally replaced by **tremi** ([§ 856](#)); e.g. *tremi·berar Wb.* 8<sup>a</sup>5, *trimi·berar Ml.* 21<sup>c</sup>3, perf. *trimi·rucad* 2<sup>b</sup>17; with infix pronoun: *tremtiagat = tremid · t- Wb.* 25<sup>d</sup>14.

The form *do·airmesca* 'disturbs, prevents' *Ériu III.* 108 § 50 (cp. *Mon. Tall.* p. 127 § 2), beside vb.n. **tairmesc (tairmesc Ériu VII. 198 § 5), has arisen from the *t-* in **tairm-mesc-** being mistaken for the prep. **to-**; cp. W. *terfysg* 'disturbance', OW. *termisceticion* gl. *sollicitos*.**

C. In *Wb.tar* and *dar*, in *Ml.* and *Sg.tar*, with the accusative; e.g. *tar crích* 'over the border', *dar timne* 'beyond the commandment'

With the article: *tarsin, tarsa, tarsna*; with possessive pronoun: sg. 1 *tarmu tarm darm* (§ 439), 3 *tara dara* (in *Ml. tra* twice, 27<sup>c</sup>4, 101<sup>a</sup>3), etc.; with the relative particle: *tarsa· tara· dara·*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 2 *torut*, 3 *tarais*, fern. *tairse*, pl. 3 *tairsiu*, etc., [§ 434](#).

The basic form of the preposition, as most clearly shown in the forms with suffixed pronoun *tairse* and *tairsiu*, was *\*tares*, which doubtless corresponds exactly to Skt. *tiráh*, Avest. *tarō* 'across'; cp. the derivative *tairsce* 'trespass (by cattle)', etc., *Laws*. For the (double) *s* in *tarais*, cp. *leis(s), fris(s)*; the neutral *r* by analogy with the pretonic form *tar*. The *m*-suffix is the same as in *trem(i)-, rein(i)-*. The *d-* of the proclitic form *dar* (§ 178, 2) has only partially superseded *t-* in pretonic position.

**855. to (do)** 'to, towards'

Collection of verbs compounded with **to** - alone: Holmer, *RC.* L.109 ff.

A. Before consonants usually **to, tu**, leniting; e.g. *to·th(a)im* 'fall'; *to·mus* 'measure' (*mess*); **·to-gaítha**

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'deceives'; *to-déoir* 'tearful' *Ériu II.* 65 § 11 (*dér* 'tear'); *tui-deeht* 'coming' ( § 123b ); *tuidchetar* 'they have come' ( § 770 ). Before *s* and *f* + *ˊ*: *con-toí* 'turns' (*ˊto-ōòí*), vb.n. *comthoud comthód*; past subj. *ˊtoíssed* gl. *debellasset* *MI.* 40<sup>d</sup>13 (*to-fich-*); *tób(a)e* 'cutting, lopping' (*to-fo-*); *túachil(1)* 'sly' (*fochell* 'heed', § 61 ); *tórmach*, *-mag* 'increase' (*to-for-*); *túarastal* 'wages' (*frestal* 'attending').

For *ta-* instead of **to** in *ˊta-b(a)ir* 'gives', etc., see § 82 ; for *ti- te-* in *ˊti-bér* 'I will give' and *ˊti-rga ˊte-rga* 'he will come', § 652, 656. *te-* also appears in prototonic forms of *to-lēc-* 'cast', e.g. ipv. 2 pl. *teilcid*, vb.n. *te(i)iciud*; here the *e* is obviously due to the influence of *reilc-* (*ro-lēc-*) § 852A, and may have spread to the compound from *ro-*forms like perf. 2 sg. *do-reilgis* *LL* 113<sup>a</sup>41. Forms with *ta-* (vb.n. *tailciud*), meaning 'let (loose, down, etc.)' are probably by-forms of the same compound (cp. Marstrander, *RC.* XXXVII. 23, 212 ff.), e.g. *ara-tailced* 'that he might let back' *Thes. II.* 240, 22 (Arm.), perf. *nad-tairlaic don* 'which has not yielded ground' *MI.* 131<sup>b</sup>2 (as though compounded with *to-air-*; elsewhere *ˊtarlaic*). Since the preposition was felt to consist of the *t*-only, deuterotonic forms with *do-f-* arose (cp. § 837A ), e.g. pres. *cía dud-failci don* *MI.* 111<sup>b</sup>23, perf. *do-farlaic don* *Tur.* 99.

Before vowels **t** -; e.g. *ˊt-ic* 'comes', *t-uc(ca)i* 'understands'; further *ˊt-ad-*, *ˊt-air- ˊt-er-*, *ˊt-aith-*, *ˊt-ess-*, *ˊt-etar*, *ˊt-imm-*, *ˊt-in(d)-*, etc. An apparent exception is *to-org-* 'crush' (cp. pret. *do-s-n-ort* *Ált. ir. Dicht. I.* 17 § 4; with the perfective particle **-com-** : *do-com-art*, etc.), whose prototonic forms have *túar-*, e.g. ipv. pass. pl. *túargatar*, vb.n. *túarcun*. But there may have been another compound *to-fo-org-* to which these forms belong, as well as such deuterotonic forms as pres. *do-fúairc*, subj. *du-fúarr*, etc., which in that ease are not analogical formations; cp. *ma fo-n-oir* (read *fa-n-orr*) 'if he injures him' *Laws III.* 34, 2 (without *to-*).

B. Archaic *tu*·, **to** ·; e.g. *tu-thēgot* 'who come', *tu-esmot* 'who shed' *Cam.* ( *Thes. II.* 247, 19); *tu-ercomlassat* 'they have gathered' *Wb. I.* 7<sup>a</sup>7; *tu-crecha* 'invents' *Filargirius Gl.* ( *Thes. II.* 46, 13; 361); **amail tond-echomnuhuir** (read *ˊecomnuhuir*) 'as it has happened' *Cam.* ( *Thes. II.* 247, 11-12).

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But from the time of *Wb.* on *do*, *du* is always found before consonants (at least, examples of **to** are so rare that they are probably no more than scribal errors); e.g. *do-tuit* 'falls'; *du-mmidethar* 'measures'; *do-gaitha* 'deceives'; *du-tét* 'comes', *do-dechuid* 'has come'; *do-soí* 'turns to'; *do-fui-bnimm* 'I cut off'; *do-for-maig* (also *do-fórmaig*, attracted by A) 'increases'; *do-beir* 'gives', fut. pl. *do ˊbérat*; *do-lécet* 'they cast', etc. For *du*, cp. § 101.

Before vowels the form of A often replaces that of B in a principal or a leniting relative clause; e.g. *tadbat* beside *do-adbat* 'shows'; *tarrchet* beside *do-arrchet* 'has been foretold'; *tindnagar* beside *do-ind-nagar* 'is bestowed'; always *t-án(a)ic(c)* 'came', etc.; in *Wb.* *túargab* (*to-oss-ro-*) 'has raised'

C. and D. do not occur, *do du* ( § 832 ) being used instead.

For the change of *t-* to *d-* in pretonic words see § 178, 2. In Britannic the forms with *t-* have been almost completely superseded in composition by those with *d-* (*W. dy-*). This preposition has been compared with Albanian *te* 'to, near, against'. Since it indicates direction, it must be distinct from the *t-* in the adverbs of place *t-úas*, *t-air*, etc. ( § 483 ), though both are undoubtedly connected with the IE. demonstrative stem *to-*.

856. *tri*, *tre*, *trem-* 'through'

C. *tri* (*trí* § 48 ) *tre*, with the accusative, leniting; e.g. *tri chretim* 'through faith', *tre essamni* 'through fearlessness'.

With the article: *tris(s)in*, *tris(s)a*, *trisna*, also *tresin*, etc.; with possessive pronoun: sg. 1 *trim*, *trem*, 3 *tri-a*, *tre-a*, etc.; with the relative particle: *tres-a*.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 *trium*, 2 *triuut*, 3 *triit*, fern. **tre** e, etc., § 433.

A. and B. usually have forms modelled on *remi-*, *rem*( § 851 ):

B. *tremi-*, *trimi-* (*tremií*, *trimí*, § 48.), in relative clauses also *treme-*, *trime-*. It is often found in place of *tarmi-* (examples § 854.); elsewhere it occurs, e.g., in *trímedirgedar* (read *trime-dírgedar*) 'that he refers' *MI.* 54<sup>a</sup>22, *treme-thaít* (? MS. *tremiethai* with *t* written under the *h*) 'which penetrates' 43<sup>c</sup>14.

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A. *trem-*, certainly leniting; e.g. *·tremdirgedar Sg.* 190<sup>a</sup>5, *·trem-feidliget* 'per-manent', *trem-amairesach* 'perfidus' *MI.*, *trem-bethe* 'saeculorum' *Wb.* 28<sup>a</sup>5 (to bith).

In one compound the forms are modelled on those of *fri* (§ 839.): B. *tris-gat(a)im* 'I pierce' (perf. *dri-rogat* with *d-* *MI.* 86<sup>a</sup>6); A., on the evidence of later examples, *trectaim* (*ct=gd*), *trecatim* *Thes. II.* 42, 21; the verb comes to be inflected as a simplex, e.g. 3 sg. rel. *tregtas Ériu VII.* 164 § 1a. In a few other compounds we also find *tre-* alone, but followed by lenition: *to(i)-thre-bach neut.* 'eruption' *MI.* 123<sup>d</sup>2, 129<sup>d</sup>9 (*bongid* 'breaks'), later attested *tre-tholl* 'perforated, full of holes' *Met. Dinds. IV.* 218 (=W. *trydwill*).

In OW. the preposition is *trui*, in Mid.W. *trucy*, *drwy* (in composition *try-*), in Bret. and Corn. *dre* (O.Bret. *tre-orgam* 'perforo'). In Irish there is a discrepancy between the lenition of the initial of a following noun and the retention of the *s* of the article. The lenition, however, is doubtless older. since it is also found after the Britannic preposition; accordingly the basic form was *\*trei*. But the form with suffixed pronoun 3 sg. masc. neut. *triit* (Mod.Ir. *tríd*) is impossible to reconcile with this; it looks like a neuter participle originally ending in *-in -nt* + pronoun: cp. OHG. *drāen*. OE. *prāwan* 'to turn', Gk. *τρῆ + ῥα* 'bore, auger-hole'.

## VARIATIONS IN PRE-VERBAL PREPOSITIONS

857. The following list is intended as a survey of the variations undergone by prepositions in the same verbal compound, according as they stand under or before the accent. Each preposition is illustrated by a few typical examples. The verbs are arranged in the alphabetical order of the preverbs in the deuterotonic forms, which appear in the first column. As a rule the present indicative 3 sg. is quoted, occasionally also the perfect.

### DEUTEROTONIC

*ad-cí* 'sees'  
*ad-cuaid*, *in-cuaid* 'has told'  
*ad-eirrig* 'repeats, emends'  
*ad-greinn*, *in-greinn* 'persecutes'  
*ad-op(u)ir* 'offers'  
*ad-rími* 'counts'  
*ad-slig* 'induces'

### PROTONTIC

*·aicci ·accai* § 822  
*·écid* § 842  
*·aithirrig* § 824  
*·ingrainn* § 842  
*·audbir ·idbir ·edbir* § 822  
*·áirmi* § 822.  
*·aslig* § 822

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### DEUTEROTONIC

*ar-cessi* 'pities'  
*ar-utaing* 'refreshes'  
*as-beir* 'says', *as-rubart*  
*as-boind* 'refuses'  
*as-luí* 'escapes'  
*as-oirc* 'strikes', *as-comart*  
*ceta-bí*, *cita-bí* 'feels' (con-  
 suet. pres.)  
*con-certa* 'corrects'  
*con-ic* 'can', *con-ánac(u)ir*

### PROTONTIC

*·airchissi ·erchissi* § 823.  
*·irting ·ert(a)ing* § 823  
*·epir (·apir)*, *·érbart* § 834  
*·op(a)ind* § 849  
*·élai* § 834  
*·essairc*, *·escmart* § 834  
*·cétbi* § 828  
*·cocarta* § 830  
*·cumuing ·cumaing*,  
*·coímnacuir* § 830

**DEUTEROTONIC**

*con·imchlaí* 'exchanges'  
*con·osna* 'rests'  
*con·tibi* 'mocks'  
*do·beir* 'gives', *do·rat*  
*do·coïd* 'has gone'  
*do·dona* 'consoles'  
*do·essim* 'sheds'  
*do·fonig* 'washes (off)'  
*do·formaig* 'increases'  
*do·fúarat* 'remains over'  
*do·fúasailci* 'looses'  
*du·furcaib* 'raises'  
*do·gaitha* 'deceives'  
*do·gní* 'does', with **ro** :  
*do·rón(a)j*  
*do·opir* 'defrauds'  
*do·rósc(a)idi·róscái* 'surpasses'  
*eter·scaraetir·scara* 'separates'  
*fris·gair* 'answers'  
*friss·oirc* 'injures'  
*farmi·foig* 'asks, inquires'  
*im·rádi* 'thinks'  
*im·soí* 'turns'

**PROTOTONIC**

·*coímchlaí* § 830  
·*cumsana* § 830  
·*cuitbi* § 830  
·*tab(a)ir*, ·*tarat* § 855  
·*dechuid* § 831  
·*dídna* § 831  
·*tessim* § 855  
·*díunig* § 831  
·*tórmaig* § 855  
·*díurat* § 849  
·*túasailci* § 849  
·*turgaib* § 849  
·*togaítha* § 855  
·*dén(a)i*, ·*dern(a)j* § 831  
·*díupir* § 831  
·*derscaigi* § 831  
·*etarscara* § 835  
·*frecair* § 839.  
·*frithoirc* (·*fridoire*) § 839  
·*íarfaig* § 840  
·*imbrádi imrádi* § 841  
·*impái* § 841

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**DEUTEROTONIC**

*in(n)·árban* 'expels'  
*in·snaid* 'grafts'  
*ocu·ben* 'touches'  
*remi·suidigedar* 'places before'  
*sechmo·ellasechmi·ella* 'passes  
by'  
*tarmi·beir*, *tremi·beir* 'transfers'  
*tremi·feidligedar* 'perseveres'  
*tris·gata* 'pierces'

**PROTOTONIC**

·*indarban* § 842  
·*esn(a)id* § 842  
·*ocman* § 848  
·*rem·suidigedar* § 851  
·*sechmalla* § 853  
·*tairmbir* § 854  
·*tremf* + *éidligedar* § 856  
·*trecta* § 856

**NOMINAL PREPOSITIONS**

858. A few prepositions which are in origin case-forms of nouns govern the dative or accusative just like true prepositions; thus *fiad* § 836, *amal* § 824, *la* § 845. To this class belong also *túaith* 'north of' and *des(s)* (*tess*) 'south of', with the ace.; e.g. *túaith crícha Cuire* 'north of Corc's territories' LL 50 <sup>a</sup>1 (cp. *Thes. II.* 315, 4).

It is not quite certain if the last two are also used with the dative; cp. *isin maig des* (*tess*) *Arggatnéul* 'in the plain south of Argatnél' (? *Imram Brain I.* 7 § 8, where, however, Meyer translates: 'in southern Mag Argatnél'. Cp. also their use with suffixed pronouns § 434.

Most nominal prepositions retain the adnominal genitive (or the possessive pronoun). They are not infrequently preceded by a true preposition. A few of them have come to be used exclusively as prepositions in that the original noun either no longer survives or has a different form as a substantive. Thus:

*dochum* (nasalizing) 'to, towards', after verbs of motion; e.g. *dochum ñ-dé* 'to God', *far n-dochum* 'to you'. It represents the proclitic form of *tochim* neut. 'stepping towards' (vb.n. of *do-cing*).

*sethnu, sethno* 'through, across', e.g. *sethnu in ríghige* 'throughout the royal house' *ZCP. IV. 43, 1*. Evidently an old dative (see *ZCP. XII. 287*), cp. *di-a sethnaib* 'with (from) their bodies' or 'corpses' (?) *Sitzb. Pr. Akad. 1919, p. 92 § 12*.

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*i n-arrad* 'near, with' (vb.n. of *ar-reth-* 'attack, overtake?').

*fo bíth, fu bíthin* 'on account of, because of, for the sake of', lit. 'under the stroke of' (old vb.n. of *ben(a)id* 'cuts, strikes', cp. [§ 735](#)).

*deg* (read *dég*) *Sg. 201<sup>b</sup>1*, *dag* (read *dág*) *Wb. 5<sup>b</sup>29*, with the same meaning; cp. *di ág mná Celtchair* 'on account of Celtchar's wife' *LU 11062* (from *ág* 'fight').

*fo bíth* and *dég* occur also as conjunctions, see [§ 905](#).

*i n-degaid, i n-digaid* (read *-dígaid?* acc. of *\*dí-ǵaigid*) 'after'; e.g. *i n-degaid n-Ísu* '(following) after Jesus' *Tur. 74*.

859. Among other nouns used in prepositional phrases are:

*bél* 'lip', pl. *béoil* 'mouth': *ar bélaib* 'before'.

*cenn* 'head, end': *ar chiunn* 'facing, awaiting'; *ar chenn* 'towards, against'; *tar, dar cenn* 'for'; cp. *ciunn, cinn* 'at the end of' (dative without preposition).

*cuít* 'part, share': *ar chuit* 'as regards, as for'

*cúl* 'back': *íar cúl* 'behind', for *cúlu* 'behind' (direction); *luid in grían for-a cúlu* 'the sun went backwards' *Ml. 16<sup>c</sup>10*.

*dead, diad* 'end': *i n-dead, i n-diad* 'after'

*éis* 'track': *do, di éis* '(to remain on) after (someone)', *tar (dar) és(s)i* (acc. sg.) 'for, in place of'.

*ellaeh* 'joining, union': *i n-ellug* 'united with'.

*ráth* 'warranty, surety': *di ráith* 'for, in lieu of' *Wb. 6<sup>a</sup>14*.

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## NEGATIVES

*nī + U+036, nī + čon*

860. The ordinary negative in both principal and subordinate clauses, apart from the eases enumerated in § 862 f., is *ní, ni* (geminating, § [243, 2](#)). It always stands as a conjunct particle in front of the verb, whether it is logically attached to the latter or to a following word; e.g. *ni-dénat firtu úili* 'not all work miracles' *Wb. 12<sup>b</sup>20*. Only when it is desired to lay special emphasis on the negated element is the latter placed at the head of the clause in periphrasis with *nī +* 'it is not' (§ [794](#)); e.g. *ni ar formut frib-si as-biur-sa in so* 'it is not because of envy of you (that) I say this' *Wb. 12<sup>c</sup>29*.

For *nī* + *š* . . . *nech* 'no one' see § 489. For the form of the infix pronoun after *nī* + *š* see § 411; for the forms of the copula, § 794 ff.

861. In principal clauses *nī* + *š* is very often replaced by *nī* + *čon*. This negative lenites in Wb. and Sg.; e.g. *nicon·chloor* 'let me not hear' Wb. 23<sup>b</sup>41, cp. 2<sup>b</sup>21, 19<sup>c</sup>10, 30<sup>c</sup>4, Sg. 188<sup>a</sup>4. In Ml. it nasalizes *t*- in *nicon·dét* 'it does not go' 53<sup>a</sup>17 (cp. *connaconī* + *ň*- § 896).

Before an infix pronoun it is first found in Ml. (§ 420). In the Glosses it does not appear before forms of the copula; but *nī* + *čon* is used (like *nī* + *š*) for 'is not' in Féil. Prol. 111, Epil. 227, and later sources; e.g. *nicon choir* 'it is not proper' Mon. Tall. p. 133 § 15 (showing lenition).

The most obvious explanation of this form would be to take *-con* as the conjunction *con* (§ 896) which introduces subject clauses, lit. '(it is) not that . . .'. *nī* + *čon* would then have arisen as the counterpart of the common *ní nád* '(it is) not that not', e.g. *ní nád·m·bia cumscugud* 'not that there will not be a change' Wb. 13<sup>d</sup>17. This explanation seems to be contradicted by the lenition that normally follows *nī* + *čon*; on the other hand, it is supported, perhaps, by arch. *nico·pe*, *nico·be* (3 sg. fut. of the copula) ZCP. XI.94 § 32, 95 § 46, where *co* looks like the by-form of the conjunction *con*. If it is correct, the lenition must be secondary, suggested, perhaps, by that after *nī* + *šro* (§ 234. 2).

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*nā* + *š*, *nā* + *čh*, *nā* + *đ*, *nacon*, etc.

862. Before the imperative the negative is *nā* + *š* (geminating), before infix pronouns *nā* + *čh*- (§ 419); e.g. *na·cuindig* 'seek not', *nachib·berar* 'be ye not borne'.

On the other hand, the jussive subjunctive has *nī* + *š* or *nī* + *čon*; e.g. *ni·gessid* 'ye shall not pray' Wb. 26<sup>a</sup>34 (ipv. *na·gudid*); cp. *nicon·chloor* § 861; *ní·ro·héla* 'may it not escape' 30<sup>a</sup>10.

863. In leniting and nasalizing relative clauses (§ 493 ff.), and after the interrogative particle in (§ 463), the negative is *nā* + *đ* (conjunct particle), before forms of the copula (other than the 3 sg. pres. ind.) *nā* + *š*, before infix pronouns *nā* + *čh*-. If followed immediately by the verbal particle *ro* it appears either as *nā* + *đ* with the stress falling on *ro*, or as *na* with *ro* attached in enclisis.

Moreover, the forms *nā* + *š* and *nā* + *čh* are always used after the conjunctions *ara*<sup>n</sup> (§ 898), *co*<sup>n</sup> (§ 896 f.), and *a*<sup>n</sup> 'when, while' (§ 890), with which they combine to give respectively *arná·arna·*, *conna·cona·* (*arnach*-, *connach*-), *anna·anaá*; and usually, though not invariably, after prepositions with the relative particle, as well as after *in* 'in which' (examples § 492). Only once do we find *amal na·fil* 'as there is not' Wb. 14<sup>c</sup>24.

For the forms with infix pronouns, including *nad*-id· beside *nach·*, *nachid·*, *na·n·d·*, etc., see § 419; for the forms with the 3 sg. of the copula *nā* + *đ*, *nan(t)*, *nā* + *č*, *nā* + (*i*)*ch*, *connách*, subj. *nadip* and *nap*, §§ 797, 803.

Examples: *nahí nad·chrenat* 'those who do not buy' Wb. 10<sup>b</sup>7; *amal nád·n·déní* 'as it does not make' Sg. 63<sup>a</sup>17; *in·nád·cúalaid·si* 'have ye not heard?' Wb. 5<sup>a</sup>21; *aimser námba lobur* 'a time that he will not be feeble' 6<sup>b</sup>15; *nad·rognatha* 'which have not been done' Ml. 115<sup>b</sup>4; *na·ro·pridchissem·ni* 'which we have not preached' Wb. 17b31; *ro·boí du chensí Daid conna·rogáid do día dígail for Saul* 'such was the clemency of David that he did not pray to God for vengeance on Saul' Ml. 55<sup>d</sup>4; *dinad·rícthe nech* 'of which some one shall not have been saved' Wb. 28<sup>b</sup>1.

In Ml. 128<sup>c</sup>3, *nach·*, which is really the form with the suffixed pronoun 3 sg. neut., is used for *nad·*; this becomes common in Middle Irish.

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*na·* + *áigder* 'in which are not feared' beside *inna·fera flechod* 'in which it does not rain' SP. (Thes. II.294, 15). There are also sporadic instances of *na·* (not *nad·*) for *arnaá* 'lest' and *con(n)a·* 'so that not':

*na-imroimser* 'lest thou sin' *Wb.* 20<sup>c</sup>4; *nachin-rogba úall* 'that pride may not seize us' 15<sup>d</sup>40; *na-biam i n-gorti* beside *conna-biam i n-gorti* 'so that we shall not be in hunger' 16<sup>a</sup>9-8.

*nad* (with the 3 sg. of the copula *n̄ššch*) may also introduce replies; e.g. '*da-bér* (read *do-bér*) *séotu dait. Nad-géb-sa ón.*' 'I will give thee treasures.' 'I will not take that.' LU 5806.

Collection: Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Society* 1899-1902, p. 54.

864. In the same way as *n̄ + čon* is used beside *n̄ + ʔ* (§ 861), *nad-con* (in leniting relative clauses also *nad-chon*) appears beside *nā + đ*, rarely in *Wb.*, oftener in *MI.*; similarly *con(n)ac(c)on*, *arnacon* (also *connachon*, *arnachon*) beside *con(n)a*, *arna*; e.g. *nem nad-chon-ricthar* 'a poison which cannot be healed' *MI.* 33<sup>d</sup>10. We find *nacon* also after a preposition with the relative particle; e.g. *dinacon-bí* 'from which is not wont to be' *MI.* 85<sup>b</sup>7, *tech asnacon-damar cert* (*ceart MS.*) 'a house out of which right is not granted' *Laws v.* 160, 4.

Collection of forms in *MI.*: Ascoli, *Archly. Glottolog. Ital., Suppl. II.* 121. Cp. further *Wb.* 4<sup>b</sup>2, 15<sup>d</sup>11, *Thes. II.* 239, I (Arm.).

865. Parallel non-verbal words or phrases in a negative clause are usually linked by *nā + ʔ* (geminating), before proclitics *nach*. Examples: *ní-frithalim-se rucaí na-mmebuil* 'I do not expect shame or disgrace' *MI.* 49<sup>d</sup>3; *conna-biam i n-gorti na nochtí* 'so that we shall not be in hunger or nakedness' *Wb.* 16<sup>a</sup>8; *nachab-ticfed for rí nach far túad* '(they believed) that neither your king nor your people would come to you' *MI.* 46<sup>a</sup>14.

But such words or phrases may also be linked together by the ordinary disjunctive *nó* 'or' (§ 885); e.g. *ní hó mud neirt nó cháine do-gairem-ni noíbu* 'not after the manner of (their) strength or beauty do we name the saints' *MI.* 37<sup>b</sup>16.

866. In the earliest period two or more complete negative clauses could also be linked in this manner, e.g. *ni-tuillet dílsi*

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*anfolta naich díless dú[a]is díuparta* 'improper objects (in a contract) do not import validity, and the reward given for a fraud is not valid' *Bürgschaft p.* 30 § 81 (*ZCP.* XVIII. 376); cp. *Laws IV.* 316, 6. Later **ocus n̄ + ʔ** was used (e.g. *Wb.* 6<sup>b</sup>22), or **ocus** was placed in front of the negative **na** (with the copula **nā + (i)ch**); e.g. *ní ind fessin eirbthi ocus nach dó do-aisilbí na-nn̄í do-gní* 'it is not in himself that he trusts and it is not to himself that he ascribes whatever he does' *MI.* 51<sup>b</sup>12.

For later examples of *ocus na*, cp. Pedersen II. 254 (*Ped.*<sup>2</sup> p. 249). For the combination of two negative clauses in a single period by means of **sech**, see § 882.

**867.** For the autonomous negative 'nay' there are various expressions:

- na-thó* (in later texts also *ni-thó*), the contrary of **tó** 'yes'; e.g. **hi.** (read **in · ʔ**) *pridchat?* 'nathó' *ol Pól.* 'Shall they preach? "Nay", saith Paul' *Wb.* 13<sup>a</sup>13.
- naice**, which glosses *non utique*, *nihil minus*, etc. The forms *nacc* and *naic(c)* are especially common in the second part of a disjunctive question; e.g. *in tree æ + ím didiu fa nacc* 'is it through it (fem.) then indeed or not?' *Wb.* 2<sup>c</sup>4; *no. scrútain-se . . . in-ru-etarscar fa naic* 'I used to examine . . . whether it had departed or not' *MI.* 91<sup>c</sup>1. Cp. also *air nírbu chumachtach-som, nacce* 'for he was not powerful, nay!' *MI.* 72<sup>b</sup>4.

Cp. further the gloss on *non de nihilo MI.* 75<sup>b</sup>20: *ni di nacca dim.i. acht is du dim* 'it is not of a non-thing, i.e. but it is of a thing', as against *it nephdimdí* 'nihil (sunt)' 130<sup>d</sup>7 (cp. § 874).

- náte náde*, which is used as an emphatic negative (cp. *ate (adde)* 'truly, indeed'); e.g. *inn ed in sin fu-ruar (·ra ar MS.) dait? náte, ní ed* 'is it that that caused (it) to thee? Nay, it is not' *MI.* 44<sup>b</sup>10-11.

In one instance *náde* does not appear to have a negative meaning: *in inonn less parbulus et nutrix? náde æ + ím, is inonn* 'Is *paruulus* the same as *nutrix* according to him? Verily, it is the same' *Wb.* 24<sup>d</sup>11. On

the other hand, there are some examples in which **ate (adde)** is possibly, though not necessarily, negative; cp. *MI.* 114<sup>a</sup>15, 24618, *Thes.* II. 4, 30. It is definitely positive in *IT.* II. ii. 190, 20; 214, 50; III. 190 § 16; cp. also *LL* 120<sup>a</sup>17.

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#### ANALYSIS OF THE NEGATIVE FORMS

For the vocalism of *nī* + *ǃ* and the gemination after it (also found after *OW.* *ny*), see § 243; for the fluctuation in quantity, § 48.

To **na (nach-)** there corresponds a Britannic form *na*, which usually appears as *nac*, *nag* before vowels (as *nat* only in subordinate clauses in *Mid. W.*), and is in general used like its Irish equivalent. It stands before the imperative, between negative clauses, in replies, in relative and other subordinate clauses (only in relative clauses is it superseded by *ny* in Middle Welsh). Accordingly Insular Celtic had a form *\*nak*, from which Britannic makes nouns and verbs also: *W.* *nag* 'denial', *negydd* 'denier', *nacau* 'to deny', *Bret.* *nakat* 'to conceal' (*k* < *gh*). The occasional long vowel in *Ir.* *ná*, *nách* is thus probably secondary. In **na(i)cc**, etc., the doubling of the guttural is due, perhaps, to a suffixed particle; cp. *Bret.* *nac'h* 'to deny' (*c'h* < *kk*).

The construction described in § 865 f. makes it almost certain that we have here a form cognate with *Lat. ne-que, nec*, *Goth. ni-h*; the final vowel had been lost so early that *q<sup>w</sup>* in auslaut became *k*, and hence does not appear as a labial in Britannic (cp. § 880). This equation would suggest that the use of **na (nach-)** in relative clauses is due to the conversion of earlier parataxis into hypotaxis; with the relational use is also connected its employment in answers to questions (cp. §§ 38, 3a, 780, 2). When it had come to be used in relative clauses it could combine with the particle (*i*)*d* (§ 511) to give *nā* + *d* (which is not identical with the above-mentioned *Mid. W. nat*).

But as well as this *\*nak*, used to link negative clauses or their members, there must have been an absolute, possibly emphatic, form, used, e.g., before the imperative. As *Ir. na-thó* 'nay' is paralleled by *W. na ddo* (*do* 'yes'), perhaps there was a form **na** without the final guttural; cp. also *hate*, *náde*. In all these forms the origin of the *a* is obscure.

In place of **naicc**, etc., other texts which are of about the same age as the Glosses, but are transmitted in later MSS., have *aicc*, *acc*, *aicce* 'nay', without *n-*. This recalls *taccu*, *tacco* 'verily' (perhaps originally 1 sg. of a verb) which, like *ate*, is often used to mark an antithesis; e.g. *nonne uos estis?* gl. *tacco, is síi* 'yea verily, it is ye' *Wb.* 25<sup>a</sup>3; *numquid egemus?* gl. *taccu, ni-adilgnigmar* 'nay, we need not.' 15<sup>a</sup>2 (ep. 19<sup>a</sup>18).

## COMPOSITION FORMS OF THE NEGATIVE

**869.** 1. The Irish forms descended from the IndoEuropean negative prefix *\*n* + *ǃ* (Britannic and Gaul. *an-*, *Skt. a-* *an-*, *Gk. ǃ-*, *ǃv-*, *Lat. in-*, Germanic *un-*, etc.) are chiefly used to change adjectives and nouns formed from adjectives into the corresponding negatives; e.g. *anfoirbthetu* 'imperfection', from *anfoirbthe* 'imperfect'. They are prefixed to other nouns when the resulting compound denotes a concept distinct from that of the simplex; e.g. *anfius* 'ignorance' (hence *anfissid*

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'ignorant person' § 267), *ancretem* and *am(a)ires* 'unbelief', **anfochell** 'carelessness', **ancride** 'injustice' (to **cride** 'heart'), **a(i)mles** 'disadvantage'.

**870.** *IE. n* + *ǃ* is represented in Irish by the following forms: (a) **an** - before vowels and *m*; e.g. *an-ecne* 'unwise', **an-irlithe** 'disobedient' (noun *anirlatu*), **an-óg** 'incomplete', **an-mín** 'unsmooth, rough'.

With a following *f* (old *w*) it should have given *anb-* (§ 201a), but *b* appears for the most part only in syllabic auslaut, as in *anbsud* 'unstable' (to *fossad*), **ainb** 'ignorant' (*nb* also in pl. *ainbi*). The later

attested form *anbal* 'shameless', to **fíal** 'modest', is regular. In general, however, *f* is written; e.g. *an-fír* 'untrue', *anfius*, *anfoirbthe*, *anfochell* above.

This **an** - comes to be used often before other consonants too; see below.

**871.** (b) **am** - (with lenited *m*) in *am-(a)ires* 'unbelief, distrust' and later attested *am-ulach*, *am-ulchach* 'beardless'.

This is the usual form before *r*, *l*, *n*; e.g. *am-réid* 'uneven, difficult', *am-labar* 'speechless'; later attested *am-nirt*, *am-nertach* 'strengthless' (**nert** 'strength'). But **an** - also occurs in this position, e.g. *a(i)nrecht* 'injustice, illegal claim' Laws.

In Welsh, too, *aμ-* is the usual form before *r*, *l*, *n*, e.g. *af-rwydd* 'difficult', *af-lafar* 'speechless', *af-noeth* 'not nude'; sometimes also before *i*: *af-iach* 'unhealthy'. It has been assumed, doubtless correctly, that **am** - first developed before words with old initial *p-*, and spread to other words after the loss of *p-*. Support is lent to this by forms like **am-ires(s)**, in which the second element consists of a preposition that once had initial *p* (§ 823). It is true that *mp* became *mb* before a vowel (§ 188d); but *mpl*, *mpr* were doubtless reduced to *ml*, *mr* (whence *μλ*, *μρ*), which provided the starting-point for the spread of lenited *m*.

(c) **am** -, with unlenited *m*, before *b* (and *p* in loanwords), e.g. **a(i)mbrit** (*-birit*) 'barren', *amprom* 'improbis'.

It may be conjectured that before *b* the earlier form was **im** - rather than **am** -. There are, however, no certain examples of this, though **imbil** 'of a fool' Ériu XII. 48 § 63, beside **ambil** *ibid.* p. 76, is a possible one. It may be that the negative prefix **dim** - before *b* represents an expansion of **im** - (cp. § 873.), used in order to avoid confusion with the prep. **im(m)** -; e.g. *dimbúan* 'short-lived' LU 5585 (*búan* 'lasting'); *dimdach* 'ungrateful' Ml. 45a7, 102c2 (*buidech* 'grateful').

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**872.** (d) **in** - is the regular form before *d* and *g*; e.g. *in-derb* 'uncertain' (noun *inderbus*), *in-dliged* 'unlawfulness', *ingnad* 'unusual' (**gnáth**), **in-gor** 'impious, undutiful'. But it is sometimes replaced by **an** -; e.g. *an-dach* 'worthlessness' (to **dag** - 'good'), whence *andg(a)id* *ang(a)id* 'worthless person'; *an-glan* 'impure' (noun *anglaine*) Wb., Ml., etc., beside **inglan** Corm. 601 (L.Br.).

**ins(a)e** beside **ans(a)e** 'difficult' (from **ass(a)e** 'easy') is an isolated formation.

(e) *é-* before *c* and *t*, which become *g* and *d* in pronunciation (§ 208), and before *s*; e.g. *é-cóir* 'unfitting'; *écsamil* (*-cosmil*) 'dissimilar' (noun *écsamylus*), Mod.Ir. *éagsamhail*; *é-toich* 'improper'; *é-tromm* *étrumm* 'light' (*tromm* 'heavy') Mod.Ir. *éadtrom*; **éscid** 'alert' (*seith* 'weary'). But before nouns with initial *c* we find mostly **an** -: *an-cretem* 'unbelief' (adj. *ancreitmech*), **an-cride** § 869; but *écr(a)e* 'enemy' (*car(a)e* 'friend').

**873.** 2. The prepositions **ess** - (§ 834) and **dí-de** - (§ 831) are sometimes used like **an** -, etc., as negative prefixes. Examples: *escar(a)e* (and **ecr(a)e** § 834A) 'enemy'; *én(a)irt* 'infirm' (*nert* 'strength'); *es(s)am(a)in* 'fearless' (*omun*, *ómun* 'fear'), cp. Mid.W. *ehofyn*, Gaul. *Exomnus Exobnus*; *dínním* 'careless' (*sním* 'care'); *díthrub díthrab* 'desert' (*treb* 'dwelling'); *deserbdi* (*s = ś*) 'azymi' Wb. 9b12 (*serb* 'bitter, sour').

**874.** 3. Leniting **neb** -, **neph** - (§ 126) is used to negative nouns and adjectives, particularly in nonce formations; it is never prefixed to verbs. The resulting compound as a rule denotes, not an independent concept, but merely the negation of the simplex. Hence the difference between this prefix and *an-*, etc., corresponds roughly to that between English 'not, non-' and 'un-, in-'. Cp. *is hé bésad felsub* . . . *nebchretem an-ad-íadar di Christ* 'it is the custom of philosophers . . . not to believe (lit. 'non-belief') what is declared of Christ' Wb. 27a10; *ancretem* 'unbelief' (§ 869) could not take any such complement. Similarly *nephis* (*neph-f + ís*) *ocus nephetarcae inna*

*timnae n-díade* 'the non-knowing and the non-understanding of the divine commandments' **MI**. 58a20, whereas *anfius* always stands alone.

This prefix is chiefly used before verbal nouns and participles, also before nouns of agency. Examples: *tre nebthabirt dígle fuirib-si* 'through not inflicting punishment on you' Wb. 18b12; *in nebmaldachad* 'the non-cursing' 5d23; *nephtadánigthe* 'not remunerated' Ml. 56b10; *nephascnaidid* 'nonobtainer' Sg. 106a1.

But among words of this kind we sometimes find **neb** (**neph** -) where the prefix **an** - might have been expected, particularly in renderings of Latin words; e.g. *nebcongabthetu* 'incontinentia', *nebmarbtu* 'immortalitas', *nephchumscaichthe* 'immutabilis'. So too before adjectives in *-de* and *-ach*, e.g. *nephchorpd(a)e* 'incorporeal', *nephimmaircide* 'inconueniens'; *nephthairismech* 'instans, unstable'.

Examples of this prefix before other words are *nephflax* 'inremissus' Ml. 134a4; *nebleiscc* 'non pigri' Wb. 5d17; *nephní* (to *ní* 'something' § 489), which repeatedly glosses *nihil* in Ml.; *bid túad dom-sa mo nebthúad* gl. *uocabo non meam plebem plebem meam* Wb. 4d1.

This particle certainly contains the IE. negative *ne*. But the suffix is not clear. The *g* in Lat. *neg-otium*, *negare* is hardly to be compared. The explanation suggested by M. Ó Briain, ZCP. XIV. 309 ff. is unconvincing.

## cen AS NEGATIVE

**875.** When the verbal noun is used in what is virtually the equivalent of a subordinate clause (§ 720), it may be negated by the preposition **cen** (§ 827), lit. 'without'. Examples: *is ingir lem cen chretim dúib*, 'it grieves me that ye do not believe' Wb. 4b28; *cid atob-aich cen dílgud cech ancrídi* 'what impels you not to forgive every injustice?' 9c20, where *cen dílgud* is the negation of positive *do dílgud*.

Collection: Baudiš, ZCP. IX. 395 f. The use of **cen** before a relative clause is quite exceptional: *is geis don rig cen an-ro-ráid Bricni do dénam dó* 'it is prohibited for the king not to do what B. has said' LU 10480.

## CONJUNCTIONS AND CONJUNCTIONAL CLAUSES

**876.** Some conjunctions are in origin prepositions, having the same meaning when they govern an entire clause as when they govern a substantival case. The clause so governed has no further mark of subordination (except after *cenmíthá*, § 887).

Others are cases of nouns or pronouns, with or without a preposition. These are followed by a dependent clause, which may have the form of a nasalizing relative (§ 497 ff.) or a principal clause (§ 505). Where only one of these forms has been retained after a particular conjunction, the fact is noted in the relevant section.

The transition from substantival case with dependent relative clause to conjunction can be seen in those instances where a noun without any clear case-form and without the article stands in front of a relative clause. Thus beside the usual **in chruth** 'in the way in which, how, as', we find **cruth** alone, e.g. *cruth nandat choms(uidighthi) sídi leo* 'as in their opinion these are not compounded' Sg. 201b12; similarly *indas* 'kind' Ml. 93d14. That such nouns were to some extent felt as absolute nominatives is clear from *inne ro-pridched dúib* 'as (i.e. in the sense in which it) has been preached to you' Wb. 25a40, beside dative *inni ro-mbátar ríam hí tempul* 'as they had formerly been in the Temple' Ml. 62b2 (cp. § 251, 3).

Similarly: *airm i-fuirsitis in torcc, arimbad and fu-rruimtis a praintech* 'there (lit. 'place') where they should find the boar, there they should put their refectory' Thes. II. 242, 4 (Arm.); so also with other words meaning 'place' such as **port i<sup>n</sup>**, **dú i<sup>n</sup>**. The same construction is common with *méit* 'amount, size'; e.g. *méit as ñ-do scríbund gl. quantum ad scripturam* Sg. 3b30. So, too, beside **in dul** (from *dul* 'going') 'in the way that so that', also 'because', we find *dul* used alone (Wb. 30b3).

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**877.** The following categories of conjunctions are distinguished:

- I. Copulative and disjunctive,
- II. Temporal, consecutive and final,
- III. Conditional,
- IV. Causal,
- V. Adversative and concessive,
- VI. Comparative,
- VII. ( Explicative conjunctions and those introducing substantival clauses are discussed under **co<sup>n</sup>**, **ara<sup>n</sup>**, **cía**. Cp. also § 503).

The following is an alphabetical list of the conjunctions discussed:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <b>a<sup>n</sup></b> § 890                         | <i>abamin, afameinn</i> § 899.                               |
| <i>acht</i> §§ 908, 904                            | <i>acus</i> § 878  |
| <i>adas</i> § 909                                  | <i>air, ar</i> § 906   |
| <i>airc, airg(g)</i> § 886                         | <i>amal</i> § 911  |
| <i>ara<sup>n</sup>, arnā + , ʼarnac(h)on</i> § 898 | <i>arindi</i> § 905  |
| <b>ba, bá</b> §§ 464, 910                          | <i>calléic</i> § 880   |
| <i>cammaib, camaiph</i> § 907                      | <b>ce, cení</b> § 909  |
| <i>céin, cé(i)ne</i> § 892                         | <i>cenmithá</i> § 887  |
| <b>-ch</b> § 880                                   | <i>cía, cī, cini, cid</i> §§ 909, 910                        |
| <b>co, coní</b> §§ 896, 897                        | <i>co<sup>n</sup>, con<sup>n</sup>, con(n)a, con(n)acon,</i> |
| <i>danau, daniu, daneu, dano,</i>                  | <i>connachon</i> §§ 896, 897                                 |
| <i>dana</i> § 900                                  | <i>dég</i> § 905   |
| <i>dia<sup>n</sup></i> §§ 889, 903                 | <i>didiu, didu</i> § 901                                     |
| <i>emid</i> § 884                                  | <i>eter, etir. . . ocus</i> § 881                            |
| <b>fa, fá</b> §§ 464, 910                          | <i>feib, fib, fíu</i> § 911                                  |
| <i>fo bíth</i> § 905                               | <i>íarsindí</i> § 894  |
| <i>immurgu</i> § 907                               | <b>in. . . in, in. . . fa</b> § 910                          |
| <i>indíd, indat, innách</i> § 905                  | <i>inge</i> § 908  |
| <i>in tain, in tan</i> § 888                       | <b>is</b> § 878  |
| <i>ísindí</i> § 891                                | <i>iter. . . ocus</i> § 881                                  |
| <i>las(s)e</i> § 891                               | <i>mā + , ʼmani</i> §§ 902, 908, 909                         |
| <i>nā + , ʼnach</i> § 886                          | <i>neoch ma, i-nneoch ma</i> § 902                           |
| <i>nō + , ʼnū +</i> §§ 885, 910                    | <i>noch</i> § 880  |
| <i>(h) ó</i> § 893                                 | <i>ocus, ocuis</i> §§ 878, 911                               |
| <i>ol</i> § 905                                    | <i>(h) óre</i> § 905   |

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|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>os</i> § 878                       | <i>resíu, risíu</i> § 895 |
| <i>robo, robu, rodbo, rodbu</i> § 886 | <b>'s</b> § 878           |
| <i>scéo, scéu</i> § 879               | <i>sech</i> §§ 882, 883   |
| <i>síu</i> § 895                      | <i>trá</i> § 901          |

*(h)úare* § 905

# I. COPULATIVE AND DISJUNCTIVE CONJUNCTIONS

**878.** In the MSS. of our period the usual link between co-ordinate sentences or words is the symbol  $\gamma$  or Lat. *et* for which it originally stood. When written out it has the form **ocus** as a rule in the archaic Cambrai Homily, but **ocuis** five times; **acus** in Wb. 3a15; **ocus** in Ml. 65a7 and 94c5. In later MSS., too, **ocus** is commoner than **acus** (*c = g*); hence **ocus** is normally used in the present work. It lenites the following initial, e.g. *co cumtuch  $\gamma$  cho n-imbiud* 'with embellishment and with abundance' Ml. 94b11; but cp. § 234, 3. Adjectives are not linked by **ocus** except when they are used predicatively and the copula is repeated between them. Examples: *erit levis et luxoriosus*, transl. bid (*bud* MS.) *étrom drúth*, ZCP. XIII. 48, 24; but *is séim  $\gamma$  is imétrom  $\gamma$  is sídamail in tuarascbail* 'fine, light, and peaceful is the description' LL 266a33 f.; *ba scíth  $\gamma$  ba torsech  $\gamma$  ba mertrech* (read *mertnech*) 'he was weary, sad, and depressed' LU 9098.

In the rare exceptions, like *lethan dóib ar thús in drochet, cóel  $\gamma$  cumung fó deóid* 'at the beginning the bridge is wide for them, at the end narrow and strait' LU 2155, the copula is omitted in the first clause also.

A short form **os** is found before the stressed nominative form of personal pronouns in the sense of 'and I', etc., 'I being', etc.; e.g. *os-mé (-messe)*, *os-tú*, *os(s)-é*, *os-sí*, *os-ní*, etc. Before the 3 pl., however, the form **ot** is used; here, in order to differentiate it from the sg. pronoun, the verbal ending of the 3 pl. is taken over, on the model of **is é**, **it é**. Examples: *do·bertis cech n-olc form os-mese oc taircitol cech maith dóib-som* 'they used to inflict every evil on me, though I was (lit. 'and I') prophesying every good to them' Ml. 54c30; *delb anmandae foraib ot-hé marbdai calléic* 'a living form on them, and they dead notwithstanding' 130a3.

Collection: M. Ó Briain, ZCP. XIV. 311 ff.; but cp. *ibid.*, xvi. 275.

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In early legal texts **os = ocus** sometimes occurs in other positions also; cp. Laws IV. 128 (thrice) ; Ir. Recht p. 27 f., §§ 30, 31; Bürgschaft p. 14 §§ 46-7. It survives in Mid.Ir. as **is**, **'s**.

The oldest form seems to have been **ocuis**, the palatal quality of the final being subsequently lost (§ 168). It is doubtful whether the word is related to the adj. **acus, ocus** (Welsh *agos*, Corn. *ogas*), 'near'; perhaps it is rather to be connected with **oc** 'at' (§ 848).

879. The conjunction *scéo, scéu* occurs in early poetry and 'rhetorics' with the same meaning and construction as **ocus** ; e.g. *for doíne domnaib scéo déib* 'over worlds of men and over gods' Ált. ir. Dicht. II. 10. It lenites, cp. *scéo chenél* LU 6632.

In a few very archaic examples it is apparently used with the genitive, like a nominal preposition, e.g. *báigthi Medb scéo Ailella* 'Medb and Ailill boast of it' ZCP. XII. 284.

**880.** In very early texts **-ch** 'and' occurs, usually infix after the proclitics **ro** ·, **to** ·, and **ba** ; e.g. *fer óa·n-élat be[i]ch roch·lamethar forgall (-gull MS.)* 'a man from whom bees swarm away and who ventures to testify' Laws IV. 190; *ba-ch rí Temrach* 'and he was king of Tara' *ibid.* 178.

Collections: ZCP. XIII. 299 f.; XVIII. 100 ff.; XX. 204 (and 373).

At the head of a principal clause **noch** sometimes serves as an emphatic form of 'and', e.g. Laws II. 388, 13. More frequently, however, it has rather adversative or causal force. For emphasis it may be accompanied by **ém, ám** 'indeed' (Wb. 5a18, Sg. 121b1), *immurgu* 'however' (Ml. 16d2, 74a2, Sg. 66b14), or *calléic* 'yet, nevertheless,' (Ml. 31b24). Examples: '*Anchises*' ergo '*Anchisades*' *debut facere, fecit autem 'Anchisades', quasi ab 'Anchisios' nominatiuo* gl. *amal no·bed, noch ní·fail* 'as if it were; yet it is not' Sg. 32a1; *nam et ego Israhelita sum* gl. *noch æ + ím am ísrahélde* Wb. 5a18. It is, however, also

used with the copula simply for *id est*, being often followed by **són, ón** 'that' (§ 479); e.g. *psalterium emendaueram* gl. *noch is con·acertus-sa ón* 'that is, I had emended it' Ml. 2a1.

-**ch** corresponds to Lat. *-que*, Gk. *τε*, Skt. *ca*, etc.; cp. Gaul. *eti-c*, 'and

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also'. So too **noch** may consist of **-ch** preceded by the particle **no**, which occurs without meaning before verbal forms and infixed pronouns (§ 538).

**881.** When a number of co-ordinate words are used to denote the constituent elements of a larger unit, they are linked to each other by **ocus** and governed by the preposition **eter iter etir** (§ 835), which precedes the first of them. Cp. the gloss on *per tractus terrae* Ml. 140a2: *etir réid γ amréid γ etir fán γ ardd* 'both level and unlevel, both valley and height'; *cense fri cách eter carit et escarit* 'gentleness towards everyone, both friend and foe', Wb. 30b27; *di·rróggel Óchter n-Achid cona seilb iter fid γ mag γ lénu* 'she had bought Ó.A. together with (all) its estate: wood, field and meadows' Thes. II. 239, 15 (Arm.).

Similarly in negative clauses **etir**, i.e. prep. + suffixed pronoun 3 sg. neut., means 'at all'.

**882.** Two parallel clauses may be combined in a single period by using **sech** before the first of them. Examples: *sech bid día, bid duine* 'He will be both God and man' Imram Brain p. 23 § 48; *sech ní·thartsat-som ní·comtachtmar-ni* 'neither have they given it nor have we sought (it)' Wb. 24b20.

Collection: KZ. XLVIII., 68. In accordance with the meaning of the **prep. sech** (§ 853), the literal translation is 'besides he will be God he will be man', etc.

**883.** Another **sech** is found with the same meaning and construction as **noch** (§ 880): it has adversative force, and, used with the copula, is equivalent to *id est*. Examples: *sech ba foirbthe (foirbthea MS.) a ires sidi* 'although his faith was perfect' Wb. 19a11; **motuabitur peccator** gl. *sech is ar·léicfither són dun peethach ón* 'that is, that will be lent to the sinner' Ml. 57a13 (**ón** is the subject of *ar·léicfither*); *negotiis testibus* gl. *ambat foirlidi in doltai, sech it gnímai són* when the distresses, that is deeds, shall be witnesses' Ml. 75d6.

This seems to be a different word from the prep. **sech**; it may, like **noch**, contain **-ch**. The first element is not clear; possibly **se** 'this' (§ 477 f.)

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**884.** The particle **emid** 'nearly, as it were', when repeated, stands for Lat. *tam . . . quam* 'as well . . . as'; e.g. (*contextus psalmi LXXII huic similitudine coniungitur*) *tam experiundi (austera) quam (ob ea ipsa libere) conquirendi* gl. **emid du·scéula, emid ara·n·égea** 'as well that he may experience as that he may lament' (as though the lemma were *conquerendi*) Ml. 95<sup>a</sup>4, 7.

**885.** Disjunctive **nō + , nū +** 'or' (commonly abbreviated **t** in MSS., § 35) is used to separate co-ordinate clauses as well as members of the same clause. It lenites; e.g. **is lour dá preceptóir i n-æclis no thríi** 'two preachers in a church, or three, are enough' Wb. 13<sup>o</sup>9.

The O.Bret. form *nou*, W. *neu*, points to \**now*[e] from \**ně-we*. The word appears to contain the negative as well as the IE. particle *-we* 'or' (Lat. *ue*, Skt. *vā*) and to have originally meant 'or not'. Presumably, as in **nech** (§ 491), the negative meaning was first lost in negative clauses.

**886.** In combinations of disjunctive phrases leniting *rodbo rodbu robo robu* appears (i) before the first member, the others being introduced by **nō + ,** (ii) before all the members, or (iii) only before the later members; e.g. *rodbo dia adíroni . . . t is hé som ad·roni do día* 'either it is God who has committed . . . or it is he who has committed to God' Wb. 29<sup>d</sup>29. For further examples see KZ. XXXV. 404; *Ériu VII.* 162 § 5, 166 § 2; Laws IV. 340, 1.

The form is probably a potential **ro-** subjunctive of the copula 'it may be'. The meaning of the *-d-* in *rodbo, rodbu* is not clear.

Between disjunctive clauses 'or' is occasionally rendered by *airc, airg(g)*, perhaps originally the same word as *airc* 'dilemma'; cp. ZCP. x. 443. For **fa, ba** 'or' in disjunctive interrogative clauses, see [§ 464](#); for *nā + ˘nach* in negative clauses, [§ 865](#); for concessive 'whether . . . or', [§ 910](#).

**887.** *cenmíthá* 'besides that' (cp. [§ 775](#)) may be followed either by a principal clause (as in Sg. 3<sup>b</sup>15) or by a nasalizing relative clause: *cenmíthá ara·n·ecatar coitcheana in -or da(no)* 'besides that common nouns in *-or* are also found' Sg. 65<sup>a</sup>11.

For *dano* 'also', see [§ 900](#).

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## II. TEMPORAL, CONSECUTIVE, AND FINAL CONJUNCTIONS TEMPORAL CLAUSES

**888.** The conjunction that has the widest meaning is *in tain, in tan* 'when' (lit. '(at) the time that', cp. [§ 167](#)); e.g. *is and for. téit spiritus ar n-énirti-ni, in rain bes n-inun accobor lenn* 'it is then *spiritus* helps our weakness, when we have the same desire' (*bes* subjunctive of generalization) Wb. 4<sup>a</sup>27; *in tan do-rolaig día dó in n-úaill do-rigni, ro-ícad íarum* 'when God had forgiven him the pride he had shown (lit. 'done'), then he was healed' Ml. 50<sup>d</sup>15.

For 'whenever' *nach tan* is used, e.g. Ml. 58<sup>d</sup>5, etc.

**889.** *dia<sup>n</sup>* (i.e. *di-a<sup>n</sup>* [§ 473](#), conjunct particle) 'when' is used only with the narrative preterite' e.g. *dia-luid Dauid for longais* 'when David went into exile' Ml. 52.

More often it is a conditional conjunction; see [§ 903](#).

**890.** **a<sup>n</sup>** ([§ 473](#)), neg. **an(n)a**, with *ro*: *arru-*, *anru-*, before a nasalizing relative clause indicates contemporaneity, and is often used to paraphrase Latin participles. Examples: *quia nuper cum Ebreo disputans quaedam testimonia protulisti* gl. *arru-cestaigser frissin n-Ebride* 'while thou didst dispute with the Hebrew' Ml. 2<sup>d</sup>3; (*facile*) *cantato (ipso mense apparebit)* gl. *am-bas cété* 'when it shall have been sung' Thes. II. 17, 34.

**an** for **a** before *c-*, Ml. 39<sup>d</sup>11.

**891.** Simultaneous action is also indicated by *la-se, lasse* ([§ 480](#)), lit. 'with this (that)'; e.g. (*psalmus Dauid*) *cure persequabatur (a filio suo)* gl. *lasse du-sente* 'when he was being pursued' Ml. 142<sup>b</sup>4.

More frequently, however, it has in addition instrumental force. Thus it often serves to paraphrase the ablative of a Latin gerund; e.g. (*non mouebunt improbi*) *retinendo me* gl. *lase ar·idam·fuirset* 'by restraining me' Ml. 114<sup>c</sup>11.

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On the rare occasions when it has adversative force it does not necessarily indicate simultaneous action; e.g. *hi sunt trá con·ricc frissa lind serb in chúrsachta, lase fo·ruillecta béoil in chalich di mil cosse anall* 'herein, then, he comes into contact with the bitter drink of the reproof, whereas the lips of the chalice have hitherto been smeared with honey' Wb. 7<sup>d</sup>9.

Occasionally *isindí*, lit. 'in that (that)', may also have instrumental force, e.g. Wb. 15<sup>a</sup>16.

For *amal* as a temporal conjunction see [§ 911](#).

**892.** *céin* and *cé(i)ne* 'so long as', originally accusative and genitive of *cían* 'long time'; e.g. *céin bas m-béo in fer* 'so long as the husband is alive' Wb. 10<sup>b</sup>23; *céine no-soífe-siu húaim* 'so long as Thou wilt turn from me' Ml. 33<sup>a</sup>1.

**893.** (**h**)**ó**, leniting, means 'since', but when followed by the perfect it has the meaning 'after'. Examples: *hó boí mo chenéel is oc frecur céill dæ + 'atáa* 'since my kindred came into being, it has been engaged in worshipping God' Wb. 29<sup>d</sup>6; but *ó ad-cuaid rúin ícce in chenéli doíne, as-ber íarum dano. . .* 'after he has declared the mystery of the salvation of mankind he then also says . . .' Wb. 21<sup>d</sup>11 (*ad-cuaid* is perfect of *ad-fét*, [§ 533](#)).

*ó* 'if' (see Gwynn, *Hermathena XXI*. 12) does not occur in the Glosses.

**894.** 'After' can also be expressed by *íarsindí* ([§ 474](#), 1), which as a rule, like *resú* ([§ 895](#)), is not followed by a nasalizing relative clause (cp., however, Ml. 125<sup>a</sup>9); e.g. *íarsindí dob-roíga-sa* 'after I had chosen you' Ml. 103<sup>c</sup>15. Cp. *íarsindí batir inricci* 'after they were worthy' Wb. 5<sup>c</sup>14, with the preterite, not the perfect, of the copula; similarly Ml. 21<sup>c</sup>3.

**895.** *resú*, *risú* 'before' (lit. 'before this', [§ 480](#)) is followed by the perfective subjunctive, but not--in the older Glosses at least--by a formal relative clause (cp., [§ 506](#)).

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Examples: *molid resú ro-cúrsacha* 'he praises before he reprimands' Wb. 4<sup>a</sup>2; *resú rís-sa* 'before I come' Wb. 14<sup>a</sup>17.

The use of *síu* alone in this sense--e.g. *cid síu tised Cuirither* 'before C. came' Liadain and Curithir, p. 22, 10--is not found in the Glosses.

**896.** Clauses of various kinds, ranging from temporal to final, may be introduced by a conjunction which has the following two forms in the Glosses:

1. **co** (leniting), net. *co-ni*, with **ro** : *coro*·, *coru*·;
  2. **co**<sup>n</sup> ([§ 473](#)), also *con* (abbreviated *o*, even in positions where the *-n* should be silent, [§ 236](#), 1), conjunct particle; neg. *conna*, *cona* ([§ 146](#)), *con(n)acon*, *connachon*: with **ro** : *corro* and *conro*.
- This conjunction corresponds to the prep. **co** '(un)to' ([§ 829](#)) and has the following meanings:
- a. purely temporal 'until';
  - b. consecutive 'so that', introducing a consequence or inference that follows from the principal clause;
  - c. final 'in order that';
  - d. 'that' introducing explicative and noun clauses (e.g. 'he says that . . .', 'it is right that . . .').

A slight difference of meaning between 1. **co** and 2. **co**<sup>n</sup> seems to be indicated by the fact that, in the Glosses, 1. **co** is used only where a Latin dependent clause with *ut*, *ne* or the like is translated or paraphrased apart from the principal clause. Even in such cases, however, 2. **co**<sup>n</sup>**con** is also found at times. On the other hand, where the whole sentence is translated, 2. **co**<sup>n</sup>**con** is nearly always used. Exceptions are very rare; e.g. Wb. 21<sup>b</sup>9, where *creati in Christo Iesu in operibus bonis quae praeprauiit deus ut in illis ambulemus* is glossed *ros·pridach, ros·comal(nastar), ros·dánigestar dún co dos·gnem* 'He has preached them, He has fulfilled them, He has granted them to us, that we may do them' Here, however, the glossator may have considered *co dos·gnem* directly dependent on *creati in operibus bonis* rather than on *ros·pridach*; this would represent the normal use of 1. **co**. More definite evidence is provided by a few examples where *co* is explicative: *cani góo dúib-si an-as-berid, a Iudeu, conicloitis geinti tairchital Críst* 'is it not a lie of yours what ye say, O Jews, that the Gentiles did not hear prophesying of Christ?' Wb. 5<sup>a</sup>8; *acht nammá is samlid is torbe són co eter-certa an-as-bera et con·rucca i n-ætarcne cáich* 'only thus is that profitable. provided he interpret what he says and bring (it) into everyone's understanding' Wb. 12<sup>c</sup>32. In both examples the dependent clause is widely separated from the governing *cani góo* and *sainlid* (in the second example we find 2. **co**<sup>n</sup> used in the parallel dependent clause). It seems, therefore, that 1. **co**

is used where the clause is not so clearly felt as dependent (cp. also Sg. 209<sup>b</sup>13, Ml. 23<sup>c</sup>6). There appears to be no certain example of 1. **co** outside the Glosses, and even in these it does not occur with the meaning 'until'. *coda·raseilb* 'so that he delivered it (fem.)' RC. XIV. 246, 32, may be an error for *conda·*. . . For the frequent *comma·* (with *-imma·*) see [§ 117](#).

After final and explicative **co**, **co**<sup>n</sup> the subjunctive is always used; after temporal and consecutive the indicative or subjunctive according to the character of the sentence as a whole.

The 3 sg. of the copula with *con* is *condid conid*, neg. *connách*, subj. *condib condip*; see [§§ 797, 798, 803](#).

Nasalization is also shown after the form **con** with restored *-n*; cp. *con·n-gestais* Ml. 131<sup>d</sup>13, *con·dánice* Wb. 3<sup>c</sup>27 (*tánice*), *con·dositis* 5<sup>b</sup>11; even *con·n-éta* Ml. 32<sup>d</sup>15, cp. *conacon·n-ármadatar* 54<sup>d</sup>17.

**897. Examples:**

- a. 'until': *nipo irgnae con·tánicc lex* 'it was not evident till (the) Law came' Wb. 3<sup>a</sup>1. After a negative principal clause *con* in this sense is followed by the perfective subjunctive. Clear examples with *ro* first occur in later MSS.; e.g. *ni·scarfom in cruth-sa co·rruc-sa do chen-su l + .co·farcab-sa mo chend lat-su* 'we shah not part thus until I take away thy head or leave my head with thee' LU 5673.
- b. 'so that': *ita accederit ut nullus quiuerit id ignorare gl. coní·coímnacuir* 'so that he could not' Ml. 116<sup>c</sup>5; *ni·fil ainm n-Assar isint salm, co·n-epertthe is díb ro·gabad* 'the name of the Assyrians is not in the psalm, that it should be said (past subj.) that it was of them it was sung' Ml. 35<sup>a</sup>8.

Where **co**<sup>n</sup> introduces an inference, not a consequence, the clause may lose its dependent character. Cp. the gloss on the signature: *salutatio mea manu Pauli* Wb. 27<sup>d</sup>16: *combad notire rod·scríbad cosse* 'so that it would have been a notary who had written it hitherto'. We have a completely independent clause in *canón, l + .combad trachtad hule in so* 'Scripture-text, or all this may be commentary' (potential past subj.) Ml. 86<sup>a</sup>9.

In narrative texts **co**<sup>n</sup> 'until, so that' is often used to introduce a subsequent action which neither results from nor itself modifies the preceding action, i.e. in expressions such as 'they came and did'; see *IT. I.* 433. Similarly Wb. 22<sup>c</sup>10:

*is bés dosom anísiu cosc inna m-ban i tossug, combi íarum coscítir ind fir* 'this is a custom of his, to correct the wives at first, and it is afterwards the husbands are corrected'. The conjunctive character of **co**<sup>n</sup> has been completely lost in the narrative preterites *co·cúal(a)e*, *co·n-ac(ca)e* 'he heard, he saw', [§ 536](#). In a few cases **co**<sup>n</sup> introduces the principal clause after a dependent clause; e.g. *a mboí·side (-buí MS.) occ imthecht i·mmuig co·farnaic Coirpre* 'while he was wandering about outside he found C.' Corm. 1018 (L).

- c. 'in order that': *si enim deus naturalibus ramis non pepercit, ne forte nec tibi parcat gl. coní·ecmi nád·n-airchissa, act is co ar·cessea* 'in order that it may not happen that he spare not, but it is in order that he may spare' Wb. 5<sup>b</sup>35; *is dó do·gníinn-se anísin, combin cosmail fri encu* 'it is for it. I used to do that, in order that I might be like to the innocent ones' Ml. 91<sup>b</sup>7.
- d. explicative: *dlegair condib inducbál du día anní as inducbál dia muntair* 'it is due that what is glory to His people be glory to God' Ml. 90<sup>b</sup>13.

**898.** The most frequent final conjunction is *ara*<sup>n</sup> (i.e. *ar-a*<sup>n</sup> [§ 823](#), conjunct particle), neg. *arnā + ,* *arnacon arnachon*, which always takes the subjunctive. For the forms with the copula, such as *arimp arim*, *airndib airndip*, *armbad armad*, *airmdis ardis*, etc., see [§§ 803, 806](#).

Examples: *as-bertar a n-anman arna·gaba nech desimrecht diib* 'their names are mentioned so that no one may take example from them' Wb. 28<sup>a</sup>20; *is dobar tinchosc, ara·n-dernaid an-do·gniam-ni et arna·dernaíd an-nad·dénam-ni* 'it is for your instruction, that ye may do what we do and that ye may not do what we do not' 16<sup>a</sup>24 (perfective subj. of wish, [§ 531](#), 3).

*ara*<sup>n</sup> is also used, like *co*<sup>n</sup>, as an explicative conjunction, not only in clauses with final meaning like *as·rubart d'ía friu·som ara·celebartis a sollumnu* 'God has said to them that they should celebrate His feasts' *MI.* 102<sup>b</sup>3, but also in *ní·-torménmar·ni ara·m·betis in gnímai·sin* 'we had not thought that those deeds would be' 115<sup>b</sup>1.

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**899.** An independent optative clause can be constructed either with the perfective subjunctive alone ( § 531, 3) or with *afameinn* (Sg. 207<sup>b</sup>14), *abamin*, followed by the past subj. without *ro* ; e.g. *abamin for·n·aidminte* 'would that thou wouldst call to mind' Sg. 161<sup>b</sup>11.

Preterital *afamenad affamenad* is used for past wishes (of another person): *afamenad ra·f + ésed* 'he would fain have known it' Sg. 148a6 (the form has perhaps been influenced by the Latin text: *utinam legisset*).

The dependent verb has the construction of a nasalizing relative clause in the first example, but not in the second. Cp. also *afomen·sa do·gnethea* (*dognéthea* MS.) 'would that thou wouldst do it' *Contrib.* s.v. *deimliu; fomenainn . . . ro·dlomainn* 'would that I could expel . . .' Ériu II. 63. The forms are not clear. *Mid.W.* *go·fynn* 'request, ask' is possibly connected.

**900.** A particle which is usually abbreviated *dǎ* often appears in a principal clause to indicate that this contains an inference from what goes before. As it is weakly stressed, it can never stand at the head of the clause. It is written out in *Cam.* once as *daniu* and once as *daneu*; in *Wb.* several times as *dano* and once (5<sup>c</sup>18) as *dana*; in *MI.* as *danau* 37<sup>a</sup>8. Example: *is irlam ind anita do thuil dée; todiusgadar dana ind anim do dénum maith* 'the soul is ready for the will of God: let the soul, then, be roused to do good!' *Wb.* 5<sup>c</sup>18.

Another use of this particle is to indicate a parallel with what goes before, like English 'so also, so too'. It may appear, for instance, after a clause with *amal* 'as': *amal du·rígni inma gnímu sechmadachtai, du·géna da(nau) innahí tairngir hisa todochide* 'as he has done the past deeds, so also will he do those he promises for the future' *MI.* 50<sup>d</sup>10.

Probably from *di·an·síu*, cp. § 483.

**901.** Similarly the weakly stressed particles *didiu*, *didu* and *trá* (*MI.* 42<sup>c</sup>24, *Thes.* II. 10, 11, *thrá ZCP.* VIII. 176, 2), usually abbreviated *dí* and *·t·*, serve to indicate that the general content of the clause represents a conclusion either from what immediately precedes it or from some other premise. They correspond to 'now, therefore, then'. Examples: *is follus a sin t(rá)* 'it is evident from that, then' Sg. 5<sup>a</sup>10; *nitat torbi*

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*fri toil dée; is diliu lemm didiu aní as torbæ oldaas aní as dilmain* 'they are not of use against God's will: now what is useful is dearer to me than what is permissible' *Wb.* 11<sup>b</sup>17a.

*didiu* is shortened from *di·suidiu* ( § 480.) and *trá* possibly from *tráth* 'hour'. In the weakly stressed particles *dano* and *didiu*, such accent as there is falls on the second syllable; hence the later forms *dno*, *dna* and *diu*.

### III. CONDITIONAL CONJUNCTINS

**902.** The usual conjunction in conditional clauses is *ma*, *má* ( § 48.), mostly leniting ( § 234, 3b), neg. *mani* (before forms of the copula sometimes *main·-*; *maini·p* beside *mani·p*). When used with the indicative it takes the particle *d* after it, unless there be an infixed pronoun ( § 426.). For the forms with the third person of the copula such as *massu*, *matu*, *manid*, *mad*, *mat*, *matis*, see §§ 793, 796, 805, 807.

*mā* + takes the indicative when the condition is past or present, the present subjunctive when it is future or indefinite as to time (in generalizing clauses), and the past. subj. (without temporal limitation) when it is unfulfilled or very doubtful. Examples: *ma dud·esta ní dibar n-iris ícefidir* 'if aught is lacking in your faith it will be made good' Wb. 25<sup>a</sup>30; *mani-bridag at-bél ar gorti* 'if I do not (i.e. shall not) preach I shall die of hunger' 10<sup>b</sup>24; *ni tairmthecht rehto mani-airgara recht* 'it is no transgression of (the) Law unless (the) Law forbid' (generalizing clause) 2<sup>c</sup>18; *maris tuicsi ní-rigad (rígad MS.)* 'if they had been elect, it (the vengeance) would not have fallen (lit. 'gone')' 11<sup>a</sup>22.

Where the protasis of a general conditional sentence contains two parallel conditions, only the first has the verb in the subjunctive; e.g. *má beid ní di rúnaib do·théi ar menmuin ind fir. . . et ad-reig* (ind.) 'if aught of the mysteries should come before the mind of the man . . . and he rises' Wb. 13<sup>a</sup>12.

In the Laws, *i-nneoch* (dat.sg. of *ní*, § 489a) *ma* or *neoch ma* is often found in place of *ma* alone; see ZCP. XVI. 270.

**903.** In positive conditional clauses which require the subjunctive, *dian*, which is properly a temporal conjunction (§ 889), is used exactly like *ma*; e.g. *ni lour in bendachad*

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*dia·mmaldachae; ni lour dano in nebmaldachad mani-bendachae* 'it is not enough to bless if thou curse; nor is it enough not to curse if thou bless not' Wb. 5<sup>a</sup>23.

**904.** *acht* followed by the perfective subjunctive means 'if only, provided that'; e.g. *bíth and beos acht ropo i tuil dée* 'let him still abide therein provided it be in God's will' Wb. 10<sup>a</sup>25. But where an impossible condition is implied, the subjunctive without *ro* is used (§ 530); e.g. *acht ní-bed úall and* 'if only there were no pride in it' 10<sup>b</sup>27.

In itself *acht* means 'only' (§ 908), the condition being expressed by the subjunctive. In origin such clauses are optative clauses 'only may . . .'. In later texts we find *acht co<sup>n</sup>*. *co<sup>n</sup>* alone occurs apparently in this sense Féil. Epil. 217.

## IV. CAUSAL CONJUNCTIONS

**905.** Subordinate causal clauses, when not dependent on *ar-indí* (*airindí*) 'for the reason that' (§ 474, 1), are mostly introduced by *óre*, *hóre*, *húare* (for the construction see §§ 497a, 505). Example: *is airi do-roígu dia geinti hóre nárbu bae la Iudeu creitem* 'therefore hath God chosen the Gentiles because the Jews deemed belief of no account' Wb. 5<sup>b</sup>12.

Less frequently we find such clauses introduced by *fo bíth*, *dég* (§ 858), and *ol* (neg. *ol ni*; *olais* for *ol is* Thes. II. 296, 9). Examples: *fo bíth is taípe in so* 'since this is a fragment' Ml. 14<sup>d</sup>4; *dég rombu écnairc dó* 'since he was absent from him' Sg. 148<sup>a</sup>6; *ol is amein* 'since it is so' Wb. 6<sup>c</sup>8.

*óre* is really the genitive of *úar* 'hour' (§ 250, 4). *ol* is used to render not only causal but occasionally also relative *quod* (§ 477); *quod . . . si* is rendered by *ol ma* Ml. 3<sup>a</sup>13. This particle is probably connected with Welsh *ol* 'track', its original meaning being 'in consequence of'.

For *indid*, *innách* 'wherein is (not)' in the sense of 'since it is (not)', see Strachan, Ériu I. 12. It has probably this meaning also in the gloss on *naturalibus ramis* (*non pepercit*) Wb. 5<sup>b</sup>34: *indat Iudei itir-roscar(sat) fri hiris n-Abarche* 'since it is the Jews who have separated from the faith of Abraham', not 'who are the Jews'.

**906.** *air*, *ar* 'for' introduces principal causal clauses or periods (cp. §§ 823, 168). In the later Glosses it sometimes

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lenites; e.g. *air cheso i n-us· con-osna són, ní i n-um· do-gní a neutur* 'for, though this (*alius*) ends in *-us*, it does not make its neuter in *-um*' Sg. 206<sup>a</sup>3.

## V. ADVERSATIVE AND CONCESSIVE CONJUNCTIONS

**907.** To indicate that a statement, the truth of which is accepted, stands in complete or partial opposition to something previously mentioned, Irish uses either (1) *cammaib cammaif camaiph* (occasionally *carnai*, e.g. Wb. 3<sup>d</sup>8), probably to be read with *-aí-*, 'however, nevertheless'; or (2) *im(m)urgu* (*immargu* Ériu VII., 162 § 5)--usually abbreviated *im +* or *imr.* in the MSS.--which is possibly less emphatic. The first is rarely found at the head of the clause (Sg. 209<sup>b</sup>3a, where it lenites), the second never. The two may also appear together: *camaiph im(murgu)* Sg. 9<sup>a</sup>22.

Examples: *ham si orem lingua, spiritus meus orat, mens autem mea sine fructu est* gl. *ní-thucci mo menme im(murgu)* 'yet my mind does not understand it' Wb. 12<sup>a</sup>11; *ceso comprehensio literarum, as-berr camaiph* 'although (a syllable) is a *comprehensio litterarum*, nevertheless (a single vowel) is so called' Sg. 21<sup>a</sup>1.

*cammaib* is really an independent phrase: *camm-oíph* 'false appearance!', 'false semblance!', *immurgu* is perhaps from *im-ro-gáiu* 'great untruth!'

**908.** *acht* (often written **act** § 28, in Sg. and later MSS. abbreviated *s +* ḡ which is really the compendium for Lat. *sed*) corresponds etymologically to Gk. *ἄκτός* and thus originally meant 'outside', 'except'. It retains this meaning in negative clauses, where combined with the negative it expresses 'only'. Examples: *ni-bí nach dethiden foir act fognam (nominative) do día* 'there is no care upon him except serving God' Wb. 10<sup>b</sup>9; *ní-rádat-som acht bréie ḡ togaís* (accusative) 'they speak only lying and deceit' Ml. 31<sup>a</sup>18. It can be strengthened by the addition of *nammá*, which follows the word it refers to; e.g. *acht comparit neut. nammá*, lit. '(it is not found) outside the neuter comparative only' Sg. 41<sup>a</sup>8. The combination *acht naming* renders Lat. *nisi forte* Wb. 9<sup>d</sup>21, 12<sup>c</sup>32.

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But *acht* can also mean 'only' even when there is no preceding negative. Thus it stands for 'if only' before clauses with the perfective subjunctive ( § 904 ). Closer to the original meaning are constructions like *ro-légsat canóin amal runda-légsam-ni, acht ronda-saibset-som tantum* (for *nammá*) 'they have read the Scripture-text as we have read it, save only that they have perverted it' (with nasalizing relative clause) Ml. 24<sup>d</sup>24; *acht mairte a clocha* 'save that its (fem.) stones remain'. Féil. Prol. 194. In the same sense we find *acht má* (e.g. Wb. 5<sup>a</sup>9), which, however, can also mean 'except if'.

In this way *acht* has developed into the adversative particle 'but'. It serves, for instance, to introduce a positive clause opposed to a preceding negative clause; e.g. *ni delb ad-rorsat, act is cosmúlius delbe* 'it is not an image they have adored, but it is the likeness of an image' Wb. 1<sup>b</sup>19.

*inge* (see § 843 ) is used as a synonym for *acht*: *inge má* 'unless' Sg. 75<sup>b</sup>5, TBC. 265, 1244; *inge in tan* 'except when' Sg. 25<sup>a</sup>1; *inge* 'but' RC. IX. 456, etc.; *inge namá as-rubairt* (read *-art*) 'when he had barely said' Ériu II. 122 § 61.

### SUBORDINATE CONCESSIVE CLAUSES

**909.** The usual concessive particle is *cía, ce* (as a rule leniting, § 234, 3b) 'although, even if'; before initial vowels **ci** ; neg. *cení, ceni, cini*. It is followed by the indicative when a past or present act or state is either conceded or contrasted with something contained in the principal clause; *cía* then takes the particle **d** after it, unless there be an infixed pronoun ( § 426 ). The subjunctive is used after it under the same conditions as after *ma* ( § 902 ). For the forms with the third person of the copula, such as *cíasu cesu ceso, cetu ceto, cenid, cid ced, cit, cetis, cepu cíabo, cíaptar*, see §§ 793, 796, 805, 807, 810 ; cp. also the negative *cin-bat* Wb. 4<sup>d</sup>6.

Examples: *cía rud·chúalatar ilbéire et ce nus·labratar, nipat ferr de* 'though they have heard many languages and though they speak them, they will not be the better for it' *Wb.* 12<sup>d</sup>28; **ci as·bera nech ropia (= rob·bia) nem cía du·gneid na rétu-sa, nipa fír** 'though any one say ye shall have Heaven though ye do these things, it will not be true' 22<sup>b</sup>23; *cía*

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*chon·desin far súli, dos·m·béirthe dom* 'though I had asked for your eyes, ye would have given them to me' 19<sup>d</sup>24.

So too we often find *cid* (i.e. *cía* with pres. subj. of copula, see § 805.) in the sense of 'even'; here it eventually comes to be used before a plural also instead of *tit*. Examples: *cid co hóir* 'even for an hour' *Wb.* 18<sup>d</sup>10; *bieit cit geinti hiressich*, 'there will even be faithful Gentiles' 4<sup>c</sup>40; but also *ro·batar cid ferte dia imthreugud* 'there have even been miracles to confirm it' 24<sup>c</sup>5.

Indicative co-ordinated with the subjunctive (see § 902.): *cía beid Críst indib-si et is béo ind anim tri sodin, is marb in corp immurgu trisna senpect[h]u* 'though Christ be in you and the soul is alive thereby, the body nevertheless is dead through the old sins' *Wb.* 4<sup>a</sup>6.

**cía** before the subjunctive, with or without **ro**, also serves as the explicative particle 'that' after expressions such as 'it is right, possible, indifferent', etc. Examples: *is huisse ce ru·samaltar fri Críst* 'it is right that he be compared to Christ' *Wb.* II. 34<sup>a</sup>4; *deithbir ci as·berthar casus nominatiuus* 'it is reasonable that one should say *casus nominatiuus*' *Sg.* 71<sup>a</sup>90.

In the combination *adas cía* *Wb.* 3<sup>d</sup>2, *MI.* 68<sup>d</sup>15, the expression of antithesis appears to be intensified, *adas* alone glosses *quamvis, siquidem*, etc., when isolated from their context ( *Pedersen* II. 21, *ZCP.* XX. 249); *adas ma* *Sg.* 40<sup>a</sup>21.

**910.** If an alternative is conceded, either *cía* is placed before both clauses or the form of a double interrogative with in . . . in, in . . . fa (§ 464.) is used. Examples: *mansuetudinem ostendentes ad omnes homines gl.ci at·roillet, cini·áriller* 'whether they deserve it or not' *Wb.* 31<sup>c</sup>23; *i·m·bem i m·bethu, i·m·bem i m·baás, bad les·som* 'whether we be in life or in death, let it be with Him' 25<sup>c</sup>12; *omnis pars orationis quocunque modo deriuata*, gl. *im trí dígbáil fa thórmach in dírsuidigud* 'whether the derivation be through diminution or increase' *Sg.* 188<sup>a</sup>8. The construction is often used also for the analysis of *sechi* 'whosoever, whatsoever'; e.g. *serui estis eius cui oboeditis* gl. *sechip hé, im do día, im do pheccad* 'whosoever (i.e. to whomsoever) it be, whether to God or to sin' *Wb.* 3<sup>b</sup>15.

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More rarely we find *cith . . . no (nu)* *Cam.* 37d ( *Thes.* II. 245, 36), also *cid . . . nó cid* *MI.* 145<sup>c</sup>3, and **ba . . . ba** *Ériu* I. 195 § 10.

For concessive *cía* and *sechi* 'whosoever' with subj., see §§ 458, 461 b.

## VI. COMPARATIVE CONJUNCTIONS

**911.** The commonest conjunction is *amal* (arch. *amail* § 168.) 'as, as if', usually abbreviated *am* + *in* in the MSS.; cp. the preposition § 826. For the construction after it see §§ 498, 505. Examples: *ara·n·déna aithi[r]gi, amal dund·rigni Ezechias* 'that he may practise repentance as E. has practised it' *MI.* 51<sup>a</sup>16; *sed (p) quasi consonanti digamma praeponere recusantes* gl. *amal bith do chonsain, amal as ñ·dí* 'as though it were to a consonant, (or) as it is to it' *Sg.* 9<sup>b</sup>11.

*feib* (*fib* *Wb.* 23<sup>a</sup>3), probably the dative of *feb* '(good) quality', is occasionally used with the same meaning and construction; e.g. *feib fond·úair·som la auc(taru) is sam(lid) da·árbuid* 'as he has found it in authors so he has shown it' *Sg.* 144<sup>b</sup>3. The cognate adj. *fíu* 'worth' often glosses *quam* when isolated from its context.

*amal* is also used as a temporal conjunction to express simultaneousness; e.g. *amal immind-ráitset, con-acatar Fiacc cuccu* 'as they were talking about it, they saw F. (coming) towards them' *Thes. II.241, 11* (Arm.).

After *is cumme* 'it is the same (as if)' the equated clause is attached by *ocus*, not by *amal*; e.g. *is cumme ad-ciam-ni na rúna díadi et ad-cíi nech ní tri scáath* 'we see the divine mysteries in the same way as one sees something through a mirror' Wb. 12<sup>c</sup>11 (two nasalizing relative clauses), lit. 'it is the same how we see . . . and how one sees'. There are rare instances where no conjunction is used; e.g. *is cumme dí ro-berrthe* 'it is the same for her as if she had been shaved' 11<sup>c</sup>13; with the prep. *fri*: *nita chumme-se friu-som* 'I am not the same as they' 20<sup>c</sup>25.

For *in chruth, cruth, inne, inni* 'so, as', see § 876.

## POSITION OF DEPENDENT CLAUSES

**912.** Most dependent clauses may stand either before or after the principal clause.

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Relative clauses referring to a definite word usually come immediately after it. Accordingly we often find either the relative clause inserted into the principal clause or the antecedent placed at the end of the principal clause. Examples: *is in chrud-sin ro-fitir intí i-m-béi in spirut noéb rúna dée* 'it is thus that he in whom is the Holy Ghost knoweth God's mysteries' Wb. 8<sup>b</sup>10; *connaro-gáid do día dígail for Saul inna n-olc do-rigéniside fris* 'so that he did not pray to God for vengeance on Saul for the evils he had done to him' *MI. 55<sup>a</sup>4*, where the genitive *inna n-olc* is separated from *dígail*, on which it is dependent, in order to support the relative clause.

Other dependent clauses are not inserted in the principal clause. But where a period consists of three clauses, there is a tendency to place conditional and concessive clauses before the clause to which they are logically subordinate. Examples: *cenotad maic-si raith dano, ma im-roimsid, ni-dílgibther dúib* 'though ye, then, are sons of grace, if ye should sin ye will not be forgiven' Wb. II. 33<sup>b</sup>8; *atluchur do día ce ru-baid fo pheccad nachib-fel* 'I give thanks to God that, though ye were under sin, ye are not' Wb. 3<sup>b</sup>19. Even a relative clause, together with its antecedent demonstrative pronoun, may be placed before the clause to which it is subordinate: *immaircide didiu ind-hí nad-arroímsat buith in gloria Christi ce ru-bet i péin la díabul* '(it is) meet, then, that they who have not accepted existence in *gloria Christi* should be in punishment with the devil' Wb. 26<sup>a</sup>23. Exceptionally we find in such periods a conditional clause placed at the end as a kind of supplement; e.g. *is téchta cíá imáána bóaire cid lóg secht cumal do t[h]arcud a c[h]juirp fadesin . . . mad orba do-slí* (read *·slé* ?) 'it is lawful for a *bóaire* to bequeath even the equivalent of seven *cumals* from his own personal acquisition . . . if it be (his) hereditary land that earns (it)' *Laws III.48*.

Cp. *Pedersen II.240 f.* For the same construction in Romance and Germanic languages, see Havers, *Handbuch der erklärenden Syntax*, p. 140.

After the principal clause come all explicative and indirect interrogative clauses, i.e. subject and object clauses; further, consecutive and final clauses except where they are brought forward in periphrasis with the copula (§ 814.)

An indirect interrogative clause with *dús* appears before the principal clause in *MI. 35<sup>b</sup>24*.

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## APPENDIX FORM AND FLEXION OF LOAN-WORDS IN OLD IRISH

Collection (excluding proper names): Vendryes, *De hibernicis vocabulis quae a latina lingua originem duxerunt* (Paris dissertation) 1902. Cp. also Güterbock, *Bemerkungen über die lateinischen Lehnwörter im Irischen, 1. Teil: Lautlehre* (Königsberg dissertation) 1882; Schuchardt, *RC. v. 489 ff.*; Sarauw, *Irske Studier p. 3 ff.*; Pedersen, *I. 23 f.* (loan-words from Britannic), p. 189 ff. (from Latin).

**913.** *The language of the eighth and ninth centuries contains many loan-words from Latin, most of them introduced as a result of the conversion of Ireland to Christianity. These words have undergone various changes; but here only a few typical features, which do not conform to the regular soundchanges in Irish, will be considered.*

*Some of these changes are due to the fact that the words which exhibit them were borrowed, not directly from Latin, but through the medium of Britannic. Christianity was introduced into Ireland from Britain; the chief apostle, the Briton Patrick, lived in the fifth century, and in the sixth the influence of British Christianity was again dominant. Hence a number of loan-words exhibit Britannic characteristics. In the course of time, however, many words were borrowed directly from literary and ecclesiastical Latin. The two strata tend to become confused in that the treatment of the later borrowings is often modelled on that of the earlier. A further reason for the alteration of Latin words is that no sounds which were foreign to Irish were adopted ill the earlier period.*

*In the following survey those features that are due to the influence of Britannic will be considered first.*

*For the form of Latin loan-words in Britannic cp. Loth, *Les mots latins dans les langues brittoniques* (1892); J. Lloyd-Jones, *ZCP. VII. 462 ff.* (Welsh).*

**914.** *ō for ā, as in Britannic, occurs fairly often; e.g. **altóir** 'altare', O.Corn. *altor*, Mid.W. *allawr*; **tríndóit** 'trinitas,*

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*-tate', W. *trindod* (the -d- for -t- is also Britannic); (**h**) *umaldóit*, *omaldóit* 'humilitas', W. *ufylltod*; **féróil** 'ferialis'; *póc* 'kiss' from *pax*, *pace* (= *osculum pacis*). For -óir= -ārius see § 269.*

Cp. -óc in hypocoristic names, with the Celtic suffix -āko-, § 271.

The *nǝ-* of *notlaic* fem. 'Christmas, natalicia' appears also in Mid.W. *nodolyc* (O.Bret. *notolic*), due to shortening of the unstressed syllable. But Ir. *trost* (gl. *trabs*) from *trānstrum*, as against W. *trawst*, Bret. *treust*, is peculiar; it is scarcely modelled on derivatives like W. *trostan*, *trosten*; perhaps it has been influenced by another word, Mid.Ir. **trost** 'crack, noise'. It is doubtful if Mid.Ir. *trúastad*, *trúastrad* 'striking' preserves old *trōst(r)-*.

#### 915. TREATMENT OF LATIN STOPS

In Britannic single stops underwent a change of character after vowels. Probably in all dialects the voiceless stops (*c = k, t, p*) first became unaspirated lenes, which were then voiced (*g, d, b*) at an early period in some dialects. The old voiced stops (*g, d, b*), on the other hand, became spirants (*γ, δ, β*). These changes are also found in the numerous Latin loan-words. The Latin orthography was retained in the writing of all such loan-words, and this led to a change in the soundvalues of the letters. Thus the scribes of the earlier Britannic Glosses write, for instance, *decmint* 'addecimabunt', W. *degwm* 'tithe'; *strotur* 'stratura', W. *ystrodyr*; *cepister* 'capistrum' W. *cebystr*; *mod* 'modus' W. *modd* (*dd = δ*); *scribenn* 'scribendum', W. *ysgrifen*. There is little doubt, therefore, that the similar orthography of Irish (§§ 29 - 31) arose under the influence of Britannic.

In Irish, on the other hand, single *c* and *t* after vowels in native words turn into the spirants *ch* and *th* (§§ 119, 122), which in certain circumstances become voiced *γ* and *δ* (§§ 126, 128 -130). In the Latin loan-words we find a twofold treatment of single postvocalic tenues:

(a) They follow the Irish sound-laws and become spirants. This treatment is found in undoubtedly early examples like **cu(i)the** 'puteus, pit'. Cp. also *srathar* 'stratura, pack-saddle' (the *ã* perhaps by analogy with *srath* 'valley bottom'), *peccath peccad* 'peccatum', *tíach* 'theca', *mindech* 'mendicus',

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*predchid pridchid* 'praedicat', etc. (so also *cht* for *ct*, e.g. *tráchtaid* 'tractat', *interiecht* 'interiectio').

(b) Or, following the Britannic pronunciation, they are sounded as voiced stops (Mod.Ir. *g, d, b*). Examples: *spirut* 'spiritus', Mod.Ir. *spiorad, spioraid*; *pater* 'pater (noster)', Mod.Ir. *paidir*; *metur* 'metrum', Mod.Ir. *meadar*; *sacard* 'sacerdos' Mod.Ir. **sagart; re(i)lic(e)** 'reliquiae, graveyard', Mod.Ir. *reilig*; *popul* 'populus', Mod.Ir. **pobal**; *screpol screpul* 'scipulus (-um)', later *screbal*.

(c) In **cland** 'planta, plant, children, descendants' (W. *plant* 'children'), *-nd* for *-nt* is probably due to the fact that at the time the word was borrowed *-nt-* did not exist in Irish (§ 208); nor even after syncope did final *-nt* appear in native words, hence we find forms like *aiccend, argumind* beside *aiccent, argumint* 'accentus', 'argumentum'. So too the absence of *ŋk* in Irish accounts for *ung(a)e* 'uncia', as well as for *caingel* 'cancella (-lli)' and *ingor* 'ancora' (cp. **in-gor** 'unduteous'), although the Britannic forms of the last two words are also based on *-ŋg-* --Mid.W. *kagell kangell* (= *kaŋell*), Bret. *kael*; O.Bret. *aior* (from \**aŋor*)--and it is not certain that these have been influenced by the Irish forms.

**ingcert** Ml. 61<sup>b</sup>15 reproduces according to Irish orthography the Latin pronunciation of *incert(um)*. The form *ingchis* (read *-ís*) 'incensum, incense' Ml. 141<sup>c</sup>2 shows the scribe hesitating between the Latin and Irish pronunciations, the second of which is represented by later attested **in-chís**, with *n*, not *ŋ* (attracted by *cís* 'census').

(d) In Irish, as in Britannic, post-vocalic voiced stops became voiced spirants, and they are so treated in Latin loanwords also; e.g. *scríb(a)id* 'scribit', Mod.Ir. *scríobhaidh*; *légaid* 'legit', Mod.Ir. *léighidh*; **mod** 'modus', Mod.Ir. *modh*.

In *martarlaic* 'martyrologium' (Fél.), **fetarlaic(c)** (nom. sg., later attested), gen. **fetarlic(c)e fetarl(a)ice** and *fetarlicci fetarlaici*, 'Old Testament' (§ 295), from an oblique case of *uetus lex*, and in later **astrolaic** 'astrologia' the ending has been assimilated to that of **sacarbaic(c)**, with *-c(c) = g(g)*, 'sacrificium' (Mid.W. *segyrffyc*) and of later attested *oific* 'officium'. The form *capall* 'work-horse' (acc.pl. *caipliu*) does not correspond to Continental *caballus*; together with W. *ceffyl*, it points to a modified form such as \**cappillus* (cp. Pokorny, ZCP. XIX. 160). In *abbgitir* (pl. *apgitri*) 'abecedarium, alphabet' (W. *egwyddor*) the isolative pronunciation *a-be-(ce)-de-* may have had some influence.

(e) As *ch* and *th* in absolute anlaut are unknown to Irish,

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they are replaced by *c* and *t*; e.g. *cárachtar* 'character'. **Crést** 'Christus', **tíach** 'theca', *teoir teuir* 'theoria'; cp. *scíam* 'schema'.

Sometimes *ph-* survives as *f-*, e.g. *felsub* 'philosophus'; but **Pilip(p)** for *Philippus*, Fél.

## 916. FINAL SYLLABLES

The earliest borrowings were doubtless made at a time when Irish still retained its old final syllables. But subsequent developments caused Lat. *-us, -um, -is, -a, -e, -ō*, etc., to disappear like the corresponding final syllables of native words; and the suppression of such endings remained a feature of later borrowings also; e.g. *aiccent* 'accentus', *tempul* 'templum', *breib* 'breuis', etc. But in those Latin words where an *i* stood before the last vowel (*-ius, -ium, -ia, -io, also -eus, -eum, -ea*), one would have expected the Irish form to retain a final vowel as a trace of the former ending. There are, in fact, examples of this, and some of them appear to be old, such as *caille* 'pallium', 'veil'; cp. *ung(a)e* 'uncia', *parche* 'parochia', *caimmse* 'camisia', *cá(i)se* 'caseus', *fíne* 'uinea', nouns with suffix *-ire = -ārius* (§ 269), and Mid.Ir. *ortha* 'oratio' pointing to OI. \**orthu* (cp. acc.pl. **orthana** Thes. II. 252, 14). But in most loan-

words such endings are lost, and unquestionably this is due to the example of Britanic. Examples: *oróit* 'oratio'; *féil 'uigilia'*, 'feast', W. *gŵyl*; *scrín 'scrinium'*, W. *ysgrin*; **ecl(a)is** (*c = g*) 'ec(c)lesia', W. *eglwys*; *hiróin* 'ironia'; *sanctáir* 'sanctuarium' (gl. *sacrarium* Sg. 33<sup>a</sup>6); **accuis** (flexion § 302, 3.) 'cause', from late Lat. *accasio* (O.Fr. *achaison*) for class, *occasio*, W. *achaws*; *fís* 'uisio'; **pais** 'passio', etc.

As to **cu(i)the** 'pit', the evidence of W. *pydew* indicates that *puteus* was pronounced with the diphthong *-eu-*; the same applied to *olae 'oleum'*, doubtless a somewhat later borrowing, W. *olew*, Goth. *alēw*. Cp. also **sa(i)** le from *saliua*, W. *haliw*.

917. Certain Britanic words of monastic provenance doubtless provided the models for the much more drastic reduction that characterizes a number of loan-words. Thus the ending of *quadragesima* 'Lent' is lost in W. *garawys grauys*,

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Bret. *koraiz*, as likewise in Ir. *corgus*, gen. **corgais**; and Ir. *cengciges Ériu VII.150 § 36, cengciges KZ. XXXI. 239* (Arm.), for *quingagesima* 'Pentecost', is a similar formation. *capitilauium* as a name for Maundy Thursday appears in Welsh as *cablyd*, in Middle Breton as *camblit*, and in Irish correspondingly as **caplat (-ait)**. Shortening of this kind is very frequent in Irish; e.g. *uilt, peneuilt* for *ultima, paeneultima*; **adiecht, posit, comparit, superl(a)it, opt(a)it, infinit** for *adiectiuum, positiuus, comparatiuus, etc.* (on these is modelled the secondary formation *indidit*, gen. *-deto, 'indicatiuus'*, from *ind-fēd-*; but *genitiu*, gen. *-ten, 'genitiuus'*); *oblæ Thes. II. 252, 8, ablu 251, 10*, for *oblata* 'Host', gen. *oblæ 252, 19* but *oblann I. 494, 26* (Arm.); *\*febrae*, gen. *febrai* (Fél.), 'februarius', as against *enáir 'ianuarius'* or *'ienuarius'*.

The use of *-ién* (cp. *Priscién = Priscianus*) in *septién* 'Septuagint' is peculiar. The same ending appears in *fírién* beside *fírián, fírión* 'just' (gen. sg. and nom.pl, *fírién, fírién, fíriáin, fírióin*) from W. *gwirion*; the abstract noun *férinne* has probably been influenced by *inne* 'sense'.

**918.** In general, Britanic influence must always be reckoned with. Ir. **pennit** 'penitence' obviously corresponds to W. *penyd*, Bret. *penet*, which have been taken directly from the verb *poenitere*, and *nn* (not *nd*) in the Irish form must be based on some modification. But it was equated with Lat. *poenitentia* and thus provided the model for formations like *abstanit, aiccidit* for *abstinentia* and *accidentia* (also *accidens*). In **stoir** 'historia' (*h*)- has been lost, as in Bret. *ster* 'sense' (the *y-* of W. *ystyr* is a later development). The diphthong in *catháir 'cathedra'* is undoubtedly taken from Britanic (Mid.W. *cateir*). The vocalism of *laubir lebuir* 'labor' (§ 80c) indicates that the second syllable formerly had *u*, cp. W. *llafur* from *labōr-*. The formation of *pólire* for *pugillare, -res, -ria* 'writing tablet' likewise recalls Britanic *\*poullōr*, Mid.W. *peullawr*. Already in the Britanic period *septimana* 'week' had been assimilated to the Celtic numeral 'seven' (cp. Bret. *sizun suzun*, Corn. *seithun sythyn*, beside Bret. *seiz*, Corn. *seith* 'seven'); O.Ir. *sechtmon*, gen. *sechtmaine*, is likewise assimilated to **secht**.

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**919.** On the other hand many changes are due to the linguistic character of Irish itself, to which foreign elements are, as far as possible, assimilated.

The stressing of the first syllable is adopted in loan-words also. It is extended even to foreign proper names; in the Féilire, for instance, only such names as keep their Latin flexion are stressed on a later syllable; e.g. **Magdalena** March 28, **Pictaus** Jan. 13, **Damianus** Sept. 27; but **Damian** Nov. 9, **Simplice** July 29, etc.

In **Issau** 'Esau' SR. 2851, 2879, etc., the stress is quite exceptional, perhaps to avoid confusion with **Ís(s)u** 'Jesus'. It is doubtful if **amin, ameín** 'so' (§ 40.) corresponds to Gk. □μην.

This led to syncope of interior vowels both in words borrowed before the time of syncope and in subsequent borrowings which were assimilated to Irish models; e.g. *apstal, abstal* 'apostolus', **epscop** 'episcopus', *felsub* 'philosophus', etc. In *montar* and **muinteir** (also **muntar**) 'household', from *monasterium* (*monisterium*), the non-Irish group *-nst-* resulting from syncope has been reduced to *-nt-*.

Further, long vowels were sometimes, though not consistently, shortened; e.g. *persan*, gen. *persine* 'persōna'; *sechtmon* 'septimāna'.

## SUBSTITUTION OF IRISH SOUNDS FOR LATIN

### 920. *c* FOR *p* AND *qu*

In its earlier stages Irish had no *p* (§ 226); in old loanwords *c* appears in place of it. Examples' **casc** 'Pascha, Easter' (like Lat. *pascha* treated partly as neut.pl., partly as fem.sg.); *corcur* 'purpura'; *clúm* 'pluma'; *caille* 'pallium, veil'; **cu(i)the** 'puteus, pit'; **cland** 'planta, plant, children', like W. *plant* 'children'. The same substitution probably occurs in *cíchnaigistir* gl. *striderat* Sg. 152<sup>b2</sup>, cp. OW. *pipenn*, Mod.W. *piben* 'pipe'; *cúanéne* gl. *pugil* (taken to be *pugillus*) Sg. 50<sup>a12</sup>; **cann**, Mid.W. *pann*, 'cup', Late Lat. *panna* from *patina* (cp. Loth, RC. XLI. 51); *fescor* 'uesper'.

It may be assumed that in earlier borrowings *p* was as a rule replaced by *q* because of the old correspondence between Irish *q* and the *p* of native Britanic words. This is borne out by the Ogam form of **crumther** 'priest' (§ 223), probably also

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by the *o* in *Cothr(a)ige*, the older Irish representation of Patricius (but the *qu* in *Quotirche*, *Quadriga* Colgan's *Secunda Vita Patricii* c. 12 is perhaps merely graphic).

On the other hand, in the Blánfallteg bilingual inscription the Latin genitive VOTEPORIGIS is represented by Ogam VOTECORIGAS, not \*VOTEQO (Academy, 1896, p. 35). This name is not to be confused (as it has been by some) with *Uortiporius*, *Guortepir*. Cp. Mid.W. *godeb* 'refuge' (Loth, RC. XXXVIII. 301).

Later, when *b + h* had developed into *p* in native Irish words (§ 187), *p* was retained in loan-words also: *popul*, *purgatóir*, etc. But that in certain positions its pronunciation still caused some difficulty is shown by the fact that it frequently has *u*-quality; cp. *precept*, *preciupt* Ml. (declined as a feminine *a*-stem) beside *precept* 'praeceptum, sermon'; *baupt(a)ist* 'baptista'; *pupall*, later *puball*, 'tent', Lat. *papilio*, W. *pebyll*. Further, in initial position it is not clearly distinguished from *b*-; cp. *bóc* Sg. 46<sup>a2</sup> for *póc* 'kiss'; *bellec* Thes. II. 226, 29 for *pellec* 'small bag' (cp. Lat. *pellicius*). But *ps*- is represented by simple *s*- in *salm*, *salt(a)ir* 'psalmus, psalterium'. The loss of the *p* of *baptizare* in Ir. **baitsid** (and the substantive: acc. gen. sg. **baithis**, dat. *bathius*) had already occurred in Britanic; cp. W. *bedyddio*, substantive *bedydd*, Bret. *badez*.

Latin *qu* is usually represented by *c* in later borrowings; e.g. *cín* 'quinio, booklet', *re(i)lic(c)* 'reliquiae, graveyard', *ecenocht* 'aequinoctium'; but also *aequinocht* (§ 23), *quart-diiil* 'of the fourth declension' Sg. 187<sup>b1</sup>.

### 921. *s* FOR *f* AND GERMANIC *h*

Loan-words which were evidently borrowed before initial *w* or *v* had turned into *f* (§ 202) have *s*- for *f*-. Examples: *sorn(n)*, gen. *suirnn*, 'furnus', W. *ffwrn*; *senest(er)* Sg. 62<sup>a1</sup>, pl. *senistri*, 'fenestra', W. *ffenestr*; *slécht(a)id* 'flectit, genuflects'; *srían* 'frenum', W. *ffrwyn*; *srogell* 'flagellum (fragellum)', W. *ffrewyll*; *seib*, gen. *sebe*, 'faba', W. *ffa* (the Irish form goes back, perhaps, to a Britanic plural with umlaut \**feβi*); later attested *súist* 'fustis', W. *ffust*; *siball* 'fibula'. This substitution can be explained as follows: already in the early period Irish had *f*, or a sound resembling it, for the lenited form of *sw* (§ 132); accordingly, to correspond to forms

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with *f*-unlenited forms with *sw*- (whence later *s*-) were provided. The name O.Ir. *Sannuch*, corresponding to FANNUCI (gen.) on a Latin inscription, is written SVAQQUCI (in error for SVANNUCI) in Ogam (ZCP.

XII. 411, Ériu XI. 133 f.). An additional reason for the s- in Irish may have been that words like *srón* 'nose' beside W. *ffroen*, and *sruth* 'stream' beside W. *ffrwd*, in which s- is the older sound, served as models for the substitution; but the o in *srogell* apparently points to *swraq-*, so that here there was no direct substitution of *sr-* for *fr-*.

W. *chwant* (from \**swant-*) 'greed' appears in Irish as *sant*.

On the other hand, in our period *f-* is not retained in the lenited forms of these words, having been replaced by *ś-*; cp. gen. *int suirnn* Ml. 121<sup>c</sup>14. dat. *du saint* 90<sup>a</sup>9.

Later borrowings, as might be expected, keep Latin *f-*; e.g. *figor fiugor* 'figura', *firmimint firmint* 'firmamentum', *felsub* 'philosophus'.

Similarly OE. *heafoc* 'hawk' was borrowed into Irish as *sebo(c)*, because initial *h-* occurred in Old Irish only as the lenited form of *s*.

But **Erulb** ZCP. VIII. 294, 33 (a name which dates from the beginning of the ninth century, see *ibid.* XIII. 108) = OE. *Herewulf*, *Herulf*. For similar omission of *h-* in the subsequent Viking period, see Marstrander, *Bidrag til det norske Sprogs Historie i Irland*, p. 102 f.

922. *f* FOR *w, v*

The earlier British-Latin loan-words undoubtedly go back to a period when Irish still retained initial *w-* at least as *v* (§ 201); in them, too, as in native Irish words, it eventually turned into *f-*. Examples: *fín* 'uinum', W. *gwin*; *fiurt* 'uirtus, miracle', W. *gwyrth*; *fíal* 'uelum, veil'; cp. the borrowings from Britannic: **foich** 'wasp', O.Bret. *guohi* W. *gwychi* 'drones', O.Corn. *guhi-enn* 'uespa'; *fírión*, etc., 'just' (§ 917). A few words with Ir. *f-* may be still later borrowings, formed after such models, e.g. **fers** 'uersus'.

But *Ualerán* 'Valerianus' alliterates with the vocalic initial of **idan** Féil. Aug. 11.

Latin consonantal *u* combines with *a* to give the diphthong *au* (**Dauid** § 205, 1). After *e*, however, it is lost in **rél(a)id** 'reuelat', from which would seem to be derived the adj. *réil*

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'manifest', influenced, perhaps, in its form by *réid* 'even' and *léir* 'zealous' (otherwise Loth, RC. XXXVI. 232). Final *b* (= *β*) or *f* in learned borrowings like *breib* 'breuis', *graif* 'grauis' indicates that Latin *u* was pronounced as spirant *v*.

923. False quantities are often found; nor are they always clearly attributable to the influence of native words, such as in *credal* 'credulus, religious', with *ě* by analogy with **cretid** 'believes'. To the Britannic pronunciation of Latin is doubtless due the representation of the preposition *prae-* by **pre -**: **precept** 'praeceptum, sermon', like W. *pregeth*; *predchid* (and *pridchid*) 'praedicat, preaches', like Breton *prezek* 'to preach'. But elsewhere, too, *ae* becomes Ir. *ě*: *ceist* 'quaestio', demon 'daemon'. Cp. further *spírut* 'spíritus', *ăcher* 'ăcer', where the short quantity is attested by later poetry; *screpol* 'scripulus (-um)'.

Long vowels for short: *cārachtar* (dat.pl. *cárachtraib* Sg. 3b27) 'chăracter'; *barbár* 'barbărus' Wb. 12<sup>d</sup>6; *Etáil* 'Itălia' 6<sup>d</sup>17, etc.; *Pátr(a)icc* 'Patricius' (*d* established by rhyme as early as Féil. April 14); *lég(a)id* 'lěgit', doubtless after *scrib(a)id* 'scribit' (possibly supported by *lăcht*, *lăchtu* 'lěctio'); *árc* (acc. *áirc* Ml. 83a4, gen. *árcae* 82d) 'ărca', after *bárc* 'bărca'; *Crist* 'Christus', after *Ísu* 'Iěsus'(?).

924. As may be seen from some of the foregoing examples the loan-words were adapted as far as possible to the Irish language. Some were completely assimilated in form to existing native words, others were phonologically affected by such words (or by other loan-words). Cp. *cailech* (masc. *o*-stem) 'calix', after *cailech* 'cock'; *grád* (neut. *o*-stem) 'grădus', after *grád* 'love'; *Cirine* 'Hieronymus', as if a diminutive of *cir* 'jet'; *Tíamdae* 'Timotheus', after *tíamdae* 'slow, weak' or 'obscure'; *saígul* *sáegul* 'saeculum', after *baígul* *báegul* 'unguarded position, danger'; *óene aíne* 'ieiunium' (cét-aín 'Wednesday', ht. 'first fast'),

apparently modelled on oín 'one' because Britannic forms like Mid.Bret. *yun, iun* resembled the numeral un; *mēsar* 'mensura', modelled on *mes(s)* 'estimation, weighing' (ě also in W. *mesur*); *membrum(m)*

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'membrana', presumably after Lat. *membrum*. (W. *memrwn* is peculiar); *carmocol* 'carbunculus', after *mocol* 'macula, mesh'; *sollumun* 'sollemne' (acc. pl. *sollumnu*, hence masc. o-stem), after *immun* 'hymnus'; *oxal* 'axilla', perhaps after *foxal* 'taking away', or after *oche*, if this (which is explained as *ochsal Féil.* p. 180) is a real word; *súg* 'sucus', after *súgid* 'sūgit' (both probably loan-words); *am-prom* 'improbus', *promad* 'probatio', with m after *prím-* 'primus'; *mebuir* 'memoria', with dissimilation of *m--μ* to *m--β* under the influence of *mebul* 'shame', etc.

*séol* 'sail', OE. *segel*, probably formed its nominative from the frequent genitive (*crann, ben*) *síuil* (< \**siyli*) after such models as *céol* 'music'. gen. *ciuil*.

Levellings of this kind are also in part responsible for the frequent interchange of lenited and unlenited *m, n, l*. Single nasals occur, as one would expect, in *canóin* 'canon', *camall* 'camel(l)us', etc.; but we find *mm* in *immun* 'hymnus' and *caimmse* 'camisia', probably influenced by the prep. **imm-** and by *camb camm* 'crooked' (cp. also Bret. *kamps*). Unlenited *-n* is regular in *mu(i)lenn* 'molinum, mill', and in *echtrann* 'extraneus' (§ 140); but it appears also in *cucann* 'cocina (coquina)', *moirtchenn* 'morticinium'; cp. *persann* beside *persan* § 291, 2. Further, *-ll* in *bachall* fern. 'baculus (-um)', 'crook' (not *bacillus, -um*).

## DECLENSION

925. There is a marked tendency to transfer Latin loan-words to the *i*-stem class. In words like *caindleóir* 'candelarius', *mebuir* 'memoria', *ecl(a)is* 'ecclesia', the palatal final may be ascribed to the effect of the Latin *i*. But we also find *senatóir* 'senator' (cp., however, *auctor* Wb. 3<sup>c</sup>4, *augtor* Ml. 44<sup>d</sup>19, acc. pl. *auctaru* 35<sup>b</sup>17), *tríndóit* 'trinitas' W. *trindod*, *digaim* 'digamma', *canóin* 'canon', *argumint argumeint* 'argumentum', *cléir* (beside *clíar*) 'clerus', and the like. Some of these words have developed a special flexion, remaining unchanged throughout the singular (see § 302, 2).

Of the remainder, some are inflected as *o-* and *ā-*stems, even where they have a different flexion in Latin. Here too

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the influence of certain Irish words has been operative; e.g. *demon demun* 'daemon', gen. *demuin*, after *domun*, gen. **-uin**, 'world'; *ord*, gen. *uird*, 'ordo, ordinis', after *ord* 'hammer'; *croch*, gen. *cruche* (fem. *ā-*stem) 'cross' (as instrument) for *crux, crucis*, after *cloch* fem. 'stone'; **cross** 'cross' (as symbol), gen. *cruisse* Thes. II. 254, 19, from nom. *crux*, after *coss* fem. 'foot'. Cp. further *sacart*, gen. *sacairt sacaird*, 'sacerdos, -dotis'; *corp*, gen. *coirp*, (masc. *o-*stem) 'corpus, -oris'.

Others are assimilated to various Irish flexional types; e.g. *peccad*, gen. *pectho*, 'peccatum' to the masculine *u-*stems in *-ad* (§ 723); *genitiu*, gen. *geniten*, 'genitiuus' to the abstract nouns in *-tiu, -ten* (§ 730) *precept*, gen. *precepte*, 'praecipitum' probably to those in *-cht* (§ 727); **fin** 'uinum' to the *u-*stem *lín* 'number'.

*fiurt* 'miracle, uirtus' is a masc. *u-*stem, gen. *ferto* (*fertae = ferta* Ml. 16<sup>c</sup>9); here the presence of *u* after *t* in all case-forms of the Latin flexion may have had some influence. **salt**, gen. *salto*, 'saltus' and *spirt* *spiurt* 'spiritus' (§ 310) are likewise inflected as *u-*stems.

Occasionally, however, less usual Latin flexions are imitated; e.g. *ap abb*, acc. *abbaith*, nom.pl. *apid*, 'abbas, -atis'; *míl*, gen. *míled*, 'miles, -itis'.

926. Adjectives are usually given an Irish adjectival suffix; e.g. *rómánda* and *rómánach* 'Romanus'; *geintlide* 'gentilis', *berensdæ* 'Beroensis', and, modelled on this, *eolensta* 'Aeolicus' Sg. 31<sup>b</sup>18; *ægeptacde* *egiptacdae* 'Aegyptiacus', on which are modelled *moabac dai* 'Moabite (pl.)' Ml. 78<sup>b</sup>10, *in doracdid* 'dorice'

Sg. 204<sup>b</sup>9. Forms without a suffix are rarer: *lax* 'laxus', negative *nephlix*; *amprom* 'improbus'; *credal* 'credulus'; *ennac* 'innocuus (innocens)'.  
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## CONJUGATION

927. Borrowed verbs follow the *a*-flexion; thus not only *·táichta* 'tractat', *·scrúta* 'scrutat(ur)', *·réla* 'reuelat', *·oina* 'ieiunat', but also *·scríba* 'scribit', *·léga* 'legit', *·sléchta* 'flectit'. In *baitsid* 'baptizat' and *oirdnid* 'ordinat'

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*s* and *n* are palatal only because of the syncope of *i*; cp. pret. 3 sg. *·baitness* Trip. 160, 8, *·ordan* Wb. II. 33<sup>c</sup>5. In *predchid pridchid prithchid* 'praedicat' the quality fluctuates; e.g. 3 sg. rel. usually *pridchas prithchas*, but *pridches* Wb. 23<sup>b</sup>24. *ongid* 'ungit' is inflected both as an *i*- and as an *a*-verb; e.g. pass. 3 sg. rel. *oingther* Tur. 4, partic. *oingthe* 3, beside dat. *ongthu* Ml. 48<sup>b</sup>8, vb.n. *ongad*.

*adorare* is sometimes treated as a simplex (e.g. 3 sg. rel. *adras* Wb. 9<sup>c</sup>33), but generally as a compound (in which, however, the *o* is short); e.g. 3 pl. perf. *ad·r·orsat* Wb. 1<sup>b</sup>19, ipf. *ad·ordais* Ml. 36<sup>d</sup>16. So too *consecrare consacrare* seems to be always treated as a compound; e.g. *con·secraimm* Sg. 24<sup>a</sup>5, *cut·secar* 'he consecrated it' Thes. II. 242, 8 (Arm.), perf. pass. (with **-ad-**, § 532) *con·aseerad* Corm. 892 (Laud). The 1 sg. form *cosacrub-sa* Ml. 45<sup>b</sup>12 is an error for *con·sacrub*.

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<sup>1</sup> hom. = Homeric. dor. = Doric. lesb. = Lesbian.

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## TRANSLATORS' NOTES

1.p.1 1.27. The date suggested for the beginning of Modern Irish is too late. A text written in 1475 (ZCP. 11. I ff., 225 ff.) contains none of the characteristic features which distinguish Middle from Modern Irish, such as the infixed pronoun, the verbal particle *ro* (later *do*), and the still frequent examples of deuterotonic forms (which in Modern Irish survive only in a few 'irregular' verbs). Cp. further S. Ó Catháin, ZCP. XIX. I ff.; O'Grady, Catalogue of Irish MSS. in the British Museum pp. 5, 231. On the other hand, a deliberately archaic language was still practised by some writers even in the seventeenth century.

2.p.5 1.17. *Áed Róin AU.735*, etc.; but cp. § 250 (a).

3.p.8 1.29. Despite the extensive use made of them in the present work, Thurneysen has not included the Laws in his list of sources. Yet, mainly owing to his own researches, the text of certain tracts is now recognized as linguistically older than the O.Ir. Glosses, though surviving only in late mss. in which the original forms are sometimes modernized or corruptly transmitted. Indeed, the earlier stratum of the text belongs rather to the archaic sources (§ 10). Cp. Thurneysen, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanische Abteilung*, LV. 88.

4.p.11 1.22. All the extant Ogam inscriptions in Ireland and Britain have now been collected in *Corpus Inscriptionum Insularum Celticarum* by R. A. S. Macalister. Vol. 1. Irish Manuscripts Commission. Dublin. 1945.

5.p.18 1.19 f. It should be noted that final unstressed *-ae* is not a diphthong. Cp. note 22.

6.p.23 1.34. For *c t p* after *s*, cp. note 31.

7.p.25 1.19. In examples of tmesis the turned point is placed after the pretonic element or elements; e.g. *do-rea rúasat*, etc. (p. 327).

8.p.30 1.24. But cp. p.570 1.11 f.

9.p.30 1.34. These words are not really enclitics. In the MSS. they are written separately from the preceding word. Further, in Middle Irish verse *dno* (= *dano*), *didiu*, and *trá* not only take a full stress but may also alliterate and rhyme. For *dno* cp. RIA. Dict. D, col. 87 f., and for the later development of this word, O'Rahilly, *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 111. 58 f. For *didiu* see Meyer Contr. p. 640; and for *trá* cp. *Thes.* 11. 292, 1, SR. 1349, LL 139b8. Cp. further O'Rahilly, *Early Ir. History and Mythology*, p.87 note 3.

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10.p.34 1.4. In some of these examples the mark of length has apparently been misplaced. Thus in MI. 20<sup>b</sup>13 the MS. has *ni fú* for *ní fu*; similarly 72<sup>d</sup>12, 15<sup>b</sup>3, and 52.

11.p.37 1.34. Add *feuir* MI. 90<sup>b</sup>8.

12.p.40 1.14. But the Mid. Ir. form *tuara* shows that this word really belongs to § 62 (c). Cp. Ériu 111. 84 § 151 (Wb. 6<sup>b</sup>8), KZ. XLV. 76.

13.p.42 1.30 f. In such personal names, *Maíl*, being unstressed, lost the second element of its diphthong and was shortened. It is this shortened form that is represented in *Malmuru*, *Mælcólm*, and *Melpatrekr*.

14.p.44 1.31. Cp. *Thes.* 11. 417. But the example is doubtful.

15.p.44 1.33. The usual form in the Glosses is *coós*; e.g. *cois* Wb. 2<sup>a</sup>16, *cóis* Sg. 77<sup>a</sup>4, *cóisid* 'causatiuus' 77<sup>a</sup>3.

16.p.48 1.4. For 'Gaul.' read 'Gallo-Lat.'

17.p.49 1.4. But cp. *ar-robert* (to *ar-bera*) p.333 1.31, unless we should read *ar-ro-bert* with unstressed *to* after a pretonic preposition (p.30 1.5).

18.p.49 1.37. 'dat. pl.'. See note 61.

19.p.50 1.12. Cp. also *ni-roar* (sic MS.) *Thes.* 11. 292, 16, pf. of the simplex *feraid*.

20.p.57 1.2 f. Here, since *imma* is proclitic, the absence of the glide is quite regular, just as in *innam-merbi* p. 151 1.6, etc. Only when, in the later language, the accent has shifted, giving *maille* (*ri*), is the glide admissible. Cp. O'Rahilly, *Eriu* IX. 14.

21.p.61 1.13. Macalister (*Corpus* no. 275) now reads *QVECI*.

22.p.62 1.29 f. As there was no 'double sound' (*Doppellaut*) here, it would perhaps be more accurate to say that after a palatal consonant an original non-palatal vowel was made palatal and vice versa.

23.p.72 1.24 f. But cp. p. 549 1.6 f.

24.p.75 1.22. But see O'Rahilly, *Eriu* XIII. 173 f., where it is shown that the verb is derived from *comlann*, the older compound, not from the later re-formation *com-lán*.

25.p.79 1.11. Cp. also MAGLICUNAS, MAGLIDUBAR, Macalister *Corpus* nos. 446, 427.

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26.p.82 1.12. tricho. See note 94.  
 27.p.85 1.11. Better 'bilabial', cp. p.122 1.25.  
 28.p.86 1.21. For the doubling of a after r see Macneill, *PRIA. XXVII*, Sect. C. p.347; cp. § 140.  
 29.p.86 1.36. \*ind-nith'the. But see pp. 377, 523.  
 30.p.87 1.34 f. See O'Rahilly, *Ériu XIII*. 140.  
 31.p.88 1.8. By the late Middle Irish period the spelling sg, sd, sb becomes increasingly common. Cp. IGT. 1. § 33, according to which s voices a following c or t. On the phonetic problem cp. Pedersen, *KZ. XXXVI*. 107 ff.  
 32.p.89 1.16 f. But for ·dichtim see p.473 1.7; cp. further ·dichtheth (sic) LU 4797 = ·dichtheth YBL (TBC. 305). Cp. *Ériu XII*. 231 f.  
 33.p.91 1.30. It is doubtful whether the last example illustrates the rule, for the -t in at probably represents the sound d.  
 34.p.95 1.18 f. comallaid, comlán. See note **24**.  
 35.p.101 1.12. In Mid. Ir. MSS. the group cht occasionally appears as palatal in unstressed syllables; e.g. *Indeichte*, gen. of *Indecht*, Rawl. 143<sup>a</sup>55; *glénuicht* (: *chuirp*) SR. 1358; *lemnaicht* LB. 9<sup>b</sup>49 (= Rule of Tallaght p.66 § 11). Cp. IGT. 11. § 25. Cp. further *siaicht* note **148**. For final -cht in monosyllables, see p.224. 1.16 f.  
 36.p.102 1.25. *libuir*, gen. sg. and nom. pl., is more likely to have been modelled on dat. sg. *libur*, acc. pl. *libru*. But cp. *do·bibuir* p.413 1.15.  
 37.p.103 1.32. Add 3 pl. ·aiccet LL 119<sup>b</sup>34.  
 38.p.103 1.35. The form ·accu occurs LU 1513, also ·acciu 5347.  
 39.p. 105 1.24 f. *in tan* (*tain*) and *fel* (*fail*) can hardly be regarded as proclitics; cp. §§ 888, 780. In Bardic poetry the form *in dan(n)* is quite common.  
 40.p. 108 1.35. Add *Petur* Wb. 18<sup>d</sup>12, Tar. 105; but *Petar* Ml. 38<sup>c</sup>5.  
 41.p. 112 1.13 f. In *com-imm-chloud* and *com-imm-thecht* the -mm- is at the end of the second syllable, not at the beginning of the third, as the rule here formulated would require.  
 42.p. 122 1.27. After the neg. prefix *an-* (§ 870a) the *f* of the simplex is sometimes written. Cp. note **196**.

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43.p.124 1.21. At the time of the Ogam inscriptions intervocalic *w* still retained its consonantal value; cp. AVI (AVVI), TOVISACI, etc.  
 44.p.125 1.5. The name David occurs more than 130 times in Ml., seven times written *duaid*, five times *dauid*, six times *duid*, otherwise always *dd* with contraction stroke. Cp. p. 572 1.37.  
 45.p.125 1.32. It should be noted that *beothu* is dat. in Wb. 3<sup>c</sup>2. See p.205 1.24.  
 46.p.137 1.3. In Macalister *Corpus Inscriptionum* (see note **4**) there are seven examples of MACI.  
 47.p.140 1.19. *drucht*. The *u* is long in this word from the Mid. Ir. period at least. Cp. *drucht* LL 93<sup>b</sup>5, *drúchta* LU 7012; further *drūchtach* (: *súntach*) ZCP. VII. 309.  
 48.p.149 1.4. For the nasalization of verbal forms after the acc. sg. in the archaic construction described § 513b, see *Ériu XII*. 196 f.  
 49.p.150 1.18. But cp. p.151 1.12.  
 50.p.151 1.23. In the older language *clúain* is masc.: gen. *Cluana moer* AU 778, 827, *Cluana móir* Féil. Prol. 184, cp. Feb. 17, Aug. 21, Dec. 23, in *Chluana* LL 374<sup>b</sup>17; dat. *ó Chlúain Dolcáin dálach* Féil. Aug. 6, *ó Chl. Mór* (: *brón*) LL 304<sup>a</sup>37.

Although in the later language the dat. *máig* issometimes found with a feminine adjective, we know of no example where the gen. *maige*, etc., is treated as fem. Cp. RIA. Contrib. M, col. 25; IGT. 11. § 31.

51.p.156 1.14 f. This example is not taken from the text of the Laws, but from a Mid. Ir. commentary. The construction does not occur in O. Ir. See RIA. Dict. D, col. 162 ff. Cp. also note **89**.  
 52.p.157 1.18. But see Dr. Mulchrone's edition 1.147, where the MS. readings are given as *sl-* E, *slán* R, *sláin* LB. Cp. also *Rí ro·sáer Susannam sláin* SR. 7357.  
 53.p.157 1.24. Otherwise O'Rahilly, *Ériu XIII*. 179.  
 54.p.158 1.16. For early examples of the subjective gen. in this construction see note **103**. Cp. also *oc ingrimmim inna clóen* Cam. ( *Thes*, 11. 247, 13).  
 55.p.162 1.22. Otherwise Sarauw, *Irske Studier* p.87 f., who takes *menmain* as accusative.  
 56.p.162 1.28. Add *des(s)* 'south of'; see note **194**.

- 57.p.167 1.25. It may be noted that the identification of Mid. Ir. *lethēit* (Mod. *leithéid*) with O. Ir. *lethet* (Mod. *leithead*) proposed by Meyer in KW. § 198 is doubtful.
- 58.p.178 1.11. Throughout the Annals of Ulster, i.e. down to the close of the sixteenth century, we find constant examples of such proper names forming their genitive like the nominative. Cp. IGT. 11. § 35.
- 59..178 1.16. Voc. *a popuil* occurs MI. 103<sup>a</sup>4.
- 60.p.178 1.17 f. For a different explanation of the plural of *demon* see O'Rahilly, *Ériu XIII*. 157 f.
- 61.p.178 1.25. The Mid. Ir. form *einaige* in *Laws v. 506*, 12 is a scribal innovation, taken over from the gloss (508, 14). In the earlier MS. H.2.15 (Sencbas Már Facsimile p.1), which contains a copy of this tract, and in O'Dav. 980, where the relevant passage is cited, *enech* is written out; the Copenhagen MS., according to Stokes *ZCP. IV*. 228, has *enech*. Singular *enech* first appears in Mid. Ir.; O. Ir. has only plural forms, cp. RIA. Dict. E, col. 126 ff.
- 62.p.180 1.9 f. For the plural forms of du(i)ne see Strachan, *RC. XX*. 198 note 6 ; O'Rahilly, *Ériu XIII*. 156; Borgström, *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap XII*. 83 ff.
- 63.p.185 1.23. Nom. *unga* occurs in *Thes. II*. 10, 7.
- 64.p.186 1.7. Add gen. sg. *trinoit* *ZCP. VIII*. 197 § 9.
- 65.p.186 1.13. *mét* also Sg. 49<sup>a</sup>15 and *Thes. II*. 11, 40.
- 66.p.192 1.32. Instead of DEGO (no. 88), Macalister (*Corpus* no. 197) now reads DEGOS.
- 67.p.195 1.16. Add dat. sg. *fiud: des Fiud*, Rawl. 1.57, 52 = LL 331<sup>c</sup>10.
- 68.p.196 1.21. The pl. form *fess*, which is found only as a gloss on *scita*, is more likely to have been a substantival adjective (or old participle, cp. Asc. p.359). Thus, preceded by the copula, *nidad fessa* γ *nidad derba scela . . . fer n-Erenn* BB 9<sup>b</sup>20 = omnia monimenta Scottorum . . . incerta erant Rawl. 12b25. Alternatively it may be a back formation from pass. *ni·fess* 'is not known', which was wrongly analysed as a predicative adj. with the neg. of the copula; cp. Mod. Ir. *ní (is)feas dom*.
- 69.p.197, 1.6. But also *cró-*, e.g. LU 2803, *chrōdeirg (: mórf + éirg)* LL 138<sup>a</sup>9.

- 70.p.197 1.9. Add nom. pl. *cnœ* *Thes. II*. 249, 7.
- 71.p.197 1.11. Cp. O'Rahilly, *Ériu XIII*. 216.
- 72.p.197 1.26. In some entries this is written *Atha Truim*.
- 73.p.197 1.29 f. Macalister (*Corpus* no. 426) now reads NETTASAGRI. The second element may be gen. of an o-stem; cp. *Nazair (= Nut Sāir)* Féil. July 12, Rawl. 127<sup>a</sup>35, etc. Of TRENAGUSU (*Corpus* no. 428) he writes: 'Possibly the original form -GUSI as in the Latin: two notches may have been broken from the stone.'
- 74.p.199 1.32. For the adjective in the nom. qualifying such a voc. see *Ériu IX*. 92 and *Mélanges Pedersen* p.283 n.2.
- 75.p.204 1.24. No case-form of *fail* occurs in LU 9273, but cp. nom. pl. *failge* 7635, dat. pl. *foilgib* 5770.
- 76.p.205 1.3 f. For the masc. gender of *teng(a)e*, cp. nom. sg. **int oentenga**, nom. du. *in da t[h]engaid* Sencbas Már Facsimile p.2a.
- 77.p.211 1.9. Add gen. sg. *escongan* LU 6090.
- 78.p.211 1.11. Add *draic* Windisch Wörterbuch s. v. *dracc*.
- 79.p.212 1.4. Add acc. *don* MI. 35<sup>c</sup>1. 111<sup>b</sup>23, 131<sup>b</sup>2, Tur. 99, and cp. p.298 1.7.
- 80.p.216 1.4. Add gen. sg. *tige* Wb. 7<sup>c</sup>9. Féil. Ep. 94, etc.
- 81.p.216 1.36. Add masc. baí togaitig 'deceptive kine' *Thes. II*. 6, 32.
- 82.p. 219 1.5. Read perhaps *lán-brón[ach]*.
- 83.p.219 1.21. Also *Dermaid*, cp. AU. 703, 713, 777, 822, etc.
- 84.p.221 1.31. 't after s'. See note 31.
- 85.p.231 1.17 f. Otherwise O'Rahilly, *Ériu XIII*. 158.
- 86.p.232 1.10 f. See also § 806.
- 87.p.232 1.36 f. We know of no example of the equative with a relative clause, except in cases like *dúil badit n-amhrathor* Fianaig. 14 § 31, *sét bat n-amradar* 16 § 39 (cp. p.233 1.20), which belong to a different type.
- 88.p. 237 1.32. Cp. *Ériu XIV*. 140 ff.

89.p.238 1.18. Against the theory that *de* is enclitic it may be urged (1) that, unlike enclitics, it is not attached to the preceding word in the MSS.; (2) that it may be separated from the comparative, not only by an enclitic, *ardu-ni de* Ml. 23<sup>d</sup>23, but by a word never treated as enclitic, *étrummu doib de* 83<sup>b</sup>11; (3) that if it were enclitic, and therefore incorporated with the comparative, the *d* = unlenited *d* would be unparalleled. It is never written *-te* before the Mid. Ir. period, when the construction had changed. Cp. note **51**.

90.p.238 1.25. Ascoli's collection is supplementary to that of ZeussEbel 608 f.

91.p.242 1.5. But cp. pp. 231 1.38 f., 243 1.10 f., 306 1.7 f., 310 1.27.

92.p.243 1.14. It may be noted that in the older language such numerals agree in gender with the substantive to which they refer; e.g. *tar seilb no tar a dī* Laws IV.126, 5, cp. 1 260, 7; *a tēora* IV. 138, 22.

93.p.244 1.23 f. When *il-* is used in composition, the noun seems to be plural except where it is already collective in meaning; cp. Asc. p. lxxix f. The example *ilbéim* is doubtful; see Meyer, Contr. p.38 s.v. *aibéim*.

94.p.247 1.33. If the *i* of *tricho -a* was short in O. Ir., one would have expected it to be lowered to *e* (*\*trecho*) in accordance with the rule in § 73.

95.p.258 1.25. But cp. *Ériu* XIV.153.

96.p.268 1.16. The 'pronoun' referred to here must mean the rel. particle, which, however, does not distinguish genders. In the Glosses at least this *d* apparently expresses only the subject relative.

97.p.269 1.18 f. But see p. 320 1.35.

98.p.270 1.5. But in the first example *bes* may refer to *cethardóit (tire)*.

99.p.270 1.15. After 'indicative' add 'and subjunctive'; e.g. Sg. 181<sup>a</sup>5.

100.p.271 1.11. Add fut. *bethiumm Ériu* XIII.20, 6.

101.p.273 1.28. Add pl. 2 *sechaib* LL 304<sup>b</sup>1.

102.p.275 1.36. Add *erre* Ir. Hist. Studies 1. 347.

103.p.276 1.30. For the use of a possessive pronoun as subjective genitive in this construction, cp. *a chétgabáil n-gaiscid* LU 5125, *a h-ól meda* LL 49<sup>b</sup>36. Cp. further *trit chomairléciud-su* Ml. 87<sup>a</sup>9 contrasted with objective *ar comar léciud* 87<sup>a</sup>7. Cp. note **54**.

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104.p.279 1.23 (and p.281 1.23). *tuí* is the reading of YBL; cp. *Ériu* XII.180 § 10.

105.p.280 1.13. *nechtar n-aí* means rather 'either of the two'; cp. p.310 1.8.

105a.p.282 1.22 f. But cp. p.361 1.2 f. Has *s-* arisen through wrong separation of forms like *isnín(n)i* p.254 1.8, *os-ni* p.548 1.28? Cp. the author's explanation of *sinonn* beside *inonn* p.306 1.6.

106.p.284 1.22. In all the forms of the conjugated preposition *etar (eter) = d*, except in the 3 pl. *etarru*. Here, to judge by the later language, the *d* has been unvoiced by the suffixed *-su*, though separated from it by a vowel. Cp. Mod. Ir. pl. 1 *eddrain*, 3 *eatarra*. Cp. also *do-intarraí* p.95 1.38, p.519 1.27, etc.

107.p.287 1.36. After 'interrogative' add 'and indefinite'.

108.p.288 1.25. The Mid. Ir. form is generally *cúich*. Cp. Meyer, Contr. p. 412.

109.p.291 1.17. Here the Irish construction corresponds to English 'is it a fact that he does not consider?' '--that' being the conjunction, not the relative pronoun.

110.p.293 1.12. But if the etymology of *in(n)onn* proposed (on p.306 1.5 f. is correct, the article takes the stress in this word.

111.p.293 1.26. For *immuan* see note **181**.

112.p.298 1.7. Or perhaps *in cetna (= chétnu)* 'in the same way'; cp. Meyer, Contr. p.361.

113.p.298 1.33. 'Er bietet das, was er gegeben hat für das an, was ihm gegeben wird'. But the meaning is more likely to be 'he proposes that what he has given be given (back) to him'. Cp. Laws v. 428, 6. The other two examples of this construction are also doubtful.

114.p.304 1.9. Add *and sin*, Ml. 72<sup>d</sup>1.

115.p.304 1.21. But *ade* is also used for the fem. sg. the example on next line (Ml. 32<sup>a</sup>22), also Ml. 137<sup>b</sup>5.

116.p.305 1.28. Add *dianuas* Rawl. 130<sup>b</sup>36, LL 371<sup>b</sup>34.

117.p.307 1.35. But *alá-ailli* Ml. 89<sup>a</sup>9. Cp. further the open acc. pl. *ala-ailliu* Sg. 32<sup>b</sup>5.

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118.p.308 1.5. Cp. *ala n-aile cell* 'of other churches' AU. 863 (*recte* 864).

119.p.309. 1.24. For the use of *neoch* or *in-neoch* before *ma + +* see p.558 1.32.

120.p.310 1.11. For *de* as equivalent to a partitive gen. du. see p.280 1.15 f.  
 121.p.313 1.21. It should be noted that the first plural rel. form is never used to represent the subject. Cp. note [124](#).  
 122.p.313 1.25. The use of the absolute 2 pl. *saigthe* in this construction is unparalleled. The text of the quatrain is uncertain. The original may have had a construction like *ata n-aidbli bríga* p.321 1.19.  
 123.p.314 1.29. After *a<sup>n</sup>*, *aní*, 'that (which), what' (§ 473) a leniting clause is always obligatory.  
 124.p.316 1.6. In this construction, when the predicated word is 1st or 2nd plural, the verb of the relative clause, apart from the copula, is put in the 3rd singular.  
 125.p.320 1.35. But cp. p.269 1.18 f.  
 126.p.322 1.34 f. Here it is more probable that *innaní* is felt as the antecedent both of *as deg* and *ro · chreitset*. Cp. O'Nolan, *Studies in Modern Irish I*. 114 ff. ('Double Relative Construction').  
 127.p.327 1.6. After 'negative particles' add 'and the verbal particles *ro* and *no*'.  
 128.p.327 1.22. But if, as seems more probable, *nad* is here the neg. of the copula in a leniting relative clause (§ 797), this example belongs rather to 1.36 f. below.  
 129.p.327 1.31. Here follows the sentence omitted from the text (see p. vii *supra*):

In leniting relative clauses, however, simple verbs have absolute forms: *íbthus snechta fína írfess* 'one shall drink it who shall pour out a snow of wine' Zu ir. Hss. I. 51 § 19; and from *con · teathgatur* (read *·tethgatar*) Laws II. 284, 2 it would also appear that compound verbs have deuterotonic forms.

But the examples on which this modification of the preceding rule is based do not appear to be genuine. In each of them Thurneysen has taken what is

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obviously the antecedent as the object of the relative verb. The first is to be translated rather: 'Finnachta who shall pour shall drink it' (for *snechta fína* = F. see Thurneysen, op. cit. p. 49). In the second example *con · teathgatur* seems to mean 'which they have in common', not 'who have . . . . in common' (notwithstanding Thurneysen, *ZCP*. XV. 389).  
 130.p.331 1.36. But cp. LU 1726. Cp. also *Thes. I*. 497, 43 (quoted p.261 1.14), Wb. 25<sup>a</sup>16 (quoted p.264 1.18), Ml. 142<sup>b</sup>4 (quoted p.552 1.26), Tur. 134 (quoted p. 261 1.9), and Ml. 48<sup>b</sup>4.  
 131.p.333 1.31. See note [17](#).  
 132.p.336 1.33. But read perhaps *sú(i)gim* 'I suck' (cp. p.574 1.6).  
 133.p.338 1.20. See note [24](#).  
 134.p.346 1.35 f. Here, as often in Mid. Ir., *ro-* has replaced *ad-* (or *do-*). Cp. *ra · chúaid* TBC. (ed. Windisch) 3235, *ra · chonnaic* 3746, etc.  
 135.p.349 1.33. For the use of the 1st pl. rel. form, see note [121](#).  
 136.p.362 1.14. For *saigthe* see note [122](#).  
 137.p.370 1.22. In the archaic construction described § 513b the imperfect is used without *no*; cp. Ériu XII. 204.  
 138.p.374 1.19. Add *cuiremmar* LL 29b38.  
 139.p.375 1.30. See note [38](#), and add *· acim* LU 5656.  
 140.p.376 1.1. According to Meyer, the MS. readings are *dogne* E, *done* h. *dogen* H, *dagní* UN.  
 141.p.390 1.23. Add abs. *tiasair* *ZCP*. VII. 311 § 19.  
 142.p.397 1.1. It should be noted that in *cot · n-erba* the *f* has been assimilated to the preceding unlenited *b*; cp. § 137.  
 143.p.397 1.23. See note [24](#).  
 144.p.412 1.16. Filargirius Gl. = *Thes. II*. 48, 5; 362.  
 145.p.418 1.5. But *célsammar* is possibly a conjunct form in the archaic construction described § 513b.  
 146.p.421 1.22. In *do · rígeni*, etc., the mark of length may have been placed over the wrong syllable: cp. note [10](#).

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147.p.421 1.25. Cp. also the Mid. Ir. perf. *dori:igni*, etc., Wi. Táin p. 963.  
 148.p.423 1.13. Add *siaicht* *ZCP*. VIII. 306, 31.  
 149.p.426 1.5. Add pret. 3 sg. *ar · foet* Ériu III. 140, 177, *ar · fofet* Y Cymmrodor XIV. 118 § 19.

150.p.426 1.33. Both these forms are more likely to be preterite; cp. pf. *do · arblaing* Tur. 60.  
 151.p.429 1.34. But cp. O'Rahilly, *Ériu XIII*. 121, where it is suggested that 'linguistic evidence stamps' this poem 'as a composition of later date'.  
 152.p.431 1.22. But in *tultatar* the second t may = d.  
 153.p.431 1.24. See note [31](#).  
 154.p.434 1.19. Except in compounds with the prep. *ad-*; cp. § 152b.  
 155.p.437 1.7. Add sg. 1 *do · rochar* PH. 3729; 2 *do · rochar* LB 27a65; 3 *do · rochar* Anecd. II. 60, 12.  
 156.p.444 1.35. Add Mac Neill, *Gaelic Journ.* IV. 116 f., 136 f.; VII. 14, 29 f., 41, 61 f.  
 157.p.445 1.6 ff. It should be noted that in a number of the examples cited §§ 721-737 the substantive, though it may be etymologically connected with the verb, has not the functions of the verbal noun as these are described here; e.g. *gal*, *serc*, *cumacc* (*cumang*), *torb(a)e*, *tuile* (and *tólae*), *rath*, *bás*, *dliged*, *fiuss*, *létiu*, *dásacht*, *gúasacht*, *céim(m)*. But compounds of *gal* (e.g. *dígal*, *togal*) are full verbal nouns.  
 158.p.445 1.35 f. See note [103](#).  
 159.p.450 1.1. Add *fo-gelt*, *con-gelt*.  
 160.p.450 1.2. Add nom. sg. *mleth* *Laws IV*. 314, 13.  
 161.p.461 1.10. For the pret. pass. form cp. *ad · acht* LL 117<sup>b</sup>51 (Ir. Texts. I. 34).  
 162.p.468 1.17. But cp. pret. sg. 3 *· ebelt* *ZCP. VIII*. 307, 2.  
 163.p.471 1.10. Cp. also *roda · gatta* *Laws IV*. 198, 19, *rodo · gata* 200, 1.  
 164.p.474 1.34 f. But see Strachan, *Trans. Phil. Soc.*, 1900, p. 301; Bergin, *Ériu X*. 193.

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165.p.475 1.20 f. Perhaps the meaning is rather 'because there is (a word *nupta*)'. *óndí*, lit. 'from that', is sometimes used as a conjunction; e.g. *húandí fris · tarat* 'in that he has' *MI*. 51<sup>d</sup>3 (cited p. 469 1.15); *ónní BDD* § 20, transl. 'since'. Cp. *íarsindí* § 894, *isindí* § 891, *arindí* § 905.  
 166.p.475 1.24 f. Perhaps *bed* is better taken as past subj. without *no*; cp. *Ériu XII*. 204, 17 ff. and 211. 1.  
 167.p.476 1.1. Cp. also *céin no · mbetis inna saigtea tuidmíthi* *MI*. 58<sup>a</sup>9; *ó ro · batar ind liss dúntai* *Imram Brain* § 1.  
 168.p.476 1.5 f. But the meaning may be rather 'She was no drowsy St. Brigid'.  
 169.p.476 1.9. Some at least of these compounds show a tendency to govern the accusative.  
 170.p.479 1.24. Cp. also *amal file trá deochair* *RC*. XV. 488 § 7.  
 171.p.481 1.15. In O'Dav. 1373 the verb seems to be subjunctive. But cp. cons. pres. indic. pass. *ni · h-occmaithe* note [189](#).  
 172.p.484 1.1 f. But cp. *Ériu XII*. 225 f; further, *níptís* *RC*. XIII. 393, 7; *comdis* *ZCP*. XVII. 268, 13; *comtís* *IT*. II. ii, 33 (1.265).  
 173.p.488 1.5. But absolute sg. 3 *bíth* *Ériu VII*. 144 § 27.  
 174.p.490 1.25. After 'interrog.' add 'and indefinite'; cp. *Ériu XII*. 154 § 18, 210.  
 174a.p.492 1.30. For *éolai<sup>n</sup>* 'versed in, having expert knowledge of', see *RIA. Dict. E*, col. 150.  
 175.p.493 1.32 f. As there seems to be no other example of an emphasizing particle being attached to words like *can*, read perhaps *can so* 'whence is this?' The general sense is not affected. Cp. *cia leth so* 'whither away?' *RC*. XIII. 381.  
 176.p.502 1.25. For *fornгаire* (*forgaire*) and *esгаire* (*escaire*), where the prep. is in post-tonic position, see p.113, 1.5 f.  
 177.p.511 1.13 f. On the position of the stress in *dardaín* see *Ériu XII*. 224.  
 178.p.515 1.23. The following is a translation of Pedersen's actual words (II. 171): 'The conjugated prepositions *friss* and *less* (*leiss* by analogy) are abstracted from *frissom*, *lessom* (really *fri-ssom*, i.e. the pronoun *som* governed by the prep. *fri*, *le-ssom*).'

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179.p.516 1.10. Read perhaps *ni er* (cp. 1.29 f.).  
 180.p.516 1.22. Add *oc* ( [§ 848](#) ); see note [189](#).  
 181.p.517 1.22. The editors of *Thes.* take *immuan* as the prep. + possess. 3 pl. Cp. *immua cuaird* *SR*. 5976; *immoa-lle* *Rawl.* 132<sup>a</sup>45 ('*moa-lle* 47); *immoa fognam* *BB* 255<sup>b</sup>13. The contracted forms *immá* and *immó* are common in *Mid. Ir.* Cp. also *ocua* p.524 1.32, *icúa taich* 'at their house' *LL* 132<sup>b</sup>22; later *ocá*, 'coa, etc., *Mod. Ir.* *agá*, 'gá'.  
 182.p.518 1.10. Perhaps rather 'we shall not see one another'.

183.p.518 1.30 f. See note [31](#).  
 184.p.518 1.39. The Mod. Ir. form is *éagcosg*.  
 185.p.519 1.3. The modern form appears to be *teaglamadh* with unlenited *m*, influenced by *teclaim*, vb. n. of *do · eclainn*; cp. RIA. Contr. T, col. 105 f.  
 186.p.519 1.26 f. For the unvoicing of the dental in *do · intarraí* see note [106](#).  
 187.p.523 1.33. Read rather *immid · n-dich* '(the bird) which sheltered itself' (i.e. took shelter). Cp. *imid · nith* Bürgschaft p.14 § 45 for *imid · n-dích* (from *imm-dí-fich*).  
 188.p.524 1.32. For *ocua* see note [181](#).  
 189.p.525 1.3 f. But cp. *ocmo · bhí, ni · h-ocmaither* Ériu XIII. 37, 20. Hence, when the accent falls on *oc*, *-m-* (= *-mm-*) may represent the regular development of *-mb-* (see § 152c). Cp. notes [171](#), [180](#).  
 190.p.526 1.14f. On the later variants *tógbháil* and *togbháil* see IGT. III. § 108.  
 191.p.529 1.11. The form (*ar*) · *roíat* suggests disyllabic pronunciation; cp. p.416 1.7. Cp. further *ardos · roët* ZCP. III. 21 § 8.  
 192.p.534 1.6. Cp. also 3 sg. · *trégda* Laws IV. 336, 8.  
 193.p.536 1.4. See note [189](#).  
 194.p.536 1.18 f. For *des(s)* with the dative, cp. *des Fiud* note [67](#); *des Maig Midi* (*sic leg.*) Féil. Prol. 226; *des Maig Murthemni* LL 119a41.

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195.p.541 1.30. The MS. reading seems to be · *ruar*.  
 196.p.543 1.13. Later spellings like *ainbhfiór, ainbhfiós, anbírinne* (LU 1423), etc., show that the voiced consonant was retained in this position. Cp. note [42](#).  
 197.p.555 1.2 f. But cp. *co-ni · cuimnigethar a chose* Ériu VII. 162 § 3. In *co[n]-da · r-aseilb* (to *ad-selb-*) *-da-* must be taken twice, as a Mid. Ir. form of pretonic *to-* and as the infixed pron. fem. sg. The O. Ir. form was probably *conda · taisilb*; *da · r-aseilb* would be pf. for pret. Cp. *conda · rairbert* LU 6390 = *conda · tairbert*, and *conda · rafnetar* LL 260b6 = *conda · tafnetar*. There may have been confusion between *co* followed by deuterotonic and *co<sup>n</sup>* by prototonic forms. Doubtless also the existence of *conda · rala* (to *ro · lá*) beside *conda · tarla* (to *do · rala*) had some influence on the construction.  
 198.p.557 1.17 and 1.31. See note [9](#). In any case the fact that these words are not used at the head of the clause cannot be due to lack of stress, for nearly all the unstressed words mentioned in § 41 (a) can begin a sentence.  
 199.p.559 1.16. Cp. also the similar use of *óndí* note [165](#).  
 200.p.562 1.14. But cp. *cid ar thucait cláinde da · gné nech* γar étrud Thes. II. 3, 30, where both verbs are subjunctive.  
 201.p.565 1.8. Add O'Rahilly, The Goidels and their Predecessors p.4 ff. (loan-words from Britannic); *The Two Patricks* p.42 f. (loan-words from Latin).  
 202.p.566 1.36 f. For a different explanation of the final spirant in *peccath, peccad* see p.575, 1.10, and Sarauw *op. cit.* p.8.  
 203.p.567 1.30. The classical Mod. Ir. form of this verb is *léghaidh*, but it has since changed its conjugation, perhaps under the influence of the substantive *léigheann*.  
 204.p.572 1.33. On the Irish pronunciation of initial consonantal *u* as *f*, see Zimmer Sitzb. Pr. Akkad., 1909, p. 29 note.  
 205.p.572 1.34. As alliteration in the Féilire is largely optional, there is nothing to show that *Ualerán* is meant to alliterate with *idan*.  
 206.p.572 1.37. See note [44](#).  
 207.p.575 1.8. Add gen. *cuirp* Thes. II. 253, 21; 254, 1.

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