TRANSLATORS' PREFACE

Part I of Rudolf Thurneysen’s *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 publication, 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 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.

In the text itself, apart from minor corrections of fact and bibliographical additions, we have introduced no chances. 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 chances 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 IndoEuropean 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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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Grammatical

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

2. Languages

Armen. = Armenian
Avest. = Avestan
Boeot. = Boeotian
Bret. = Breton
Brit.(ann). = Britannic
Celt. = Celtic
Corn. = Cornish
Dor. = Doric
Eng. = English
Fr. = French
Gaul. = Gaulish
Germ. = Germanic
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<th>Language</th>
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<td>Welsh</td>
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### 3. Bibliographical

ACL. = Archiv für Celtische Lexikographie (§ 20).
Asc. = Ascoli, Glossario dell' antico Iraldese (§ 19, 1).
Aurac. = Auricept 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).
Brugmann = Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen (§ 21).
Cam. = Cambrai Homily (§ 10, 2).
CIL. = Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Contr(ib). See Meyer.

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Dottin = La Langue gauloise (§ 3).
Érlu (see § 22).
Fél = Félire Oengusso (§ 8).
Gr. C. = Grammatica Celtica (§ 17,1).
IF. = Indogermanische Forschungen. 1892-.
IF. Anz. = Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde. 1892-.
IGT. = Irish Grammatical Tracts (ed. Bergin).
Imram Brain = The Voyage of Bran (ed. Meyer). London 1895.
Itin. Ant. = Itinerarium Antonini.
ITS. = Irish Texts Society.
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. Goidel (sg. Goïdel) was the ancient name of the people who spoke this language, which itself was called Goïdelg. 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.

c. Manx, the language formerly spoken in the Isle of Man, now virtually extinct.

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.


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).


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


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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:


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.

Editions:


6. **2. Ml.** 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 Mail-Gaimrid cited as an authority in glosses 56a33 and 68c15 is almost certainly to be identified with the *scriba optimus et ancorita, abbas Benn[gh]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 Ml., which is appreciably later than that of Wb., cp. Ascoli, *Note Irlandesi* (1883), and Strachan, *ZCP.* IV. 48 ff. Editions:


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

Editions:

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:
   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.

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.

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.


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 Félire (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 Ml.

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

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.

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.


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.).


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 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 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:

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  a b c d e f g h i j k
  m n o p q r s t u v w
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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.

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.


A new collection has been begun by Macal, Macalister, *Studies in Irish Epigraphy*, Parts I.-III., 1897-1907 (more than 248 inscriptions to date).


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

Collections:

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


I. GRAMMARS

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


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.

 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.).


*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.*


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

18. **B. GRAMMARS OF EARLY IRISH:**


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.*


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


*Greatly condensed.*


*A short grammar and reader with glossary.*


*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.


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).


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).

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.


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


For the modern language it will be sufficient to mention:


### III. ETYMOLOGICA

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


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).*


*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).*
ORTHOGRAFHY

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, y, z occur only in isolated loan-words; e.g. prid kalde gl. pridie kalendas Sg. 2201; oinsyllabche 'monosyllabism' 20710 beside normal sillab 'syllable'; bajtiz-i 'he baptized him' Thes. II. 241, 15 (Arm.), normally bajtisim 'baptizo'. The letter q is also rare, e.g. aequinoctht 'aequinoctium' Thes. II. 14, 35 beside ecenocht Ml. 1119; occasionally it appears in a native word, e.g. uisq(ue) 'water' Wb. 11517, Ml. 9312 for normal usque, 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. 2824 beside ecils 1656, foirrggæ 'sea' Sg. 1241 beside foiirre 679.

On the other hand, most scribes clearly distinguish it from ae, which is interchangeable with ai and represents a true diphthong (§66). Spellings like aesca for éscas 'moon' Thes. II. 20, 39, dæ Ml. 111c3 for dé da 'God's', öencheille 'of one meaning' Sg. 273 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 assibilated 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. longa) 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. 615, see §915 c.

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 Alt. 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-róxul 'has taken away' Wb. 2719 beside fochtsul Ml. 93d5, fo-rochsaisat 'they have taken away' 1811; oxalaib Tur. 35, exile Thes. II. 255, 5, etc., Mid. Ir. ochsal 'axilla'; dixa gl. conuxexa (pl.) Ml. 969, from dígas 'high'; similarly ·dU+00EDxígedar 'is, exists' §762 b, airdixa '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 i , 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 héed beside ed 'it'. It is often prefixed to longer words beginning with ui ua, probably to prevent the Latin pronunciation vi va; e.g. huissé beside uisse 'just', hulé beside ulé 'whole', húasal beside úasal 'high'; also to words which resemble Latin words with h-, e.g. hic hicc beside iíc iicc 'salvation' (cp. Lat. hic 'here'), hómón hómun beside ómun 'fear' (cp. homo), híres(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-hucci* 'understands it' beside *da-ucci*.

There are only isolated cases of its use as a mark of hiatus in the interior of words, e.g. in the foreign *Israel* (a spelling also found in Latin), and even in gen. sg. *rehe* 'of a period' Wb. 4°, in Sg. exceptions:

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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 hail* 'something else' in the marginal note Sg. 217 (Thes. II. xxii). In archaic *menmnihi* gl. *animositates* Wb. I. 18°, 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* *iu*. In the present work the diphthongs with *-i* are printed *ai* *oi* *ui* in order to distinguish them from *á* *ó* *ú* followed by the glide *i* (§ 86). Thus *báith* 'foolish', *oín* 'one', *druí* 'magician', with true diphthongs, as against *láim* acc. dat. sg. *láim* 'hand', *hóir* acc. sg. *hour* (gen. *hóire*), *rún* acc. dat. sg. of *rún* 'secret'. In other diphthongs the accent is placed over the first element: *áe* *óe* *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 *éó*, 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 *cáirsagad* *cáirsachad*.

In Wb. also doubling is frequent, but--except in compensatorily lengthened *é* (§ 54)--is restricted to long final syllables; e.g. *fáas* *fáas* beside *fás* 'empty', *indocbáal* beside *indocbál* 'glory', *dée* beside *dé* 'God's', *rí* beside *rí* 'king', *móir* beside *mór* 'great', *rúun* *ruún* beside *rún* 'secret'. O. I. *híche* 'saved' 5°, 4°, a *chéele* 'his fellow' 6°, are quite exceptional. This restriction shows that doubling is intended to express something more than mere 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. *tintúuth* 'translation' 12°, 10 beside *tintúth* 19°, 17 (from *t-ind-south*). Only in such words is doubling found in later sources also: *impúud* 'turning' Sg. 202°, 8 beside *impúd* 106°, 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: *óiph* 'appearance', *neph* *riagolde* 'irregular', *in* *phreceptóri* 'praecoetors'; but *fer* 'man', *Filistinib* dat. pl. 'Filistines' Ml. 56°, *léicfidir* 'he will be left', etc. Where the spirant represents original lenited *sw* (§ 132), either may be used: *tinfed* and *tinfhed* 'aspiration' Sg. (for *-shed*). The forms *cammaif* (read *-airf*) 'however' Wb. 10°, in Sg. always *camaiph*, and *graif* 'grave accent' Sg. 213°2 are exceptional.
In Sg., as well as in Mid.Ir. manuscripts, c t (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 utoctones for Gk. ἄυτοχες, 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

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>voiceless</th>
<th>voiced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guttural:</td>
<td>ch (x=chs § 24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dental:</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interdental:</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>labial:</td>
<td>f, ph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasal labial:</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ν, ρ, λ.31. To represent medial and final voiced stops the tenues 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 ·cucmat '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

in medial position; e.g. natiubrad Wb. 9°20 for na · diubrad 'let him not defraud'; atoíri Ml. 46°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·ob·rar 'is offered' Wb. 10°3, 11°12 (cp. Ml. 60°17, 14°16) beside ad·opar·ar Wb. 11°15, influenced by edbart idbart 'oblation'; toga·d 'luck' Ml. 39°16, normally tocad.

Collection: Strachan, ZCP. IV. 54.

In archaic sources this spelling seems to be more frequent; e.g. agaldemathacha, old gloss on appelatiau (K. Meyer, Zur Kelt. Wortkunde 66 98, 130), later ac(c)aldum 'addressing'; ro·slo·geth gl. absorpta est Wb. I. 13°24 (to slucid), adob·ragat (for later atob-) gl. uos fascinauit 19°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 argit 'of silver' Thes. II. 240, 2 (Arm.) beside argt; con·delg·g 'of comparison' Sg. 42°4, con · ni·delg·gaddar 'they are compared' 39°11 beside con·delg·atar; sacar·d 'sacerdos' 54°11, Tur. 49 beside sacar·t sacar·d; abbaith acc. sg. 'abbot' Thes. II. 242, 21 (Arm.). In Wb. there is only one instance: claindde 'of children' 28°17.
d. After vowels the etymological spellings cg td pb are occasionally found; e.g. ecguisti gl. obtati Ml. 65'2 for ecuti (eg-guisti) to ad · gú(i)si 'wishes'; coticc 'he can (do) it' Wb. 5'40 for cot·icc, because the infixed pronoun generally appears as d; nepbuith 'non-being' 14'16 for nepith (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.
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 ı gidess 'as he entreats' Wb. 24'19; fri rainn iaili (n-aili) 'to another part' Sg. 212'6; dered mbetho (m-betho) 'the end of the world' Wb. 10'3.
2. It is also found over nasals in medial position between consonants; e.g. for·igaire 'command', freccidirc frecc·dairc '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·eser 'seven (persons)' Thes. II. 241, 17 (Arm.) f serves a different purpose: it indicates that f has here replaced s (seser '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. 5'9 for act ma cho-t chela 'save that it conceals it'; innádcualaidsi 5'21 for in nád cúalaid si 'have ye not heard?'; istrissandedesin 4'33 for is tri-ssan déde sin 'it is through those two things'; diarfírianugudni 4'17 for di ar firi·nugud ni 'to our justification';

nimcharatsa 5'6 for ni-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 infixed 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, diar firiánugud-ni, etc.

The turned period before a verbal form like · cumgt (§ 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:
γ for Lat. et, Ir. ocus acus 'and' (§ 878).

λ + for Lat. uel, Ir. nō + ṅū + 'or' (§ 885).

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

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

dī for didiu didu 'then' (§ 901).

im + ˚or im + ˚ 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 Ml., 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.

-26-

**PHONOLOGY**

**STRESS**


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-égi* 'complains', *con-ríg* '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-
̄ ngar · (· air-in-gar) 'they promise'.

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-choil 'determine (sg.) me', atab · gaped 'let it reprehend you', do-s-n̄-gníth '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 ní + ċíon, nā + ċíon (nach-), nacon (§ 860 ff.), and their compounds such as ca-ní 'nonne?', ma-ní 'if not', ce-ní 'though not', co-ní conán cona 'that not', anná 'in order that not.'

   Examples: ní · fo-dmat 'they do not endure'; ní · desrcág (· de-ro-) 'it does not surpass'; nàcon · choscr 'we do not destroy'; an-nád · com-air-lécub 'while I shall not permit'; ma-ní · taibred (· ta-berad) 'if he should not bring'; amá · tonnnammar 'so that we may not think'.
   b. The interrogative particle in (§ 463): in · co-scräm 'do we destroy?'. Likewise co · 'how?' (§ 462): co · acci (ad-ci) 'how seest thou?'; and cecho · cacho · 'whom-, whatsoever' (§ 461): cecho · taibred 'whosoever thou mayst give'; sometimes also the interrogative pronoun ciá (ce, ci), see § 458.
   c. Prepositions in combination with the relative particle (s)a n (§ 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 · 'hi n in which'.

   Examples: fu-a · ta-barr 'under which is brought', di-a · n-dí-lgid 'to whom ye forgive', i · n-ais- id-ethat 'in which they expound'.
   d. The conjunctions ara n 'in order that' (§ 898), dia n 'if, when' (§§ 889, 903), co n, con n 'so that' (§ 896 f.); e.g. ara · fu-sám 'so that we may support', dia · n-acomoltar (adcon-) '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.

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 · galbed '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 + ċíon otherwise it generally remains unstressed in this position.
Examples: *ní-s · ro-thechtus* 'I have not had them' Ml. 44°11, *nad · ro-gnatha* 'which have not been done' 115°4; but *ní-ru · tho-gaiteam* (thógaiteam MS.) 'we have not received' Wb. 16°22, *nicon-ru · accobrus* 'I have not desired' Ml. 136°7, *na-ru · pridichissem* 'which we have not preached' Wb. 17°31, *con-ru · áigsetar* 'so that they have not feared' Ml. 35°4, *in-ru · etar-scar* 'whether it had departed' 91°1, *di-a-ru · chretsid* 'in whom ye have believed' Wb. 8°11, *con-ru · failnither* 'that it may be supplied' 1°9.

This rule is not, however, absolute. Before a simple verb, even in the last-mentioned position, *ro* often takes the stress; e.g. *ni · roi-igius* 'I have not read' Sg. 148°10, *cani · ra-lsíd* 'have ye not put?' Wb. 15°1, *ar-a · ro-gbad* 'for which it has been sung' Ml. 74°11, *hi · ro-gbath* 'in which it has been sung' 24°10, *con · ro-chra* 'that he may love' Wb. 6°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 · di-báid* 'has destroyed' Ml. 99°2; after other prepositions: *for-ru · chon-grad* 'has been commanded' 34°4, *etar-ru · suidige[d]* 'has been interposed' 27°23. Cp. also § 493, 4.

Cp. Ó Máille, Language of AU., § 185. In Ml. there a few instances of two prepositions remaining pretonic; e.g. *ol ad-·con · rótaig* 35°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), *immalle immalle* 'together' (imm-a- -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. ἀμίν). 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.

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 (sineadh 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 *dermár* (both confirmed by rhyme) 'very great', from *már* 'great'; *comláin* '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.

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 sèssed 'sixth'; mé 'I', but with emphasizing particle mèss; ·gé 3 sg. beside 1 pl. ·gèssam, subj. of guidid 'prays'; tó 'yes', IE. 'tod; trú 'doomed person' (from 'trük-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 Ml. 69°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°13, acc. ráin Ml. 16°15, usually rann, rainn; ad-gréinn 'persecutes' 54°23, 73°1, pl. ·grennat; lóndas 'fierceness' 18°10, otherwise lonndas; ténôte 'fiery' 96°17, from téné 'fire'; tróm 'heavy' Wb. 17°2, otherwise tromm trom; ímdae 'numerous' Ml. 62°23, otherwise imd(a); bál 'member' Wb. 12°18, pl. bóill 11°11, otherwise ball; mîlsí 6°7, pl. of mîlis 'sweet'; du-árhoirmacsíet ('áfrom -ar-ro-) 'they have collected' Ml. 61°17; árt-phersine 'of a high person' Wb. 24°9, otherwise ard art 'high'.

In unstressed syllables: du-sésáinn (read ·sésáinn) 1 sq. past subj. 'I should pursue' Ml. 41°5, do-rógáinn 'I should commit' 39°18, ending otherwise -ainn -inn; erriném 'highest' 56°22, to rind 'peak'; ingramimin 87°1, dat. sg. of ingramim 'persecution'; ubúll 'of apples' 100°21; adill gen. of adall 'visit' Wb. 14°8; ·cólad 'he used to address' Ml. 108°9, vb.n. accaldam; ·épéltais ·épíltis 99°2, 121°16, past subj. 3 pl. 'they should die' (3 sg. pres. subj. at·bela); hon dedárn-tui gl. taciturnitate 48°11.

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-óirc 'beats' Wb. 11°11 (stem org-), oín-chór 'one body' (corpus) 12°12, nom-émpimm 'I confide' 6°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-rúbar 'has said' Wb. 10°26, dlídéd 'right' 10°16. 19, ro-chlúinitar 'which they hear' 11°6, níme 'of heaven' Ml. 106°3.

Elsewhere, as in mág 'field' Wb. 12°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, ·taaith, ·taat, and the relative singular nearly always ol·daas in·daas, only once in·dáas Ml. 85°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 biid. Cp. further deu deo, acc. pl. of dia '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°9, but also over vowels which were originally short, as in *téït* nom. pl. 'hot' 29°1. In later texts the mark of length is common, being found even in nonce formations such as *déainmmichdechaib* 'denominatuis' Sg. 2°1; cp. dat. pl. *déib* 39°24, 39°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]), *cách* adj. 'every' beside substantival *cách* ([§ 490]).

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 *biad* 'his food' Wb. 6°24, á *n-áram* 'their number' Ml. 18°3, á *cenéle* 'the race' Wb. 5°16, á *súan* 'out of sleep' Ml. 61°28. bá *sainred* 'which should be peculiar' Sg. 69°20, ará-roét 'who has assumed' Ml. 25°10, atá *n-ili* 'that they are many' Wb. 12°11, i *nim* 'in Heaven' 10°21, trí *drochgnímu* 'through evil deeds' Ml. 14°16, trími-berar 'it is transferred' 31°22, remí-n-etarcaignedar 'that it makes known before' 18°12, robú *mór* 'it was great' 96°10, ni *fú indidit, acht is fo inchomarc* 'not as an assertion, but as a question' 20°13, dú *digail* (MS. *digail*) 'for vengeance' 72°12, remé·erbart (read -érbart) 'which he has said before' 15°3, có *ladomdu* 'to the Edomites' Ml. 52, ró-oirnded 'has been ordained' 14°3; similarly áréli 'of the other' Wb. 13°5, álaili 13°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 *cia* beside *ce* 'although'; and there was doubtless the same fluctuation in the negatives *ni* and *nì* 'not', *mani* and *manì* '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 + ē + ī + ō + ū + )

50. á corresponds to:

a. IE. ā, e.g.
   *ad·aig* 'drives, moves', pl. *·agat* (for glides like *i in *·aig* see § 84 ff.), Lat. *agere*, Gk. *ἄγειν*, Skt. *ajati*, 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. anáil, W. anadl, with Gk. ἄνευς. Further, do-rat 'has given' (§ 759 IIb), beside pres. tarti, presupposes a stem (to-to-ad-)dā-, probably with the old ablaut dhā- from dhē (Gk. θέ- θη-) and not from √dā- 'give'. Poetic ro-det 'was granted' (Bergin, Éiriu VIII. 169, XI. 137) does not come from this root (RC. XL. 399), but is undoubtedly a by-form of -dēt, pret. of daimid (§ 710), the short vowel being derived from compounds of this verb which had ē in unstressed syllables.

For a in the combinations ar al an, also in ra la, see §§ 213, 215. For a < o see § 81 ff., < e§ 83a. á (where it does not represent secondarily lengthened ã) corresponds to:
a. IE. ā, e.g. máthir 'mother', Lat. māter, Dor. μἀτηρ. Fās(s) 'empty', Lat. uātus, OHG. wuosti.
b. IE. ō, e.g. dān (masc. u-stem) 'gift', Lat. dōnum, Gk. δῶ + ὄ. bláth 'flower', cp. Lat. flōs, Goth. blōma.

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. γχεῖοι-µωρός 'great at spear-throwing'; Gaul. Blātomagus, probably 'field of flowers'.

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

For e < i see §§ 73ff., 79; < iæ § 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 iä. The transition seems to be early, since in the Britannic dialects old iē is treated like the é of Latin loan-words, and é for ei is also found in Gaulish dialects, e.g. Dēuo-gnāta 'daughter of a god', Rhēnus 'Rhine' (Ir. rian '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 iä when followed by neutral or u-quality consonance (§ 156 ff.); hence interchange between é and iä is found in closely related forms. Examples: -tēged 'he used to go', -tēig 'thou goest', beside tiagu 'I go', -tiagat 'they go' (arch. -tēgot Cam. 38 b); cp. Gk. στειγέω 'to walk', Goth. steigan. 'to ascend'.
ad-fēded 'he used to tell' beside ad-fiadar 'is told', fiad 'in the presence of', from √weid-, Gk. εἴ + δῶ 'appearance', Lith. vēidas 'countenance', OE. witan OHG. wizan 'to reprove', réid 'fit for driving, level, easy', gen. sg. fem. réde, beside riad 'a ride, drive', -riadat 'they ride, drive', OE. ridan OHG. ritan 'to ride'.

The same é, iā corresponds to Lat. ē (also oe) in loan-words; e.g. fial, 'uēlum', sians 'sēnsus' (beside sens, in Ml. sēs), sciam 'schema', riagol 'rēgula', piān (rarely pēn), gen. pēne, 'poena'.

As an intermediate form between é and iā archaic texts sometimes have ea, e.g. Druim Leas Thes. II. 268, 30 (Arm.) for later D. Lías. This spelling 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°29 for fial 'modest'. In isolated instances the diphthong is written ie, e.g. griēn 'sun' Thes. II. 21, 37 for normal grían.
The declension of nom. acc. díá 'God', in the first instance <ˈděwas -an, voc. dé < ˈděwe, gen. dé < ˈděwi, dat. díá < *děwu, 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 ia in că 'who?' (§ 456 f.) and că '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. -tí, § 56), 1 sg. ·tías (indic. tiágu) and the like (§ 625). For the comparatives sía 'longer' (= W. hwy) and lia 'more' see § 375.

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

In Wb., even before neutral consonants, this é is often written ée or éí; e.g. cenéél 'kindred, gender', neph-chenéil acc. sg. 'non-kindred' 5'14 beside cenél; æ + ét æ + ít 'jealousy' 23'18, 13 beside ét; bées bésad 'custom' beside bés bésad; béele 'language' beside béele; do-rígénsat 'they have done' beside do-rígénsat; céténe 'first' beside céténe; éicndag 1'6, 29'7 'slander' beside éendach; céitbuid 24'4 'sense' beside céitbuid. Other sources show only isolated examples of this spelling, such as chéitbada (gen. sg.) Ml. 98'5, no-déítinaigts 'strikebant' 54'20.

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

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

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. scéulí, '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. 2'4 (recte b) 22. Exceptions such as cenéolú 3'24 (probably attracted by the shorter cenéul) and dochenéulai nom. pl. 'degenerate' Ml. 12'21 (probably attracted by nom. sg. dochenéul) 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 ia) and raising (cp. éi in Wb.), i.e., towards ée and ée respectively.

56. In Wb. i is often written after stressed final é, e; e.g. do-tíag 3 sg. subj. of do-tíag 'I come' (elsewhere ·té); ad-sléi subj. of ad-slig 'induces'; immallei 'together', illeí 'hither', elsewhere immalle, ille (§ 845); fri dei (probably déi) 'by day' 9's5, but fri de 6's30 and elsewhere; dae + í 'of God' 22'10, 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. uiri.

ibid 'drinks', Skt. pibati, Lat. bibit.

find 'fair', Gk. διπλάκαθαι 'to appear', Skt. vindáti 'find'.

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

a. IE. ï, e.g.
ro-bíth 'has been struck', O.Slav. biti 'to strike'.
li 'colour', W. liiw, probably cognate with Lat. liúor, liuère.
rīm 'number', OHG. rīm 'number', Lat. rītus 'institution, rite'.

b. IE. ē, e.g.
    sīl 'seed', Lat. sēmen, O.Slav. sěti 'to sow'.
    rī, gen. rīg, 'king', Lat. rēx, gen. rēgis.
    mī, gen. mīs, 'month', < mēns-, Lesb. gen. μη = vnoς Lat. mēnis, Goth. mēna 'moon'.
    fir 'true', Lat. uērus, O.Slav. вěra 'faith'.
    līn 'number', līn(a)d 'fills', Lat. plēnus.
    mīl 'animal', Gk. μη + λον 'sheep, goat'.

In some words the origin of í is not clear. Thus in íth gl. puls Sg. 70°5, 113°5 (20°2) = Mid.W. iwt (Mod.W. uwd) 'porridge'. O.Bret. O.Corn. iot, Mod.Bret. ioud iot, 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 i; cp. Gk. μη + μελη 'fat' (subst.), Skt. πι + μελη 'fat' (adj.).

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

Another difficult word is tir (neut. s-stem) 'land' (Britannic also tir), whence the adj. tírim 'dry'. A stem *tēres- (Vendryes, MSL. XIII. 385) beside√ ters- (Gk. τερσεσθαι, etc.) is not reliably attested in any other language. Perhaps orig. ters-r . with r-suffix, whence tēsr > Ir. tīr (simplified differently in Osc. teerům 'land' with secondary ē); cp. mir 'morsel' (§ 216) < IE. mēmsr-, Lat. membrum, Gk. μηρος 'thigh', cognate with Skt. māḥ, māṃsām '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. ὀκτὼ.
    roth (masc. o-stem) 'wheel', Lat. rota.
    orbe 'inheritation', Goth. arbi, cp. Lat. orbus, Gk. ὅρπος '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 a 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 ūa under the accent, except before a guttural (g, ch). In Ml. and Sg.úa has developed before gutturals also, though not consistently. The diphthonization spreads to weakly stressed words like húare 'because' Ml. Sg. beside (h)óre Wb.; (h)úá, 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.

For ō úa < op (ap) see § 227 (r).

For the fluctuation between ó and úa before gutturals compare:

tróg 'miserable' Wb., tróg and tríug Ml., tríogán beside tríug Sg.; cp. W. tru, Gk. στρεψιοθαι 'to be exhausted', Gaul. Troúgillus, Trogus.

slóg, gen. slóig, 'troop, host', more frequent than slúag in Ml. (slúag Sg.), W. Ilu, Gaul. Catú-slugi (Pliny), O.Slav. sluga 'servant'.

Final ó is not diphthongized, except for the preposition ó, úa, which is a proclitic word. Cp. bó 'cow', probably < *bous (orig. g”düs, Skt. gauh), but búachaill beside bóchaill 'cowherd', W. bugail, Gk. θουκόλος.

61. (b) Medial ó before a consonant also go back to ow after which a non-palatal vowel has been elided; e.g. cór(a) ('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 tua- where they no longer felt as prepositions (as in túachil 'sly', to fochell 'heed'). Otherwise they become tó-; e.g. tóbe 'shortening', vb.n. of do-ful-bnim.62. (c) ó representing compensatorily lengthened ō (whether original ō or lowered ó § 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. ffoer, < sronnâ (? Cn. Gk. ðεγχεν, ðεγχεν, ðεγχος ?). (d) In Latin loan-words also ó is often diphthongized; e.g. glúas(s) 'glossa'; úar beside hôr 'hora' Wb., but always fo chéít-óir 'at once' (unstressed). (e) For ó < Ir. áu see § 69.

ó beside ō in ómun (later also òamun) ómun (confirmed by rhyme) 'fear', W. ofn (with ō), is probably due to the influence of the synonym úath (arch. ‘ôth) 'terror'. For cóic 'five' see § 392.

63. It might have been expected that ó would remain undiphthongized before u-quality consonants, as é remains before palatal. Dat. sg. óthud 'singular number, singleness' Sg. 41st, 92nd, 198th is a possible example of this, but is perhaps more likely to be an archaic form used to denote the grammatical term, for uathuth 71st and conversely nom. sg. hóthad 198th, gen. sg. hódid 66th, are also found. In this period u-quality had already begun to disappear.

64. ū corresponds to IE. ū, e.g.

sruth (u-stem) 'brook, stream', W. ffrwd; cp. Gk. στρούς, Skt. srutáḥ, 'flowing'.
luid 'he went', Gk. λυθε.


For u < o see § 75 ff., < a § 80; for ru < ri § 233, 1.

65. ú, where it does not represent secondarily lengthened ū, corresponds to IE ū, e.g.

cul 'back' (W. cill), Lat. cūlus.
rún fem. 'secret' (W. rhín), Goth. rūna.
mür (poetic) 'great number', Gk. μύρο.
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, oó 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 moidem 'boasting' occurs as early as Wb. I. 17'14). The original vowel can often be determined by the aid of Britannic, where oi turned into u, but aí into oi (W. oé).

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-coim 'lad', Mailduf in Bede for Ir. Maíldub, Mailbricti in a Runic inscription found in the Isle of Man for Maíl Brígte (beside Malmuru for Mail Muire); later, however, MalcolmMail Coluim in Old English chronicles, especially from A.D. 1000 onwards. Melpatrekr for Mail Pátric in the Icelandic Landnámabók (RC. III. 186 ff.).

Forms such as Ogam COLABOT, COLLABOTA beside COILLABOTAS representing the later gen. Coïlbad are explained, perhaps correctly, by Pokorny (KZ. L. 49 ff.) as due to faulty spelling. His explanation of the interchange -42- of aí and ái, e.g. in failid 'glad' and failte 'gladness' (faelid SP., but lánf + álid Sg. 42"7), is that before liquids + a consonant the diphthong lost its i (hence fálte ) and that parallel forms with ii 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. aí, e.g.
   - gai gae 'spear', gaide 'pilatus', Gallo-Lat. gaesum (cp. Γαιοτραι, Ναιτραι), OHG. gēr 'spear', Gk. χαι + 'shepherd's staff'.
   - cáech 'one-eyed', W. coeg 'empty, vain' (coeg-ddall 'one-eyed'), Goth. haíhs 'one-eyed', Lat. caecus.
   - aís áes (neut. o-stem) 'age', W. oes.

b. IE. oí, e.g.
   - oín ón 'one' (gen. fem. aíne Thes. II. 15, 42), W. un, O.Lat. oino 'unum', Goth. aíns 'one'.
   - cloín cloéen 'slanting, iniquitous', Goth. hlains 'hill', Lith. Slaitas 'slope'.
   - moin maán máen (fem. i-stem) 'treasure, gift', Lat. moenia munia, Lith. mai + ñas 'exchange'.

The contraction of o and e, é, i; e.g. ar-foímat ar-fóemat 'they accept' (-fo-emat), perf. 1 pl. ara-roítmæn -ro-f + o-étmar Wb. 9"10.

c. oí óe, the reduction of owi, owe after the loss of syllabic value by -i, -e; also of the earlier triphthong aui; e.g.
   - oí 'sheep', cp. Lat. ouis.
   - toisech 'leader', gen. on inscription (in Wales) TOVISACI, W. tywysog.
   - toiden 'troop', from to- and fedan (wed-).
   - roída gen. of ruud 'great wood', from ro- and fid (wid-).
   - oí óe, still aui in Corm.44, dat. sg. of áu 'ear' (§ 69 a).

For oí óe in -góet, coica, see §§ 710, 392. The Mid.Ir. confusion of oí (aí) and úí already appears in tuíssech Wb. II. 33"20 and suír (sic MS.) Wb. 4"10, nom. pl. of soír sóer 'free'.

For ia see § 53, úa § 60 ff.
68. *úi* represents the reduction of *uwi*, e.g. *druí* nom. sg. 'wizard' < *druwi(d)s* cp. Gaul. pl. *druides*.

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. *u*, reduced grade of *óu* and *áu*) before a lost s, e.g.


   táue fem. 'silence' Ériu VII. 162 § 5, etc., nom. pl. *tuai* (tu-ai) Ml. 112,3; cp. W. *taw* 'silence' < *taus* -, Skt. *tusmiṃ* 'silently', etc., and O.Ir. *ar-tuissí* 'listens' (probably < *taus*-, § 60.).

b. IE. *óu* in *dáu*, later *dó*, *two*, OW. *dou*, Skt. *dvau* (IE. *dwóu*).

c. The contraction of *á* and *ó*, e.g. *táu* *tú* 'I am' (§ 778) < *ta-u*, probably < *stái + ō*.

d. Final and prevocalic *á* + *i*, e.g.


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

(e) Earlier (Irish) *áu*, see § 72.


Later borrowings have *áu*, e.g. *áuctor* *áugtor* 'auctor', *cáu(i)s*, Mid.Ir. *cúis*, *causa*, etc.

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

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

   - 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, (which see § 67 b, (for earlier iw- § 73), e.g. *béu* *béo* 'living' < *bew(as) biwos*, W. Byw.

71. *íu* represents:

a. The contraction of *i* and *ú*, e.g.

   *biú* 'I am wont to be' < *b(i + j)u* -ó, cp. Lat. *fiō*.

   *cliu* < *klíi + 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. *cluir* (ci-cr. ) reduplicated pret. of *cren(a)id* 'buys', *géiul* pret. of *glen(a)id* 'sticks fast' (§ 691), *ara-chieurat* (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.

**náue** 'new' Sg. 5*6, 217 < *néue*, cp. Gaul. Neuvio-dunum *Nouio-dunum*, O.Bret. nouuid W. newydd < *nowi + 0*-; Goth. niuijs; but noe Thes. II. 270, 6 (Arm.), **nuie** (for the -i- cp. *aier* Ml. from Lat. āēr) Wb. (pl. masc. *nui*), **nue** Sg., *nuae* Ml. (§ 100). Cp. also the compound with **fiadnisse** 'testimony': nuiednisses Wb., nuiaidnisse Ml. 'New Testament'.

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

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

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

In **lóu** Wb 6°30 beside lâu lào lá 'day' (§ 284, 3), and in **bóu** 30°6, dat. of **bae** baa 'good, profit', o is not old: it may indicate that óu and āu 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 i and ū are lowered to e and o when the following syllable contains or formerly contained ā + ̆ or ū (or an ū 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. **cluiith**) 'fame' < *kluton* = Skt. śrutám 'what is heard', Gk. κλυτόν; **dron** 'firm' < *dronos'drunā*, cp. Skt. dārunāh, 'hard, rough'; **domun** 'world' < *dubnos*, cp. Gaul. Dubno-reix Dumno-rīx.

The only exception is i before nd, which always remains; e.g **find** 'fair', < 'windos'windā', cp. Gaul. Πεννο-ουνδός; **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°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°16 beside more frequent **do-fich** (cp. OHG. wīgan 'to fight', Lat. vincere) 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. **cruiuch**, 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, κυνων + v) and from the composition-form **con-** (kuno-). On the other hand, Pedersen (§§ 27, 29, 252 n. 2 = Ped. 7§ 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. κυι7Bveç) would be quite regular, not analogical. For i there is no
conditions in which have had But neurt
As for the mutation to pl. of probably from Lat. consonants (always to cases outside those covered by the rule in levelling, e.g. § 76. cuimrech 'fetter(ing)', vb. n. of con·rig, cumbae 'destruction' co(m) Moccus, Mocco truip 'elbow', W. čuimlín 'equal' from Lat. mendicus; rínd 'star', gen. renda, stem 'rendu-
uien 'elbow', W. elin, Goth. aleine 'ell', § ʻolínă; 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'; muirig

'land' (gen. mrogo) < ʻmrogi-, W. bro, cp. Gaul. Brogimarus; suide 'sitting, seat', stem ʻsodli + o-, cp. Lat. solium; cucann (-c- = -g-) 'kitchen', W. cegin; from Lat. cocina (coquina); uilliu compar. of oll 'ample', cp. Gaul. Matribus Oollo-tottis; luc gen., luc(c) dat., luc(c)u acc. pl. of loc(c) (c = g) 'locus'; truip gen., trup dat. of trop (p = b) 'tropus'; mucu 'pig', stem moucu-, W. moch, cp. Gaul. (Mercurius) Moccus, Mocco, etc.; udbus LU5261, acc. pl. of odb 'knob, excrescence', W. oddf; compounds with prep. co(m) - cubus 'conscience (-fluss), cuittbuid (t = d) 'mockery' (-tibiud), cuindreach 'correction' (com-di), cuimreach 'fetter(ing)', vb. n. of con-rig, cumbae 'destruction'; Au.829 ('com-bii + o-'), cuimlín 'equal number' (-ślin), cutrumme (t =d) 'equal', cuiligi ci = gl) dat. sg. 'shaking' LU7457.

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. 1352 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. urd(í)uirt (úirt) and dat. urdd urt (úrt), although rd otherwise resists the change and the corresponding verb is always oirdníd 'ordinal'. It is therefore uncertain whether the form cuis Cam., dat. of cos '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. cuctuar Sg. 633 Mid.Ir. cuchtaír 'kitchen', probably from Lat. coctura; cucht 'external appearance, colour', ON. hūr + ttr 'manner'; futhu Cam., acc. pl. of foth 'substitute, equivalent', fús beside fos(s) as dat. of fos(s) 'rest'. That icht '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 nert 'strength'; pret. sg. I do-bliurt, 2 ·bíurt, 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. crèdere or by Britannic (W. credu)? Or perhaps the conditions in which e 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, y, as in fo-rui-gêni '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 would 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 (nemesis), dat. nim ('nemes); teg tech 'house' (Gk. τέγη), nom. acc. pl. tige ('tegesa'); similarly bir 'thou bearest', if from 'bheres' (but cp. do-eim 'thou protestest' Ml. 110°9 with levelled vocalism).
2. Before the -ei + o of verbs in original -ei + ð, 3 sg. -ei + eti; e.g. gu(i)dit 'prays', cognate with Gk. nôtēw; ad-sudi 'holds fast' (sodei + ð), Goth. satjan 'to set'; fu·llug(a)imm 'I conceal', Goth. lagjan 'to lay'; so too, perhaps, midiu 'I judge, estimate', if it corresponds exactly to Latin medeor.

On the other hand, we have evidence that, sometimes at least, e in middle syllables became i; cp. TOVISACI § 67d, from to-fed- (earlier -wed-) 'to lead'; also cuimse 'fitting' Wb. 14°3 (22°2), 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 meincgiud 'becoming or making frequent', Ml. 36°40 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 (inchaib) 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", perhaps a change of quality had taken place in the interior syllable. The variation betweenette 'wind' Sg. 67°7 and dat. pl. itib Ml. 80°7, adj. itech (MS. itech) 40°9 (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 ë 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; siuir '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 (-ifch) and do·ruacht beside do·roacht (-ech, 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 broitêre : muig beside maig, dat. sg. of mag 'field'. Cp. also crann 'tree' (with < q"-), gen. crunn, dat. crunn; here, however, the a, as contrasted with Brittan. 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 some of their other cases by analogy with nominal forms in which the alternation of u and o is regular (§§ 73, 75); e.g. mug 'serf' from maug (cp. Maug-dornu Thes. II. 269, 22 (Arm.), Gaul. Magu-ríx), gen. sg. moga, nom. pl. mog(a)e,
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. *mur* (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'; *bude* 'yellow', possibly also contained in G. *Bodio-casses*, Lat. *badus* 'bay-coloured'.

(b) Only before *u*-quality consonance is o sometimes found instead of au; e.g. *ro-laumur* 'I dare' Wb. 17^8^8 and *ro-lomur* Ml. 21^15^5 (cp. *Trip*.166, 2), arch. *ru-laimur* Wb. I. 17^7^1; *aub* 'river' LL 13^7^7, *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 *laigu*), cp. *lagat* 'smallness'; in later MSS. *caur cur* 'hero', gen. *caurad curad*, stem *caruth*-, cp. Germ. *Harudes*, Χαρού + δές; *Caulan(n)* and *Culann*, man's name, Ogam CALUNO-VIC... *Macal*. III. 185; cp. also *for-cun* 'I teach' (*for-chun* Wb. 10^4^13), *caunu* 'I sing' ZCP. XXI. 283 (*v-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* (ace. sg.) 'oblation, sacrifice' Thes. II. 26, 40, nom. sg. in *Wb.* *ibdart*, in *Ml.* *edbart*, vb.n. of *ad-opuir* 'offers', *idbarat* 3 pl. *Wb.* 1^2^20, etc. (ad-uss-ber-). Cp. also *audsud* 'treasure, treasury' *Trip.* 62, 4 (*aotsad?* Laws IV. 188, 11), *etsad* Ml. 51^5^8, 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.* 9^5^21, *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 from Lat. *labor*, but from the intermediate Britannic form represented by *W. ilafur*.


Cp. the prep. *aur-, ir-, er-* § 823.

*ilach* 'paean' Thes. II. 227, 22 etc., acc. *elg* 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. *elaid ailaid*, later *ulad* (Contrib. s.v. *aulad*).

*Craumthan(n)* *Creumthan(n)* *Crimthann*, man's name; cp. Mid.Ir. *crim crema*, gen. *crema*, 'wild garlic'; stem *cremu-*? But W. *craf* 'garlic', Gk. κρόμυον '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 from u, suggests that the sound may have undergone modification, possibly from close to open o. But this vowel has also spread to words where it did not originally belong; e.g. no-b-irpáid 'ye shall confide' Wb. 8°2 (verbal stem erbi-); tecbáal 'raising' Trip. 44, 12; 260, 6 beside, tocbáal (to-uss-gab-).

In ó'nn-urid 'since last year' Wb. 16°14. later inn-uraid 'last year', as against Dor. népuai Att. népuai, e before r° seems to have become u; for it is improbable that this word had an old o-grade ('poruit').

móir (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 mau (§ 375).

a FOR o.

81. 1. Between f and palatal consonants a is often, though not consistently, written for o; e.g. fail sigud beside fail sigud 'revealing' from follus 'clear'; fair beside for 'on him' (prep. for); fairgæ Wb. Sg. 112 (Thes. II. 290, 4) beside fairgæ 124°1, foirrc 67°9 'sea'; fadirci nom. pl. 'visible' Ml. 40°16 (prep. fo).

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-lâ- 'put' (§ 762), e.g. 2 pl. pf. ralsid Wb. 15°1 < *-ro-lâsid (but 3 pl. rolsat Ml. 16°2), 1 sg. subj. ral Wb. 7°4, etc.; also in ragbtha Ml. 35°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-ratat), and hence spread to the present tabir 'gives, brings' (deuterot. do-beir), etc. (§ 759, II); cp. the arch. pret. tubbert ZCP. VIII. 308, 34, tubart Thes. II. 242, 20. Cp. further 3 sg. tarla, deuterotonic do-ra (from rola, see above); targabáil beside torgabáil '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. 'fidelis') may be ascribed to the influence of tairissem (to-air-sessam) with the cognate meaning 'standing fast'. Similarly tasgíd 'sustenance' Wb. 29°13 beside toschid, pf. do-m-r-osechtatár 'they have sustained me', where perhaps t(o) -ad- has replaced earlier to-oss-. In taiscédul Ml. 90°1, otherwise toscéul, vb.n. of do-scéul(a)i 'explores', and nom. pl. taiscéaltaí '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.

deg -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); aisndis 'exposition' (ess-IND-).

In certain other words there is fluctuation between e and a; e.g. elit and ailiit 'hind'; enech and aice 'face, honour' (dat. pl. inch(a)ib, see § 78, 2.), cp. Bret. enep, eirg(g) and airg(g) ipv. 2 sg. 'go' (Gk. ἔπησεσαί); treit 'swift' Wb. 9°6, trait Ml. 104°5 and in all later sources; ·aip (er) Ml. 14°13 and ·epperr
'is said', Mid.Ir. ·aparr, vb.n. aipert (ess-ber-). Mere sporadic occurrences are corro·chraitea 'that he may believe' Wb. 12'33 from cretid; tainid Ml. 96'11, 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 + agr-. 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-maini beside dag-maini '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. subj. ·tall Ml. 58'6), apparently to-all-, there is a form tell- (3 sg. pret. ma du- d·éll Wb. 22'7); 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. 30'17). If the second word is cognate with Lith. telpù til + ̃pti '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 infecting 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. f, P, P.'
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 *mathi*; *clainde* 'of children' for *clan'de*; *ainm* 'name' for *anim*; *lám* acc. sg. 'hand' for *lá:déich* 'ten' for *dech*; *teist* 'testimony' for *teáist*; *léir* 'zealous' for *léir*; *céit* gen. 'hundred' for *kéit*; *béoil* *béuil* nom. pl. of béil 'lip' (compensatorily lengthened é, §54); *doirsib* dat. pl. 'doors' for *dors:iβ*; *slóig* for *slóy*, gen. of slóg 'host'; *luid* 'he went' for *luõ*; *súil* 'eye' for *sú*; *úaislu* 'higher' for *úas'lu*.

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·creitset* 'they have believed', beside *ro·cretset*, after 3 sg. *ro·cretí*, where t (= d) belongs to the following syllable; *séitche* 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. *leith* (for *leíth*) 'side' 128*1*, *dia aés* (for *eíos*) 'after him' 57*3*, 72*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*; *gudid* and *guidid* 'prays'; *súli* and *súili* 'eyes'; *flaithemnacht* and *flaithemnacht* 'lordship'. The glide is most rarely found after e, e.g. *neime* 'of poison' Sg. 112*1*.

In a few instances e occurs instead of i, e.g. *buachale* 'of cowherds' Theis. II. 239, 13 (*Arm.*), *huaere* 'because' Wb. II. 33*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 the other hand the existence of an audible sound

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 *ail* 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 > ia, see §53). The a that appears after ê in Mid.Ir. is found in *Mi.* once in a stressed syllable: *con·rusleachta* 'so that they have been slaughtered' 53*11* (it occurs three times, however, in unstressed syllables: *coineas* who weeps' 102*23*, *aipleat* 'let them die' 104*2*, *-erladagaier* 1 sg. subj. 'I may obey' 106*6*).

*ei* for e before neutral consonants is peculiar and very rare; e.g. *feir* Wb. 13*20*, 22*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 â ê i under the same conditions as i before palatal consonance. Between e and ch it is sometimes replaced by o.

Examples: *daum* for *dai*, dat. sg. of *dam* 'ox' (cp. §329, 18); *maull*, dat. sg. of *mall* 'slow'; *neuch neoch* for *nech*, dat. sg. of *nech* 'someone'; *neurt*, dat. sg. of *nert* 'strength'; *do·blúr* 'I give' for *-bip*; *fiuss* 'knowledge' for *fiu*s*; ro·flugrad* 'figuratum est'.

"
After ŏ only in arch. i routh gl. 'in stadio' Wb. I. 11ª3. 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 Ml. 45ª3 beside figor 'figura' Wb. 18ª10; ro-laumur 'I dare' Wb. 17ª8 (3 sg. ro-laimethar ); caunu 'I sing' ZCP. XXI. 283 (√ can-).

In Mid.Ir. eo is written for ĕ 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.

**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 -ouω, -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' < IE. *wirōs; 1 sg. depon. mid·ur '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 dú '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. dāu, 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 māthir 'mother' (cp. Gk. πατηρ, μητηρ) 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. filli, gen. filled (Orgam VELITAS) 'poet' the suffix -i̯t goes back to -ēt is uncertain, but in view of the name of the Bructerian prophetess Ucleda (-aeda, O(ec)leða) not improbable. It has been suggested by Pokorny (IF. XXV. 173) that medial -ē may have here become -i̯-, 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 steins with the ending -as, see § 315 (cp. Gk. -oc); note also the rendering of the composition vowel in CUNAMAGLI Macal. no. 125, CUNAGUSOS no. 139, etc.

In other syllables ō apparently remains; cp. BIVAIIONAS, 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', < 'bhereto; bered impf. 'he used to bear', perhaps < 'bhereto; mūir 'sea', < 'morí; buir bir 'spit', < 'beru (Lat. ueru); tuath 'people', orig. 'teutā; fūir 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 'wiros -an; con 'of a dog', < kunos; beir

'bears', < 'bhereto; car(a)it 'friends', < 'karantes; fius nom. acc. sg. 'knowledge',< 'wissus wissun; cren 'buys', < 'qvironat; 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 ·tiagat, 'they go', < '(s)teigont; as-ru-bart (arch. ·ru-bart) 'has said', < ·bherto; do-rōsēt '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) ointu 'unity', < ·tūt-s; fla(i)thi acc. pl. 'lordships', < ·wlatis (earlier -ins); 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 ·wirōm. This suggests that long vowels had been shortened before a final nasal (as in Lat. duōmūrūm), and that this change must have taken place before ō had become ŋ (§ 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 Maílín' 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 + or syllabic i ii + 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.
Examples: aile masc. and fem. 'other', < 'ali + os ali + ā'; caire 'fault', < 'karii + ā', OW. cared; aili gen. masc. and neut. < 'ali + i', dat. ailiu < earlier 'ali + u', 'ali + ū'; du(i)ni voc. sg. 'man', < 'duni + e or 'doni + e'; do-gniu 'I do', < 'gniī + u', 'gniē + ō'. Even an -a that has been retained in accordance with § 93a becomes e after i in a preceding unstressed syllable, e.g. áindarbe (or -áindárbe? MS. indurbe), subj. of in-árbén 'expels', beside stressed ·bía (from -āt), subj. of benaid 'strikes'. In forms such as ·lé(i)cea, subj. of lé (i)cid 'leaves' (§ 598), the -a was probably taken over from verbs without -i-.

The line of development is shown by Ogam genitives such as MAQUIERCIAS Macal. nos. 32, 197, MAQI-ERCCIA no. 31, MAQI-RITEAS no. 89, QVECEA no. 216, MAQI-RITE nos. 78, 183 (perhaps with -ē), but cp. § 296. In Ogam AVI AVVI, gen. of the word that later appears as ãue (stem awio-) 'grandson' -i (contracted from -ii) is probably to be read, since -i remains in the later gen. ãui. In the same way i + u may have first become the diphthong iu. Cp. stressed clé adj. 'left' (< 'klii + os, fem. Klii + ā, like W. cledd), dat. cliu (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. déo beside déu 'gods', lēo and lēu 'with them'. In a few other instances, such as a gnímo-som 'his deeds' Wb. 28°29, the neutral s of som probably accounts for the a. But in some texts -o appears for -u without any apparent reason; e.g. acc. pl. baullo, gnímo Thes. II. 252, 16, firto '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

(with p') acc. pl. 'fathers'; toimseo (with s'), gen. sg. of tomus 'measure'; ailichthiu (with th') 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. iarfaitho 'of questioning' Ml. 24°10 beside iarfaichtheo 35°29; esséirgu Wb. 13°26 beside esséirgiu 4°27 (with y'), 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 Gloses.

Thus Wb. has cumachte 'power', gen. sg. cumachti (with t'), but Ml. cumachtai cumachthai; Wb.cnámi (with μ') nom. and acc. pl. 'bones', Ml.cnámait; dígle (with λ') Wb. 17°2. gen. sg. of dígol 'vengeance', but díglae 4°21 and always in Ml.

99. (c) The further development of this -ae to -a and of -eo -ea to -e is sometimes found in Ml., more frequently in Sg. and the later Gloses.
Examples: menma 'mind' Ml. 53°18 beside menmae (menme Wb.); imda 'many' Sg. (imdae Ml., imde Wb.); suisdegthe 'of placing' Sg. 193°4, Thes. II. 11, 40 for earlier suisdegtheo -thea (written suisdegtho Ml. 111°4); do-foirnde 'defines' frequent in Sg. instead of do-foirnde.

Collection of examples of -a from -ae in Ml. and Sg., Strachan, ZCP. IV. 51 f.; 477 f.; in AU., Ó Máille, p. 79 ff. Cp. also the interchange of lae and laa (lása) '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 diaigma-ni 3°15 'when we go' for diaigma(n)e-ni.

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

100. (d) A similar development is shown by the adj. naue nuie nue, nom. pl. nui (§ 72.), which becomes nuae pl. nuai in Ml., and even nuæ in composition (perhaps indicating a pronunciation nuv-). -e after i becomes -a by differentiation; e.g. lie 'stone' Wb., lia Sg. 67°12 (cp. medially in llaig 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 ð 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-gnìath 'they do', a n-du-gnìath '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°18 instead of -ur; lobro 'weaker' 17°29 instead of -u; orgo 'I say' ZCP. XII. 106 instead of -u; i tossogod 'in the beginning' Wb. 24°17 for tossugud; etarregho 'selection' Sg. 205°1, as against normal rogù '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 ì 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°--ð), su(i)digthir 'is placed' (ð--y°--th°--p°); quite exceptionally e, e.g. soírde 'he will free' Wb. 32°13 (f°--ð°).

2. Between neutral consonants a; e.g. teglach 'household' from teg 'house' and slóg 'troop'; as-rubart 'has said' (ð°--r°t°); apstal 'apostolus' (t°-- A°); acaldam 'addressing' (gg°--P°--μ°).

3. Between ù-quality consonants u; e.g. cumang (μ°--η°g°), dat. of cumang 'power'; ilur (λ°--p°), dat. of ilar 'great number'; exceptionally o, e.g. aildilibog (y°--ð°) 'intensification' Sg. 216°3.

4. Between a palatal and a neutral consonant e; e.g. tuirem 'enumeration' (p°--μ°), sessed (s°--ð°) 'sixth', ro-foilsigestar 'has made clear' (y°--s°).

For the rare spelling ea in Ml. see § 87. In archaic 'rhetorical' texts ia occurs; e.g. gabiam 'let us take' Auraic. 5087, later galbem; Lugthiach LL 287°22, later Lughdegh (gen. of Lughuid); cp. i n-éghthiar 'wherein is cried out' RC. XX. 154, later -éghter (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°--d°); ñcilse ñcaillse (Wb. 22°20)
gen. 'of the Church' (g\(^a\)--f).

6. Between a u-quality and a palatal consonant i or ui; e.g. manchib manchuib Arm. (c\(h\)\(^u\)--\(h\)\(^u\)), dat. pl. of manach 'monk'; cosmil cosmuil Wb. 'like' (\(u\)--\(l\)); sennim senmuim Wb. (\(u\)--m), dat. sg. of senim 'act of playing (a musical instrument)'.

7. Between a palatal and a u-quality consonant iu; e.g. immiud (\(v\)--\(\delta\)) dat. sg. of imned 'suffering'; ancretmiuch (\(u\)--\(ch\)) dat. of ancretmec 'unbelieving'; archaic u in ru-laimur 'I dare' (\(u\)--\(p\)), Wb. I. 17'21.

8. Between a u-quality and a neutral consonant o or u; e.g. figor fiugor 'figura' (\(y\)--\(p\)); flechud flechuig 'wetting, rain' (ch\(u\)--\(\delta\)).

9. Between a neutral and a u-quality consonant o or u; e.g. dénom dénum 'doing' (\(v\)--\(\mu\)); ad-ágor -ágor 'I fear' (\(y\)--\(p\)); abrub átrub (t\(b\)\(p\)--\(b\)), dat. of abrub '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. foilsigdir 'makes clear' (s'--\(y\)--\(\delta\)); timthirecht 'service' Wb. 13'28 beside timthirecht 10'17 (th--\(p\)).

2. Between neutral consonants as a; e.g. ro-comalnada 'have been fulfilled' (\(n\)--\(\delta\)); even where the following consonant has developed secondary u- or o- quality, e.g. toglenamon 'adherence' Sg. 104'2 from -glennam (with \(\mu\)--\(v\)), see § 112, 173.

3. Between u-quality consonants as u, e.g. cruthugud 'formation' (th\(u\)--\(y\)).

4. Between a palatal and a neutral consonant usually as e, occasionally as i; e.g. caillecha 'nuns' (f--\(ch\)); forcetl forcital 'teaching' (\(k\)--\(d\)); do-roilgida 'have been forgiven' Ml. 32'15 beside do-roilgetha Wb. 26'11 (\(y\)--\(th\), \(\delta\)).

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\(u\)--\(y\)); nos-comainithe 'fulfil (sg.) them' Wb. 30'1 (\(n\)--\(th\)) beside cia chomallade 'though ye fulfils' Ml. 95'3; forgare 'command' Sg. 161'12 (g--\(p\)). Otherwise forgare forgnare; mórate 'which magnify' Wb, 6'9 (\(p\)--\(d\)).

6. Between a u-quality and a palatal consonant as u or ui, rarely as i; e.g. cosmulusi and cosmulusi 'similarity' Wb. (\(u\)--\(l\)) beside the isolated spelling cosmilius 8'97; sochude and sochuide 'multitude' Wb. (ch\(u\)--\(\delta\)) beside sochide Thes. II. 17, 33.

7. Between a palatal and a u-quality consonant as i, rarely as \(u\); e.g. su(i)digud vb.n. 'placing' (\(\delta\)--\(y\)); inuillugud vb.n. 'safeguarding' Ml. 35'1 (f--\(y\)).

8. Between a u-quality and a neutral consonant as \(u\), more rarely as o; e.g. cétbutho Sg. 25'7 (\(b\)--\(th\)), gen. sg. of cétbuthi 'sense'; dolgitha Wb. 2'17 beside dolgitha dolgitha Ml. (\(y\)--\(th\) or \(\delta\)), gen. of dolgud 'forgiveness'; adbartinugd 'opposition' (t\(b\)--\(\gamma\)) Ml. 26'20 beside ménogud 'hiatus' (v\(\gamma\)--\(y\)) Sg. 40'8; occasionally with mutation of quality in the vowel of the following syllable: immdogod (for

---

-gud) 'enhancement' 216'3 (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)je '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. forloiscethe 'igni examinatus' Ml. 31'28, with o\(i\) 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. condelaugg Sg. 42'4, coindeulc coindeulgg 3\(p\)1. 25'2, gen. and dat. sg. of nom. acc. condelg 'comparison' 42'6, etc.; bindiusa Sg. 23'3, 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 when 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+césath), later coiscd; fugell 'judgement' Wb. I. 9'5, 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-rosch') 'maxim' Ml., folud and folad 'substance' (from 'fo-loth, W. golud
'wealth') Wb., Sg.; in Sg. 28°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. liacc, gen. sg. of lie 'stone'; deac(c) in numeral adjs. '-teen' (§ 391), but déeck still Wb. 15°1; arch. oëc 'young' ZCP. XI. 93 § 22, óac Sg. 38°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·dieig 'demands' from dl- ·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 'of iron' Thes. II. 249, 6. But liic also occurs beside liaic for lieic.

For other vowels, cp. tēoir tēuir (fem.) 'three', diuit 'simple' (to fot 'length').

**SYNCOPE**


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'; digeth diged 'law', digethech 'lawful'; díle 'own', dlíse 'ownership'; follus 'clear', nom. pl. folisi, folisigidir 'makes clear'; tomus (to-mess) 'measure', gen. toimseo; frecr(a)e 'answer' for 'frecare (frith-gaire); apostal 'apostolus'; ad-cïat 'they see', prototonic ·accat; toimtiu 'opinion' ('to-métiu), but airmitiu 'honouring' ('are-métiu).

**sam(a)il** 'like' (subst.), cosmil 'similar' for *cossamil, but écsmil 'dissimilar' for *écossamil, nom. pl. écsmali for *écossamali (with syncope of the second and fourth syllables); ·tomnitbither '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 iā becomes e as the result of syncope; e.g.

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riam 'before him', remi 'before her'; no·biad 'he would be', pl. no·betis for *biatis.
In dédenach 'last' ē is probably modelled on the by-form didenach (from diad = 'di-wed- beside dead 'end'). In béla, gen. of bial 'axe', ē is due to the influence of the ā in the other forms; cp. dég from dl-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deuterotonic form</th>
<th>prototonic form</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>as-berat</td>
<td>·epret</td>
<td>'they say'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con-osa</td>
<td>·cumsana (cum-uss-ana)</td>
<td>'rests'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do·róse (a)</td>
<td>·derscaig (de-ro-uss-scochi)</td>
<td>'surpasses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do·lug (a)</td>
<td>·dilg (a)</td>
<td>'pardons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do·róna</td>
<td>·derna (de-ro-gn..)</td>
<td>'he may do'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *enkowēd-, but to *enkowēd-, whence *eg(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-wed-), e.g. 3 sg. past subj. ·dichséd, < *-dichseth, pointing to *-dik(w)ess-, not to *-dikowess-, as against deuterotonic do·coísed (< *cowess-). Similarly céol (monosyllabic), gen. ciúil, neut., 'music, melody' may go back to *kiwalo- or *kiwala- through intermediate *kiwlo-. If fedb 'widow', W. gweddw (< *widwā), as against Skt. vidhāvā, O.Slav. vodova (Goth. widuwō), Gk. ἱδηνίς ' 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', acise oicse 'proximity' we find the unsyncopated compound comocus, as well as the abstract noun comoícse 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 sochmacht beside sochmacht 'capable' on the model of cumachtche 'power'; foditiu 'endurance' < *fo-détiu after the simplex dé(i)tiu; tomontis Wb. 12°21 beside ·tominis 3 pl. past subj. 'would think' after deuterotonic do·mentis; indocbál inducbál 'glory' < *ind-uss-gabāl, attracted by tucbál tócbál 'raising'. Beside <TARTISSET< i>(to-r(o)-ad-daissit) 'they have given' we find the more common ·tartsat with apparent syncopation of both the second and third syllables, but really modelled on the deuterotonic do·ratsat; similarly ·ragthá 'have been sung' after deuterotonic ro-gabatha (< 'ro-gabatha). After originally disyllabic prepositions, which were reduced to monosyllables in most positions, the following syllable is occasionally syncopated by analogy with the true monosyllabic prepositions; e.g. regular timthirecht 'service' Wb. ((t(o)-imbi-to-r . .), but timthrecht Ml., oín-timthrecht as early as Wb. 5°1; indrisse and indirse ('indr + se, § 112.), both found in Ml. as partic. of in·fét-reth- 'invade'; do·ar·chét, tair·chét 'has been prophesied' from -are-ró-chét (where ró = ro-f + ō).

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 syncopated 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-æssa) makes regular gen. irsse 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. 15^6, from brothad (-ath) + -(o)de, the influence of gen. brotto, nom. pl. brottæae, 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 tait 2 pl. ipv. 'come' for *taitith (§ § 591, 770).

Cp. however, forms like ro·foíded 'has been sent', without loss of vowel.

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 *isarnon, form 'on me', salm 'psalmus', almsan 'alms', ainm 'name', naidm 'binding, surety'.
3. When the preceding consonant disappears in accordance with § 125, e.g. āirme 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.


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-mes)'; 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

*arathr, *forcetl, etc., belonged to the final syllable, and accordingly was not syncopated. 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. 67^5 (= Mid.Bret.
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. ἀκτός; 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 ailei, 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 " (§ 896) and the 1 and 2 sg. subj. of lécid '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- 'near', W. agos).

Pretonic in- (§ 842 B) from en()- 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 si, 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.
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) < *baw' 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. cetu '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. nirbatar for ni-ro-batar; armbad arbed 'so that it might be' for arim-bad, 3 pl. armdis ardis for arim-betis; cain-ro-noíbad 'has he not been sanctioned?' 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-sinda; donaib, arch. dundaib, for du-sinnaib (§467); comma-airic 'so that it suits' ML. 1334 for co-imma-airic (or rather, perhaps, for con-imma-, cp. Windisch, IT. I. 431); nimmaile Wb. 172 for ní immalle 'not together'; each-la sel for each ala sel 'every other turn' (§487); isannaicci Wb. 5827 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 Britanic 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. ūdra údras, etc.; cp. Gk. δάρης, U03B4ΨΒΨΟΨΥΟΨ Ω31Β4ΨΥΟΨΒ1 'water snake'), has been cited. This word is inflected like bodar 'dead'. acc. pl. fem. bodra Tur. 11, where W. byddar, Bret. bouzar, and Skt. badhiráḥ point to a Celtic stem in -aro-. Forms with palatal consonance—e.g. acc. sg. fem. u (i)dir, gen. sg. fem. uître, dat. sg. buidir, abstr. buidre (as early as ML. 3815, 5912)—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. δαρῆς '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.

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 ft., *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: *accomalte* 'joined' *Wb*. 5°25 from *ad-comla* ; *cinnta* *ML*. 62°5, nom. pl. of *cin*, acc. sg. *cinaid*, 'faut, liability'; *ildai* 'of plural' 68°14 < *-i-l địa(a)]; *mad all dúib* 'if we were pleasing (áil) to you' *Wb*. 13°3; *annse* 'difficult' 6°9 < 'av'se, cp. *asse* 'easy'; *fellsube* 'philosophy' 30°11; *collnide* 8°8 adj. from *colin* (n) 'flesh'; *digallre* 'health' 18°1 from *galar* 'disease'; *airnne* 'glandium' *Sg*. 49°17, cp. *W*. *eirin* 'plums'; *comairle* 'counsel' *Wb*. 16°12; *ma no-s-comallnnamar* 'if we fulfil them' Cam., to *comlán* 'complete', vb.n. *comallnad* *Wb*. 2°15. For *rr* there are no examples in the Glosses, but cp. *errnaighthe* '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 céiltal 'singing' (vb.n.) < *cédil or *cèddil* ('kantion), *comaltar* 'co-fosterage' < *-alt* ('-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' *ML*. 68°15, 2 pl. ipv. of *fu-callathar* 114°3; *do-foichred* 'it would put' *Sg*. 130°21, cp. *fo-cicerr* 'he will throw' *ML*. 87°6; *arnafoirncea* 'that it may not terminate' *Wb*. 20°13, subj. of *for-cenna*. Oh the other hand, their unlenited articulation before every class of consonant is indicated by such examples as *collle* 'pillar' *Wb*. 23°31 (later *colbha*); *arnach-rólca* 'so that it may not swallow him' 14°21 (\( l l < l l \)), perfective pr. subj. of *sluccid*; *bertrhar* 'let her be shorn' 11°13, ipv. pass. of *berraid* ; *ennac* 'innocence' *ML*. 41°9 from *ennac* 'innocent'; cp. also long e in *im-timch* [h] *éllam* 24°7, 1 pl. fut. of *im-timchella* 'surrounds' (cp. § 45).

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

Occasionally unlenited consonants seem to have spread to other positions, e.g. *as-lenaim* *Sg*. 173°4 beside *as-lenimm* (= *lénaimm*) 54°8 'I pollute', probably influenced by protothetic *-éllnimm*. So too *lín* 'number' beside *fín* and *finn* 'wine' beside *fín* 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. *ńg*), *nd, mb, sc, st* (sp in loan-words).
In early groups (i.e. not arising from syncope): stops after r and l; t after ch; b and g after δ (= δ) < z (§ 218); m after l r n d; and n after r.

For the articulation of l, r, n in these grottos 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°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-literated þ or đ 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 is 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. d in ON. sources, shows that it was a voiced spirant (Eng. soft th).


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 · tuichid 'has come'. The gen. sg. saido Thes. II.296, 4, instead of saítho, may have been suggested by nom. said beside saíth 'trouble'. The isolated forms cedardae Mi. 111°9, 133°10 for cethardae 'four things', and hóidí gen. of úathad 'singleness' Sg. 66°9, are apparently due to some kind of assimilation of the two spirants (which was perhaps confined to writing); cp. conversely senartharthaic 'grandfatherly' Mi. 99°8 for -athardae. cuide 123°3 for cuíthe 'puteus' is probably a faulty spelling (but cp. ó c [h]uidich gl. aucupio Thes. II. 38, 14); so too idi Mi. 124°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 pecdae 'sins' Wb. II. 33°8, pecdachu acc. pl. 'sinful' Ml. 26°14, instead of normal pecthe, pectach, have the d (ð) which had developed in the auslaut of nom. acc. dat. sg. peccad 'sin' (§ 130). But forms like cumachtgaib Ml. 26°20, dat. pl. of cumachtach 'powerful', compar. cumachtgu 101°7 beside cumachtchtu Sg. 39°3a, admit of no such explanation. It is doubtful whether g here represents voiced y or merely a weaker articulation of ch.

After s fluctuation between ch and g is found in Ml. (e.g. grésgai 89°11, acc. of the abstract from gréssach 'continuous', dat. pl. gréscabil 32°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°39 beside todiuschud 8°4 'rousing', vb.n.; toscheid 10°18 beside tasgid 29°13 'sustenance'; do-coisgedar 'follows' Sg. 16°2 beside the simplex ·secethar. The fluctuation spreads to other forms also, such as in ·oissegar 'is signified' Ml. 48°11 beside in ·choisechar (rel.) Sg. 198°3, cp. 3 pl. act. in ·choisget 45°1. In Mid.Ir. sch sg everywhere becomes sc.

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°9, corthi 'corporeal' (pl.) Ml. 15°2, although elsewhere the adjectival suffix is -δε (§ 348); fortchide Ml. 29°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°12, neph-chorpde 'Incorporeal' Sg. 59°16; mucde 'suinus' 37°9. from muc 'pig'; in fortgdilu 'covertly' Ml. 30°3.

For δ afters s see § 139.

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

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

(a) After a vowel the spirants ch, y, δ disappear before r l n, also y 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. dacir, Gk. δραυ, Goth. tard. For achl and achm the evidence is not so definite; mêl (a) je 'shame' may be cognate with Lat. macula (〈'maclā)〉, and mîn 'groin', misspelt melen for mleen Thes. II. 47, 3, 361, (〈'mlkn- ?)〉, with Gk. μολοκός 'soft', βλ + ξ gen. βλα + κός 'slack'. But agr, agl, agn give ár ál, án.

Examples:
cho: 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' < 'cochlowe' cuchlowe. So too original ksl > chsl, chl: scál 'phantom', Goth. skōhsl 'phantom' ('skōkslom or 'skākslom).
yp: dar 'cold' < 'ôgr'oug-, W. oer, Gaul. Orogni. . . (name of month); ár 'slaughter' < 'agr, O.Bret. air, cp. Gaul. Ver-agn (Gk. Δυρα ?).
yl: mál 'prince' (poet.) < 'magl, gen. MAGLI, SENOMAGLI in Latin inscriptions found in Wales.
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 dénum 'doing' (de-gnim); 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 clá(i)did.

In the sound groups thp, βp, and β the spirants are retained even in the interior of words; e.g. criathar 'sieve', criathraid '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. niúil, cannot come from 'neβλ 'nebhlos'. It may perhaps go back to 'miglos (cp. Gk. ἰχνί 'mist') through

intermediate 'niglos, with change of anlaut under the influence of the verb nígí 'washes'. It is hardly = Mid.W. nywl, later niwich (also niwich), '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. 64°6 beside athramil 13°11, where the th of athir 'father' has been restored; also pl. adthramli 9°14, 23°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 aidhchi aidche with the d of the nominative; conversely in Thes. II.242, 13 (Arm.) we find aithghi with the g of the nominative. In Wb. the negative prefix (§874) is always neb- before vowels and voiced consonants, and often neph- before voiceless consonants: nebairiu 'non-acceptance', nebmarbu 'immortality', but nepthóbe 'non-circumcision', although nebstóbe also occurs, e.g. 1°18. As early as Wb. II. 33°5, however, we find nephinotacht 'nonentrance', and in Ml. and Sg. neph- is the sole form in all positions, e.g. nephdénim 'non-doing'. Ml. 23°20 as opposed to nebdénim Wb. 5°23. Cp. further dephthigim 'I contend' Ml. 21°2 beside 3 sg. ipf. no · debthaiged 19°13, from debuth 'discord'; ad · áichfer 'I shall fear' 68°17, ad · r-áichsetar 80°4 beside ad · r-áigsetar 124°6 'they have feared', fut. and pf. of ad · ághathar; ainmnnichthe Sg. 4°4 beside ainmnigthe 197°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. aithghe 'knowledge' 1°13 beside dat. aiddgni 1°15, taithchrícc 4°16 beside taithchrícc 2°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

scribes, the representation of spirants in general became less precise. Thus in Wb. 17°5 we actually find irnichthe 'prayer' for irnigde (cp. guide 'praying'). Cp. also adchaib Wb. 22°14, dat. pl. of athach 'blast of wind', where δ cannot be due to the following voiceless ch. Conversely comdithnathá 14°11, dídnad 14°15 (twice), where the scribe, who elsewhere always writes didnad (vb.n. of do-dona
1. auslaut) there is complete confusion between the two classes of spirant. Here the determining factors are obviously been much levelling. Thus -

127. (c) In our sources there are as yet but few instances of the reduction of the sound-group thch or ðch to ch. It takes place consistently only (before n) in súaichníd (súaignid twice, Wb. 8'15, 18'6) 'well-known' for 'su-ath-gníd. Apart from this, Wb. has the isolated forms prechíte and ro-príched (5'5, 23'3) beside normal predchíd príched 'preaches'. These forms are more frequent in Ml., where we also find tachur 34'20, taichur 115'9 beside taídchor 'restoration' 117'5, 131'12; frís-tuíchetar 'they opposed' 21'2, normally -tuidchetar. Accordingly this pronunciation had not yet become general.

Cp. also taibsiu Wb. 6'6, Sg. 209'28 for more frequent taidbsiu (-øβs-) 'showing', 3 sg. past subj. ·taibsed Sg. 6'25.

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.

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 instances the transition can be followed by means of a comparison between Wb. and Ml. Thus dilúgad (vb.n.) 'forgiving' (with -d from -th) makes gen. dilúgadilúgthedha in Wb., whereas in Ml. dilúgad -do is as common as dilúgadh; comáinad (vb.n.) 'completes' makes gen. comáinatha in Wb., comáillada in Ml. Cp. further atlígad 'give thanks' (ipv. pl.), vb.n. attlúgad (already in Wb.), from atltúcharad (ad-túcharad); sechtmogó, gen. -ogat, 'seventy' as opposed to trichó-a, gen. trichát, 'thirty'; du-éítigh 'he shall see' for reduplicated -cichi; ad-co-téda 'he obtained' Thes. II. 240, 23 (Arm.) for -eth., sechmadachtae 'preterite' to tiágh 'I go'. As a rule th at the beginning of a syllable normally in δ only where it is separated from the stress by at least two other syllables; cp. the equatives (§ 368.) suathaínidir, dínnimídir, sonartaídir, erlaimídir beside déthanídir, léirídir, dúnimídir, soibhirídir (soibhirídir only once, Ml. 75'7?); or the 3 sg. depon. of verbs with stem ending in -ig- (§ 524.), which always terminates in -idir -edar (the only exceptions being eríbrigíth Ml. 35'6, ãdhrigíthar Wb. 5'16, érasigíethar ZCP. VII. 481). After monosyllabic stems, on the contrary, -ithar -ethar is more common; e.g. always -cluainethar 'hears' (6 instances), -ágathar (7) 'fears' (beside ·ágadar once), midithar -midethar (5) 'judges' (beside ·midethar once), etc. Here, too, there has obviously been much levelling. Thus súinmiche beside súinmich may have been influenced by the adjective súinmeach 'prosperous, lucky'. For f in this position see § 635. 130. In final position (word-auslaut) 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- ácā; teglaich 'household' from teg 'house' and

slóg 'troop'. Instances such as cobdelag Wb. 9'32 'related, relationship', beside cobdelach, and éicndag 'slander' 1'6, beside Y+00E9cnndach, are rare.

(b) The palatal guttural spirant is generally represented by -g, though -ch also occurs; e.g. nom. pl. (h)iresig (more common than iressich ), teglig 'of a household'; but also atob·aich 'which impels you' Wb. 9'20 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.
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

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, 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 fochtach fochtaid 'torture, tribulation' from *fo-sagith,fotha ('fotha') 'basis' from fo+suide 'seat', miathamle 'magnificence' from miad 'honour' and samail, where the contact with h after syncope has caused y and δ to become voiceless ch and th. So also imp(i)de 'besieging' from imbu-su(i)de, etc. (§ 187). Similar treatment is indicated by spellings like déserc déserc 'charity' Wb. (acc. misspelt desesseir 23°1) beside dearc Wb. II. 33°6, dat. deircce Wb. 25°36, to serc 'love'; cp. comsauidigud '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 < tugesobis, 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 ḏíultadh) 'denial' < *di-il(on)duth, where d has become t after voiceless l. Cp. the spellings of the prototonic forms of di-sruithaidgar 'deriuat', from struth 'stream': dírruddigeddar, vb.n. dírruidiguth dírruidigud dirírruidig (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.
'seven persons', lit. 'great six'; do·seinn 'pursues' (stem swenn-), reduplicated pret. do·sephainn (written ·sephainn Ml. 36417), 3 sg. ipv. toibned Ml. 44113 (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 (μ, 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 (γ); at the present day, where it remains nasal after a vowel, the latter is also nasalized.

135. 5. Lenited n, l, r (ν, λ, ρ) 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. 1015, dat. lucc 71, acc. pl. luccu 207 (more frequently loc, luc, lucu ); sercc 'love' 410; olcc 'bad' 110; corpp 'corpus' 3411; cumactte 'power' 61 beside cumachte cumacte; erchischtæ 'of compassion Ml. 1205condeilgg (gen.) 'of comparison' Sg. 424forbbart 'increase' 528; armma 'weapons' Wb. 2211. Normally scribes refrain from doubling both consonants in an unlenited group, as in cosscce 'correction' Wb. 923; instead, they geminate now the one now the other. Examples: bésstí 'beasts' Wb. 3121; dussceulat (du·scéulat) 'they experience' Ml. 838; clainnd Wb. 2923, dat. of cland 'children' (gen. claindde 2817) inntulfhtchto 'of intelligence' Sg. 269; immbi 'about him' Wb. 1322; caimmse 'camisia' Sg. 234; melittach Wb. 917 beside meldach 419 'agreeable'; [de]chellt 'garment' 2716; foirrce 'sea' Sg. 679 beside foirggæ 1241, fairgæ 112 (Thes. II. 290, 4). mescc 'drunk' Wb. 2824; dob·imchomartt 'which has constrained you' 321; ardd 'high' Sg. 537; inddíb 'in them' 1983; ifurnn Wb. 1326, ififrrn Sg. 4112, 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) tecnate (with \( c = g(g) \), \(-t- = t(t) \)) 'domesticus' for *teyynath*ē from teg 'house' and gnāth 'wont'; inndite 'await' (2 sg. ipv.) for *ind-nith*the; nepuid

(with \( p = bb \)) 'non-being' Ml. 122°11 for *neβ*buith (written nepbuith Wb. 14°16, nebud · 24°11); tairrchet 'has been prophesied' ('t-ai-a'-o'-chēt).

(2) *mitter* 'thou judgest' for *miō*ther (written ·míter Wb. 1°10); foitir 'is sent' for *foi*b*thir; rubricu for *ru-brí*y'chu, acc. pl. of rubrigach 'excellent'; trócaire (Mod.Ir. ld.) 'mercy' for *tró*y'chaire; túate 'heathen, gentile' for *tú*ath*ō* from túath 'tribe'; brotte 'momentary' Wb. 15°6 from brothath (brothad) 'moment' with suffix *ō*.

(3) secach a-guidi 'beyond every prayer' 25°28 for sech cach; marcir 'horse-comb' for *marc*ch*īr; deuterotonic di-róscí 'surpasses' from *órósc*chi beside prototonic -derscái (de-to-uss-scoch-);

lotar (\( t = dd \)) 'they went' for *ló*d-dar; nerta for *nert*tha, gen. of nertath nertad 'strengthening'; -gétt 'ye would steal' for *géd*d*the; retae 'which run' for *reth*d(a)e; ro-pia \( (p = bb \) 'ye shall have' for *ro-B*β'-b*ia (spelt robia Wb. 21°17).

Attempts at an etymological spelling are not uncommon, as may be seen from the examples ·midter, nepbuith, robia above. Cp. further lítthai 'festival (pl.) Ml. 131°3 instead of lítai for *lith*ō(a); rethae 'which run' 68°10, rethite Thes. II. 250, 14 (retaæ 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 Ml. 86°5, dat. pl. of flet teg Wb. 11°16, 'banquet (fled ...)house (teg)'; ithtige 'granaries' Ml. 98°5 (*ith 'corn') beside itige (sic, with mark of length) 98°4. In Wb. 6a compounds of dag- 'good' droch- 'bad' and gním 'doing, deed' are spelt indifferently daggním and dagním droggním and dagnim droggnim, contrasting with Ml. drochomairle 'bad counsel' (comairle ) 23°7, 72°2 beside degcomairl (written 54°17).

The g instead of c in Mod.Ir. cloigeann 'skull', earlier cloccenn, lit. 'stone-head' from cloge '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 β'f, which always gives f (not p); e.g. atrefea 'will dwell' for 'ad-trebf*ea Wb.'

30°18, Ml. 36°19, 107°15 (spelt atrebea 35°24), to atreba (ad-treba) 'dwell'; con-tífe Ml. 17°3, fut. of con-tíbi 'mocks at'; doforbad-si Wb. 20°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 ð are delenited after l, n, s, and before s. In addition ð is unvoiced (t) before and after s.

Examples: ad-comaltar 'is joined' Sg. 148°9 from *-co*λl'thap; accaldam acaltam 'address(ing)' from *agg*l*ðay, vb.n. of ad-gládathar; do-poiter 'thou thinkest' Wb. 1°13 for *-móiv*ther; cone*nd* 'caninus' for *cov*ðe; césto for *cés*tho, gen. of cé*s(s)*ath cé*sd* 'suffering'; béste 'moral' for 'bés'*e; baitsim 'I baptize', cp. baithís 'baptism'; ro-rátsem 'we have said' Thes. II. 2, 34, to rádíc.

That μ 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-sín 'in this, that manner (cruth )' Sg. 211°4, 63°14; a buit-sen 'its being (buith )' 216°2; tri-bar
nebcongabthetit-si 'through your incontinence' Wb. 9124 (for -tith), as tech 'which is best (dech)' Ml. 373, 3710; cp. as-tilther 'is kindled' (-doither) 3818. 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 δ 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.) (foidis 'he sent'). In such cases assimilation to s(s) is occasionally found: cp. fáissine 'prophecy' Ml. 25 b 6 beside more usual fáithsin, but in Wb. regular fáitsine 3023 (fáith 'prophet'); con·dositis 'so that they should fall ' 5 b 11, for *·dothsitis. So also ro·cretsisi for ·cretsid-si 'ye have believed' 1 a 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 = muinter 'familia' ibid. p. xxxii may date from a time when delenition had not yet taken place.

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 inall 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 ·digtith Wb. 9119, cp. ·dechuid 'has gone'; mochtratae 'matutinal' Ml. 218, 797 for moch-thratae; ·derlaichta 'they have been forgiven' Wb. II. 338, prototonic form of do·rolgetha; cumscaichte 'moved' Ml. 33 b 2. Examples like Mid.Ir. machtid 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.

GEWINATES
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.

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. 2147); attlugud and attlugud (ad-t-) 'thanking'; guidmi 'we pray', coinmi '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'; atach and atach (att.) 'entreaty'; cretem (cred.) 'belief' much oftener than creittem; epiil (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°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; úall beside úail, acc. dat. sg. of úall 'pride'; (h)ét oftener than (h)étt 'jealousy' (tt = dd); (h)icc and (h)ic 'healing', gen. (h)ícce and (h)icce (kk); ·risa for ·ris-sa '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).

Examples: 3 pl. in -at -it (= -add -idd); follus 'clear' (foluss Sg. 40°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 conn; digaim 'digamma'; ·eper beside ·eperr 'is said'; diil, gen. of diall '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°21; ocumtuch for oc cumtuch 'while building' 131°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 (cred.) '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: atach 'entreaty' with tt (Mod.Ir. atach ) < 'ad-tech; ecal 'timid' with gg (Mod.Ir. eagal ) < 'ek(s)- or echs- gal; cp. ad·drogduine-siu 'thou art a bad man' Wb. 1°10 for at...
149. 1. c(c) = kk
   a. From t (d) + c; e.g. freccor frecur (with following céll ) 'cultus' < fret- (frith-) and cor; rucc(a)e (neut. and fem.) 'shame', lit. 'redness', < 'rud-k... .
   b. From gg + s ( = h): cuccu 'towards them', cugg-su (§§ 433, 451).
   2. c(c) = gg
   a. From d (t) + g; e.g. ac(c)aldam 'address(ing) < 'ad-gládam; frecre (Mod.Ir. fregra ) 'answer' < freth(frith-) and gaire.
   b. From nc (nk), § 208.
   3. t(t) = dd
   a. Probably from g (k) + d in etrocth 'bright' (later étr.. ), dative etracthai 'splendour' Ml. 84º1, < 'eg-dr.. or 'ey-dr.. , 'ech(s)-dr.. ; cp. an-dracht 'taeter' Sg. 112º1.
   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. bhughnah '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 to the single consonant in Brittann. 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. κάκη; cnoc 'lump, hill' (W. cnwch), cognate with Tyrol. rock ( < 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 Brittannic 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 (sn ) in medial position; e.g. bronnn, gen. of bru 'belly', < 'brusnos (§ 327); as·roinnea 'he may escape' < -ro·snea (sní-); lainn 'covetous' < 'lasn-s, cp. Lat. lasciuss, Gk. λαλαισαι (λαλασι + οια).
   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 ina Filarguris Gl., Wb. I. 20º5, i-naib for 'i·ndaib, beside dundaib Cam. dendhib AU. 726. Already in Wb.inna, donaib, etc., are always written; similarly in-árbenn 'I expel' Sg. 146º10 (vb.n. indab (a e ) ). Otherwise nd before vowels and in final position is retained in Wb. In proin 28º20 (proinn 31º23) 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 (Arms.) from Lat. Secundinus (-ll for -nn by dissimilation, cp. § 140). The spelling -n(n) first becomes common in Ml., not only in tinnacul, earlier tindacul 'bestowing', but also in chláinn 91º17, chlain 23º12, for chlaind (acc. dat. sg. of cland 'children'), conid for condid 'so that it is', etc. It occurs sporadically in Sg. (masculini 67º17 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' > *kng-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. maidid, 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 Gl., 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', immichtrach 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. cainb AU. 747, is not only written camm in camm-derc gl. 'strabo' Sg. 634° and in cammaib (dat. pl.) Ml. 2°7, but would also appear to be contained in the adverb cammaif cammaif Wb. 'however' (§ 907). In Ml. further examples of the transition include cuimre 'brevity' 14°3 as opposed to acc. cumbri Thes. II. 15, 44, dábe mec (for m-bec) 'a little difference' Ml. 40°20, and even the converse spelling ambus 75°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 (< L. columbus) 'wild pigeon' Sg. 70°16.

The development of ng (i.e. ñg) to ññ (Mod.Ir. ñ) 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' Ml. 32°4, 1pl. pres. subj. of ga(i)bid; cp. adimmanciae Wb. 9°13 for adib maicc 'ye are sons', cotomélat LU 5558 for cotob-mélát 'they will crush you'.

153. 3. ll

a. From earlier nl; e.g. ellach 'uniting' < 'en-log (vb. in-loing).

b. From earlier sl (sl) in medial position; e.g. coll 'hazel tree', OHG. hasal, cp. Lat. corylus; fuillecht (a je) 'smeared' for fu-šlechte (vb. fo-slig).

c. Probably from dp; e.g. ·tella ·talla (§ 83b) 'there is room for', Lith. telpù til + ũti '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 < *palša-, cp. OHG. felis, felisa 'rock'; mell- < *mélget-s 'melks-', subj. stem of v/mél-, pres. ind. milg 'milks'.

e. From earlier ln, e.g. ad·ella 'visits', probably < *pelnā-, if cognate with Gk. πιλμαμαι, Lat. appellare.

Later In arising through syncope is always retained in Wb. and Sg. But in Ml. the transition to ll has begun; e.g. éillide 'polluted' for éilnithe (vb. as·l¹na); comallaid (MS. commallaid) 106°2 for comalnaid 'fulils' (comlán 'complete'); builinni 'blows' Wb. 17°2, dat. buillib 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 Ml. is shown by the converse spelling in Ml. 63°15: lase nad-reildisemni 'when we have not polluted' for réillisem < -r-eíllisem.

154. 4. rr

a. From earlier nr; e.g. i-rrúnaib 'in secrets' < *in rúnaib.

b. From rp; e.g. serrar (OW. id.), gen. serere, 'sickle', Gk. ἱππη, Lett. sirpe.

c. From earlier rs (also rks, rts); e.g. forru 'on them' < *for-su; orrr-, subj. stem of org (a)id 'slays', < org-s- ors (§§ 618, 629); fo-cerr-, subj. stem of fo-ceid 'throws', < cerd-scers-. Cp. also foirrice fairgge 'open sea', probably < fairising 'wide' (for-ess-).

d. From srr and r + s; e.g. dírruidguth 'deriatio' Sg. 53°11, < df- and sruth 'river'; do-intarráí ( < -rö- sól).
Wb. 16°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, δ-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. στάναι; glass 'blue, green', Gaul. glastum 'woad'; is (s ) 'is', Gk. ἵστε.
   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 -, partic. of rethid 'runs'; fiuss 'knowledge' < 'wid-tu'; gessi < 'ghedh-tr', verbal of
      necessity of guidid 'prays', Gk. νοθέω.

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

-96-

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 i + `and ë + ɿ;
   b. neutral before ā + `and ō + ɿ;
   c. u-quality before ŭ + ɿ;

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. tluath '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.

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 ðquo) 'they endure' beside deuterotonic fo ·daimet (d'--µ); frecre frecrae (g'p') 'answer' < *freggare, cp. fornghaire 'command'.

Palatal + neutral become palatal: aithrea (th'ái) acc. pl. 'fathers' < *athera (th'--p').

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

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

In stem syllables ō appears to have the effect of u, e.g. éitset (ts') 'let them hear' < *è-tō (i)sset (in-túaisí 'listens'). Sometimes the affecting consonant has disappeared; e.g. córae < 'cow're coware, abstr, noun from coir ('cowari-') 'proper' (Welsh cywair); fochaid 'tribulation' < fo-ágith, where s (= h') has tensed with y' to give ch' (§131). For oi < owi owe in toisëch, etc., see §67d. The explanation of forms like ·dimea (with μ) 'he may protect' Mil. 88'2, ·dîllem (with ll') 'declinems' 106'4, from dî- and -ema, -ellam, is perhaps that after a glide i + had been pronounced ('di + ema) which suffixed to modify the quality. Examples like ·asstai Mil. 114'19, ·dîltai Sg. 201'10, prototonic forms of ad-su (i)di 'holds fast' and do ·sluindí 'denies', presuppose the older vocalism -sodí, -slíndi. 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. 20'20 ( < 'abbuthi). For foigde 'begging' beside gu (i)de 'prayer', see §549. The archaic spelling coicseath 'compassio' (Cam.) from co(m) + césath, as against later coicseath, 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
or u- and a- quality, the second consonant normally retained its original quality without infection. Instances like fursundud (with ri’s) '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. taidd-chur (ðch-) 'restoration', dag-theist (y’th) 'good testimony'; or

b. The quality of the first consonant yields to that of the second; e.g. tadchor Ml. 131 ‘11, ath-maldachad instead of aith-m.. 'repeated malediction' 141 ‘3.

In like manner the final of an unstressed word is sometimes assimilated in quality to the following initial; e.g. adabaill Wb. 3°7 for adib bail ‘ye are members’; dinab gabálaib 'of the takings' 13 °33 for dinaib; donabellaib 12°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 · roigetha 'they have been forgiven' Wb. 26’11, where, despite the palatal y, 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.

Examples: serc 'love' makes dat. sg. seirc (p’k) < 'serki, but gen. sg. serce sercaei (p’k'); delb 'form', dat. sg. delib (λ’β); but gen. sg. delbe delbaei (λ’β); likewise ainh 'name', gen. sg. anm (a) e; maidm 'breaking', gen. madm (a) e; nom. sg. orcun 'slaying', acc. orcun orcaim (syllabic division p-g), but gen. orcn (pg-v), where in every instance e originally stood between rg and n, stem organa-, 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' (ðβ-), pl. do · aidbdetar (ðβ-); cosnam 'contending' (com-snim); 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. cinn) Ml. regularly forms forcan 'end' 91 °21 with neutral pk, dat. forcenn 19 °12, etc.; but in forcenn Sg. 28’19 etc. neutral p and palatal k are left side by side; in dat. foirciunn Sg. 18’1 etc. the quality of the initial of the second element has infected the initial of the first. Syncopated forms, however, like ·foircne '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 °3 (beside comlín with the usual form of the preposition), cuimrech 'fetter'; cuimlucht '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'), dithle 'secret.
Partial assimilation to the form with vowel after liquid is found in a word that began with a neutral consonant. Examples:

However, the palatalization was apparently lost in certain combinations of consonant-groups; e.g. 'number', gen. sg. of *gremma* 'gospel', gen. sg. of *scéulai* 'explores', to *scél* 'tidings', W. *chwedl*; *giulait* 'will stick fast' (pl.), reduplicated future of glen (a)id; *áram* 'number', gen. *áirme*, < *ad-rím*; *éraic* 'payment' (< *ech* *ech-*, § 834); *dénom dénum* 'doing', < *de-gním* (the neutral v has spread to the gen. sg. *dénmo*); *sinnchénae* 'little fox' Sg. 47°6 (evv-).

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. *adrád* 'adoration', as opposed to *áram*.

The diminutive *laigéniu* 'minusculus' Sg. 45°13 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°2 (for *-ro-snea*).

In *Mi.greimm* 'compulsion, power' makes gen. sg. *gremma*, dat. *gremmaim*, nom. pl. *greman*, apparently influenced by the many neuters (e.g. *naimd 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).
In verbs which have the same syllable sometimes stressed and sometimes unstressed there is frequent confusion; e.g. stressed *fritamm-oirci* 'thou offendest me' MI. 44°26 beside regular *fris-orcai* 44°31; conversely, with enclitic stem, *frithorcaid* (ipv.) 114°9 beside *fridorcaid* *Wb.* 14°27. Cp. *deirbbæ* + 'Sg. 66°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* < *'lβp'*i, modelled on nom. sg. *lebor lebur* 'book' (otherwise Pedersen I. 349); *lebor* for *leistir < 'lestp'*', 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', *cróda* '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**

*mb* and the gutturals *g, c, ch* (together with *ng*) are not palatalized in syllabic anlaut when preceded by a stressed *a* or *ō + ù*, *also uá*. Examples: *rubai*, prototonic form of *ro-bí* 'can be'; *ad-opuir* 'offers' (*-beir*); *cómáai*, 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'; *ruccæ* 'shame'; *ungæ* '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 *addelia* 'visits', as against *bu* (*i*den) 'troop' (*W. byddin*); *dorus* 'door', dat. pl. *doirsíb* (stem *doressu-*); *ammus* 'attempt' (ad+mess); *-anacht* 'he protected' (*vaneg-* pres. ind. *ainigd*); *calad* 'hard' (*Bret. kalet*); but *cailech* 'cock' (*W. ceilio*), 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 *anacht* has proteontic 2 and 3 sg. *-aicc* anti *-accæi*, 1 pl. *-accam* (*-aciam* Thes. II. 31, 23). *-acat*, despite the fact that in the last two forms, as shown by deuterontic *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. *aba* MI. 78°4, beside dat. pl. *aibín* 81°3, non-palatal *b* may come from nom. sg. *aub* 'river'. In *muimme* 'foster-mother' change of quality from *-máimme* has been suggested (*Pokorny, KZ. XLV. 362 ff.*). *cailech* 'sword', where *d* was not followed by *i + , may have been influenced by gen. sg. nom. pl. *caildib*, acc. pl. *caildíu*, etc. In certain borrowed words like *aiinct*, *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 *lugæ MI.*
may have been influenced by such frequent compounds as fir-luige, comluige, where u was unstressed. After ù, 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 Mi. 47*2 beside nom. sg. subae + 'jubilation', dat. subu; cluiche 'play' (cluichech 'playing' Sg., cluichigidir 'plays' Mi.). Possibly dialectal differences played some part here. So too in ùaithed 'singleness, singular number' Wb. 25°38, otherwise ùaithad, 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-irress) '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. amaraí Mi. 97*13 (irress 'faith'). The adjectives soraid 'expeditious, easy' and doraid 'difficult' are usually regarded as compounds of réid 'level' (cp. W. hy-rwyyd 'expeditious'), although the comparative soirthiu 'celerior' Sg. 15°4 and the abstract soirthe Mi. 93°4 suggest rather connexion with reithd 'runs, flows', riuth 'running'. The influence of amraid 'uneven, difficult', where pær 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 léis '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 -r-, 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' Mi. 62*26 (abstr. noun from dür < Lat. dúrors) beside gen. dúire Fé. Proc. 66; dat. sg. lán (a) 'fullness' Fé. 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 ·adamraiguir, 3sg. ·adamraidgethar, vb.n. adamrugd from -ayeth; su (i)digud 'setting'; ro·laumur 'I dare' Wb. 17°8 beside 3sg. ro·laimethar (but archaic ru·laimur

Wb. I. 17°21, with μ); temul Mi. 16°7, 30°3, dat. sg. of temel 'darkness'; impu 'about them' as against intiu 'into them'; írdócru írdrocru érdrocru aírdircu 'more conspicuous, clearer' (compare suffix -u).

There are numerous exceptions, but all of them are explained by analogy. Palatalization is especially frequent after palatal vowels; e.g. ·torisnigir 'I trust' Mi. 126°19 (with γ, on the model of the other persons) beside ísligur 'I lower', ·cairigur 'I censure'; tigiu 'thicker' Mi. 20°1 (modelled on other comparatives with -u) beside gliccu 'acuter' Wb. 26°26; imdíbiu Wb. 2°3 beside more frequent imdíbu, dat. sg. of ímdib 'circumcision' (modelled on other cases with β); ·épíur 'I say' Wb. 4°26 (modelled on deuteronotic as-biur, or the 2, 3 sg. ·épír) beside ·épír 5°31. But palatalization is also found after neutral vowels: compare, laigu Sg. and Mi. beside laigu lugu 'smaller'; dánaígiod 'bestowing' (vb.n. of dánaígedar) Mi. 96°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 amail in Wb., Mi., and Sg.; feil and fail beside fil 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 serc (§ 160) only the last consonant of the group was palatalized, not the first, and thus the neutral quality in serc (a)je is due to the influence of the first consonant; as in § 158. This theory of former palatalization cannot, indeed, be proved: archaic forms ill which the unstressed vowel has been preserved unaltered, such as toceth 'luck', fugell 'judgement', ached 'field', clocher 'stony field' (for later tocad, fugall, ached, clochar), give no indication 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 δ < 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 Ml. 103²5, dat. sg. of cocad; foscud dat. sg. 'shade' Ml. 50²7 from scáth 'shadow'; but later examples like acc. pl. coichiu 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 < y in arch. inp-auch 'ago' Filargirius Gl. and old δ 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', gnim (u-stem) 'deed'. In syllabic. auslaut after long vowels (except, perhaps, ù) consonants which originally had u-quality appear to have become neutral. This change is indicated by compounds like fognam dat. sg. 'service' Wb. 4²21, etc., cosnam dat. sg. 'contending' 18³18, where u is plainly neutral as in the simplex gnim, snim; on the other hand the earlier compound dénum dénom 'doing' (de-gnim) retains the original u-quality. In Sg. the compound with imm-fo- fluctuates between immgnom and immf + ògnam 'construction'; this MS. also has frithgnom 'officium' 106¹2, which is written frithgnum in Ml. (even acc. pl. frithgnamu 56¹4). Cp. also archaic demure Wb. I. 8²3, later todernam, 'torment', to snim.

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, folt, 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' Ml. 142²3; (in) deurb 103³11, 138³11, advb. from derb 'certain'; later attested fiurt 'miracle, virtus' (acc. pl. always furtu), cp. also spiurt 'spiritus'; but dat. sg. terc § 351. So too cht after i, e.g. riucht 'shape'; cp. mluchtae 'milch' Ml. 100³15 beside mluchtae 100³20.

On the other hand, after an unstressed vowel u-quality clearly prevails in do-im-m-urc 'I constrain' (org-), fris-com-urt 'I have injured', as-ru-burt 'I have said' (stem. bert-); dat. sg. ifurn 'hell' Wb. 13²26, Ml. 130²6, iffurn 23²5; dat. sg. coindeulco coinduig 'comparison' Sg. 3¹1, 25²2. For interior syllables cp. irdorcu irdurcu Wb. 'clearer', but erdarcu Ml.; sonortu Wb. 'stronger' as against sonartu Ml.
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 Ml.

1. Where the syllable ends in a palatal consonant labials and gutturals show u-quality in the earlier period. Examples: cosmuil 'similar' Wb. 1221, 2513, in Ml. always cosmuil (already in Wb. adramail 'fatherlike' 66, sainemail 'excellent' 333); menmuin Wb., menmain Ml., dat. sg. of menn (a) je 'mind'; céitbuid 'sense' Wb., céitbaid Ml. (to buith 'being'); dulburiu (read dulburi?) acc. pl. 'ineloquent' Wb. 281, which indicates a nom. sg. dulbuir beside sulbair 'eloquent' 85, 12; -cechui

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 'saying' (comorcan Ml. 1275); acccobor acccobur accrubur 'wish' (vb. ad-cobra); brithemon (britheman Ml. 1048), gen. of brithem 'judge'; tempul 'temple'.

The original quality of the vowel is immaterial. In brithemon o may be original; in such case-forms the spelling -un (súainemun Wb. 2617) is exceptional; fogur from -gar; for orcun see §160; in anacul, acccobor, 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. 297 (cp. inber 'estuary'); but óbar úbar 'vainglory' Wb. (cp. adj. húaibrech), cuman 'remembered' (-men).

But neutral quality is usual before unlenited r l and n in syllabic auslaut; e.g. -comollnithet 'it may be fulfilled' Wb. 217, much rarer than comain-. Still domunde 'worldly' and brithemonda 'judicial' Thes. I. 4, 19 follow the substantives domun and brithem (gen.).

Dentals in this position rarely show u- (or o-) infection. Almost the only examples among native words occur where the preceding syllable contains ð + j; cp. lóthor Thes. II. 27, 36, later form of trisyllabic lothar 'basin, trough' Sg. 675; odur 'dun' Thes. II. 9, 28; do-forchossoil Wb. 1327, fo-rroxul 2719, fochoil Ml. 935, foxxol Sg. 2165 beside foxxal 2017 '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 Ml. 1347 'torrent' beside riathar 5613, du-fuisledor 'slips' Thes. II. 24, 34. In dat. pl. lenonnaib

'lituris' Sg. 3p4m 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 + s (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 chaned 'reviling thee' Ml. 586, for earlier 'cainiud. 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'; ·tiu(mnell) (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' ( < dl-em-); ·berat 'they bear' ( < -ont); dét 'tooth' (W. dant).

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, midiur '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, cantalon, canecosedlon, νεμητον, Ucuetin, ratin, lokan (probably = logan). (The exception Briuatiom 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: tô 'yes', IE. 'tod 'that'; ·cara 'loves' < *karāt; na ná negative (before appended pronouns nā + čh-): ri 'king' < *rēks, cp. Gaul. Eakivyo-peliz Dottin no. 21; a 'out of', Lat. ex; cin 'fault, liability' < *q"inut-s; mī 'month' < *mē(n)s; maccu acc. pl. 'sons' < -ōns (-ūs); car (a )e 'friend' < *karant-s; nī 'is not', probably < *nēst ( § 243, 2); ·tēi ·tē, 3 sg. subj. of tiagu '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 alaill, § 486 b.). For ed 'it' and cid 'what?' see §§ 450, 466.

On the other hand the remaining consonants, if the are closely associated with the following word, do not disappear. In this position the nasals are represented by n- or nasalization

INITIAL CONSONANTS IN PRETONIC WORDS

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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 Britannic; 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-thégot 'which come' Cam., tu-ercomlassat 'they have gathered' Wb. I. 7°7, etc.; to menemme '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- DuDuDa-; cp. To-Channu Thes. II. 281, 9, Du-Channa AU. 705 (see ZCP. XIX. 359 ff.).

Here too the same development is found in Britannic; cp. W. dy, Bret. da 'thy'. In addition, Britannic shows a parallel development in regard to initial c, the prep. con- having become non-syllabic gún. cp. W. gwnaf (monosyllabic) Corn. gwraf Mid.Bret. groaff 'I do', from com- (com-) + ag-; W. gwnio Mid.Bret. gryyat 'to sew', where the stem goes back in the first instance to uy(i)‐, cp. O.Ir. coni + g (a j) '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. cía 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°26, 27, Ml. 94°11, chen Sg. 75°l, ch represents y, 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.

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-roichan 'thou hast taught' for ·ro-chechan (oi contracted from o-e); in-roigrain 'has persecuted' for ·ro-gregrain; asa-toroimed 'out of which has broken' Wb. 11°19 for ·ro-ro-memaid; do-fo-chred 'he would put' for ·fo-chicherred; féélaíos 'thou wilt endure' TBC. 1250 for ·fo-lilais. But it also occurs in other forms; e.g. fóesam 'protection' for fo-èssam; coim(m)chloid 'exchange' for com-imm-chloud; coimhecht 'accompanying' for com-imm-thecht.

A similar development would account for the form ·tait 'comes', <·tait < to-thétha (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. ·taigat (deuterotonic do-tiagat), 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-sluindí '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. téρσσθαι; áldiu instead of ·áldiu, compar. of álind 'beautiful'; ·fulgam (Ml.) 1 pl. beside ·fulingat 3 pl. of fo-lingt 'supports'; do-foirdí beside do-foirnde 'defines'; tairgire beside tairngire 'promise'; arbed beside armbad 'in order that it might be'.

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n between other consonants also; e.g. scribdid beside scribndid 'scribe', from scribend 'writing'; aisdis beside aisndis 'exposition' (vb. as-indet); frecdaire beside frencdairc 'present'.

In forngaire, sometimes forgaire, for 'forngaire, vb.n. of for-con-gair 'commands', and esagaire Ml. 105'6, 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. 19'15, 50'18 beside mescbuid -baid Laws. In anacul 'protection' < anechnlo- (cp. Gaul. ANEXTLO-MARVS), -cht/has become -kkt/-; and in foirrce 'open sea', to foirsing 'wide', -rs(n)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)j 'strives after' (ad-com-snī-); eslīnn 'unsafe, dancer' < ess-inill (inill 'safe'); lubbart 'garden' Ml. 121'12, for lub-gort, dat. lubgurt SP. ( Thes. II. 294, 16) beside lubgartóir 'gardener' Sg. 92'1; diamuin 'pure' Wb. 6'8 beside dianim 'unblemished' (anim 'blemish'). The following examples occur only once: bérle Wb. 12'14 (a form which later becomes general) for normal bēlre 'language'; oslucud 'opening' Ml. 46'5 from oss-olggud, cp. tūasulcud 45'16, etc. (later tūaslucd); desmrecht 'example' Sg. 213'7, usually des(s)imrecht (desmrecht 66'20).

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. k and ch, 2. g and y,
3. t and th, 4. d and _REFERRED_TO_HERE_,
5. p and f, ph, 6. b and β,
7. n and ν, 8. m and μ,
9. guttural (unlenited only), 10. r and ρ,
11. l and λ, 12. s and h.

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 ñ 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. l. k (written c) and ch correspond to:
a. The three IE. k-sounds, Brugmann's k + , q and qu + .(in the present work q”), e.g. cét 'hundred', W. cant, Skt. ṣṭām, Lith. šim + ēas.
dech 'ten', W. deg, Skt. dáśa, O.Slav. desę.
ocht 'eight', W. wyth, Skt. aṣṭāu, Lith. aṣṭouni, O.Slav. osm □.
scaraid 'parts, separates', W. ysgar, OHC. scer to shear', Lith. skiriū 'I part'.
fichid 'fights', Lat. uin cere, MHG. wi hen 'to weaken, destroy', Lith. ap-veikū 'I overcome'.
ceθ(a)ir 'four', OW. petguar, Lat. quattuor, Lith. keturū.
sechithir 'follows', Lat. sequi, Gk. συνέβαι, Lith. sekū. 'I follow';
Possibly orig. kh in scian (fem.) 'knife', W. yrsiën, cp. Skt. chyati 'cuts off', Gk. χύζειν.

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 y, §§ 124, 130, 131.

184. 2. g (written g, c, § 31 f.) and y (written g, § 29 f.) correspond to:
a. The palatal and the pure velar IE: g, Brugmann's g + y and y, e.g.

ad-gnin 'knows', gnáth 'customary', Gk. γνωτός, Lith. žinot 'to know', O.Slav. znati 'to know'.

teg 'house', Gk. τέγος, στέγος 'roof', Lat. tegere, Lith. stōgas 'roof', Skt. sthagayati 'covers'.

The simplest explanation of the y = IE.g" (labiovelar) in nigid 'washes', Gk. viçēν (vı́ntēν), χρυ-νβ- 'washing water', Skt. nējanam 'wash(ing)', is that in Celtic this verb formed a i + present, like Gk. viçō (viκλ + ω), in which g" lost the labial element before i + , 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, ḡh, and ḡ (in the present work g"h), e.g.

gain, gaim-red 'winter', W. gaæf, Gaul. Giamon. . (name of month), Lat. hiems, Gk. χειμών, Lith. žiemá, O.Slav. zima, Avest. žyā + :

cum-ung 'narrow', Lat. angere, Gk. ἁγέν (ἁγέν), Avest. ažō 'sore straits', O.Slav. ὧδοκό 'narrow'.

tiagu 'I go', Gk. στείχειν 'to step', Goth. steigan 'to climb', O.Slav. stigno 'I reach Skt. stighnōtī 'climbs'.

diliged -eth 'duty, claim', Goth. dulgs 'debt', O.Slav. dlōgō 'duty'.

fo-geir 'heats', guirid 'warms', W. gori 'to hatch Skt. gharmāḥ 'glow, warmth', Lat. formus 'warm', Gk. βέρεθαι 'to become warm'.

snigid 'drops' (cp. snechtae 'snow'), Lat. níguit, Gk. νείγει, OHG. sniwit, Lith. sniņga 'it snows'.

c. g < (n)k, § 208.

d. y 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. τρεῖ + ζ, Skt. tráyah,

rethid 'runs', roth 'wheel', Lat. rota, Lith. rātas 'wheel', Skt. ráthah, Avest. raŋō 'car'.

In art 'bear', W. arth, Gallo-Lat. Artio (goddess with bear), Celtic affords a parallel to Gk. ἀρκτος as against Skt. r + k-aḥ, Lat. ursus. (The original form has been variously reconstructed; 'r + tkos?).

b. IE. th.

Probably in -the, the ending of the 2 sg. ipv. depon., cp. Skt. -thāḥ (also Gk. θῆς in the aorist passive?), see § 574.

c. th developed from δ, §§ 124, 130, 131; t developed from th and δ, §§ 139.

d. t < earlier d + ḡ (= h), e.g.

intam(a)il 'imitation' for ind-əsəm(a)il; tintúd 'translation' for to-ind-əoud, § 842 A 2.

int şúil 'the eye' < 'inda š . . ; int aile 'the other' < 'indaš a. . ; see § 467.

· cuintea · com-ðr-šá, 3 sg. pres. subj., cuintehtí verbal of necessity of con · dieig (com-di-saig) 'seeks' (prototonic l sg. · cuintgim, · cuingim, · cuinchim).

186. 4. d (written d, t, § 31 f.) and δ (written d, § 29 f.) correspond to:
a. IE. d, e.g.

daur 'oak', deruce 'acorn' Sg. 113th, W. dar, derwen 'oak', Gk. δόμμυ, δου + ὶ, Skt. ṕ + ῥु 'wood'.

sa(i)did 'sits', 3 pl. sedait, vb.n. su(i)de, Lat. sedere, Gk. □δος, Skt. σάδα, 'seat'.

b. IE. dh, e.g.

denait 'they suck', dínu, dat. dínit, 'lamb', del 'teat'; Mid.W. dynu 'to suck', Skt. dháyati 'sucks', Gk. θησασθαι 'to suck', OHG. tila 'female breast'.

mid 'mead', Skt. mádhu 'honey, mead', Gk. μεθυ.

In two words d- seems to represent earlier gd-: (1) dú fem. 'place', Gk. θαται 'earth', against Skt. kṛdh (gen. jmaḥ, gmaḥ, kṣmaḥ), Avast. ध 'earth', and Lat. humus, Lith. žemė (Tochar. ākan-, Hittite tekan-).

'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.

187. 5. p and f, ph:

da. p < b + ḍ (= h), e.g.

impude, vb.n., 'besieging' for 'imb-∫ude',

impu 'about them' < 'imb-∫u'.

b. sp for sf in aspenad (probably with é) 'testifying' MI. for earlier asfē + ἔδ ZCP. VII. 488, vb.n. of as · fē + ἔδ, Mid.Ir. generally taisbē + ἔδ '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. pìbati, cp. Lat. bibit.

sliab 'mountain' (literally 'slope'), W. llyfr 'sledgerunner', OHG. slipf 'lapsus', Mid.HG. slīfan 'to slide', OE. tō-slipan 'to dissolve'.

b. IE. bh, e.g.

berid 'bears', Skt. bhāratī, Gk. ἐρέων.

imblēu 'navel', Gk. □μφ ἄλαλός, Skt. nā + ῥιή,
c. IE. labiovelar g (g"), e.g.

béu béo 'living', W. byw, Lith. gývas, Goth. qius, Lat. iuios, 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. σκαμβος 'crooked' has also been suggested).

-βρ-, -βλ- < -pr-, pl., § 227 e.

e. β < w after p 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.


sen 'old', W. hen, Lith sēnas, 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 + ī, etc.

da(i)mid 'grants, admits', fo · daim 'endures', dam 'ox', Skt. dā + ṭyati '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. sliab '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"), cp. Goth. qinā '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. νυξ gen. νυχος, OE. nā + gel, etc.
b. < other nasals before g, e.g.

congnam 'co-operation, help', from com- and gním.

engn(a)egnae 'understanding', to en- in- and -gnin 'knows' (§ 184a).

192. 10. r and ρ (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. ἔχειν, Goth. uf-rakjan 'to stretch out', Skt. r + júh Avest. šrvuš 'straight', etc.

car(a)id 'loves', W. caru, Gaul. Carantius Carantillus, Lat. cārus, Lett. kārs 'lustful', Goth. hōrs 'adulterer'.

b. ρ < 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. ἔχειν, Goth. bi-laigōn, Lith. liežiù 'I lick', etc.

melid 'grinds', W. malu, Lat. molere, Goth. malan, Lith. malù 'I grind', O.Slav. meljǫ, Gk. μηλη '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, ṡ, or not indicated at all):

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 + ʰ ti 'to flow', ON. straumr OE. stréam 'stream'.

lestar 'vessel', W. llestr, Goth. lisn 'to glean', Lith. lèsti 'to pick up', Umbr. vesku veskal 'vessels'. This, however, seems to be a loan-word in Irish (see § 280, 4). But for -str-, cp. also elestar (ailestar), gen. -tar, '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**
IE. a and ǝ (IE. schwa) = a § 50, = o or u § 80a, b, = e, / § 80 c (cp. § 83); lengthened to â § 125, also § 45 ff.; to é §§ 125, 208, 210. IE. ǝ = â § 51a.

IE. e = e § 52, = / § 75 ff., = a §§ 83, 115a; ew = ow, Ir. au, etc., cp. náue nue § 72; lengthened to é (ée, éo, iu) §§ 54 f., 125, 208 ff., also § 44 ff. IE. è = ï § 58b; in final syllables e (?) § 90.

IE. ǝ = o § 59, = u § 75 ff., = a § 81 f., 90, 4; lengthened to ó, úa § 44 ff., 62, 125.

IE. ǝ = à § 51b; in final syllables = u § 89.

II. SOUNDS SOMETIMES VOCALIC, SOMETIMES CONSONANTAL

(i u n m ǝ r 1)

IE. i

196. 1. IE. vocalic i = i § 57, = e § 73 f.; lengthened to í § 210 (iù § 71b), cp. also § 45 ff. IE. ì = í § 58a.

2. i-diphthongs

IE. ai (ǝi) = ai ǝe oí òe § 66 f.; in final syllables, see § 298.

IE. ei = é, ía § 53.

IE. oi = oí òe ai ǝe § 66 f.; in final syllables, see § 286.

Long vowelled i-diphthongs are rarely attested with any certainty: ǝi § 285; ìi (?) § 296; ìi (?) § 375.

197. 3. Consonantal i

In medial position after consonants unstressed syllabic i in hiatus (more exactly ǝi +) 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 aile fem. 'another', orig. *ali + ǝ, (Gk. ἀλη), and caire 'blame' (OW. cared) < *karii + ǝ; 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 ìi + becomes ið in original penultimate (stressed) syllables; and i + .either remains or coalesces with the preceding consonant.

In the present work ì 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.
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' (*bhō + ō).

199. **Initial** i + ō has disappeared, e.g.

oac óac 'young', Mid.W. ieuanc, Bret. yaouank, Gaul. iouinca iouincillus, Lat. iuuencus, Goth. juggs, Skt. yuvaśāḥ.


aig 'ice' (§ 302, 1.), W. ia (stem i + agar), cp. ON. iaki '(ice-)floe'.

áth (u-stem) 'ford', if cognate with Lat. iānua, Skt. yā + ōti '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 = ū § 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 = ū) 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.


fedb 'widow', W. gweddw (i.e. *widwā for earlier *widhwā or *widhewā, cp. Goth. widuwō, Gk. διόθεος).


The gen. sg. fem. deirbbæ indeirbbæ inderbbæ Sg. 66°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. \textit{co(a)ir cóir}, Mid.W. \textit{cyweir}, 'proper' < *co(m)wari-; for further examples cp. § 830 A 1; cp. also Gaul. \textit{Couirus Dubno-couirus} and W. \textit{cywir} 'correct, true' < *com-wiro-. After the development of \( w- \) to \( v- \) the \( m(\mu) \) of the prep. com- coalesced with \( v \) to give \( v(\beta) \), written \( b \), e.g.

\textbf{cubus} 'conscience' < *\textit{com-wissu-s} (\textit{fiuss} 'knowledge').

\textbf{cobsud} 'stable', from \textit{com-} and \textbf{fossad} 'firm'.

\textbf{coblige} 'copulation' for \textit{com-fo-lige} (cp. W. \textit{gwe-ly} 'bed', \textit{cy-we-ly} 'bed-mate').

Sometimes, by analogy with the simplex, \( bf \) is written, e.g. \textbf{cobfodlus} Ml. 22\(^b\)1 beside \textbf{cobodlus} 'fellowship' (\textit{fodail} 'share').

Since \textit{-b-} was here felt to stand for \textit{-f-}, \textit{cob-} is employed to render Latin \textit{conf-} also; e.g. \textbf{cobais}, \textbf{coibse} (really the dative form) 'confessio'.

\textbf{202. In absolute anlaut} there is a further development of \( v \) to \( f \); e.g. \textit{fír} 'true', W. \textit{gwir}, Lat. \textit{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. \textbf{froích} 'heather' (W. \textit{grug} for *\textit{gwrug}), \textbf{flaith} 'lordship' (W. \textit{gwlad} 'country'). \textbf{olann} 'wool' (the name of an article of commerce) was apparently borrowed from Britannic *\textit{wlan}-, cp. W. \textit{gwlan}, Bret. \textit{gloan}.

Alternation of \( f \) and \( b \) (=\( \beta \)) often accompanies the change of accent in compound verbs; e.g. \textbf{for-fen} 'completes', partc. \textbf{forbaide} 'completed'; \textbf{ad-fét} 'relates', \textbf{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 \textit{Uennianus}, \textit{Uinniani}, \textit{Uinniauo}, where, however, \( nn \) for \( nd \) (Ir. \textit{find} 'fair') suggests Britannic rather than Irish phonology.

\( f \) (\( ph \)) also represents lenited \( sw \), i.e. \( hv \); in syllabic auslaut it becomes \( \beta \) (written \( b \)), see § 132.

\textbf{203. (d) After all other consonants consonants} \( w \) disappeared, e. g.


\textbf{dáu} 'two', Skt. \textit{dvau} (but \textit{dau} also in W., etc.).

\textbf{ard ardd art} (unlenited \( d \)) 'high', Lat. \textit{arduos}.

\textbf{ceth(a)ir} 'four', OW. \textit{petguar}, Skt. \textit{catvā + ōraḥ}, Goth. \textit{fidwōr}.

\textbf{ech} 'horse'. Lat. \textit{eguos}, Skt. \textit{āśvaḥ}.

\textbf{ingen} 'nail' < \textit{ingw-}, W. \textit{ewin}.

For \( c, \text{ch} < q^w \), see § 223.

If \textbf{fiadu} 'witness' (§ 330) and \textbf{bibdu} 'culprit' (§ 323, 4, O.Bret. \textit{bibid}) are old perfect participles ending originally in \( -wōs \), they show that \( w \) disappeared early before ū. Cp. \textbf{cú} 'hound'. W. \textit{ci} (not *\textit{pi}), for *\textit{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 *airftiud* '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. 4²); *nech dud·uoeaster* (read ·uoestar) 'whosoever may have eaten (perfective subj.) it' (de-fo-ed-) Ériu VIII. 146 § 4.

2. After i, í, é (íá), 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. *llyw*.

*día*, gen. dé, 'God', < *dēwas*, *dēwi*; *deacht* 'divinity'.

*glé* 'clear', cp. W. *gloew*.

It has also disappeared after u, e.g.

*drúi* 'wizard', gen. *druad*, nom. pl. *druid* (stem dru-wid-).

*lúæ* 'rudder', W. *llyw*.

205. (f) With other preceding vowels w often combines to form a diphthong.

1. å + * w give *áu*, which however is in transition to ㅗ, ㅜ + *, where the change is not yet complete. See § 69. For *Dauid* (Dauid in SR.) Ml. writes *Duaid* 14ª8, *Duaid* 2ª5, 30ª9.

In the last vowel lost its syllabic value, the triphthong *auí* arose, which became *óí* at an early period (§§ 67d, 69e); cp. also *con·oí* 'guards', pl. *con·oat*, Lat. auere; oal 'bucca' Sg. 22ª8, 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 *äu*. This, however, is rarely preserved; medially before consonants it has become ㅗ, *úa* (§ 60.), before vowels and in final position *äu*, which further develops to ㅗ, *uí* + 'as in 1. (§ 72.). Cp.

*loor lour* 'enough' < *lower* (W. *llawer* 'much'), where the vocalism -or-ur shows the influence of former -w-


*owe owi*, when the second syllable is lost, become *óí* (§ 67d.); cp. also *fóíret*, 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.

\[ \cdot\acute{c}\acute{u}al(a)e \] 'I heard' < \*\*cochlow(a?)?, § 687.

\[ \cdot-b(a)e \], enclitic form of boí ('bowe?) 'he was', § 789.

\[ \cdot\acute{c}\acute{o}m(a)i \], 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: \[ \text{béu béo} \] 'living, alive' < \*bewas (earlier \*\*biwos), W. byw, whence ñeogidir 'vivifies'; \[ \text{beothu} \] (read \*\*béothu) 'life' only Wb. 3'2, otherwise \[ \text{bethu} \], gen. and dat. always 

\[ \text{bëadh, bëth(a)id} \]. Cp. also \[ \text{dead} \] and \[ \text{diad} \] 'end' = W. diwed, dat. sg. 

\[ \text{deud diud} \], adj. dédenach didenach.

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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 (\( \mu \)) see § 134.

IE. \( \eta \) (guttural nasal) -- \( \eta \) (written \( n \)) § 191.

Before \( g, d, b \) all nasals become \( \eta, n, m \) respectively, §§ 189 191; but not where this contact is due to syncope, e.g. ñáimdea náimtea (ace., pl.) 'enemies', mainbed (ma-ni-) 'if it were not'.

Earlier \( nm \) and \( mn \) remain unchanged, e.g. \( \text{ainm} \) 'name', \( \text{comnessam} \) 'neighbour'.

208. Nasals are lost before \( t- \) and \( k- \) sounds, which become the unlenited (geminated) mediae \( d \) and \( g \). A preceding \( Í, o + \), or \( õ \) remains unchanged; \( ën \) (including ën < IE. n + , § 214.) and \( \text{án} \) become ë in stressed syllables (in unstressed we find corresponding short vowels, which may be secondary shortenings of ë, § 43.). Examples:

\[ \text{ro-icc ric(c)} \] 'reaches' (ricc a less 'needs it'), with \( c(c) = g(g) \), from -\( ïn-k- \); cp. Bret. ren + kout ran + kout 'to be obliged to', Mid.W. cyfranc 'encounter'.

\[ \text{tocad} \] (togad § 31b) 'luck', with \( c = g(g) \), Bret. ton + ket 'fate', TUNCETACE (Lat. gen. in Wales), Ogam TOGITTACC, Goth. peihan 'to prosper'.

\[ \text{cotlud} \] 'sleep', with \( t = d(d) \), for 'con-tolud, vb.n. of con-tu(i)li 'sleeps'.

arch. \( \text{tu-thēgot} \) 'who come' Cam., later do-thiagat, < *-teigont.

\[ \text{slucid} \] 'swallows', 3 pl. slogait Ml. 123f3, O.Bret. ro-luncas 'has swallowed', Mod.Bret. loun + ka lon + ka 'to swallow'.

\[ \text{cutrumm(a)e} \] 'equal', Mod.Ir. cudroma, for 'cun-trumme (tromm 'heavy').
sét 'way' (u-stem) < 'scentu-', W. hynt Bret., hent, O.Brit. Gabro-senti (placename), OHG. sind OE. sip '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, < 'kantion, 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. sátám, Lat. centum, Lith. šim + šas, Goth. hund, orig. 'k + ŏn + ŏr or 'k + ŏn + ŏn.

dé (u-stem) 'death', Mod.Ir. éag (Bret. ankou, really nom. pl. *ankanew-owes), cognate with Gk. νεκυς, 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: į, ŏ, ū, ě, ā. After these nasal vowels the geminates became voiced (gg, dd). Subsequently į, ŏ, ū lost their nasal quality and became i o u, while ě and ā fell together as the nasal vowel ě. The latter was lengthened, perhaps only when stressed, and later changed into purely oral ē (or e). If Andros (Pliny) and ἄνδρου ἄνημος (Ptolemy) correspond to later Benn Étair 'Hill of Howth' (Pokorny, ZCP. xv. 195), they may be regarded as representing the pronunciation ādr- ( < 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 īa. 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

éét '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. sét (éi = é, § 54.) Wb. 24*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. réit, acc. pl. rétu. cp. Skt. rātname 'property'; déit '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 éní 'bird' gen. éoin, már '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 īa 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. kenčiū (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. mís '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. esnaïsse for 'en-snaïsse 'grafted', partic. of in·snaïd '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..deδ -iδ, 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 'milk'. 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 ǝn, ǝm, ǝr, ǝl), e.g.

tan(a)e 'thin', Gk. ταναος, ǝten-.

ban, gen. pl. of ben 'woman'.

·gainethar 'is born' beside gein 'birth', Skt. jā + ́yatē '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.'
talám 'earth', O.Slav. тло 'ground', Gk. ταλάος, 'enduring'.

The root men- 'think' makes pres. moinethar in Wb., mu(in)ethar in Mi. Sg. (in occasionally also mainethar) owing to the influence of the initial labial (§§ 80, 549); cp. Skt. manayatē, O.Slav. мёj.

n + 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 (aŋ) or developments of these sounds; but in Irish a front vowel has developed before them. Only in the ending -n + s or -m + s to -äs (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 n 'ten' < 'dekam +, Lat. decem, Gk. δέκα. 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-, -éς-, < -n + t-, -ηκ-, -n + s- (§§ 208, 210) presuppose intermediate -ent-, -ηκ-, -ens-. Cp. also cém(m) 'step'. W. cam, < 'ḵ(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 ( < 'aŋwin); cp. Lat. unguis, O.Slav. nogt, Gk. νυχ- (Skt. nakhám for 'naghkám?),

(b) imb 'butter' (n-stem), Bret. amann, OCorn. amen-en; cp. Lat. unguen, OHG. ancho.

The negative prefix n + 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 + -class (§ 549); in that case 'i-ki + ü would have given 'inki + ü, whence 'iggiu'-iggu (written -iccu), and ink- would have spread from the present stem to other forms (§ 210).

gris, also grísad, 'inflaming, causing to blush', beside Skt. grhamṣah 'blaze of the sun', seems to point to earlier grins- which, however, cannot be a regular development from 'ghrm + s-. Since a primary form 'ghrēns- is unlikely (as is ēη for icc-), there may have been influenced by a root containing i, perhaps grian (ia < ei) 'sun' or Skt. gṛśmāh 'summer, heat'. Mid.W. gwres gwrys and Bret. grouez groez 'heat' (< 'wress) are phonologically too far removed for comparison.

215. Before consonants, r + l + 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 + tīh 'sustenance'.

ren(a)id 'sells', if < *pr + n-, Gk. nέρνημι (§ 551).

mlith dat. sg. 'grinding', vb.n. of melid.

lethan 'wide', W. ilydan, Gaul. Litana silua, Litano-briga, Gk. πλατύς (πλάτανος), Skt. pr + thūḥ 'wide'.

For ru < ri see § 223, 1.

(b) ar al, especially before an original consonant-group, e.g.

tart 'drought, thirst', Skt. tr + ṣṭáḥ 'dry', OE. þurst, beside Gk. τέρσομαι, etc.

art 'bear', W. arth, Gk. ἄρκτος (§ 185a).

im-com-airc 'asks', W. arch 'request', < -pr + (k)-sk-, cp.

OHG. forskön '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' < bain- (§ 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.

mraith 'treachery', vb.n. of marn(a)id above. In other forms:

frass fem. 'rain', Skt. vr + ṣṭáḥ past partic. of vār,ati 'rains', Gk. ἄρθρον '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. πέρτωται, πορεῖ + ὑ. These roots also give rise to forms with lā rā:

1. Certainly in lán 'full' (W. llawn) beside lín ( < *plēnu-) 'number', base pelē-, root pel-, plē--; the first form probably corresponds directly to Skt. pūrṇāḥ. Lith. pilnas 'full'. Accordingly lā represents de Saussure's l + ̄.

2. Possibly in lám 'hand, arm', Gk. παλάμη (here a radical form plă 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. kaūrn, O.Slav. zrōno.

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 '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 *kēsō-, ē (Ir. i) 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·ciu 'I see' (pret. pass. ad·cess ), probably related to cúall 'understanding', W. pwyll (root q"eis-q"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.


Medial st > ss, § 155e, but str remains, § 194.; rst > rt, § 180, 2.

giáll '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. gísI, OE. gísel.

Initial st does not remain (except in loan-words); here s

has disappeared to a greater extent than in other languages, e.g.

tíágu 'I go', techt 'going' W. taith, as against Gk. στῆ + ἄναι, Goth. steigan, Skt. stighnōti (§ 184b).

-tá (attá, etc., § 777) 'is', as against Lat. stare, Gk. στη + ἄναι, O.Slav. stati, Skt. sthā-.
tróg trúag 'miserable', W. tru, as against Gk. σπέυγεσθαι (§ 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. struti (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 **Srafn** is still occasionally written with str - (e.g. Strofan, Martyrology of Tallaght May 23). The same applies to s/- < stl-: **sliss** 'side, flank', W. ystlys.

This may also account for the s- of **srena**id 'stern' which is identical in all forms with **serna**id 'serit' (partc. sertus). The two verbs may have fallen together first in the forms with initial str- and sr-, such as partc, srith, 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. δοτήρ, 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 δ 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. Taδg) man's name, cp. Gaul. Tasgillus, Tasgetios. Moritasgus.

**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. ὄφυς 'hip'.

**net** 'nest', Mod.Ir. nead, W. nyth, OE. nest, Skt. nīḍāḥ -ám, cp. Lith. līzdas.

**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. dibirciud (pf. do·rru-bidc Anecd. I. 5, 29).

Others see in these forms the intervention of a different root, W. bwrw 'to cast', Mid. W. pret. byryawd, byrywys (< burg-).

**cuit** 'part, share', Mod.Ir. **cuid**, as against sochuide (d = δ) 'multitude'.
sétid 'blows', Mod. Ir. séididh, W. chwythu, Skt. kṣvēdati 'hums, buzzes', as against tinfed tinfhed 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"h), which early lost the labial element (thus falling together with ordinary gh), has remained distinct from the unaspirated (g"), which as a rule retained it.

Moreover, in Celtic, as in various other Indo-European languages, the old palatal consonants (Brugmann’s k + ̑k + ̑h g + ̑g + ̑h) and the velars (Brugmann’s q qh ʓ ʓ h) 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", g", g"h) as a separate series is 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 STOP 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. pʃ + śniḥ) 'speckled', Gk. πσρκνώς, πρακνώς '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. sǫk 'branch, sprig', Skt. śaikūḥ 'wooden plug') may have been influenced by gésc(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. troï Bret. treï '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.

ocz 'eight ', W. wyth, Gk. χτω, Skt. aśṭau.

in-nocht 'to-night', W. peunoeth 'every night', Lat. noct-, Skt. nāktih, Lith. naktis.

noch 'naked', W. noeth, Goth. naqaps, Skt. nagnāh, 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. ἀπείχειν.

snecht(a)e 'snow' cognate with Lat. nīnguit, 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 < chtl in anacul 'protection', see § 180.

(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.

Ill 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 Ὠξειλλον, Uxellodunum.

coss 'leg, foot', Caledon. Ἀργεντο-κοξος, Lat. coxa 'hip', Skt. kākṣaḥ 'armpit' (W. coes 'leg, shank' has been influenced by Lat. coxa).

So too the stems of s-subjunctives like tess- (techid 'flees'), tēss- 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.

ηκ (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

qₙ gₙ gⁿh (qⁿh is not attested).

(a) By the Old Irish period qₙ' 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-
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. *prf* Bret. *pren* + v, Skt. kṛ + mih, Lith. *kirmis*.
   - **truth** 'shape, appearance' (*u*-stem), W. *pryd*.

2. The representation of earlier qwa- by co- in co(i)re 'cauldron', Mid.W. *peir*, Provençal *par*, pairol (Gaul. 'pari + os'); cp. OE. *hwer* 'cauldron'.

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* (priester, cp. Corn. *prounder* pronter), a corruption of Lat. *presbyter*.

For this and related problems see Osthoff, *IF. IV*. 265 ff., v. 324 ff.

224. (b) g"w usually = *b* § 188c, lenited β (written *b*) § 122.

= g (γ) before old i + in nigid 'washes', Gk. vičiv, § 184a.

g"n- > mn-, § 190b; in medial position treated as gn? Cp. **úan** 'lamb', W. oen, and Lat. *agnus*, Gk. ὀνυχος (o- instead of a- in Celtic by analogy with *owis*, Ir. *oi*, 'sheep'?).

For this and related problems see Osthoff, *IF. IV*. 265 ff., v. 324 ff.

(c) g"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 δ (written d) § 122, which may become th §§ 124, 130, 131, and disappears before r l n § 125.

\[ds > ss (s) \text{§ 155b}\]; \[d ś > t \text{§ 185d} \]; dg db > gg bb § 149, 2a, 4a; for the development of dm (δm, 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. πατηρ, etc.

il 'many', Goth. filu, Gk. πολύς, Skt. purúḥ,

to, prep., W. rhy, Gk. προ, Skt. pra, etc. (§ 852).

lethan 'broad', W. llydan, Gaul. litano-, etc. (§ 215a).

\[pee té 'hot', nom. pl. téit, Skt. tápant- 'hot', Lat. tepere.\]

\[niae 'sister's son', Mid. W. nei, Lat. nepos, etc.\]

fo 'under', Brittan. gwo-, < wo'uoʷpo, Gk. ἡδό, etc. (§ 837).

In Celtic, as in Italic, initial p became qʷ if the second syllable began with qʷ: cóic 'five' (coíca 'fifty'), OW. pimp, Gaul. pinpetos 'fifth', and Lat. quinque, as against Skt. pañca, Gk. νένερ ('penqʷe).

(b) Initial sp (spḥ), 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. spvsza, Mod. Pers. surpz; cp. Gk. απλήν, απλάγγνα.

seir 'heel', du. di pherid LU 5698, W. ffer 'ankle', O.Corn. fer gl. 'crus', Gk. σφυρόν, 'ankle', (i.e. < spḥ-).

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 stl- in Celtic.

227. (c) pt > cht, e.g.

secht 'seven', Mid.W. seith, Gaul. SEXTAMETOS 'seventh', Lat. septem, Gk. ἑπτά, etc.

necht 'niece', W. nith, Lat. neptis, Skt. napti + ñ, OHG. nift.

cécht 'plough', possibly cognate with Gk. καμπτός 'bent'.

(d) $ps > ss$ through intermediate $chs$, cp. $lass(a)id$ 'flames', $lassar$ 'flame', W. $llachar$ 'gleaming, flashing', Pruss. $lopsis$ 'flame', Lett. $lāpa$ 'torch', Gk. $λαμπειν$.

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. $accobor$) $< kpur...$, 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').


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. $šlapias$ 'wet', Gk. $κλεπας$ '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 $p$ ($ph$) ill 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.

$b + ś > p$, § 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.

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. **Gemination**, after words originally ending in -s or postvocalic -t and -k.

In the present work leniting terminations are indicated where necessary by ′, nasalizing by ″, and geminating by ′; thus a′ = leniting a, a″ = nasalizing a, a′ = 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"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"15 beside di peccad 24"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.

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"3; meulæ 'of my flesh' (féulae gen. pl.) Ml. 47"4; faeram 'we cause it' Wb 15"3 (fo · fera 'causes'). This omission is frequent in compounds: immolang 'causing' (vb.n.) beside im(m)f + ólang, immfolang.

In Sg. and later MSS. a *punctum delens* is frequently placed over lenited f and s (§ 33), e.g. do slund nach f + ólaid 'to express any substance' Sg. 73"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 pronouns 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 far the largest of the nominal stem classes, the o- and a-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"14; í cach thir 'in every land' 1°3; do thaidbse superlait 'to show a superlative' Sg. 40°15; iar m[adm]aim chatha 'after
the defeat' Ml. 84°9; húait chotarsnu 'from thee (the) adversary' 108°4.

2. Nom. and voc. sg. of all feminines (including sí 'she' and ci-sí 'which?' fem.); e.g. int sìllab 'the syllable' Sg. 25°1; mo thol choinnìdhe 'my carnal desire' Wb. 3°38; sûil

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chairech 'the eye of a sheep' IT. I. 82, 1; genitiu chintig 'genitive of a finite' Sg. 209°7; is sí chiall 'that (fem.) is the meaning' Ml. 94°17; a ingen f + fal '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 thríuin 'of a certain hero' Sg. 96°4; cach f + òlaid 'of every substance' 200°5; a ch[ï]érchén chochlaích 'O cowled little monk' AU.758; in phreceptóirí 'the teachers' Wb. 5°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' Ml. 123°9; cethir chét 'four hundred' Thes. II. 29, 33; a huili chenél 'O all ye nations' Ml. 67°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°13 beside accobra colna 'desires of the flesh' 20°6, cp. 20°1. After pronominals in -a there is no lenition (§ 241, 1).

inna chenél, inna chenélá 'the nations' Ml. 67°24, 103°14 are probably scribal errors, like dat. pl. donai chenéláib 119°3.

5. Nom. acc. and gen. dual, masc. and fem.; e.g. di chéitbuidh 'two senses' Wb. 18°9; di guttaí f + òlaidí 'two separate vowels' Sg. 54°14; etir da són 'between two words' 150°1; da syl(lab) 'of two syllables' 220°8.

6. Nom. voc. sg. cú 'hound' (lenition first attested in later MSS., but undoubtedly old).

7. The neuters alaili (§ 486b), e.g. alaili sain 'something special' Sg. 6°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:
   (a) Relative absolute forms in certain clauses (§ 495c).
   (b) All forms of the imperative, and the 3 sg. past subj. bad, bed.
   (c) 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.
   (d) 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°14 (similarly 7°12) beside béis ni-bat chutrummi 'perhaps they are not equal' 9°27; archaic ni-tam toirsech 'we are not sad' Wb. I. 15°21.

2. In later sources, including Ml. and Sg., lenition is also found, though not consistently, after any verb, whether the following word be object, subject, or attributive.

Examples: do-rigníus chomgnímu 'I have done joint deeds' Ml. 47°20; ni-fil chumtubairt 'there is no doubt' Sg. 154°2; cita-biat chlúasa 'which ears perceive' 3°1; con-toat chucai 'who turn to him' Ml. 46°1; fúachimm chéin 'I myself point' SP. (Thes. II. 293, 23); ni chen diligd a
nephdiall 'their non-declension is not without rule' Sg. 75°1. Other words may actually intervene between the verbal form and the lenited initial, cp. Mil. 44°20. There are also sporadic instances of lenition of the subject after the predicate: ní gnáth chomsuidigud 'composition is not usual' Sg. 201°5; gním dom-sa thindnacol 'transmitting is action for me' 209°24.

Examples of clearly lenited and unlenited forms have been collected by Hessen, KZ. XLVI. 2 ff. In Mil. the proportion of lenited to unlenited forms is roughly one to six. In Wb. chách 'everyone' occurs three times as subject or object, 9°25, 5°11, 9°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 chech 5°20, chrích for chrích Sg. 66°4, dunáib 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

'in the north', chucam 'to(wards) me', ri re = f + ri (cp. rinn 'to us' Mil. 54°3, re 44°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 trí (§ 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 Mil. 44°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 Mil., even after n: am(al) dun-thluaichuir 44°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 (thogaítsam MS.) 'we have not deceived' Wb. 16°22.

3. Conjunctions:

   (a) acus ocus 'and' (§ 878), nó + 'nú + ' (§ 885) and fá + 'bá + ' (§ 464) 'or'. After the compendia et (Wb.), ' and t (§ 35) lenition is frequently absent; doubtless in such cases they are to be read as Latin et and vel.

   There is one instance of gemination after no 'or', no-ndo-niumussaigtsis Mil. 136°5, possibly a misspelling.

   (b) mā + 'if' (§ 902), cía ce 'although' (§ 909), co 'so that' (§ 896), ó 'since' (§ 893), ama(í)l 'as' (§ 911), except where syntactic nasalization (§ 498) prevents lenition.

   Examples: ma chot-chela 'if it conceals it' Wb. 5°9; cía thíasu-sa 'though I may go' 23°31; co chon-scarad 'that he should destroy' Mil. 23°14; ó chrësit 'since they have believed' Wb. 31°7; am(al) chon-n-oscaigther 'as it is moved' Mil. 38°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-rù-fèste 'if ye had known' Wb. 9°8.

   Lenition after air 'for, because' is found only in the later Glosses. Cp. also ol-suide, ol-sodain, § 477.

4. The negatives ní + con, na(d)con, §§ 861, 864.

   For nasalized nicon-dét 'does not go' (·tét ) Mil. 53°17, see § 861.
II. NASALIZATION

236. 1. In nasalization $n$ is prefixed to an initial vowel or $d$, the homorganic nasal to $b$ and $g$ ($m$-$b$, $n$-$g = ng$); $c$, $t$, ($p$, $m$) turn into the mediae $g$, $d$, ($b$, $b$) (§ 208.), and $f$ into $v = \beta$ (or rather, earlier $v$ remains, cp. § 201.). $s$, $r$, $l$, $m$, $n$ when preceded by a proclitic vowel are geminated (cp. § 240.).

The disappearance of $n$ before $v$ ($\beta$) 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 consonantal stem (§ 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 $co ß$ 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.), 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. $con$-$dànic$ 'until he came' Wb. 3°27 beside $con$-$tàníc$ 3°1; in $tain$ $diagma$-$ni$ 'when we go' ($tiaçma$') 3°15; $hòrì$ $dè$ $tè$ 'since he goes' (té$∵$) 11°9; $nàd$-$dè$ $stà' that it is not lacking' (testa') $Ml$. 94°10; stereotyped $oldàs$ $indaàs$ 'than he is' (ta$a$s) § 779, 1; $nàch$ $gè$ $nì' for any long time' (acc. sg. of $cìàn$) Wb.
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 hirisse* 'unto faith' *Wb.* 10°36 beside *dochum n-irisse* 11°22. In *Sg.*, however, this convention is not observed, e.g. *cenéle n-hetha* 'a kind of corn' 51°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.* v 1 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 a-di uic* 'a little of evil' *Ml.* 46°1; *trisin n-oipred a-do-gniat* 'through the work which they do' 42°2.

1. After the acc. sg. and gen. pl. of all genders and the nom. sg. neuter. The only exceptions are the neuters *alaill* (§ 232, 7) and *na* 'any' (§ 241, 2) (presumably also *aill* and *ni*, 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°7 (teg *s*-stem); *mind n-abstalacte* 'the mark of apostleship' 20°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 th[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 pronouns, 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 m-brátha* 26°1 and *láa brátha* 29°28 'Doomsday'; *no-n-guidim-se día n-erut-su* 'that I beseech God for thee' 27°19 and *guidid día eruib-si* 'beseeches God for you' 27°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-bis* 'the connexion that is wont to be' *Sg.* 2°2.

2. Subject to the same conditions as in l., 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°6; *dá cét m-béimen* 'two hundred blows' *Ériu I.* 205; *da carachtar* 'of two characters' (*c* = *g*); *i n-dib a-úarib deac* 'in twelve hours' *Thes.* *II.* 10, 4; cp. for
dib mílib ech (not n-ech) 'on two thousand horses' Ml. 43²1.

There are some instances of neuter da without nasalization: in da gné 'the two forms' Sg. 168²3 (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-briathra, § 463. In nidat n-esemana 'they are not impure' Ml. 92²13, 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, noi and deich.

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.

3. The interrogative particle in (§ 463).

4. The prepositions co 'with', i 'in', far '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).

241. Gemination takes place:

A. After declensional forms:
1. After **ina na**, gen. sg. fem., acc. pl. (all genders), and nom. pl. fem. and neut. of the article. Examples: *innamraithemnacht* 'of the treachery' *Ml. 31*, *ina-mmaccu* 'the sons' (acc. pl. masc.) 104, *ina-mmerrri* 'the debilities' (acc. pl. fem.) 113, *ina-rrri* 'the modulations' (nom. pl. fem.) *Wb. 12*, *forsna-mmórich* 'on the great wickednesses' (acc. pl. neut.) *Ml. 91*, *ina-láthar* 'the dispensations' (nom. pl. neut.) 91. Also, on the evidence of the later language, after *cach cecha* gen. sg. fem. 'each, every'.

The exceptional spelling *ina ingnea mmoitha* 'the soft nails' (nom. pl. fem.) *Ml. 87* 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. *á*-stem), *Rátha h-Airth* 864, *Clúana h-Eoais* 839, 961 (*ráith* and *clúain* fem. *i*-stems), *Maighe h-Ai* 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 (*drummm* 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' *Ml. (beside nani)*, **na-llled* 'whatever side' *Wb. 17*.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' *Ml. 45*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*12, *Sg. 32*6.

5. After the infixed personal pronouns 3 sg. fem. and 3 pl. **da**, **ta**, **a** (*§ 415 ff.*), e.g. *inda-mmóidet* 'on which they pride themselves' *Wb. 24*30.

**242. B. After forms of the copula** :

1. After preterit and modal 3 sg. **ba** (*§§ 802, 810, 813*) except in relative clauses, e.g. *ba-mmadach* 'it was vain' *Ml. 135*9; cp. **ba-calar** 'it was illness' (*galar*) *Cam. 37*.

2. After **ni* + *i* 'is not', e.g. **ni-nnech* 'it is not anyone' *Ml. 54*2, *ni-mmáriiliud* 'it is not my merit' (*máriiliud*) *Wb. 21*20.

**243. C. After uninflected words** :

1. After the prepositions a 'out of', con 'to', **fri**, **la** before their case; e.g. **a-ppecad** 'out of sin' *Wb. 3*3; *co-lláa* 'till day' *S*4, *cu-bbráth* 'till Doom' *Thes. II. 242*, 19 (Arm.); **fri-nnech** 'against anyone' *Ml. 23*20; *la-ssuide* 'with that (person)' *Wb. 31*8, *la-gglas* 'along the stream' *Thes. II. 238*, 9 (Arm.).

2. In pretonic position all prepositions ending in a vowel, the particles **cía ce** (*§ 466*) and **co** (*§ 462*), and the negatives **ni** + *(maní, coní, etc.)*, **na** *(arná, 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-mmúinetar* 'they think' *Ml. 49*7, *do-rrigéni* 'has done' *Wb. 30*22, *dí-rróggel* 'has bought' *Thes. II. 239*, 15 (Arm.), *fu-llugaim* 'I conceal' *Sg. 22*4, *ro-lldad* 'has been put' *Ml. 29*1, **roppad** 'it would be' *Sg. 11*2, *nu-ggabad* 'he might take' *Thes. II. 242*, 7 (Arm.), *ni-sślúndi* 'does not, express' *Sg. 66*18, *ni-robe* 'has not been' *Wb. 14*31, **maníbbad** 'if it were not' *Sg. 17*8; cp. *niténát* 'they do not make' (*-dénat*) *Wb. 24*25, *natiubrad* 'let him not defraud' (*-diubrad*) 9*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

(§§ 419, 797). But gemination after the other preverbs mentioned is likewise early, certainly after nī + 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 nī 'non est'; this goes back to *nīs < *nēs(t) < *nē- ĕst (cp. the negative relative nā + čh, 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 nī 'non est' and those containing the simple negative. The long vowel sometimes found in nī 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 (doṣ, 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. 30'25.
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 infecting final by one or more words. Cp. is sí in so chiar(?) 'this is the sense' Ml. 88°11, 90°24 (lenition caused by sí, not by in so ); déde didiu n-and 'two things, then, there' Wb. 1°5 (nasalization caused by déde); fis diliged rechto n-dæ 'the knowledge of the rules of the law of God' Ml. 46°8 (nasalization caused by gen. pl. diliged, 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. XVI* 35 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 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. 4'3; 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 (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. 30'17, etir da n-ainnm cosmaili 'between two similar nouns' Sg. 28'7, where ægeptacdi and cosmaili are plural in form. But substantivized adjectives have the substantival dual, e.g. da n-óg 'two integers' 157'6.

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 front 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. comthindí (nom. sg.) inna noib--as-berr tempul doib hóre atreba Crist indíb '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 n-dermar, Íssu a brú thalman ' Jesus arose--a mighty tale-out of the womb of the earth' Fél. March 27.
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 (§ 432f.), e.g. 

fechta (MS. fechta) 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 dúbl ocus C[h]u-Chulainn (nom. sg.) an encounter between you [thee] and Cú-Chulainn' LU 5628. Exceptions are rare (e.g. Ml. 1128).

b.

In apposition to de 'thereby' after comparatives (§ 378f.); e.g. ni móíti (O.Ir. mó-de) eñeclann na flatha in céile-sín (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 íår sin dia chennadich, aicme becc (nom. sg.) i Clíu, Catrige a aínnm '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 thànic a-arré, | 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 oclus 'and' to a preceding accusative or dative; e.g. rí do-rigni (-gne MS.) aéar n-úar | oclus tene (nom.) réil rorúad | oclus 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. 52 ff.; Pokorny, 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 mo 'my'; see ZCP. XIX. 365.

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) maír 'woe!'; e.g. maír ar macu 'woe to our children!' LL 119ff. (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. gabși cadæssin abbaith 'he took him himself (eum ipsum) as abbot' Thes. II. 242, 21 (Arm.); ad · n-didma Fiachna mac n-dóú '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. 4·31, 26·8.

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. 4·33. It is clearly nominative as early as Trip. 12, 17: do · bert in cú in caìrig slán (not slán) '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-sín 'during that time' Sg. 148·6, a ngaimred-sa 'during this winter' Wb. 31·14, in n-aitchi n-úill 'the whole night' Ml. 95·9; but also a point of time: a·lae-sín 'on that day' Wb. 15·25, 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' Ml. 90·4.

5. After the predicative adjectives túalang 'capable of' (beside the genitive, § 250, 2.,) adas 'proportionate to', flu 'worth'. Examples' bá túalang cáích forcital (acc. sg.) alaili 'let each be capable of teaching the other' Wb. 6·13, cp. 13·15; bid adas far m-báich 'it will be proportionate to
your struggle' 535; *amal nibimmis fiú ní etir* 'as if we were not worth anything at all' *Ml.* 631.

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6. After the prepositions *al* 'beyond', *cen* 'without', *cog* 'towards', *echtar* 'outside' *(seachtar* '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 nut (had not been), but for' may be modelled on that after *cen* 'without'; e.g. *as-roilli* a bás manibad trócairí n-dáe 'he had deserved his death but for the mercy of God' *Ml.* 11428, cp. 1343, 1362.

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 dia* 'God's love of you *Wb.* 1821, *for serc-si lim-sa* 'my love of you' 2327; but *hi tintúd Chirini* 'in Jerome's translation' *Ml.* 10326, 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. *fairgæ findr + oldt* '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), *gréní* (read *-e*) *fri turchbáil* 'towards the rising of the sun' *SR.* 4434. But anastrophe is permissible in verse to a still greater degree; e.g. *Márta for slúai ag saithiu* instead of *for saithiu slúai Márta* 'on the swarm of the host of March' *Féil.* 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', *RC.* xx. 72; *epscop Aedáin* 'Bishop Aedán' *ibid.* XIII. 76 § 81;

b. Genitive of verbal nouns; e.g. *díliu thromm tríosta* (gen. of *tróethad*) *trén slúag* 'the heavy deluge that overwhelms (lit. 'of overwhelming of') strong hosts' *SR.* 2626; *fer dénma bairgine* gl. *pistor*, lit. 'a man of the making of bread' *Sg.* 1843.


2. As the complement of adjectives, particularly those meaning 'able', 'ready to', such as *cumachtach* *Wb.* 1441, *túalang* 3111, *íram* 138, *essamin precepte* 'fearless in preaching' 237. In looser construction *gréssach foigde* 'constant in begging' 3123; *soir me bréithre* 'free as regards my word' 418; *réil aeroisilchthe béoil* 'manifest in the opening of the mouth' *Sg.* 1416; *toirthech 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 *ammí déé* 'we are God's' *Wb.* 620; *it dill tánaisi* 'they are of the second declension' *Sg.* 1072; *ni torbi* 'it, is of no use'; *ni báí* 'it is of no benefit'; is cull 'it is sinful'; *ammí túalíge ar m-bréithre* 'we are able to maintain (lit. 'of the capability of') our word' *Wb.* 1755; *is beic lim in bríg-sín* gl. *mihi* . . . *pro minimò est* 8221; *ba mèite* '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)óre 'since' § 905 (from úar 'hour'); also dia in expressions like dia donnich 'on Sunday', dia nós '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 öen-laithi 'on every single day' Sc.M. § 16.

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 alalíu '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°8; na-nní ad · rochobursam fíriánib 'whatever we, the just, had wished' Ml. 56°24' dín-ní preceptórib 'of us preachers' Wb. 10°8.

In this construction the dative is sometimes accompanied by a personal pronoun in the form of the possessive (§ 439 ff.); e.g. a sóinmigí a cloínáib 'their, the wicked men's, prosperity' Ml. 39°34; lotar dó a triur churad 'they, the three warriors, went there' LU 9033; at · taam ar n-diis i cuimriug 'we twain are in bondage' Wb. 32°28. Where the copula is omitted the dative functions virtually as subject; e.g. écridháid a n-diis '(they are) both indefinite' Sg. 151°6.

The personal numerals oínar, 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 mórfeisíur '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°20 (Thes. 1. 536, note b). ar n-oís rechto 'we people of the law' 31°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' Cán 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,

cóc séoit mucaib 'the penalty for his pig-sty: five sêts (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 uli 'to you all', úaidib uli 'from them all', a ta[d]'chur hulii 'the return of them all' Ml. 34°20; but also indib huliiib Sg. 216°4.

Examples in which the nominative is used instead of the dative, like is nínni carthaig 'nos amantes' Ml. 133°7 and os ní érig gl. ut onusti . . . sentiemus 135°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: làedib 'by songs', léir ingnu 'with diligent'
comprehension' SP. (Thes. II. 293, 16), and (still more loosely) *IU+0E1n 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 cruth-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 ṣainriud* 'especially'; *dennémmit* 'at one blow'; *cossaib tírmaib* 'with dry feet'; *as·renar lánf + ãachaib* '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' Ml. 32°7; *ind inaim-so* 'at this time'; *ind f + ãecht-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'; *aithriuch* 'again'; *diud and ciunn, cinn* 'at the end'; *matin* 'in the morning'; *nd'ad(a)ig, d'adaig* 'on the (following) night' 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 Ml. sometimes *chéill*, dat. of *cliall* 'sense'; *ar-beir biuth or bith* 'enjoys, uses' (vb.n. *airbert, erbert bith*), with the dat. of *bith* 'world': *oidid menmain* 'gives heed, attends (to)', with dat. of *menm(a)e* 'mind'; *arU+0B7mu(i)nethar féid* 'honours' (vb.n. *airmitiu féid*), with dat. of *fiad* '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', *fiad* 'in presence of', *iar* 'after', *ís* 'below', ó *úá* '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 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 + ā- ?) stems with nom. sg. in -i, 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 (-p), 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. 89º9, alternates with an i-stem which is masc. in nom. pl. ind aidmi 89º8 (cp. Wb. 3°14), nom. sg. in adim (read int or ind?) Ml. 49º7, ace. pl. aidmi 75º3-4.

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.

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' Fél. July 20, inna ban-choimded (fem.) 'of the mistress' Ml. 84º4 (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 (Filargirius Gl.) con-búachaill 'herdsman’s dog'. from cú and búachaill 'herdsman'.
Every adjective may be, used as a substantive, occasionally with minor differences in its flexion (see, e.g. 300A7 351, 353, 355, 357)

Examples: in noíb (masc.), ind noíb (fem.) 'the saint': nach cumachtaeib 'any powerful person'; na-mmaith 'something good'; mór n-amri 'much that is wonderful' (amri gen.)

FORMATION OF ABSTRACTS (AND COLLECTIVES)

A. FROM VERBS

B. FROM ADJECTIVES

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Examples: in noíb (masc.), ind noíb (fem.) 'the saint': nach cumachtaeib 'any powerful person'; na-mmaith 'something good'; mór n-amri 'much that is wonderful' (amri gen.)

FORMATION OF ABSTRACTS (AND COLLECTIVES)

A. FROM VERBS

B. FROM ADJECTIVES

256. See § 720 ff. In the flexion of these verbal nouns the nominative is sometimes replaced by the dative, owing to

the very common use of the latter with do (§ 720). Examples: gabáil beside gabál 'taking', tabaírt beside tabart 'giving', aicsin beside aicsiu 'seeing', taídbsi beside taídbsiu '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 abstractions from substantives where no intermediate denominative verb exists; e.g. bás 'manner, custom': básad 'customary action, behaviour'; aimser 'time': aimserad 'period, duration'; litred 'expression in letters'

257. 1. The largest class is that of feminines in -e (= -ií + á, Britann. -eδ; cp. Gk. αU03BF ϖíα-ia, Lat. prudent-ia). They are formed from adjectives of every kind except those ending in -e. Examples: dían 'swift': déne 'swiftness'; tromm 'heavy': trum(a)n(a) 'heaviness'; son(a)irt 'strong': sonirte sonairte; fállid fállid 'glad': fállte failte; folius 'clear': foilse; sochrud 'beautiful': sochraide. This is almost the only method of forming abstractions from adjectives in -ach -ech; e.g. hiressach 'faithful': hiresche; sóinnmech 'happy': sóinnmige sóinnmiche.

258. 2. Masculine abstracts with original suffix -tū (Mid.W. -tīt) are also common. This suffix corresponds to the Latin feminine -tū (-iuuentus = Ir. oítiu), Goth. -dūi(mikildūs 'greatness'). Cp. bēu bēo 'living': bethu, gen. bethad, 'life'; sen 'old': sentu; oin 'one': oíntu; slán 'sound': slántu; càd càth (càid) 'revered, holy': càttu; 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. úaisal 'high': úaisletu; dílsetu 'own':

dílsetu (beside dílse); úailbetu 'restless': úailbetu.

b. With adjectives and participles in -e (io-stems); e.g. domm(a)e 'poor': dommatu (arch. dommetu); múcn(a)e 'contrary': múcnatu; cotarsn(a)e

cotarsnatu; ìld(a)e

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'multiple': ildatu; armth(a)e 'armed': armthatu 'armatura'; analogically, ars(a)id 'old': arsidetu 'antiquity' Sg. 208°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 feibtu '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), cátu, etc., but not in lourtu MI. 98°9 from lour 'enough' (acc. sg., lourtain Éiriu 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 < ñ + t(h); but cp. irlatu 'obedience' from the adjective irlíthe, 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 oítiu 'youth' -d-is regular, going back to -nt, see § 208 (Celtic primary form 'i + ūntút-'). 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-.

Further examples are bind 'melodious': bindius (gen. bindiusa, § 104b); áith 'sharp, energetic': áthius (beside áithe); diuit 'simple': diuitius; cosmiuul (beside cosmie); cub(a)id 'harmonious': cuibdius; airdirc erdairc 'conspicuous': airdircus erdarcus; faitech 'cautious': faitigus; inderb 'uncertain': inderbus (beside positive derb(a)è); cutrumm(a)è 'equal': cutrummus- mórálus 'moralitas'.

From a noun: comarbus(e) 'heir': comarbus 'heritage, heirship': fine '(joint-) family': comnibus 'kinship'.

4. Monosyllabic adjectives in -th -d form abstracts in -s(s) (fem. à-stems); e.g. baith 'foolish': bais 'foolishness', acc. bais, gen. baise; gaith 'wise' gaïsghnáth 'customary', gnás; seith 'weary' scís; tláith 'soft, limp': tlás (beside tláithe); deid 'inactive': déess 'desid', acc. deees, gen. deesse.

This formation probably contains suffix -tã (see § 727.), and originates with those adjectives in which -d -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 Ml. 48°14) 'density' from tiug 'thick'; sinet (dat. sinit Thes. II. 326, 5) 'old age' from sen 'old'; possibly sicct 'frost' beside siccid., if from secc (óndi 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 lethand 'broad': lethet 'breadth, size'; remor 'thick': remet (neut., Met. Dinds. IV. 242, 21); trén 'strong': treisset (acc. sg.) Togail Troi 199 beside tressa (cp. compar. tressa § 372.); cp. also lagat 'smallness, fewness' beside compar. laugu laigliu (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 Ml. 80°7, etc.); further, dat. sinit, lagat Sg. 26°11, but apparently also acc. sg. lethet 3°13. The precx case of co-lethet Fel. Oct. 13 is not certain (prep. co" or co"?); 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 + (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


(also coimdeinecht Ml. 101°7); bibdu, gen. bibdad, 'culprit': bibdamnacht. The form inderbannacht gl. difdentia Ml. 142°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 Gothic. -*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*; *ócach* 'young man': *óclachas* 'youth', gen. *óclachsa*; *muntar* 'familia': *muntaras* 'familiaritas'; *remthecht* 'preceding' (vb.n.): *remthechta* 'anteposition, precedence'; *anamchar(a)e* 'spiritual director'; *anamcharites*, gen. *anamcharitessa*; *lánamain* 'married couple': *lánamnas* 'marriage'; *testas* 'testimonial', gen. *testassa*; *adaltras* ' adulterium'; *ethemlagas* 'et(h)ymologia'.

With adjectives it is seldom found: *lond* 'angry': *londas*, gen. *londassa*, Ml. (*luinde* Wb.); *émech* 'opportunity': *émechas* Ml. (*beside *émige* *émiche*); *coitcenn* 'common, general': *coitcennas* 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 -(a)ine (after palatas -*ine*) or -*s(aine)* (iá-stem).

Examples: *gial* 'hostage': *gialn(a)e* (gialiae Ml., cp. § 153 e) 'clientship, submission'; *ap* 'abbot', gen. *apad*: *apdáine* 'abbacy'; *car(a)e* 'friend', gen. *carat*: *cairdine* 'friendship'; *nám(a)e* 'enemy': *náintine*; *amus* 'hired servant': *amsáine* 'service' (ZCP. VIII. 201 § 13). With -(a)ine: *clam* 'leper': *clamsáine* 'leprosy'; *mug* 'serf': *mugsine*; *féith* 'prophet': *féithsine*; *céile* 'companion, client': *céilsine* 'clientship'.

*feochuine* 'ravens' from *fich* 'raven' suggests that this suffix had

also a collective meaning. Cp. further *féith* 'smoothness': *féithine* 'calmness of the sea' (O'Dav.536), *ainbthe* '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. *riyíd*; *car(a)e* 'friend': *caírde* 'treaty, armistice', Mild.W. *cerennýd* 'friendship'; *táth* *táid* 'thief': *tá(i)the* *tá(i)de* 'concealment'; *mil*, gen. *mílde* 'soldier': *mílte* 'military service'. With -(is)se: *fiadu*, gen. *fiadan*, 'witness': *fiadnis* 'evidence'; *sair* 'artifex': *sairse* '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: *lúath* 'ashes': *lúathred* 'ashes'; *ailge* 'ice': *aigredid*.; *cnám* 'bone': *cnámred* (coll.); *slaid* 'scrap metal': *slaidred* -*rágait* 'silver waste' Ml. 857; *gním* 'doing, deed': *gnímrad* 'activity'; *dám* (coll.) 'suite, guests': *dámradid*.; *ét* 'zeal, jealousy': *étred* 'l ewdness'. Suffixed to *sain* 'separate' it has a different meaning: *sainred sainrith* 'separate thing, specialty' (W. *hanred* 'separation'). It functions as an abstract suffix in *mrechtrad* 'variety' (W. *brithred* 'confusion'), from *mrech* 'motley', and in *cartrad* 'friendship' (beside *cairdine*, § 262, 3).

This suffix, Mild.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 *rāithe* 'quarter (of year)'.

264. A feminine suffix -*rad* (iá-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*; *érchrad* 'horses', *torcraid* 'boars',

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265. Collectives are also formed, though less frequently, from the following suffixes:

a. -er, -ar (neut. o-stem); e.g. cloth 'stone': arch. clochar, 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 -aro-.

b. -bad (fem. a-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)an -t(ʰ)an, (<-tino-), denoting an aggregate of plants or the place of their growth (see Marstrander, Une Correspondance germano-celtique, Videnskapselskapskets Skrifter II., Hist.-filos. Kl., 1924, No. 8). Examples: rostan 'rosetum' Sg. 53a4; fíntan 'uinetum' 53a3; dristen 'thorn bushes from dris 'thorn'. A further derivative of the last word is dristenach 'dumetum' 53a5, whose suffix -ach (cp. § 347) is also found elsewhere with a similar meaning, cp. fásach 'wilderness' from fás 'empty', Gaul. Uernacum (Ir. fem. '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 aither 'the east', farthar 'the west', óchtar óachtar (arch. óchter Thes. II. 239, 15) 'the upper part (from ós, úas), íchtar 'the lower part' (from ís), centar 'pars citerior, 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 Brittanic -i + at.; e.g. cétl(a)id 'singer' = OW. centhliat; scribndid 'writer' = O.Corn. scriuiiati.

This suffix is normally attached to verbal nouns (§ 720 f.); e.g. serc 'love': serc(a)id 'lover'; digal 'vengeance': digl(a)id

'avenger'; essorcun 'smiting': essoircnid 'smiter'; linad 'filling': líntid 'fartor'; élned 'defilement'; élnthid '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. línt(a)e 'filled', élíthe 'defilled'. In consequence, other such nouns are formed directly from the participle; e.g. esartae 'smitten': esartaid (beside essoircnid); diacn(ae) 'avenged': diachtid (diechtaid) (beside diglaide); tuiste 'begotten': tuistid 'begetter'; gesse 'prayed': gessid, gen. gessedo, 'suppliant'. Or the longer suffix -thid is attached to a verbal noun; e.g. sechim 'following': sechimthid 'sector'; fogl(a)imm 'learning': foglimthid 'pupil'; gabál 'taking': ranna-gabáltaid 'participant'.

On the model of nouns like íccid (also slán-ícoid) 'saviour' from ic(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. tichtu): nuie-thicid 'newcomer'; in · túais, · éltsi 'listens' (vb.n. éltscht): héltsid 'listener'; in · greinn 'persecutes' (vb.n. ingreim): ingrentid ingraintid 'persecutor'.

Collection: KZ. XLVIII. 64. This suffix is certainly connected with -169-

riád 'course' and its cognates, echorad doubtless serving as model for the other forms, cp. Gaul. Eaporedo-rix. In Welsh, -rywdd is a masc. abstract suffix.

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Feminine nouns have the same suffix as masculine, e.g. ecaisid 'discipatrix' Ml. 133d5. They may also be preceded by ban- (§ 254), e.g. ban-terismo 'obstetric' Sg. 69*18.

Besides nouns of agency, other personal substantives are formed in this manner. Examples: mucc 'pig': muccid (Mid.W. meichat) 'swine-herd'; full 'blood': comfulid 'consanguineus'; recht 'law': es-rechtaid 'lex'; littrid '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' Ml. 72 b 8; or a grammatical case, e.g. togarthith 'vocative', tobarthid 'dative', ainmnid 'nominative', áinsid 'accusative'; similarly forngarthid 'imperative'. Cp. also dartaid 'bull calf'.

The insular Celtic suffix -i + ati - recalls Gaulish -ati- - at in Namausatis 'from Nemausus'; Παλαιται, cognate with Ir. gal 'fighting, valour'; Atrebates (Ir. areba 'dwells', atrab 'dwelling').

268. 2. Another suffix is -aige (masc. io-stem); e.g. gat 'theft': gataige 'thief'; scél 'tidings': scélaige 'narrator'; cís (Lat. census) 'tribute': cisaige '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'; dùil 'distribution': dàilem 'distributor'; mrah 'treachery': mrathem; fláith 'lordship': fláithean; dùil 'creature': dùilem 'creator'; fiach 'obligation': fècheim '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' (?). Fláithem, when used as a proper name, is an o-stem, gen. Fláithim (Ogam VLATAMI, 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'. Modeled on the foregoing: techt(a)ire 'messenger' from techt 'going', echaire 'groom' from ech 'horse', cairc'he 'shepherd' from caira (gen.-ach) 'sheep', rech(a)ire 'steward' from recht 'law', ri'maire 'calculator' from rim 'number'.

b. As -ōir (i-stem); cp. caindleōir 'candelarius, candlebearer', laitnōir 'Latinist' (Med. Lat. latinarius); hense foichleōir 'curator' from fochell 'caring for', meithleōir 'messor' (acc. pl. meithleórai Ml. 135*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 ulla' gl. óenán, 'una ulla' gl. óennat Sg. 37°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; noídui, gen. noíden, 'child': noídenán; lie, gen. liac, 'stone': lecán; bráthir 'brother': bráthhrán; duine 'person': duínnáin; usce 'water': usceán. From adjectives: becán 'paulus, paullum', sainemlán 'bellus' (from sainemail). Artificial imitations of Latin are found in maánu 'maiusculus' Sg. 40°14, 45°12, from mão màa '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°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. BROCCAGNI (later Broccán), CORBAGNI, CURCAGNI, ERCAGNI.

A longer suffix ocán, -ucán is common in masculine personal names like Ciarocán (gen. -cán ZCP. VIII.176) beside Ciarán (cían 'dark'), Dubucán (dub 'black'), Isucán 'little Jesus'. It is also found in appellatives, particularly in the vocative; e.g. a maccucáín LL 370°8 beside a maccáin (macc 'son'); cridecán SP. (Thes. II.294, 14; for cridecúcn, §103, 4) from cride neut. 'heart'. This suffix is apparently a development of -uc, which is in origin a Britannic hypocoristic suffix (Mid.W. -awc) but is found in the names of Irish monks from the sixth 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-Gíallóc Cán Adamnáin p. 16.

272. 2. The suffix -én is less frequent; e.g. duínén (duiñán §271) acc. pl. grinnénu 'fasceolas' Ml. 144°5 from grinne 'bundle', although this form, as well as dat. pl. mainénaib gl. monusculus (read mun-) Ml. 69°5, could also belong to § (b) below. From adjectives: caích 'blind': caíchén gl. cerritus; laigéniu gl. minusculus Sg. 45°13, an artificial comparative form derived from laigiu 'smaller'.

For the flexion cp. cu(i)léén masc. 'whelp', gen. sg. and nom. pl. cuiléoin cuilíoin. Judging from the Ogam gen. CUNIGNI, the suffix is -igno-. It seems to be distinct from the Gaul. patronymic -ino- in Oppianicnos, Toutissicnos, Nantonicnos, Lucoticnos, etc. Later it is replaced by -in, e.g. Bálthín. presumably on the model of Augustín '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; fochríc 'renward': fochrincet; altór fem. 'altar': altóirmat; derg 'red': dergnat 'flea'; find 'fair': Findnat, woman's name; with acc.-dat. form instead of nominative (later very frequent) tonnait 'cuticula' Sg. 46°8 (from tonn). Apparently, however, this suffix is also found with other genders. In Sg. 45°12, 13 the last two words of the series 'homo--homuncio-homunculus' are glossed duínén--duinenet. talamnat 't errula' 48°14 comes from masc. talam, but may have been influenced by the Latin gender. Cp. also óthadnat (MS. óthadnat) 'pauculus' 49°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. biucatan) 'a little' RC. XVII. 176. The t (= d) is from nt, cp. O.Britann. gen. pl. fábpav-pr-ouikow (Ptol.), cognate with Ir. gabor 'goat', O.Slav. agnë (stem agnë-) 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 ungainet gl. unciolam Sg. 49*11 (from ungae) the use of the article and its form are alike peculiar; if this is a mistake for [o]ín-ungainet (acc.), it provides an example of neuter flexion retained. Forms inflected as feminine n-stems are sometimes found; e.g. acc. sg. fracnatain '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. tirth 'agellus' Sg. 47*11 (tir neut.); centat 'capitulum' 47a5 (cenn neut.); glainethat 'maxilla' 14*14 (glaine fem. 'mala').

5. (a) No such restriction applies to -ne -ine (io- and iā-stems); e.g. grān neut. 'corn': grāinne grānne (fem. Wb. 13*23); glaine fem. 'māla': glainine 'maxilla' Sg. 45*18; folt masc. 'hair': foltne masc. 'capillus'; lúaith fem. 'ashes': lúaithne 'cinder'; éces masc. '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: clai deb masc. 'sword': claidbéne; brat masc. 'cloak': broiténe; clab masc. 'basket': clébéne; láir fem. 'mare': láréne. In proper names: Érnéne (from īarn- 'iron'). Baithéne (baith 'foolish').

In Mid.Ir. the endings of (a) and (b) combine into -ine; 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 Britannic 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 Britannic suffix i + aw and the Britannic assimilation of nd to nn (cp. Colmán § 152 c.). Barra, Barre, Barri can all be used for Barriind, and Mo-Bí for both Brénaind and Berchán. On E(o)chu, gen. Échach, for E(o)chaid, gen. Echdach, sec 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', clai deb 'sword'; neuter, scél 'tidings', accobor -bur 'wish'.

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<th>masc.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
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<td>clai deb</td>
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<td>V</td>
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<td>A</td>
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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, pronouns, and numerals. The dat. sg. is identical with the nom. acc. where the final consonon resists the change to u-quality (§ 170 f.); e.g. after long vowels or diphthongs, as in sliog sliúag masc. 'host', iasc masc. 'fish', scáth neut. 'shadow' (but dat. fo-scud Mi. 50°7), bás neut. 'death', ais áes neut. 'age'; in some instances after stressed o, as in corp masc. 'body', folt masc. 'hair', cosc neut. 'checking' (also éosc) after a, as in macc masc. 'son', salm masc. 'psalm', erchcat 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. epscuipe Wb., epscopia Mi.); sacard 'priest'; galar neut. 'disease' (due to the first a? Cp. the adj. labar Mi. 58°6) sechmall neut. 'passing by' 70°3 (but diull, dat. of diall 'declension'); in AU., names in -all such as Domnall, never -ull; forciat neut. 'teaching' Mi. 49°6, usually forciul; oscar masc. 'ignorant person' Wb. 12°16; cor masc. 'putting' Mi. 118°15. 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:

- 1asc masc. 'fish', gen. sg. nom. pl. éisc (§ 53.).
  - 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. niul, acc. pl. niulu.
  - ball masc. 'member', gen. sg. nom. pl. boill and baill, dat. sg. bull and baull, acc. pl. bullu and baullu (§ 80a.).

- 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. ciúil, dat. ciúl (§ 108).
  - díá masc. 'god,' voc. gen. sg. nom. pl. dé (gen. sg. dæi Wb. 22°10), acc. dat. sg. gen. pl. díá, 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. They 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 popul 'O people' 33°15.

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 tousoch, nom. pl. totge Ml. 96°5, ochtrach 'dung', pl. octarche Wb. 9°7; aslach 'seduction', acc. pl. aslaige Fél. Epil. 197; enech 'face, honour', acc. pl. e(1)nige (MS. einaige) Laws v. 506, 13 beside nom. pl. enech RC. XXVI. 36 § 175 (MS. R), gen. pl. enech; cuimreach 'fetter', dat. pl. cuimregib Wb. 23°11 beside, cuimregáib 26°21; later étach, gen. étaiag, 'garment', nom. pl. étaiige (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 Ml. 101°4 (cp. 18°4), probably borrowed from Britannic: 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 'knee'): nom. pl. dúine Fél. Pro1. 68, 150 (beside gen. sg. Dúin Jan. 3), dat. sg. dúin Thes. II. 269, 11 (Arm.).

6. sétt masc. 'chattel, unit of value' makes acc. pl. séutí Wb. 23°4 instead of séutu; possibly influenced by the following word maini '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:


282. Paradigms: masculine, céle (céile) 'companion', dalt(a)e (with non-palatal t, § 160) 'fosterling' neuter, cride 'heart', cumacht(a)e (with non-palatal t, § 162) 'power'.

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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°3, Ml. 49°8 (collection: Strachan, ZCP. IV. 52). For esséirgu beside esséirgì and imdibu beside imdibìu, see §§ 97, 167. The forms dat. sg. du chumachtae Ml. 74°14 and acc. pl. fiadnissai 'testimonies' 46°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 (lai ?), dat. láu láó ló, lóu, pl. nom. acc. gen. lae lá, dat. laib. 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 (= bái ?) Wb. 114, 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*, Uirilos (Gk. Ουιλλιο), Andecamulos, Toutissicos, 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 'ϭ νωγαιον') Dottin no. 33, νεμητον (= Ir. nemed 'fanum') no. 7.


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, Atekmati Trutkni (North Etrusc. Alphabet, CIL. I 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. *Makkapiou*, (Martl) Cicculli (nom. probably -ollos), going back to -ōi (Gk. -ωι, Osc. -ǚi); 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 -i), which, like Lat-i, doubtless goes back to -ōi (Gk. -oι, 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 prononominals (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. -āh, 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), tuuddus (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. -ον) through intermediate -ōn (Ir. -an). A remnant of the old ending (-a) is found in Ogam TRIAMAQAMAILAGNI 'of the three sons of Malán' Macal. no. 17, where the nasal has been absorbed by the following m.

Dat. The 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 -bahih, 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--suiopebe (ibid. no. 48). Examples of -bo in Gaulish are ματερβο Ναμαυσικαβο (ibid. no. 19), Ανδοουνναβο ibid. no. 48), and perhaps tecuenbo-ebo ZCP. XV. 381. It is uncertain whether these endings have lost -s or indeed ever had it (cp. Gk. -φι; 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. dāu 'two'. OW. dou, etc. In polysyllabic words -ūu 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 -i < -ū (Celt. 'ochtū), goes back, not to 'ok + tū (Skt. aṣṭau, Goth. ahtau), but to the by-form 'ok + tō (Skt. aṣṭā + ī).

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. -ω, 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. pusiaū (adverb) 'in two', from pūsē '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. dāu (all genders). Here the original form may have been *dwoi + u (fem. *dwi + ou?), cp. O.Slav. gen. dōvoju (Skt. gen. loc. dvāyōh), from which, with early loss of the -i + ə, Ir. dāu 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. -ψ beside -ψι is probably not connected.

III. à-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 à-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

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1. ben 'woman' is inflected with old ablaut (ben-, bn + or ban-, bn-): acc. arch. bein, but from Wb. on mnaí (dative form), gen. sg. mná (§ 190 b), dat. mnaí (rarely arch. beín); pl. nom. voc. acc. mnái, gen. ban, dat. mnaíb (sometimes disyllabic in verse); du. nom. acc. mnaí, gen. ban, dat. mnaíb. The composition form is ban - (§ 254).

2. persan 'persona,' gen. persine, changes to the n-flexion (§ 327) in the plural: nom. pl. persin Sg. 203d10, etc; sometimes also with -nn: gen. pl. persann (beside nom. sg. persan ) Tur. 86, dat. pl. persannaib M1. 25d13, also dat. sg. persainn 72`10a.

IV. ORDINARY iā-STEMS

V. i + ā-STEMS WITH OLD NOMINATIVE IN -i
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.

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'.

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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 adaiig 'night', acc. dat. aidchí, gen. aicche aicthe; rígain 'queen' Fél. Pro. 125. Mor-[r]igain Thes. I. 2, 7, acc. rígn Iram Brain I. 42, 7, gen. pl. rígnæ SP. (Thes. II. 295, 15); lánam(æ) in 'married couple', acc. sg. lánamn lánamnai Iram Brain I. 53, 10. 14. The dat. sg. is sometimes found without an ending: blíadn Thes. II. 17, 29 and 27, 38, rígain Mi. 65°13; this is not necessarily an innovation, for the petrified dative (n)d 'ad(a)ig 'this

(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 Fél., but féil twice Oct. 2, Dec. 30; among loan-words in -óit, dat. sg. trándóit 'trinitati' Mi. 15°4, beside humaldóit omal(l)dóit 'humilitati', -tem' Wb. 28°29, Mi. 54°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. lub 'plant', gen. lub(a)e (nom. acc. pl. lubi): mét (in Mi. also mét) 'size, quantity', acc. dat. mét, gen. mé(i)te; nom. acc. dat. a(i)this 'reviling, disgrace', gen. a(i)thithe ; nom. acc. dat. int(g) amail 'imitation', gen. intamlæ Mi. 56°33; nom. acc. dat. canóin 'canon, scriptural text', gen. canónæ; nom. acc. dat. epistil 'Epistle', gen. epistle, nom. pl. epistili (alternating with the i-declension: nom. acc. dat. ec(a)j 'church', gen. ec(a)lise and ecolsa æccalsa). Mid.W. meint (= Ir. méit ), which implies a primary form 'mantii', 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 ã-stems in which the dative form has replaced the nominative, (§ 256). Examples: buithe 'being' (rarely both), acc. dat. buithe, gen. buithe
In later texts confusion between classes V, III, and VI spreads in all directions: e.g. nom. sg. rígān (like III) or acc. sg. lungāi from longā (á-stem) 'ship'. As early as Sg. 20°3 we find nom. sg. trīs litīrī 'tertia littera' 20°3 beside acc. pl. litre (from littera) 17°1.


295. Nom. acc. dat. ré fem. 'space, period' (pl. also

'celestial spaces'), gen. rée rehe, pl. nom. acc. réi, 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 rūasat '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 + iāidnisė '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 (sētig), points to -i i.e. to a class of feminines which in various IE. languages form their nom. in -i, but most of the other cases from a stem in -i + ā-, e.g. Skt. br + hatī + (gen. br + hatyā + ū) fem. 'the exalted one' (= Ir. Brigit, personal name), Lith. martī (gen. marčiōs, from -ās) 'daughter-in-law'.

Voc. Like the nom. It is impossible to decide whether or not the āstems once had short -ā (Gk. vupū +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 toil 'will' is always written toil, but the dat. more often tuill 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 -iēn. 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. lōkan (North Etruscan Alphabet, apparently = loga)n 'grave' (?) CIL. I° no. 2103 (although -an could also represent a Gaulish development of -m +). Cp. further the ending of the suffixed personal pronoun -(a)je § 451 (probably < 'sian'). Since the consonantal stems had the same ending in the acc. pl. ('-ās), and probably in the dat. sg. ('-i), as the ā-stems, the latter may 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 -i is but with most other cases
formed from a stem in -i + - with consonantal flexion, so that the acc. sg. ended in -i + m + , ([r. 'i -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. χωρίς Lat. pater familiās, Goth. Lith. -ōs). The regular development of this is found in mnā (§ 291), 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 cachę 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 seems possible, ascribed to ā-stems (II); e.g. ERCIAS Macal. nos. 32, 197. ERCCIA no. 31 (later nom. sg. Erc, man's name, probably = erc 'spotted or dark red cow'); GOSSUCTTIA no. 41, GOSOCTEAS no. 108. It is not quite certain that survivals of -a < -ās are preserved in ERCA no. 23, GOSOCAS no. 223, and Māela Dūin (instead of Māele-), 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 -i + es as against -iās (and more particularly -eas) above is peculiar. That originally there were nouns in ā, gen. -i + ās, beside those in -i, gen. -i + ās (class V), is possible but cannot be proved: that Lat. AVITORIA was written for Celt. -i + -ās 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 -rig-. 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. REXTGENOS SVLLIAS (cp. SACRILLOS CARATI) may be the gen. of Sulla. It so, the spread of -iās 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 mnāi (§ 291). In the remaining ā-stems -i seems to be required (see tul above under acc. sg.). Gaulish inscriptions show various endings: Behlīnum Dottin no. 7, Lat. nom. Belisama; similarly Brigindoni no. 38, assuming that the nom. ended in -ona; in Ailie no. 47; in Alisila no. 33; Ἐσκεγγαι Βλανδοουικουνιαι no. 10; οἰουνιαί no. 8. The inscriptions with -ai are perhaps Greek (-ai) rather than Celtic; in -ia 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. χωρίς, O.Lat. Menerui), though it is doubtful if the datives in -a in Latin inscriptions in Gaul (e.g. Minerua, Sequana) are due to Celtic influence

297. Plural. Nom. voc. The ending of ā-stems is -a (with geminisation after the article § 241), long in mnā, 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 -i ās). 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 OIr. 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 -ih (from -is), and such forms would provide a satisfactory explanation of OIr. -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 -i + ās; e.g. rhaiain 'maidens' (= Ir. rigain) : rhianedd; blwyddyn 'year' (= Ir. bliadain) : 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 geminisation after the article, § 241), long in mnā, 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. artuaś (North Etruscan Alphabet) CIL. I 2 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. raiškū žē + ūtu, O.Slav. rākā), 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. Μαμαυσικαβοibid.

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, -i, 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.

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: sûil fem. 'eye', saigid fem. 'making for, seeking', enáim masc. 'bone' (for the quality of the -m. see §166); muir neut. 'sea'.

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<td>cnáim</td>
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<td>cnámo -a</td>
<td>moro mora</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>sû (i )lib</td>
<td>cnám (a )ib</td>
<td>mu (i )rib</td>
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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(l)re and gra(l)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. 26'8, 100'2. 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 5, 6, assuming that the nom. acc. sg. richis(s) Sg. 47⁴ 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. 47⁴ 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. 24⁴ 17, Fél.

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, biáil fem. 'axe' has long ē in gen. bél-

2. Some loan-words remain unchanged throughout the singular, even in the genitive. Thus abbgitir apgitir fem. 'abecedarium', pl. apgitri, dat. apgitrib; similarly argumint argumeint fem. 'argumentum' (dat. pl. argumentaib Ml. 74⁴ 1);

   sapait sabbait (fem.?) 'Sabbath', pl. sapati; testimin masc. (also feminine? cp. Ml. 38⁵ 9-9a, as against 38⁸, Tur. 39) 'testimonium', pl. testimi; grammarfic fem.; digaim fem. 'digamma';

   tabernacuil (fem. ? cp. Ml. 40⁴ 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. 78⁴ 4. cuirm coirm neut. 'ale' seems to have undergone a similar change (dat. sg. coraim 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 ainsnis § 730.

CASE-FORMS OF I-STEMS


Voc. Not distinguished from the nominative, but originally without -s; cp. Gaul. uimpi (fem. adj.) Dottin p. 70 = W. gwymph 'fine, fair' (but W. fem. gwemp).

Nom. acc. neut. Palatal final, nasalizing. The primary form probably ended in -i (cp. Skt. śuci, Gk. ἱππός), 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 -ō -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 -i-i, § 286). Some of the Ogam genitives in -os -o belong to i-
stems; e.g. DEGO Macal. nos. 88, 193, DEAGOS (read Degas?) no. 222, gen. of the name which later appears as Daig (§ 302, 1); ALLATO no. 69, ALLOTTO no. 115, ALLATTO 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.),

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)i + os, cp. Skt. ávih 'sheep', gen. ávyaḥ, Gk. πολις, gen. (Homer.) πολιος; 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 Ucuet (see acc. Ucuetin above; cp. Lat. deo Ucueti), and a probable one by nöpe (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 -ei, 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 -i (instrumental) than a diphthong.

304. Plural. Nom. voc. masc. fem. Ending -i, stressed in tri masc. 'three', which geminates, as does Britann. tri. So, too, after substantives there is at all events no lenition, if the spelling in taiscéaita tall 'those spies of old' Tur. 130 is reliable. This suggests -is as the most likely ending; Gaul. masc. neut. tri (ZCP. XVI. 288) is doubtless meant for 'tris, cp. also triānis (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 + ... became -i + ... 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 gwledoet) '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, < -is < -ins; cp. Skt. ávin, Goth. gastins, Umbr. aueif, auif.

Gen. The ending -e, nasalizing, may represent original -iōm (Lat. ciuium) or -ei + gm (Gk. πόλεων); cp. Gaul. Bruiatiom Dottin no. 51, if this, notwithstanding the peculiar -m, is really gen pl. of Bruiati- and not an abbreviation; Ogam TRIA-MAQA (§ 286.), arch. tre n-gnim[e] Bürgschaft p. 28 ávi 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 -i, cp. Skt. ávī, 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.).
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'.

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<td>D</td>
<td>mogeem (a)</td>
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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. 66'13, à aís ibid. and 66'9, the voc. pl. neut. by a **doirsea** 46'14.

**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', **ais 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. **reandaib**), **mind** neut. 'diadem' (dat. pl. **mandaib**), **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. **fedai**); 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 a-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 å-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 -i, 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 å-stems. W. moch Bret. moc'h 'pigs' (collective) could go back to *mokkus, but not to *mokkū (cp. Gaul. Mercurius Moccus).

findbuth 'bliss' Ml. 128°18, which corresponds to W. gwynfyd and is thus a compound of the masc. u-stem bith, makes gen. sg. inna findbuide 14°4, adopting the gender and inflexion of both fem., gen. buithe, 'being'.

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 gem sg. with palatal final and their gen. pl. du. without any ending. Thus toimseo ibid. and 35°23, gen. sg. of toimus 'measure'; coibnis Sg. 9°9, 28°19, gen. sg. of coibnus '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 Ml. 46°14 is a masculine u-stem (cp. riuth and ind-red §737); this explains gen. pl. torud 99°5, 123°8. As early as Wb. (and frequently later) fius (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°16, na sothe Sg. 64°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°6 has in n-imthánad 'the alternation', acc. sg. masc., whereas imthánad Wb. 13°10, Ml. 93°7 is neuter; on the other hand in n-imthánud Ml. 42°2 is inflected as a masc. u-stem. So too lín 'number' gen. lina, fluctuates between masculine and neuter, and fir 'true, just' is a masc. u-stem when used substantively; cp. mes(s) fíra Ml. 26°12, 103°15, acc. pl. firu Anecd. III. 25, 6.

The acc. pl. il-gotha Sg. 197°11 (nom. sg. guth masc. 'voice') and a few similar instances in Ml. (degmina 81°1, cp. 99°1, 107°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.

310. 2. In Wb. the loan-word from Lat. spiritus is inflected nom. acc. dat. spirut, gen. spirito spiruto spirto; in Ml. and Tur. nom. sg. spiurt (cp. fiurt 'uirtus, miracle'), gen. spiurto Tur. 86.

crú (neut.?) 'blood' makes acc. dat. crú, gen. crói cráu cráo cró; in composition cráu- (ZCP. XIII. 376, 13), later crō- (Ériu XII. 136).

cnú fem. 'nut' (also vocative), acc. dat. cnoí, gen. cnó; pl. nom. cnoí, 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' Ml. 39°12, 13, 15 belong later attested nom. pl. and du. bróí braí bráe, gen. du. bró, dat. sg. broí LL 166°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 ociómu, diuértomu 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. māduḥ, Gk. μέθu; 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. sūnùm).

Gen. Ending -o -a, apparently without lenition, since the Annals of Ulster always have Atho Truim (gen. of ἀθ 'ford'); cp. also Locha h-Eathach § 241, 1. In Ogam inscriptions -os is still frequent: BRUSCCOS Macal. no. 35 beside BRUSCO (?), 129, CUNAGUSOS no. 139 (later nom. sg. Congus), TTRENAULUGOS no. 191, MUCOI-LITOS no. 214; but -u appears to occur twice in inscriptions found in Wales: TRENAGUSU (Lat. Trenegussi), NETTASAGRU (Rhys, Lectures ² 275. 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. mainyš + uš, rašnáš.

Dat. u-quality final, leniting. The Gaul. dat. in -ou, τοτοου Dottin no. 1 (cp. deus Taranucnus; uu 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 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 iudício, then there was also a Celtic case in -u, 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. sūnávāh, O.Slav. synove, Goth. sunjus, Gk. νηχεις from -εuκες.

The development of -owe to -(a)e is regular; cp. ·cúal(a)e 'heard' < *cōchlowe, unstressed -b(a)e beside stressed boi ('bowe?) 'was'.

We also find -i, in ML. the most frequent ending. The preceding consonant is mostly neutral, e.g. gnímai, mesai, bésai, rétai, siansai; but it is occasionally palatal after an unstressed syllable, e.g. senchaissi Wb. 31°25a, coisinimi 7°13 (apart from forms like aímsi Ml. 127°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 gnime gnímí gnímai, senchass 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-ní 'our sins' 2°6, a m-bésa-sa 'their customs' 9°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°5 (despite palatal consonance) are found.
Nom. voc. acc. neut. The form without any ending (dorus, mind, rind) could, indeed, go back to earlier -ū (<-u), 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. 67⁹11 has taken over u from singular biur (bir) 'stake, cooking spit', cp. deoga § 308.

Acc. masc. Ending -u < -ūs < -ūns; cp. Skt. siūnū + ṅ, Goth. sununs, Cret. uʰuvoč. 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 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 -ū; cp. Skt. sūnū + ḫ, 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 + ḫ 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. 'cnow 'cnow cno, from 'know-as, earlier 'knew-os. With 'brú cp. Skt. brūḥ, gen. bhrvāḥ, Gk. ἰ ν υος. 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 Mi. 39⁹13 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


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. nôð-a, Lat. ped-em) had become -en in Irish (§ 214).

Sometimes the shorter form of the dative (see below) 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. κυν-ος) 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-é, Osc. pater-ei + or Gk. ποδ-αι) or to the i of the locative (Skt. pad-i, Gk. noð-i).

The shorter form never had an ending; it corresponds to the endingless locative of Skt. n-stems (kârman, mûrdhân); 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 -ës (cp. Gk. nôð-ëc). 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 are á ascadu/. a naintea (read náimtea) 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) flaithemma '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 -âs, 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-âh, Gk. nôð-ac, Lat. ped-ës, 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 + m, Gk. noō-Y+03C9 + v) 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. teuanbo (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. mis), and some later examples like da ara 'two charioteers' LU 4729 (gen. arad). The nom.

acc. du. of neuter n- and s-stems invariably have the same form as the singular.

An earlier ending -e (as in Gk. nōo-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 mis 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'.

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<tr>
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<td>cathr (a)ig cathir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>cathrach</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>cathrach (a)ib</td>
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The dat. sg. is written caithir Wb. 1331, showing that th is palatal. In ríg the quality of the γ is neutral in the gen. sg.
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 Lugdech (later Lugdach, Ogam LUGUDECCAS); cp. Dáu (monosyll., arch.) man's name, gen. Duach.

cóí 'cuckoo', gen. cuach.

2. A final vowel:
   a. -e, as in aire: Aínmire man's name, gen. Ainmirech (arch. Aínmurech -reg Thes. II. 277, 2; 279, 45).
   b. -a: caíra fem. 'sheep', gen. (later) cáerach, acc. pl. caircha Thes. II. 335, 2, dat. pl. cairchaíb ML. 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.

   Cp. éó éú masc. 'salmon', also ee Corm. Add. 570, é hé hæ ZCP. X. 201, Ériu. II 32 z, Laws V. 482, 23, etc.; acc. íich RC. XXV. 348, 2, later ích; gem. iach.

   Gallo-Lat. esox isox, acc. ēšōem, but Mid.W. ehawc. The examples cited ZCP. XX. 484 in favour of disyllabic Ir. éó 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 < ēšōk-<, except é (ee), which has either borrowed the ending (cp. nie for nio, § 323, 3) or modelled itself on scé, gen. sciach.


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. sci 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 cia occurs as gen. and even as acc.; so that the basic form is doubtful; the usual inflexion is acc. dat. ciach ciach, 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). all 'rock', gen. alo (i-stem), also makes a gen. aillean (nom. pl. aillig occurs already in the Laws). daur, gen. daro -a, 'oak' has a by-form dair fem. (Dair-mag as early as Adamnán, Thes. II. 273, 2; adj. daire beside daurde Sg. 33°13, 38°10), with gen. darach. Tem(u)ir, placename, gen. Temro later Temraich, dat. Temraig already in Fél. Epil. 552. foïl fem. 'bracelet', acc. sg. Sg. 64°17, nom. du. LU 10992 (probably an i-stem, cp. Bret. gwal-en(n) 'finger-ring'); but also acc. sg. falai, 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** Fél., dat. **húasalathrachaib** Wb. 304,1, and many later instances.

The converse development is found in dat. pl. **di chairib** 'from sheep' Thes. II. 239, 19 (Arm.) RC. X. 72, perhaps by dissimilation; cp. the later acc. pl. **caithre** (−rī 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**.

### 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. 31b24) 'tongue', **oíntu** masc. 'unity'.

#### SINGULAR

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<td>oínt (a )id, oíntu</td>
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<td>tengad</td>
<td>oíntad</td>
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#### PLURAL

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<td>(ascadu?, § 316)</td>
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<td>fileda</td>
<td>tengtha</td>
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#### DUAL

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<td>traigthib</td>
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<td>tength (a )ib</td>
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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** Fél. 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. unsyncopated forms are sometimes found.

1. Nom. sg. without ending, like **traig**, e.g.

**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').


**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'.

"i (monosyll., Mid.Ir. ái ) 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 filli (cp. Ogam gen. sg. VELITAS Macal. no. 70), e.g.

oígi óegi masc. 'guest', gen. oíged, acc. pl. oígetha Wb. 28°28 (oígedacht 'hospitality' 26°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. 3144 (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. 9611 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 ointu, 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'.

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<td>fiche</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>car (a)je</td>
<td>fiche</td>
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<td>car (a)jt</td>
<td>fichit</td>
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<tr>
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<td>carat</td>
<td>fichet</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>car (a)jt</td>
<td>fichit</td>
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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 Ml. 117°5 (beside déit Sg. 67°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. di dóit (rhyme: cóic,) Corm. 398.
   *ainmne* (gender uncertain), 'patience', gen. ainmnet, (ainmnetea gl. patientias Ml. 99°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).
   *fiado ( Thes. II. 353, 1), fiada (Fél., etc.) '(the) Lord', arch. fëda (Cam.), gen. fiadat (fêdot Cam.), dat. fiadait.
   *cano -a* 'poet of the fourth grade', gen. canat.
3. -u: dínu 'agna' Sg. 49°1, dat. dínit 39°11.
With regard to 1. cp. Gallo-Lat. Carantius Carantillus, W. breuant brefant 'windpipe'; -ant-s (nom. sg.) has become -ē, just as -ant- becomes -ēd(d)-.

(§ 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 námæ (§ 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. tátitib, this flexion is secondary, since the word was originally an istem, cp. O.Slav. tat□ and the Ir. abstr. tā(i)the tāide.

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 *brusū (-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'.

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<td>tícht (a )in (-tu )</td>
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<td>toimtin (-tiu )</td>
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(b) Ériu fem. ' Ireland', brú fem. 'belly, womb', céim(m) neut. 'step', ain(m) neut. 'name'.

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<td>brithemn (a )ib</td>
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feminine

neuter
Examples of -mun for -mon are rare, e.g. gen. pl. süainemun Wb. 26\textsuperscript{6}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\textsuperscript{3}1, from tepairsiu; létena 16\textsuperscript{2}2, from létiu 'daring'; genitne (from -ea) Sg. 200\textsuperscript{14}, from genitniu 'genitive case'.

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\textsuperscript{3}9 (later dircu dercu, as in § 330), gen. dercon, dat. pl. dircon

escung (escung IT. n. ii. 246, 65) fem. 'eel' (beside escunga, probably = -ungu, TBC.1713), acc. escongain LU 6207.

drauc (drec dric) 'dragon', nom. pl. drecain; acc. sg. drauc Ält. ir. Dicht. II. 16.

(h )uinniù fem. 'ash' (also uinskiu 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. bró + òn ; cp. Skt. grā + vánamasc. 'pressing-stone'.

B. With neutral quality in the final consonant: brithem and the other nouns of agency in -em -am ( § 268, 3); likewise süanem masc. 'rope'.

nom. dat. talam masc. 'earth ', acc. talmain (-muin Ml. 89\textsuperscript{18}), talam Fél. Prol.216, gen. talman (never -mon ), acc. pl. talmana.

A and B are doubtless the same formation, with original nom. sg. in -ò (whence -û, -u), like Lat. homo. It is probable that -am (and -em from "-iam) resists u-quality, so that daum Wb. 10\textsuperscript{8}8 (dat. sg. of dam 'ox') is analogous, not regular.

330. 2. Ending -u, the largest group. Besides toimtiu, tichtu, 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.

réṭglu fem. 'star' dat. pl. réṭglannaib, nora. du. di réṭglainn (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.

InNISSIONAS Macal. no. 18, arch. Ir. Hērion = Éren (n) Ériu 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 Ml. 38d11, acc. pl. fiadna.

Goth. weitwōds 'witness', = Gk. εὐδως '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 nē -.

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 (menmmann Sg. 50°16), and the later language always has lenited -v in the singular (but plural menmannna -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°17, with gen. dilenn, dat. dél 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 -u) is similarly inflected: dat. sg. senm (u) jim, nom. pl. senman; further gein 'birth', gen. gene, dat. ge (i) mim (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); mir 'morsel',

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gen. mire, nom. acc. pl. mirenn. Here, however, the flexion appears to be secondary; compare Lat. membrum with Ir. mir, which may have been attracted to boimm 'morse' 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 Ml., 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. οὐρά, Skt. nā + ma, 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, § 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-. As the ending is never written -mb, it is unlikely that there was a Celt. affix -bi (cp.. Gk. -φι in στήθεσ-φι).

There is no example of the gen. du. in early texts. It is very doubtful if dá chomainn 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 abinn abainn, gen. abae Ml. 784 (Abae Thes. II. 275, 28), dat. pl. aibnib Ml. 813.

The gen. sg. has accordingly the same ending as neuter nouns. The oblique cases could all be derived from a stem 'abon-', 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 tile remaining cases.

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. ū + ēdhār ū + ēdhnaḥ, etc.

3. The neuter n-stem neim 'poison', gen. neime (cp. adj. neimnech), has nom. pl. neimi Sg. 1396, i.e. like a masc. or fem. i-stem; perhaps modelled on aipthi 'charms' (nom. sg. aupaid).

4. anim(m) fem. (ainim Wb. 3411, Ml. 1309. as against anaim Ml. 1169) 'soul' is always inflected as an n -stem in the plural: nom. anim(a)in, acc. anmana, dat. anmanaib. In the singular it fluctuates: acc. dat. anita(m) and anmuin anmain, gen. anne; 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. *anamü. which would give Britann. *oʊm + *in the first instance).
5. The loan-word léo 'lion' has gen. pl. leon ML. 75°2; but nom. pl. inna leomain (fem. ?) 80°10, gen. pl. léoman (disyll.) Fél. Epil. 500 (but lëoman 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)v masc. 'father'.

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<tr>
<th>SINGULAR</th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
<th>DUAL</th>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>ath (a)v</td>
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<td>V</td>
<td>ath (a)v</td>
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<td>G</td>
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<td>D</td>
<td>ath (a)v</td>
<td>aithrib, athr (a) e</td>
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Composition form usually athar- or athar-; cp. athargein 'begetting' Thes. II. 291, 5, athramil adramail 'fatherlike' (-samail). Note, however, aithroircnid 'parricide' Sg. 12°6 as against athar aithre, aithrea = πατερες, πατερας.

335. Like ath (a)v are declined: bráth (a)v 'brother' and máth (a)v fem. 'mother'; amnair 'auunculus' Sg. 61°21, Rawl. B. 512, 31°1, is found only in the nom. sg.

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°29, 96°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. πατρός), and in the composition form athar - from *[p]atro-. Its presence in the nom. acc. sg. also is probably due to levelling. In the plural the usual palatal quality points to the suffix form -ter-, i.e. aithir = πατερες, aithre = πατερας. The dat. pl. aithrib from *[p]ater-o-bis (or 'atribis from pater + ?) falls together with the dat. pl. of the i- and io-stems and has given rise to the gen. pl. aithrea 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 (= aui ) Aicher (also Aichir ).

336. siúr fem. 'sister' (with lenited initial flur or phiur, § 132) has acc. dat sieir sier, later siair, gen seathar; pl. nom. se (i)v thir, acc. sethra, dat. seathraib Fél. Aug 30; nom. acc. du. sieir sier, later siair. Composition form: sethara-oircnid 'soronicida' Sg. 13°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. XXVII1292 f., XXIX. 379, XXXIII. 80.

337. Paradigms: slíab 'mountain', glenn 'valley'.

335. Like ath (a)v are declined: bráth (a)v 'brother' and máth (a)v fem. 'mother'; amnair 'auunculus' Sg. 61°21, Rawl. B. 512, 31°1, is found only in the nom. sg.
The voc. sg. is attested by a mag, a t [h ]ír AU.918.

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 áó ó 'ear', gen. aue, 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, Goidelica² p. 67, is old. But in our texts gné is invariably found, not merely as nom. acc. dat. sg. (acc. sg. gnei once, Sg. 166'2) 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. śrávaḥ, -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. mis, 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.

bó, later báu báo bó; pl. nom. baí, acc. bú, dat. buaib; du. nom. baí Ml. 2011, 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, báo; the acc. pl. follows the u-declension. The acc. du. da boin Corm. 1082, beside dí báe 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-diú 'to-day'.

Cp. W. dydd Bret. deiz 'day' Mid.W. dyw llun 'on Monday', Mid.W. hedíu Mid.Bret. hizu 'to-day'. The former point to dii + , the latter probably to diw-; cp. further Mid.W. pl. dieu from 'dii + ow-. Irish nom. gen. die points to something like 'dées; the basic form of acc. dat. dé is not clear; (in-)diú may be the dative (instrumental) of a neuter stem diw-, 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°10. But as early as Féi. 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,
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' (mâr-chenn, mór-chenn means 'large head', § 363), ucht-lethan 'broad-chested', fölt-buide 'yellow-haired'. This usage is apparently common to all the Celtic languages; it is found, not only in

It is questionable whether stem in composition.

In such compounds o- ā-flexion is very rare: gal (fem. ā-stem) 'valour': ecal 'timid, afraid' (nom. pl. masc. ecil Wb. 29°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': dariam 'flawless'. u-stems fluctuate; e.g. cruth 'shape': so-chrud, do-chrud '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 cumach (a) e 'power' are i-stems: sochumacht sochmach '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.

Collection: Marstrander, Une correspondance germanno-celtique, p. 47 f. The formation of such compounds with i-flexion is common to all the IndoEuropean languages (see Brugmann, Grundriss I² i, p. 112), being especially productive in Latin: inermis, imberbis, etc.

In etargn (a) id etarcaid beside etarcaid '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 inflexion is not obligatory; e.g. cor-thón 'round-bottomed' Sg. 56°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) 'likeness' still retain their original meaning: athram (a) 'adrama (a) 'ili and máthram (a) til 'fatherlike, motherlike'. But in saimenail 'excellent' (from saín '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 corpd (a)e corph (a) e glosses 'corporalis', but corpach 'corpulentus'; rómánd (a) e means 'Roman' in kind or origin, substantivally 'a Roman', but tír rómánach Sg. 33°11 'the land about Rome' (both of them adapted from Lat. romanus).

Cp. further nemd (a) e 'heavenly', domund (a) e 'worldly', doinde 'human' (doin 'persons'), órd (a) e 'golden', daurd (a) e daire 'oaken', cond (a) e 'canine', bráthard (a) e 'brotherly', coibnest (a) e 'related' (coibnibus 'kinship'), bást (a) e 'deadly', mist (a) e 'monthly'.

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'; béd(a)e 'uuiudos' from bédú béó 'living'; arsat(a)e 'antiquarius' from ars(a)id 'ancient'; nu(a)ide 'nouellus' from nu(a)e 'new'; il(b(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', lethann-scíathach (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' (létu 'audacity'), loingthech 'gluttonous' (longud 'eating'); but cinntech 'definite' ('having definition') from cinniu 'definition'.

airtherach 'eastern' (airther 'the east'); centarach 'hither' (adj.); immedónach 'internal' (but medónda 'of intermediate quality' Sg. 10°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. déchorpd(a)e 'bicorn' Sg. 65°13, glanchoste gl. merops (taken to be a compound of merus and pes) Thes. II. 227, 24.

348. The suffix -de has neutral δ 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. colde 'of hazel wood (coll)' Sg. 35°10; geinddae (sic) 'genitalis' Sg. 64°16, from gein 'birth'; bést(a)e 'moral'. For occasional -th(a)e see § 124. The δ combines with preceding t, th, d to give t(t), dd (§ 137); e.g. túat(a)e 'gentilis' from túath 'gens'; úthat(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': airechdæ airegde; rí, gen. ríg, 'king': ríg(d)a(e); talam, gen. talman,
'earth': talmand(a)e; cú, gen. con, 'hound': cond(a)e; mí, gen. mis, 'month': mist(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. bliadh(a)n 'year': bliadh(n)aide; colin(n) 'flesh': colin(a)ide; nám(a)e, gen. námat, 'enemy': náimtide; cáera, gen. cáerach, 'sheep': cairch(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, ful 'blood': fulide; but not in adjectives formed from s-stems, e.g. nem 'heaven': nemd(a)e.

cré 'clay' (dat. sg. crí) makes créodae Ml. 1811; trí 'three': tréodae gl. tricuspis, Sg. 672 (but tréde 'three things', 3387); día 'God': déod(a)e Fél., etc., (but diade Wb.).

These forms seem to indicate that the suffix (as also the corresponding Mid.W. -eid, Mod.W. -aid) originally contained the vowel -o-(odi + o-, -odi + ā-); cp. Gallo-Lat. Carant-odius, -odia (1r. 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': cubsech; teched 'flight': teichthech; longud 'act of eating': loingthech (from such examples -thech occasionally spreads further: tecmaigthech 'accidental' Sg. 291, 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 búaíd (probably the older formation) beside suílech 'having eyes' from suíl.

fochrach 'mercennarius' Sg. 352, from fochric(c) 'pay', points to an earlier form 'fochre; cp. W. gobr, gobrwy and § 737. But srúaimch 'streamy' Fel. beside srúaimn(e)ch O'Dav. 1438, from srúaim(m) (n-stem), seems to be a late formation; cp. the late nom. pl. sruíma LU 2187.

Of the suffixes corresponding to -ach in other Celtic languages, Brittan. -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 -iko- or -iko-. Cp. clérech, mindech from Lat.B clericus, mendicus.

DECLENSION OF ADJECTIVES

I. o- ā-STEMS

350. Paradigms: becc(c) 'small', cumachtach 'powerful'.

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<td>A</td>
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<td>cumachtchu-gu</td>
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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' Ml. 89°2; cp. Sg. 217°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' Ml. 70°4 (§484a) and cecha oína 56°20 (§490b).


The gen. sg. neut. beic(c) Wb. 8°21, 21°12 is apparently substantival.

The Glosses have only three examples of -a in the masculine nom. pl.: maice, coíma 'dear sons' Wb. 27°16 (possibly an error), and the predicatives fíra Ml. 51°8, móra 98°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 mär món 'great', noib 'holy', and similar adjectives; further, in labar 'arrogant' Ml. 58°6, tere 'scanty' 118°10, and bocht 'poor' 61°5. Where -ach has become -ech, u-quality is sometimes found; e.g. ancrettmích Wb. 10°5 against ancretmech 'unbelieving,' Wb. 28°23; cp. Ml. 40°4, 65°10. Since cht as a rule resists palatalization (§162), gen. sg. neut. andracht gl. tetri Sg. 112°1 is quite regular. But nocht 'naked' has acc. sg. fem. nocht with subscript i Wb. 11°18, and bocht has gen. sg. bocht with superscript i Ml. 27°7, 36°34 (once boicht, 31°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. déine; dat. masc. neut. dían, fem. déin, etc. (§53).
olc 'bad'; masc. gen. ulic, dat. ulc; pl. nom. ulic, acc. ulcu, gen. olc (§73).
mall 'slow'; gen. masc. gen. maill, dat. maull.
mairb 'dead' nom. pl. masc. mairb and moirb (§80).
tréin 'strong'; masc. pl. nom. tréin tríuin, acc. tríun (§55).
béu béo 'living'; masc. voc. gen. bi; dat. bli; pl. nom. masc. bí; acc. biu (§§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):

isel 'low'; dat. ísiul; pl. nom. ísli, dat. íslib; but gen. pl. hísel Ml. 40°20 (substantival).
(h)úasal 'high'; pl. nom. acc. (h)úaisli, dat. (h)úaislib; but substantival nom. pl. masc. húasail Sg. 200°2.
díles(s) 'own'; dat. dílius; nom. acc. pl. dísi.

So also daingen 'firm', pl. daingni Ml. 78°19; anbal 'shameless': anblí Fél. Nov. 9; adbul -bal 'mighty': aidblí ibid. ProL. 81; amnas 'sharp': amainsi. Even ingnad 'unusual' has nom. pl. masc. ingainti Ml. 115°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'.
Later -a is often found for -ae; -i for -iu is very rare, e.g. dat. sg. huli Ml. 53\textsuperscript{a}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)' Ml. 69\textsuperscript{a}4.

On the other hand, the neuter nom. acc. pl. usually ends in -i, even in substantival use, e.g. inna cotarsnai 'aduera' -225-

356. Paradigms: maith 'good', sainem(a)il 'excellent'.

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, Fiannamlo AU. 704, 740.

To the above flexion belong several substantival adjectives such as posit, comparit, superlait 'positive, comparative, superlative', infinit '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- ã-stems, is found beside that in -e. In substantival use the longer form alone seems to be employed.

Both forms are found with attributive adjectives, e.g. inna n-dam n-altæ 'of the stags' Ml. 121∞19 beside inna n-damán n-allaid 'of the spiders' 59∞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 réid) and fudumnæ 'profounda' Wb. 5∞16, 8∞6; but fudumnæi Ml. 81∞4, 138∞9.

Nom. dat. sg. glé 'clear' may belong to this class, although it has nom. pl. masc. ruclé (= rug-glé) Ml. 36∞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', flieuh 'wet', ac(c)us ocus 'near', there are a number of compounds like sochrud, 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- ìā-stems). il 'many' (cp. Goth. filu, Gk. πολύς) has gone over completely to the i-flexion.

359. Paradigms: dub 'black', follus 'clear'.

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<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>(later dub)</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>dub (a )ib</td>
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dochrud has gen. sg. dochuirde Sg. 203∞4, but nom. pl. doraidi Ml. 68∞2 (probably an error for dochraidi).
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 Ml. 131°15, anéulchaib 42°4. But as early as Ml. there is a by-form with nom. sg. éulach (acc. pl. é(u)lachu 145°1), which belongs to the o-flexion.

Nom. sg. tee té (all genders) 'hot' has nom. pl. fem. téit (probably disyllabic) Wb. 29°1 (originally an nt-stem).

Nom. pl. masc. deeth 'desides' Ml. 120°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°25, acc. deid Wb. 25°19, gen. deid Ml. 82°5; pl. nom. deidi Thes. II. 4, 29, dat. déedib Ml. 131°11.

ainb (ainib Ml. 30°2 is probably an error) 'ignorant' (an-wid-) has abandoned its consonantal flexion: nom. pl. ainbi Ml. 51°14. Other adjectives which probably belong to this class occur only in the nom. sg.; e.g. compounds of teng(a) 'tongue' (§ 322): sothnge suithnge, dothge, étenge 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' Ml. 19°21. There are instances, however, of a neuter adjective predicing a feminine verbal noun: ba erchóitech n-doib toimtiu nad

ráncatar les dénma maith '(the) thought that they had no need to do good was hurtful to them' Ml. 35°25. Further, the neuter sg. is used in such sentences as usise in boill do áss ón chiunn 'it is proper for the members to grow from the head' Wb. 22°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°2; don choimdid nemdu 'to the heavenly Lord' 27°18; arnaib grádaib nemdib 'for the heavenly ranks' 21°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 mucse 'the pig (before us) is good' LL 112°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 adjective words may stand inflected before the word they qualify:
1. The cardinal numerals 2, 3, 4 (§ 385; oín is inflected only when it means 'same', e.g. inná óena méite 'of the same size' Sg. 203°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 pronounalíns 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’ Ml. 45°8 beside arm duiniu huiliu 'for the whole man' 54°11; huili doíni talman 'all the men of the earth' 61°16 beside Israheldai hull 'all the Israelites' 34°20; saini riaglóri 'different regulars'

Thes. II. 19, 34, beside hi personaib sainib 'in different persons' Sg. 28°2. sain may also be used in composition, like the adjectives of § 363.

Only in poetry can other inflected adjectives stand before their nouns.

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. cét(n)ae cétna as gen. sg. neut. Sg. 76°4, as dat. sg. fem. Ml. 115°14, Sg. 18°2; cethramad dat. sg. neut. Thes. I. 497, 13 (Arm.); cp. later examples like na sechtmad bliadhna 'of the seventh year' IT. III., 1, 39. There is one example of ule as acc. sg. fem., Ml. 25°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: ichathraig or catraith iil 'many cities'; firbrithem 'just judge', and bretha fíra 'just judgments'; co nóe bairbrib aingel 'with holy cohorts of angels' Fél. Ep. 344, and húanaib aidmib noíbaib 'from the holy instruments' Ml. 74°13; in nuaethintúd-sa 'this new translation' 2°6, and á cétal nuae 'the new song,' 60°12.

Cp. Gaulish placenames like Nouiodunum '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 béstí olca 'evil beasts'.

The only instance in prose where droch is apparently inflected, acc. pl. isna drocho doíni Ml. 24°4, is possibly an error. In Britannic, 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.

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 sualtribhide 'habitable' (ailetribad '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 dus- (Gk. ðuc-), 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. mi- 'ill-, mis-, wrong'; e.g. mi-thol, mi-dúthracht 'ill-will', mi-gním 'misdeed', mi-thoimtiu 'wrong opinion', mi-fogur (f = f + ) 'dissonance', mi-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. μη, Skt. mà 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 Britannic 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 oín-óen- 'one'; e.g. óen-chiáll, 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 fírthir 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 náimdib 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 Félire (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 = ṡ) '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

is in the nominative. Nor are they ever substantivized; e.g. 'the older' is rendered intí as siniu 'he who is older'; innahí ata nessa 'the nearer (things)'.

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The compound connessam 'nearest' (i.e. 'neighbour' in the Christian sense) is substantival and is inflected as an o-stem: gen. sg. connessim Wb. 23°1, connissim 1°6. There are also special words for substantival 'the elder (eldest), younger (youngest)': the o-stems sinser and òs(s)er, òssar; cp. Lat. sinister, magister, Gallo-Lat. Senister.

The renderings of acceptissimi tui (gen. sg.) by du thuichsimem Ml. 71°21 and of peruersissimi homines by doíni saíbibem 3°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': déniithir 'as swift': léir 'eager, diligent': léirithir; demn 'certain': demnithir; soirb 'easy': soirbithir soirbidir; suthain 'lasting': suthainidir; erlam 'ready': erlaimaidir.

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': déniu
- sen 'old': siniu (sinu)
- oll 'ample': uilliu, oill(i)u
- tiug 'thick': tigu
- inill 'safe': inilli
- álind 'beautiful': álidiu
- fáilid 'glad': fáiltiu
- uisse 'right': uissiu
- dímicthe 'despised': dímicthiu.

But ard 'high': ardu
- fudum(a)in 'deep': fudumnu
- lobar, lobur 'weak': lobru (lobro Wb. 17°29, see § 101 )
- cumachtach 'powerful': cumachtchu (cumachtgu Ml. 101°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, toiséch 'leading': toíseehu, toísegu beside toísigiu (toísegiu), cp. § 167.
- bu(i)dech 'contented': buidechu beside buidigiu buidichiu
- irlam 'ready': irlamu
- firían 'just': firíánu.

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
- toíseeh 'leading': toísigem, toísechem
- follus 'clear': failisem
- 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 Ml. 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.

saibibem Ml. 3°5, from saib 'false', and foirsingigem 67°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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>EQUATIVE</th>
<th>COMPARATIVE</th>
<th>SUPERLATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>il 'many'</td>
<td>lir</td>
<td>lia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lethán 'broad'</td>
<td>lethithir, -idir (le (i)thir)</td>
<td>letha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>már mór 'great, much'</td>
<td>móir</td>
<td>mó móo máo</td>
<td>máam (mám )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oac óac 'young'</td>
<td>remithir</td>
<td>sia sía</td>
<td>siam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sír 'long'</td>
<td>tresithir</td>
<td>tressa</td>
<td>tressam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For móir (moir Ml. 55°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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSITIVE</th>
<th>COMPARATIVE</th>
<th>SUPERLATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>accus ocus 'near'</td>
<td>nessa 1</td>
<td>nessam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bec(c) 'small, few'</td>
<td>laugu lugu, laigiu</td>
<td>lugam, lugimem (Ml.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maith, dag - 'good'</td>
<td>ferr</td>
<td>dech, deg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olc, droch - 'bad'</td>
<td>messa</td>
<td>messam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1With assa (§ 377): nesso assa nesso Wb. 12°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 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,
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 forircimem, forircimem 'best' in ML. is apparently formed. The form ferr has been compared with Lith. viršūs, O.Slav. vr-nonch 'summit', and cognate words; but the corresponding Brit. well- (W. gweli, etc.) 'better' suggests rather that both represent a derivative of wer (the earlier form of the Ir. prep. for, §383), perhaps 'wer-lo-s, with different assimilation of r. A plural form ferre sometimes occurs later, e.g. Anecd. II. 62 § 22. nessam, W. nesaf, appears in Osc. nesimas nora. pl. fem. '(the) nearest', Umbr. nesimei 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. iet (superl. iettat) = letha, ieu = óa, hwý = 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- are 'lower' are paralleled by suffixless forms in Irish (óis, is 'above, below' §5850, 844, úais, adj. and noun, 'high, very high, too high', superl. úaissem Ælt. 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. hwý could both go back to sei(s) < sé- is, with the weak grade of the comparative suffix, -is (beside -ios, -i + ós); Mid. W. iet may also have lost -is. So too lia could go back to 'plé-is. In Irish, according to this view, 'sé, 'lē were diphthongized to sìa. lia, 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 sia '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 ML. 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 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 + ós (> máüs) there was also a neuter form má(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. Il.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. kyndu(e) = 'as black (du)'. Forms without cyn- are sometimes used, e.g. gwennet gwac 'as white (fem.) as a wave'. But such forms usually have exclamatory force, e.g. Mod.W. dyd u nos 'how black the night is!', 'what a black night!'; cp. Mid.Bret. cæret den 'what a fine (caer) 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'; hawsset, 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 děnithir 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 *lef(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 *plê-* (cp. Skt. prâyah 'mostly'), and the equative is not to be separated from the comparative. Perhaps *lir* spread from the comparative in place of earlier *'lir*. The latter may be compared with Lat. *plêrus* 'for the most part', *plêr-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 *-i-thir* may perhaps be ascribed. There are, in fact, isolated examples of such equatives formed from nouns. That *mêthith* should have displaced earlier *móir* is not surprising, for *mèt* 'size, quantity' is itself used for 'as great, as much' (cp. § 876); but *nêmithir* 'as bright', from *niâm* '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 *-i-thir* 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. *mòo assa móó*; *messa assa-mmessa* 'worse and worse' Wb. 30°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°29, Ml. 71°1.

378. Adverbial *'the'* with the comparative (Lat. *eo*) is expressed by enclitic *de* (lit. 'therefrom', § 435) attached to the comparative; e.g. *áighidlu-de* 'the more dreaded' Wb. 23°23.

The actual degree of more or less is preceded by the prep. *ín*; e.g. *máa i n-óensill(ai)eb* 'greater by one syllable' Sg. 40°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. cccxxvi 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 mór, in món* 'greatly', *ind erdairc* 'conspicuously'; *in tânisiu* 'secondly'; *ind ainb* 'ignorantly'. In forms where *u*-quality would be regular, it is occasionally absent; e.g. *ind utmall* 'restlessly' Wb. 26°10; *ind oll* gl. *ultra* Sg. 220°6; *ind immdae* 'abundantly' 26°5 beside normal *ind imdu* Ml. 35°5; *in madae* 'vainly' (cp. *techt murdu* 'going astray' Wb. 16°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 mór*; 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. XVII.73 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 *ind(d)*. These include not only *alalitl raalitl* 'otherwise' Wb. 9°23, 21°13 (this word never takes the article, § 486b), but also such forms as *gair biucc iar tain* gl. *paulo post* Sg. 147°7, *inchlidu* 'secretly' Ml. 50°13. In the legal language they occur more frequently, e.g. *étêchtu*
'unlawfully', ci[u]rt cóir 'properly and rightly', etc. Cp. also nach már 'to any (great) extent' Wb. 11°5, Ml. 65°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 oind(a)id 'singly', from oind(a)je; ind aicnetid 'naturally', from aicnet(a)je; in túsailchid 'absolutely', from túsailchte 'detached'.

A few such adverbs are formed from nouns: in diglaid gl. ulciscenter Ml. 62°3, ind áirmith gl. summatim Sg. 27°17, ind frithoircid gl. affectuose Ml. 127°23; cp. digital 'revenge', áram 'number', frithorcuin 'affectus'. Hence the basis of this formation should perhaps be sought in nouns like diglaid 'avenger' (§ 267), since in Welsh a noun in predicative use is preceded by leniting yn. But another possible source is samïth samï(a)id 'thus, like him (it)' (§§ 434, 826), which may represent a modification of 'samïth = 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-mmïth Ml. 38°12, 61°17, literally 'up to a high degree', beside in mór; co-mmënic 'often' 39°11 beside in menic; co-mmïth Wb. 7°15 'well'; co cóïr 'properly' Ml. 69°12, 77°7. Later on this becomes the usual formation.

The following forms are exceptional: di léir 'diligently' Ml. 68°15 (later do léir) beside co léir, co-lléir 'carefully' 14°3, 21°8; each ð-dïruch 'quite straight' Thes. II.13, 30, berit dïrïg 'they carry off, obtain' (vb.n. brith dïrïg).

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' Ml. 32°1 (from lond); int serbu 'more bitterly' 24°10 (serb); ind ìchtarchu 'lower' 24°30 (ichtarach); in dumaichthiu 'more cumulatively' 35°17 (dumaichthe); ind lugu, ind laigiu, ind óa 'less'; in màam 'most greatly' Wb. 1°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°32, lit. 'so that it may be a good thing how he cares'; is lëthir in so no-nguidim-se dia n-erut-su 'as zealously as this do I beseech God for thee' 27°19; is dïnïmu do-n-gní alaill 'it is more carelessly that he makes the other' 4°33. For the construction in Wb. 31°6 see § 508.

But cp. is ind il as ferr Iudæus 'it is greatly that Iudæus is better' Wb. 2°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.

Examples: caïn·rognatha 'well have they been done' Ml. 39°24, mani caïn·airleither 'unless thou take good heed' Wb. 5°38; mad·gënatar 'blessed are they' Ml. 90°12, lit. 'well were they born' (from maïth); slán·seiss 'hail!', lit. 'thou shalt sit safe', LU 8242; nuîle·tànicc 'he has newly come' Wb. 7°7; nïs·n·ul·ë·mairbë 'thou wilt not wholly slay them' Ml. 77°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-saïg 'who levies best', dechmo·ro-chich (MS. dechmo-) '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-rícub-sa 'I shall soon come' Wb. 2849, mus-créitfet 'they will soon believe' 52 (mu· Ml. 3444, 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 cián '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. 56d16; mí-sí-mbairt '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' Fél. 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. mánicipare Ml. 4322, 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. óin-, óen-, always in composition (§365, 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
<th>neut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>da', dá'</td>
<td>di', dá'</td>
<td>da', dá'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NA</td>
<td>da', dá'</td>
<td>di', dá'</td>
<td>da', dá'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>da', dá'</td>
<td>di', dá'</td>
<td>da', dá'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>(all genders)</td>
<td>Dib', deib' (Sg.)</td>
<td>Da', dá'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. dé-síllabchi (dat. sg.) 'disyllabism' Sg. 4412, déchorpdae 'bicorpor' 6513 (likewise 5416, 1871).

3., 4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masc. neut.</th>
<th>fem.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>trí</td>
<td>teoir teuir, teóira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>trí</td>
<td>téora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>trí</td>
<td>cethéora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>trib</td>
<td>cethóraib</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ceth (a)ir</th>
<th>cethéoir, cethóra</th>
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<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>trí</td>
<td>téóra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>trí</td>
<td>cethéora</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>trib</td>
<td>cethóraib</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>cethri Ml. 58111</th>
<th>cethéora</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>trí</td>
<td>cethéora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>trí</td>
<td>cethéoraib</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Archaic nom. acc. neut. and gen. masc. tre (Cam., ZCP. III. 453, 13, Bürgschta p. 28 § 76a). Disyllabic teūir occurs Thes. II. 291, 6, but monosyllabic téoir Fél. Sept. 1; disyllabic cethéoir Thes. II. 292, 11. An intermediate spelling nom. fem. cethéora occurs Ml. 118°10.

Composition forms: tri-,tré-, tre- (which is later generalized) cethar-, cethr-. Examples: trimsi 'quarters (of year)' Wb. 19°15 (from mis- 'month'), trédénus 'three days' 27°14, etc., (perhaps influenced by tréde, § 387), trechenélææ 'threegendered'; cethargarait 'proceleusmaticus' ('four times short') Sg. 7°13, cethrochair 'four-cornered' LU 6392.

5. cóíc (leniting, before gen. pl. nasalizing).

6. sé (geminating, before gen. pl. nasalizing). 7. secht°8. ocht°9. noí10. deich°.386. The above forms are used predicatively, and also as substantives when identical things are enumerated, except that dóu (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 di 'twice' (§ 400). oín, óen is declined as an o- á-stem. When these forms are not preceded by the article or another numeral, or otherwise defined, the geminating particle a (§ 243, 6) is put before them. Examples: a dóu 'two', a ocht (Mid.Ir. a h-ocht) 'eight'; but inna ocht 'the eight (specified things)', húanaib oct-sa 'from these eight' Sg. 90°8, hónaib dib 'from the two' Ml. 146°, secht n-ocht 'seven (times) eight', oín di airchinchib Assiae in sin 'that (was) one of the leaders of Asia' Wb. 7°11.387. Otherwise numbers in substantival use are represented by special numeral substantives, particularly when different things are enumerated. 2-10 are formed with the neuter suffix -de (io-stem), and may well be substantival adjectives in -de (§ 347). 1. úathad (úaitheád, § 166) 'single thing, singular number' (neut. o-stem); 2. déde; 3. tréde; 4. cethard(a)e; 5. cóicde; 6. sédé; 7. secht(a)e; 8. ocht(a)e; 9. noide (næde Aurac. 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. trí nónbor 'thrice nine men' LU 4961, ix. n-dechenbor 7150.

1. oínar, óenar, gen. oín(a)ir, dat. oínur.

4. cethrar, dat. pl. cethrainb Thes. I. 497, 16 (Arm.).
5. cóiccer, dat. cóicicur.
6. se(i)sser.
7. mórfe(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. meíse m'oínur 'I alone'; tánca tar tríur '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°2: bit a tríur do anmarm ind éluin 'they are all three (used) for the name of the bird'; similarly Ml. 121°4. Note also fuirib for n-oínur 'on you alone' Wb. 14°17 (óinur 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 thríb 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' Ml. 137°8, gen. deichthribo 72°2; Noindruimm placename (§ 235, 1), gen. Noindrommo (from druim 'ridge'); débliadain, trebliadain 'period of two, three years'; ilbém 'many blows' Wb. 4°15.
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 decades, all of which are masculine, see §§ 324, 326.

20. fiche, gen. fichet (-t = -d, as also in the following).

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 Fél.
70. sechtmog, gen. sechtmogat.
80. ochtmoga (Fél.), 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. i-ā-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 coícailt '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 déac déacc (déec Wb. 15'1), 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 s-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 coicat ar chét '152'; inna deich ar dib cétait '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 oín, e.g. a n-óen ar fichit (MS. fichet) 'the 21' Ml. 2 d2. To judge from later examples, oín may be omitted before a 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 dé- (also leniting) 'in two, asunder', which occurs, e.g., in debuith 'discord, strife', debede, name of a metre, lit. 'cut (-bíthe) in two', probably also in dechor 'difference, distinction'; cp. i n-né 'in two', where the lengthening is secondary (§ 44 b). On semantic grounds the equation of dé- 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. diabol 'double' (§ 227 e.), although the é is never diphthongized.

**trí** (tri) is inflected as an i-stem (§ 304.), but in the oblique cases the form tre has been ousted by trí; 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 trí. In the feminine forms teoir, cethéoir the -oir goes back to -esor(es), an ablaut variant of the Skt. forms tisr-āh, cátastr-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.

cóí, cóiced (§ 395.), whence Mid.Ir. cúíc, cúiced, have ó followed by the glide i, whereas cóíca cóeca (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'enq*e (§ 226) gave Irish *cowenq*e, which in turn gave *cóíc, 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 Félire (Pro. 327, Aug. 7) it is a monosyllable. Other explanations start from the assumption that *q'enq*e first gave *q'oniq*e. Normally onk gives òg(g), but Pokorny suggests (KZ. XLVII. 164 ff., ZCP. XXI. 50) that it gave òg(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'enq*e (§ 226 b, OW. pimp) gave *q'e(g)g*e, and subsequently é was mutated to ó between q* and g*. On the other hand, *q'enq*e-kont- (or *q'enku-kont-<

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That s- in sé goes back to old sw- (W. chwech, O.Celt. 'swech') is shown by the f of mórfesser (§ 132).

ocht nasalizes by analogy with secht, noi, 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 noi, nócha, nómad (§ 395.) contain earlier -ow- < -ew- (cp. Goth. niun, Gk. ιον-έων 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 a proto-form of following a ('nawan < *nowan, *newn +') does not account for forms like W. llawer 'much' < *lawero- (§ 193 b.).

The suggestion that gen. déec deae(c) (Mod.Ir. déag) is a compound 'dwei-penq'-'double five' (with loss of -p-) may well be correct.

The vocalism of fiche, gen. fichet, differs from that of the remaining decades, tricho -a, gen. trichot -at, etc. This difference goes back to the ablaut -kn + t- or -km + t-: -kont- or -komt-which formerly distinguished the dual (Dor. ṭi-korn) from the plural (ṭri-kovtra, etc.); cp. W. ugeint, Bret. ugeint 'twenty' (ending -canti < -kn + t) beside Bret. tregeint 'thirty', Gaul. TRICONTIS (Latin dat. pl.) CIL. XIII. 2494, Mid.W. pymwnt 'fifty'. noichtech 'nonagenarian' Wb. 20°6 is hardly an indication that -chet- (< -kn + t-) also occurs in derivatives of the decades 30-90; more probably it represents a scribal confusion with noichtech 'having twenty-nine (days)' Thes. II. 18, 33, from noi and fiche; cp. the regular coictach '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°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"éttru-kont*; cp. Gaul. *petrudecameto* Petru-corii, Avest. *čaBru* (in W. *pedry* the *y* could represent either old ū or ɨ). So, too, *sechtmgat-, 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).

1st. *cét(n)(a)e* (*io- iā*-stem), but in combination with tens *óinmad, óenmad*. In place of adjectival *cét(n)a* the compositional prefix *cé* - may be used, e.g. *in cét-sians* (*s* - ɨ-*) and *in cétnae sians* 'the first sense' Ml. 36°32, 33. Adverbial 'first' is rendered either by the compound *cétmus* (Wb. 23°34), later *cétomus cétamus or cétus*, or by the verbal prefix *cetu* Wb. 26°4, *ćiatu* 14°29 (*çiato* Laws. I. 150, 13, etc., *ćiata* LU 5663, etc.), usually *ceta cita*, which never takes the accent (§384). Examples: *is hé cetu-ru·pridach dúib* 'it is he who has first preached to you' Wb. 26°4; *friscita-comrici* 'with whom thou dost first meet' Thes. II. 23, 38; *in tan ad-cita-ace* '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°2; it is more common in substantival use. (c) Rarely *all- or ala-*, compositional prefix; e.g. *all-slige* 'second clearing' Ml. 2°6; *ala-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°1 and in later MSS.; uninflected before a noun, and sometimes forming a compound with it. Dat. sg. masc. *trius* Wb. 7°8.

4th. *cethramad*

5th. *cóiced*

6th. *se(i)sseed*

7th. *sechtmad*

8th. *ochtmad*

9th. *nómad*

10th. *dechmad*

20th. *fichetmad* (*fichatmath* RC. XXV. 378)

30th. *trichatmad*

100th. *cétmad*.

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'; *aia rann deac* 'one twelfth'; *indala n-aínm 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. *kin ar f + íchit* 'twenty-first quinion' RC. XXV. 378, XXVI. 378.

Cp. *in trisdécdi* gl. tertii decimi (sc. *psalmi*) Ml. 72c8.

397. Forms borrowed from the Latin ordinals are sometimes found, e.g. *prim* 'the first' Thes. II. 13, 23. These occur especially in composition; e.g. *prim-gaíd* 'chief wind', *secndabb* 'secundus abbas' (= 'prior'), *tertpersan* 'third person', *tertcolbedan* 'third conjugation', *quartdïall* '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 cetu·), whence cét(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 cícetu· cícato·, beside cetu-, is doubtless due to the similar interchange of cícato and cetu '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 aile, Mid.W. and Bret. eil ('ali + os), the Gaulish form is allos; cp. all- (§ 394).

triss, as shown by dat. triss, 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- tristro- 'witness', lit. 'third' (§ 793).

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III. FRACTIONS

399. ½: 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).

1/3: trian, neut., dat. triun.

1/4: cethramthu fem., gen. cethramthan; nom. pl. téora cethramdin 'three-quarters' Thes. II. 14, 35.

From 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'; ailí 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 chójic sechtmogat 'seventy-five times'.

Before a multiplicand the ordinary cardinal is used as multiplier; e.g. tri secht '7 X 3' Ml. 242; cóic deich '10 X 5' Sg. 425; secht trichit '30 X 7' Thes. II. 20, 35. But a oén fo deich '1 X 10' Thes. II. 15, 42.
V. For DISTRIBUTIVES with *cach* see § 490 b.

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## 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-ricatar 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.* 1021; *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' LUB389 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 fíal amirisse eter a cride* 'that there was a veil of unbelief between their hearts (and him)' *Wb.* 1529 (cp. also Sg. 217b9, 11).


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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', *tiagu-ssa* 'I go' *Wb.* 17b18.

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 1. 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°5; as-bera-su 'dicas' 209°30.

1 pl. ni (after a non-palatal final also nai, § 98); e.g. guidmi-ni 'we pray', ad-fiadam-ni 'we related'.

The earlier form sni survives in laimir-sni 'we dare' Wb. I. 15°20.

2 pl. si; e.g. as-berid-si 'ye say'. For the forms ro-cretsisi for ·cretsid-si 'ye have believed' Wb. 1°3, and ra·sóisit-si 'ye have turned it' Ml. 103°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.; siúm a few times in Ml. For som later sources occasionally have sum (Tur. 39, Ml. 32°5, 43°1) or sam (SP.). Examples:

sg. masc.: ad-cobra-som 'he desires', do-rími-som 'he counts', do-indnig-som 'he assigns'; but as-beir-som 'he says' Sg. 39°25.

sg. neut.: nicon·bia-som 'it will not exist' Sg. 29°10; sluindith-sem 'it expresses' 30°2.

som som is found as neuter only after a verb or a conjugated preposition (§ 432 f.).

3 pl. ránctar-som 'they have reached', ní-thucsat-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°22, comba soilse-siu 'that thou mayest be a light' 22°3, is dla-som 'he is God' 1°2, is rann-si 'it (fem.) is a part' Sg. 25°5, mad fochrícc-som 'if it be a payment' Wb. 2°26, adib cretmig-si 'ye are believers' 15°8, condat anman-som 'so that they (neuter) are nouns' Sg. 188°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' Ml. 49°12, cp. Wb. II. 33°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°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 Ml. 92°17, Thes. II. 225, 19).
3 masc. é, often hé (§ 25); emph. (h)é-som (hǣ-sium Ml. 30°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°23), sníni, in Ml. also sisni 78°1, 92°2, sinni 63°15, 138°11a (also with is 'it is', isnínni 93°3, isnín 43°5).

2 sí (sií Wb. 25°3), sib 19°20; emph. usually sissi, sisi (sísi Ml. 46°13), also síb-si Auraic. 650, etc.

3 é or hé (all genders); emph. hé-som 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 '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°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°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°7; but it sib ata chomarpi 'it is ye that are heirs' 19°20. Cp. § 815.

As subject they occur only (a) in clauses without a verb, e.g. apstil i tossug, sissi larum 'Apostles first, ye afterwards' Wb. 27°5; (b) after the interrogative pronoun: cá a tussu 'who art thou?' ce hé 'who is he?', cit n-é 'who are they?'; similarly seichi tú 'whoever thou be'; (c) after os 'and' (3 pl. ot-é) § 878.

The vocative a thusu, translating o tu Sg. 204°6, is a Latinism.

407. The predicative nominative pronoun normally agrees with the subject in gender; e.g. Críst didiu is sí in chatir 'Christ, then, the city is he' Wb. 21°5 (chatir 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', lit. 'its reward (dúlchinne fem.) is he' (sc. bidbethu masc. 'eternal life', in the Latin text uitæ aeternæ) 3°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 olsom. The feminine is olsi (probably -sí ) Ml. 90°12, but the plural is formed with a verbal ending: olsom. Forms with the 1st person, olmé ( LU4931, 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°21. Cp. § 825.

From olse and cateat (§ 462), an independent pron. 3 pl. eat, iat 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', ni-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-roireth imned 'trouble has been caused to us' LL 252325; particularly where the passive force is no longer felt, e.g.

doo-t·árfas (O.Ir. ·árbas) 'it has appeared to thee' (lit. 'it has been shown to thee'), fo-m-lámas bádud 'drowning was imminent for me' Wb. 1744 (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).

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' Ml. 918; nachi-n·ro-gba 'that it may not seize us' Wb. 1540; ar-nach-a·im-ráda 'that he may not think them' Ml. 511.

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. nimmu-m·accamar 'we have not seen one another' Wb. 183. 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' 2810; ni-ru-m-chom-ar-lécis 'thou hast not permitted me' Ml. 765.

In the form in-da-ro-n-com-ar-lécis 'into which thou hast permitted us (to fall)' Ml. 776, 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. 2330; do-nn·i-cci 'it beholds us' 94; ro-nn·híc 'he has saved us' 316.

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) ML. 255; fo-da-ro-r-cenn 'who exterminated them' Wb. 1127 (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)' ML. 4620; for-ru-m-chennad-sa 'I have been destroyed' 12710.

c. Where neither a conjunct particle nor a preverd (including ro) precedes the verb, the verbal particle no (§ 538) is inserted before it for the purpose of infixing the pronoun. Examples: no-m·isligur 'I abase myself' Wb. 1722; no-t-erdarcugub 'I shall make thee famous' ML. 555; n-a-gniu-sa 'I do it' Wb. 330; no-n-sóer 'deliver us' ML. 4626.

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 Brigit bet 'on us be Brigit's prayers' Thes. II. 348, 4. Cp. also no-mchoimmdiu coim (in prose nom-cholma 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 di de, §§ 831, 855), di, fo, ar, im(m) (also cetu, cita 'first', § 393), and the negative particle ni + 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 ar-o aru- in Wb. (once ar-i-n- 29°22), in Ml. usually ar-a-; the latter immu-, in Ml. 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 ni + 'not' a disappears (ni for ni-a-).

After the prefix mi the form of the pronoun fluctuates between A and B; e.g. mi-ss-imbert (§ 384), beside mi-t-n-imret 'that they deceive him' Ml. 74°22. The only instances of pronouns with the preverbs larmi-, tremi- belong, as it happens, to C.

412. Class B is characterized throughout by an initial d, which is always lenited and hence often written t. The pronouns of this class are used after prepositions originally 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- (cotp-). 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' Ml. 33°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, indica- instead of ata- seems to have spread from C. Other peculiar forms are aní remi-ta-tét 'what precedes them' Sg. 197°5 (this happens to be the only example of remi with an infixed pronoun), and especially dut-fidetar '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-fidetar.

413. Class C is used:
1. Regularly after (a) relative (s)a combined with a preposition (§ 492); (b) in 'in which'; (c) the conjunctions dia 'if, when' (§§ 889, 903), ara 'in order that' (§ 898), co con '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, Ėriu 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-rollolet 'who deserve it' Ml. 54°6 beside ad-id-rollolet 'who shall deserve it' 61°20 (ad-ro-sil-); as-id-grennat 'who persecute him' 182 beside a n-in-da-greimn-siu (ananda- MS.) 'whilst thou persecutest them' 362 (in-grenn-). Similarly friss-id- from fri (§ 839). After the relative particle (s)a and the conjunctions ara
dia n the i is omitted. But co n 'so that' makes con-did- (for the first d see § 799), later conid- (for conrid-, with assimilated nd), and i n 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-, tresin-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’ Ml. 46*12; trisnana-sorithea (from tri-sn-dan-) ‘through which we might be delivered’ 124*8, beside tresin-da-bia 'through which they shall have' (lit. 'there shall be to them') Wb. 25*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-fiadam-nil 'as we declare them' Ml. 93*14 (in-fiad-). In forms with the prep. con (com), the form cond- is used here instead of cot- (B); but 3 sg. conid- conid- (not 'con-ind-').

In ci ó fut fritat-n-larr-su 'how long shall he offend thee?' Ml. 93*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 Ml.; rarely by i: -dit- Wb. 2°12, -din- 29°16, -dib- 24°4, -dip- 25°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 infixed pronouns found in early MSS. (for forms after the negatives na, nach, nád, and nicon, see § 419 f.):
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 -dás-, -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. nim·charat-sa 'they love me not' Wb. 5²6; fomm·álagar 'I am cast down' Sg. 146²14; ma immim-thabarhar 'if I be surrounded' Ml. 41²2.

2 sg. fot-chridigther-su 'gird thyself' Ml. 101c3; arat·muinfer-sa féid 'I will honour thee' 63a3.

3 sg. masc. imma·n-imcab 'avoid him' Wb. 30²20; ra·m-bia 'to him shall be (he shall have)' 27¹3; da-rrat 'he has given himself' 28²4; ra-lléic 'he has left him' Ml. 53²6; fa-ceird (c = g) 'puts him' 94²8; ni-n- aithgéuin 'he did not recognise him' Ml. 52.

fem. dus·n-gní 'he makes it (fem.)' Ml. 29²3; nos·bered 'he was carrying it (fem.)' Tur. 134.

neut. na·chomalnid-si 'fulfil it' Wb. 15²7; rá ·uc 'he has applied it' Ml. 45²1 (for á see 48⁴8 ); da·ucci 'he understands it' Wb. 13²8; imme-foliši . . . ón (f = f) 'it produces this' 12²5; ni-thabur són 'I do not give this' Sg. 179²2.

1 pl. arun·nethitis 'they were awaiting us' Thes. I. 497,43 (Arm.); hóre dunn·ánic 'since it has come to us' Wb. 25²21; manin·sóerae-ni 'unless thou deliver us' Ml. 77²6; doron·donad-ni 'we have been comforted' Wb. 16²17.

2 pl. rob·car-si 'he has loved you' Wb. 23²4; dof·ema 'which may protect you' 5²34, beside co dob-enthar-si 'that ye may be protected' Ml. 53²15; rob-bia 'to you shall be (ye shall have)' Wb. 13²32 (written ropia 16²13, etc., robia 27²6, robia-si 21²17, see 137⁴); doforbad-si (for dob·forbad) 'ye have been cut off' 20²15.

3 pl. nos·i·guid-som 'he beseeches them (eos)' Wb. 25²9; dos·m·bërthe 'ye would have given them (eas)' 19²24; dos·i·gnith-si 'do them (ea)' 24²12; immus·acaldat 'they (masc.) address one another' Ml. 131³9; fos·didmat 'they will suffer them (eas)' 15²10.

417. B

1 sg. fordom-chomaither 'I am preserved' Sg. 139²2; co etardam-dibitis-se 'so that they might destroy me' Ml. 54²14; fritam-orcat 'they offend me' 39²27; cotom·erchloither 'I am driven' Sg. 17²7; atam-grennat 'they persecute me' Ml. 39²13 (in-graim 'persecution'); addom·suiter-sa 'I am held fast' Thes. II. 3, 33 (ad-suidi); adtom-indnastar 'that I be brought' Wb. 7²5 (ad-indnaig).

2 sg. fortat·tét-su 'let it help thee' Ml. 43²11; attot·aig 'which impels thee' Wb. 6¹16 (ad-aig); cotot·nert-su 'strengthen thyself' 30²9; cot·oscaigther 'be thou moved' Ml. 55²3.
3 sg. masc. cot-n-erba 'he will entrust himself' Ml. 112°3; frit-curethar chéill (c = g) 'who worships him' 41°16; at-eomla (c = g) 'he adds himself' (ad-eomla) Wb. 4°10 beside ata-eomla Sg. 208°10.

fem. forta-comai-som 'preserves it (fem.)' Ml. 29°3; ata-rímet 'they reckon it (fem.)' Sg. 26°6 (ad-rími).

neut. fort-chomi 'preserves it' Sg. 176°2; at-beir-som ón (β = β) 'he says this' Wb. 27°18; written ad-beir 5°11; cot-ecat 'they can do it' Sg. 173°4, cotd-icc 'he can do it.' Wb. 5°40.

1 pl. fordon-cain 'teaches us' Wb. 31°16; attann-eirrig 'who emends us' Ml. 114°10 (substantive aithirrech); coton-delcfam 'we will compare ourselves' Wb. 17°10.

2 pl. fordob-moinetar 'they envy you' Wb. 19°27; atab-techam 'we beseech you' ZCP. VII. 485 (ad-tech-); co atab-sorcha[gh]ther 'that ye may be illuminated' Ml. 53°15 (in-sorchaugud 'illumination') adub-elliuib 'I will visit you Wb. 7°4 (ad-ella); co chotabosad-si (for chotab-bósad) 'that he should crush you' Ml. 18°7; cotof-utuine-si 'upbuilds you Wb. 8°16 (sic MS.).

3 pl. forta-congair 'wire orders them (eas)' Ml. 59°11; frita-indle 'which corresponds to them (acc. in Irish, = eas)' Sg. 213°3; ata-samlilib-si 'ye will imitative them (eos)' Wb. 32°13 (intamil, from ind-amil, '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)' Ml. 126°11; indam-erbaínn 'in which I might trust' (lit. 'trust myself') 29°5; aridom-roib-se 'so that there may be to me (I may have)' Wb. 10°13; nudam-chrocha 'which crucifies it' Ml. 32°28; lase arndam-fuirset (f = f) 'when they shall detain me' (ar-fuirig) 114°11; an condamm-ucbaits-is 'when they used to exalt me' (con-ucab) 39°11.

2 sg. indit-moiđe 'on (lit. 'in') which thou mayest pride thyself' Wb. 2°12; amal dundat-mecetar-su 'as they despise thee' (do-mecetar) Ml. 106°11.

3 sg. masc. fon chéill fuand-rogab 'in the sense in which he had sung it (masc.)' Ml. 38°3; accuis . . arin-rogab (with loss of d) 'the reason for which he sang it (masc.)' 35°8; condid-moladar 'so that he praises him' Wb. 16°1; conid-n-deroímed 'that he should protect him' Ml. 55°4; arind-eroma-som dia (for arind-n-d.) 'that God may protect him' 39°22; dondi rod-n-dolb 'to him who has formed it (masc.)' Wb. 4°26; ruda-n-ordan 'which has dignified him' Wb. II. 33°5; forind-têt (t = d) 'who helps him' Ml. 30°3; addid-n-opair 'who offers himself' 66°4; frissid-oirctis 'who used to injure him' 39°20; conid-n-árraig 'who has bound himself' 15°1 (con-riag). With relative -n-; areal immind-ráiset 'as they spoke of him' Thes. II. 241, 11 (Arm.); a conind-ferb-som 'when he entrusted himself' Ml. 33°5 (con-erba), beside a conid-reirb 54°1, cp. 106°8.

fem. conda-rici 'as far as it', lit. 'until thou reachest it, (fem.)' Ml. 54°34; doda-aidea 'who visits her' Wb. 9°5; húand lair nunda-bertatar 'from the time that they carried it (fem.) off' Ml. 82°9; amal fornda-congar 'as he orders it (fem.)' 94°3. For fodaraithmite[dar] see § 410 b.

neut. cid arind-epur 'why do I say it?' (lit. what is it for which I say it?') Wb. 5°31; ind airm inind-eipiar 'the place in which I say it' 4°26; diand-remthíasat 'if they go before it.' 5°32; diand-chomlaninn (with loss of d) 'if I ye may know had fulfilled it' 3°28 arind-fessid (f = f +) 'that ye may know it' 12°3; condid-tinctis (t unenlited in accordance with § 231, 3.) 'so that they might understand it' 21°21; conid-chumscaiged 'that he should alter it' Ml. 109°5; fod-ruar 'which has caused it' Wb. 15°15, Ml. 20°17; fot-dáil (for foddáil or fótáil) 'who distributes (fo-dáil) it' Wb. 12°8; adid-géuin 'which has this knowledge (lit. has recognized it)' Wb. 12°13 (vb.n. aithgne); immid-forling (f = f +) 'which has caused it' 24°34; ní arid-garad (g = y) 'anything that would have forbidden it' Sg. 72°6; nech iarmaid-ólised (=f + Ólised) 'someone who had asked it' Ml.
often following initial; e.g. Corresponding to the above, the 3 sg. neut. is sometimes recognizable only by the lenition of the nách·moídea below) 'that he would not desert him' Sg. 209 nach·n-ingéuin In the 3 sg. masc. the pronoun can be recognized only by the nasalization of the following initial: nachib·erpid-si 'he did not eat thee' Ml. 36 nach·comairlécea 'so that he did not recognise him' Ml. 52; naich·né-déirsed (palatal ch from the neuter, see below) 'that he would not desert him' Sg. 209. But even this indication is often absent; e.g. con·nach-móideá 'that he may not pride himself' Wb. 214; con·nach-gabad 'that it might not seize him' Ml. 69. In the 3 sg. masc. the pronoun can be recognized only by the nasalization of the following initial: con·nach·gabad 'so that it might not seize him' Ml. 69. But more often id (the full form of C), is borrowed; e.g. nachid·chíalatar 'who have not heard it' Wb. 258. Lenition after da occurs twice in Ml.: nada·chelat 'which hide themselves' Wb. 258; arnda·beth 'that there might be to them' ( masc., i.e. 'that, they may have') Ml. 131; inda·hierr 'wilt thou slay them (eos)'? 7716 (interrogative in); doda·essarr·som 'which will save them (eos)' Wb. 512; arda·túaisí 'who hears them (eos)' Ml. 129; forda·cain 'who teaches them (eos)'; 3012; arindí donda·rigénsat 'because they have done them (eas)' 3117; oldaas itirnda·díbed 'than that he should destroy them (eos)' 456. With relative -n- suppressed: imda·imgabam (for imnda-) 'that we avoid them (ea)' 3519. For foda·rorcenn see § 410 b.

3 pl. inda·mmoidet 'on (lit. 'in') which they (masc.) pride themselves' Wb. 2430; arnda·beth 'that there might be to them' ( masc., i.e. 'that, they may have') Ml. 131; inda·hierr 'wilt thou slay them (eos)'? 7716 (interrogative in); doda·essarr·som 'which will save them (eos)' Wb. 512; arda·túaisí 'who hears them (eos)' Ml. 129; forda·cain 'who teaches them (eos)'; 3012; arindí donda·rigénsat 'because they have done them (eas)' 3117; oldaas itirnda·díbed 'than that he should destroy them (eos)' 456. With relative -n- suppressed: imda·imgabam (for imnda-) 'that we avoid them (ea)' 3519. For foda·rorcenn see § 410 b.

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., nachá- 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-dermaine 'forget me not,' Ml. 325, 2 sg. ar·nachit-rindarpithir 'so that thou mayst not be banished' Wb. 533; once nacht- ( = nachat) before f + ; ar·nacht-fordiucaill 'so that he may not devour thee' Ml. 3632. 1 pl. húare nachan·soíraí-nní 'because thou dost not deliver us' 9310. 2 pl. nachib·erpid-si 'entrust not yourselves' Wb. 226. 3 sg. fem. con·nacha·dánaigfeá 'so that he will not bestow it (eam)' Ml. 96. 3 pl. as·nachta·tucad 'out of which he would not have brought them (eos)' 1257.

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·né-déirsed (palatal ch from the neuter, see below) 'that he would not desert him' Sg. 209.27. But even this indication is often absent; e.g. con·nách·moídea 'that he may not pride himself' Wb. 214; con·nach·gabad 'that it might not seize him' Ml. 69. 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·né-déirsed (palatal ch from the neuter, see below) 'that he would not desert him' Sg. 209.27. But even this indication is often absent; e.g. con·nách·moídea 'that he may not pride himself' Wb. 214; con·nach·gabad 'that it might not seize him' Ml. 69; nachomairlécea (for nach·comairlécea) 'that he may not let him (fall)'.

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. 618; cp. § 422. But more often id (the full form of C), is borrowed; e.g. nachid·chíalatar 'who have not heard it' Wb. 2514;
naichid-fitir \((f = f + )\) 'who does not know it' Ml. 27°7. Occasionally had is used here instead of nach-; e.g. nadid-chreti 'who does not believe it' Wb. 15°14. A similar use of -id- for the masculine is also found; e.g. nachid-farcaib-som \((f = \beta)\) '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' Ml. 97°10; hóre nan·rairigsiur (with loss of \(d\)) 'because I have not perceived it (masc.)' Wb. -265

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°10 (cretem fem.); similarly 15°34.

There are also examples of a neuter suffixed pronoun (§ 429, 1) being similarly employed; e.g. cresaigth-i . . . in lágin móir sin 'he brandishes it . . . , that great lance (lágen fem.) BDD. (ed. E. Knott) 1232.

Further, a neuter infixed pronoun is sometimes found referring to a preceding noun of different gender; e.g. tri t[he]bairt (fem.) fortachtan old du neueh nachid·áirilli 'through giving help even to one who does not deserve it ' Ml. 84°13; 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

\((= ad·trefea)\) indiu·siuocus bid (bit MS.) fáilid nach oin adid·trefea 'many will dwell in thee, and joyful will be everyone that shall so dwell' (lit. 'shall dwell it') Ml. 107°15; dos·n-icca 'cober cid mall, bith maith immurgu in tain dond-icca 'help shall come to them though it be slow: it will, however, be good when it so comes' (lit. 'shall come it') Wb. 5°15; da·chotar 'they went thus' (lit. 'it'), i.e. 'they went the aforesaid way Ml. 38°2.

423. Certain verbs are normally accompanied by an infixed 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°15 (written ad·bail 'who dies' Wb. 16°11, Ml. 108°3); at·ballat 'they die' Wb. 9°5; conid-apail 'till it dies' Ml. 91°2; amal asind·bail 'as it dies' 57°10; ar-nach·aipled 'so that it might not die' 85°8, etc. But forms without the pronoun are also found: arna·epilitis 'so that they might not die' 121°16, dia·n-æ + bîrbalam-ni 'if we shall have died' 107°4, etc.
So also the synonymous *asind·bathatar* 'that, they have died' MI. 36°10, *condid-aptha* 'so that they died' AU. 830, etc. (cp. §§ 704, 758).

*a·chrinim* 'I perish' SG. 145°1; *amal arind·chrin* as it perishes MI. 57°10. But without *d*, in *tan ara·crinat* 'when they perish' 73°2.

In MI. normally *imma·airic* 'suits', often written *imme·airic, imme·airc*; relative *immid·aircet* 'which suit' 2°5, *imb·airc* 11°5, *imm·aircet* 17°20.

Occasionally *fort·gellat* 'they testify' MI. 23°15, *fort·gella* 'who testifies' Ériu XII, 36 § 46; with a direct object, *farid·gellad taidhor doib* 'who had testified that they would return' MI. 131°12. Elsewhere *for·gellat* 'they testify' 87°15, *fort·gillim* 'I attest it' Wb. 4°27, etc.

424. In nasalizing relative clauses, *ro·gab* perfect) 'has taken' acquires the meaning 'is' by the insertion of the pronoun

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°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°12; *fom·d·era* 'that makes me' Ériu VII, 240 § 1.

The construction is rare with other verbs: *dud·uic* 'which he has cited' MI. 67°3, cp. 27°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·rollisset* 'it was hatred they had deserved' Wb. 4°15; so also *inti ad·rubartmar* 'he whom we have mentioned' SG. 197°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 + “if”* (neg. *ceni, mani*) are used with an indicative verbal form without

infixed pronoun, leniting *d* (id) is infixed, supported where necessary by *no* (§ 410 c.). Examples: ce *nod·chosmailigetar* 'though they are alike' SG. 212°2; *cia dod·chommar* 'though we have gone' Wb. 23°23; *ma rud·choiscset* 'if they have corrected' 28°7; *ci asid·biur-sa* 'though I say' 3°2; *ci arid·roga[r]t* 'though he has forbidden' MI. 132°10; *manid-chretid* 'unless ye believe' Wb. 13°19. Exceptions are rare; e.g. ce *ru·baid* 'though ye have been' Wb. 3°19; *ma ar·ro·ét* (with unstressed -ro- , § 39.) 'if she has received' 28°28.
If the verb is accompanied by an infixed pronoun 3 sg. masc. neut., this has the form d (id); e.g. ci asid-rolliset 'though they have deserved it' Ml. 77\(^{15}\); maníd-tarti' unless he has given it' 51\(^{17}\). 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\(^{28}\). Exceptions are ma nudub·feil 'if ye have' 19\(^{20}\) (class C) beside ma nub·baitsim-se 'if I baptize you' 8\(^{1}\), and conversely perhaps mara·rub[a]rt (for ma ara·) biuth 'if thou hast enjoyed him (God)' Ml. 112\(^{5}\) (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 écén 'it is necessary for me' Wb. 10\(^{24}\); ni-b écén 'ye need not' 16\(^{17}\); is-a[t] dilmain-siu 'it is free to thee' Ml. 55\(^{21}\).

Infixed pronouns after the copula.

Pronouns of the third person have the forms of class C:

- is·id n·aitrech 'he repents' 90\(^{12}\); fut. ni-pa-d n·aitrech Wb. 5\(^{9}\); pret. bá-d n-imomon 'he was greatly afraid' (lit. 'it was great fear to him') LU 5262; past subj. bada (for bá-d n-aithrech)

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 after the verb; e.g. is écén dam 'it is necessary for me' Ml. 21\(^{5}\); nipa aidrech lib 'ye will not regret' Wb. 25\(^{9}\).

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. tìre 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' Ml. 94\(^{1}\); beirthi 'bears it, applies it.' 42\(^{7}\), from beirth berid. fut. bérthi Wb. 23\(^{9}\); moíti (for moíd'th-i) 'prides himself' 27\(^{29}\) (moidid); foidisi foidsí 'he sent it (masc.)' Thes. II. 242. Arm. (foidis); ort-i 'it, killed him' ZCP. XIX. 156; gegni (MS. geigni) 'he slew him' Ériu II. 34, 6 (gegoin); mórhús 'magnifies her' (móraid), pret. mórsus 'magnified them' (mórais) Fél.; itius (for ith'thius) 'eats it (fem.)' Ml. 102\(^{15}\) (ithid); arch. fil-us 'there are' Cam. 38a (Thes. II. 246, 27); selgus 'he cut them down' Àlt. Dicht. I. 17 § 11 (selaiğ); iurrus 'she will wound them' Corm. 1082 (Laud).

Deponent verbs always assume active forms when followed by a, suffixed pronoun; e.g. firiánichthi 'justifies him' Wb. 2\(^{28}\) (firiánigid(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 subaigdir(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.

Deponent verbs always assume active forms when followed by a, suffixed pronoun; e.g. firiánichthi 'justifies him' Wb. 2\(^{28}\) (firiánigid(ir)); pret., molsi 'she praised him' RC. XI. 446, 64; sexus 'he followed them' ibid. XX. 254 (sechithir).

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In any of the above instances, however, the pronoun may be infixed by means of no without altering the meaning; cp. nos · i-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. bítom-sa FéL. Epil. 403 (L); subj. bethum-saibid. 383 (P). The pret. bói, bai takes over -th- from the present: bálthum (also bálthium), bálthut, bálthi, bólthus.

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 nóí-?) 'extols me, thee' (noid) IT. I. 261, 22, ZCP. XI. 91 § 2; sástum 'satisfies me' Ériu II. 63 (sásaid); sóerfuadít 'it will free thee' LU 6322 (sóerfaid); medarsot 'it confused thee' LL 287¹ six (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); gébtit 'they will take him' Wb. 26³ 8 (gébait); ísait 'they shall eat it' (masc.) ZCP. XII. 391 § 13 (ísait); guidmit 'we ask it' Wb. 15³ 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. friummm | lem (m.), lim (m.), trium |
|     | frum-sa, frium-sa | leim, lium (m.) |
|     | frit (t), friot (t) | lat (t) |
|     | frit-so, frit-su | lat-so, lat-su |
| 2. | m.n. fris (s) | leiss, les (s), triit (triit) |
|     | fris-som, fris-sium | leis (s) |
| f. | frie | leem-sa, lim-sa |

1*letha* = O.Ir. *leth* (a) e ZCP. xx. 401.

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| pl. | 1. frinn | linn, leinn, lenn |
|     | frin-ni, frin-nai | lin-ni, lin-nai |
|     | frib | lib |
|     | frib-si | lib-si |
| 3. | friu | leu, léu, leo _1_ treu, tréu, treo |
|     | friu-som | leu-som, le-0-som |

1*leithu* Thes. II. 241, 4 (Arm.); 313, 1; Otia Merseiana II. 86 § 3, etc.

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| sg. | 1. cuccum-sa | etrom, etrum |
| 2. | cucut, cucut-su | etrut |
| 3 m. | n. cuc (c) i (-som ), cuccai | etir, itir |
| pl. | 1. cuc | etron (n) etrunn, etrun-ni |
|     | cuc (c)uib, cucuib-si | etruib |
| 3. | cucu | etarru, etarro |

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 samlaid-som Mi. 57c5. Later attested: 2 sg. samlut.

cen 'without': sg. 2 cenut-su, 3 masc. neut. cene, cenae; pl. 2 cenuib-si, 3 cenaib Mi. 20d4.

sech 'past, beyond': sg. 3 masc. neut. sechæ; pl. 3 seccu. Later attested: sg. 1 sechum, 2 sechut, 3 fem. secce; pl. 1 sechun (MS. -und) LL 1224.

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 ', túaithum 'on my left' Thes. II. 357, 350.

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CONJUGATED PREPOSITIONS WITH THE DATIVE
435. do 'to' di 'from' ó, úa 'from, by'
s
dom (Wb. Sg.),

dam (Ml.)
dom-sa, dam-sa
duit, dait, deit, dit

duit-siu, de (i)t-siu

dó, dá (dóu)

dos (s)om

dí, disi, dissi

dóib
dóib-som, doaib-sem, dóib-sem

dóib-si

dóib, díib, díb

dóib-som, díb-som, díb-sem

dí (probably dí)
dóib-som, dí (de (dé Ml. 693)

dos (s)om

dí (probably dí)

1 Archaic óím, 2 óít, 3 masc. ood (Cam.); pl. 1 ón-ní, 3 ódib.
2 duit is the commonest form in Wb. and Sg., dait in Ml.; besides these
Wb. and Ml. have deit, Wb. and Sg. dit.
3 duit-so Sg. 2085, dét-so Wb. 67.

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, eissiib.

co 'with' (arch. only): 3 sg. masc. cono Ériu XII. 32 § 39, neut. conu ZCP. VIII. 310, 24; 3 pl. condaib Auralc. 954; cp. § 830.

fiad 'in the presence of': sg. 1 fiadam (?) Thes. II. 291, 4;

pl. 2 fiadib, fiadib-si, 3 fiadib, fiadaib. Later attested: sg. 1 fiadum, 2 fiadut, 3 masc. fiado, fiada.

iáir 'after': sg. 2 iarmut, 3 masc. neut. iárum; pl. 3 iarmaib (IT. III i, 70 § 23).

ís 'below': sg. 1 ís(s)um (e.g. Thes. II. 357), 3 masc. íssa (Ériu VII. 160 § la); pl. 1 ísunn (MS. -und, LL 1231), 3 ísaib (Togail Troi 1399).

oc 'at, with': 3 sg. masc. neut. oc(o)c, oc(c)a, fem. occi Sg. 7a2, occai Ml. 67d23, occae 8916, oca 413; pl. 1 ocunn, 3 occaib. LU supplies sg. 1 ocum ocom, 2 ocut; pl. 2 ocaib.

ós, úas 'above': sg. 1 úasum (Thes. II. 357); pl. 3 ósib (Wb.), (h)úas(s)aiib 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 1232).

re, ri 'before': sg. 1 rium-sa, 3 masc. neut. riám, fem. remi, remi-si; pl. 3 remib. Later attested: sg. 2 riut (LU); pl. 1 riun, 2 reuib (IT. II i, 14, 374).
CONJUGATED PREPOSITIONS WITH BOTH ACCUSATIVE AND DATIVE

437. for 'on'
    i 'in, into'
    ar 'for, on account of' (rarely found with dat. pron.)

sg. 1. form
    form-sa, forum-sa
    (Ml.)

2. fort
    fort-su

3. D m.n.  "for"
    f. fui, fur
    A m.n.  foi, fai
    foi-som
    foi-sem

    f. forrae

1indiut-siu Ml. 107a15.

pl. 1. forn (furnn )
    forn-ni, forun-ni
    (Ml.)

2. fui, fo (i)rib
    fu (i)rib-si

3. D for (a)ib
    foraib-som

    A forru
    forru-som

1indiib Wb. 6a3.

Further, fo 'under': sg. 3 dat. masc. neut. fóu Ml. (fó 37a14), acc. fói; 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-béthaid '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.

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 bessi-se 'my manners', acc. mo bész-sa; sech mo chuirimuig 'out of my captivity'; 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 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 choimthecht 'in thy company'; dut menmain-siu 'to thy mind'; fort chiunn 'on thy head'; do imchomarc 'inquiring after thee', beside t'esérge 'thy resurrection', tussu th'éenur 'I alone'; m'oísitiu 'my confession' (foísitiu) Ml. 46b12; oc m'ingrimmaim-se 'at my persecution' = 'persecuting me' 33°9.

Examples: 1 pl. ar m-bréthre 'of our word'; ar n-irnigde-ni 'our prayer'; íarnar n-etargnu 'after our recognition' =

440. 2. 1 pl. ar, 2 pl. far, for ; also bar (b = β) 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 (instead of do-ar ), see § 832; for innar (with in) see § 842.

Examples: 1 pl. ar m-bréthre 'of our word'; ar n-irnigde-ni 'our prayer'; iarnar n-etargnu 'after our recognition' =

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. a h -) 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. 89’14, 15; similarly *ó* for *ó-a* (36’2). *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. *átá oco scriabant* 'he is writing it' Sg. 213'4. For *inna* (with *f’*) 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-si* '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'.

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. 33’1. 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. 11’22.

**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 *mui* (i.e. *muí*) renders Latin *meus* and *mei* (⊇*jou* + *J* Sg. 200b10, 209a7; emphatic *muisse* 'meam' Wb. 1’3; cp. *mui mo macc, mui 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. 18’13.

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 1048; cp. Corm. 532.

1 pl. *cechtar nathar* (probably *náthar*) 'each of us two' Wb. 20’26, *Thes.* II., 293, 13 (SP.) beside *cechtar náríbid*. 294, 2; *nechtar náthar-ní* (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. 1’2. 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 *áí, áe* is used; e.g. *is áí talam ocus muir* 'His
are earth and sea' Imram Brain I. 15 § 27. It is also found with the article: a n-ái 'his, theirs', gen. ind ái, gen. pl. inna n-ái, 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) 92'10 (cp. also 75'1); a n-ái gl. (ne cupiditas dominorum se) suosque (detereret) 121'15. But the combination of the unstressed possessive pronoun in relative clauses (§ 507e) is a genuine Irish construction.

The same form is used as partitive gen., especially dual, in indala n-ái, nechtar n-ái 'one (masc. fem. or neut.) of the two' (n-ái Wb. 25'14, scribal error?); cechtar n-ái '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 ai é and (h)é (h)æ + 'occur; e.g. na ée 'one (none) of them' Wb 12'333, with the proclitic form na (stressed ni), elsewhere used only as an adjective (§ 489 b); áen n-ái Laws v. 314, 9; cach aí 'each of them' Met. Dinds. III. 382, 12 beside na hé Theis. II. 29, 38, ZCP. III. 452, note 7; cach hé cach aé + /= cach hæ + (-som), neut. cach n-æ + Wb.; cp. cach aé + ( rhyme: -e) Fianaig. p. 12 § 13. Ml. and Sg. have aé 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 díb Sg. 74'4 (without aé: cach diib Ml. 72'27, cách díb 42'7).

**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: mihi, 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 mëssé, has been identified with the Greek accusative με (which, however, could go back to μεð). 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. tussu, goes back to tū (= Gk. οὐ) or tū (= Lat. tū, O.Slav. ty, OE. þū); if to the latter, the short vowel in tussu may be due to the influence of messe. Britannic forms seem to fluctuate between tí (W. tí) and tī (O.Bret. tī, later te); should the latter represent merely a shortening of the former, tī may point to Old Celtic 'tū. But the vocalism of the Britannic 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-druad (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. tāva, Lith. tavė, IE. 'tewe; cp. O.Slav. tebe. In that case, one would expect 'toi (and 'moi) in Irish. tai may have been attracted to the 3 sg. aí
; but the u in mui 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 mui, 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 fríut, tríut, immut, torut (but also frít and conversely ocút, ármut, etc.). Probably the nominative form tu had spread to the accusative; the dative may have had the diphthong found in Gk. oo, Skt. tē, O.Slav. ti. 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 dōd, 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 (duìt, asat, etc.); Donegal always -d except in leat, ort (= O.Ir. fort); Connacht (outside Aran) -t in monosyllables (duìt, úait), -d in disyllables (asad, ionnad), etc. In later MSS. even the infixed pronoun is written d; e.g. ni-d·airmir-si 'I do not reckon thee' ZCP. VIII. 551. But in these instances d seems to have come from the possessive pronoun do.

447. The emphatic 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 tuasse 'thou there'. On the other hand, since enclitic forms of the personal pronouns are used as emphasizing particles in Britannic, 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 `-beres-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 'swí) correspond to the Britannic: W. ni, chwi; Bret. ni, c'houï. That the s of sní was formerly present in Britannic also is uncertain, but quite possible, for earlier sn- generally became n- in Britannic. 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 i is equally obscure. Primary forms lie *nēs, *wēs would account for it, but there is no support for them in other languages; for the parallel with the O.Slav. dual vē '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. sí (earlier *swí) gives a lenited form fi, which, with loss of the vowel, becomes -b (= β), as in si·b 'ye'. The vowel of the first element is short, as in the emphatic form sissi and sometimes also in snissi (by dissimilation sissi, etc.); but it would be unsafe to conclude from this that the vowel was originally short. Palatal β (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), frín-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'.

1 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. nostri, uestri), (Gk. ἐδερος, ἐδερος, 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 " (-bar ", for ") 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 + þar, 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 " has the same relation to nár as far to sár ; perhaps W. and Corn. an 'our' is also connected. Accordingly it has been suggested that cechtar n-ár (n-ā + þar) is the correct division; cp. cechtar n-aí. But this seems excluded by cía nathar, for cía never causes nasalization. In ar", 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-idum beside is-idum 'the same'. But the emphatic form hé-som (not *ēssom) 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-ām '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, foi, etir, leiss (beside less, with neutral s by analogy with ass 'out of him, it'), tarais, triit, samlid; after original vocalic auslaut, fói, 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, aïre. So too in cuicce, cucaë, 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, sì, si. Elsewhere, however, we find simple -e: frie, tree. lee (tairse) may contain the old -se); seccë is modelled on cuicce, since ch before s 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, eratru (etarro), airiu erru; further friu, treu treo, leu leo, taisru. Accordingly -u goes back to -su and represents an original masculine form, earlier ‘sōs from ‘sōns (possibly ‘si + ŏns). In Ml. it is occasionally replaced by the dative form -(a)ib: ceniab, samlab, and even Wb. 435 has foraib where forru would have been expected; cp. suibid for süidiu, § 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 ŏ 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 dōu (Imram Brain 1. 17 § 32), dáu (Arm., Sp., Ml. 32°4), of which dó may be a regular development. fo (= fó) occurs but once in Ml., otherwise always fou fóu. The final consonant clearly shows u-quality in farum; cp. also -u, -o in a(i)riu, fion, úaso. But in other forms it is neutral, e.g. in es ass; also

in riam, where, however, the neutral quality may be secondary. The byform húaid (Ml.), 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. a ‘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 dì (from do and di). There are a number of possible basic forms: ‘i + ái, ‘esi + ái (Skt. asyai), ‘esāi (Goth. izai), etc. In Ml. the ending -e begins to spread from the accusative; e.g. hûade. esse, occae, also úā(i)se. The emphatic form dissi stands in the same relation to di as dossom to dó, and messe, tussu to mè, tū.

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)db, e(i)ssib, indib. No evidence as to the original quality is supplied by airib, dib, ocaib, remib, ösib, fiaid(a)ib, foisb; nor by do(a)ib, where a may be secondary (§ 100). Possibly from IE. ‘eibhis (Skt. instrumental ēbhh); cp. the Gaulish dat. pl. ebo ZCP. XV. 381, which, however, is uncertain.

453. Genitive. Stressed form aï, āe; proclitic a, earlier sometimes still e (æ). The leitcion after the masculine and neuter points to a final vowel, the gemination after the feminine to -s, the nasalization after the plural to -ns (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. eidí, has been taken to be an extension of ‘eïd, which
is itself referred back to *esi + o, fem. *esi + ās, = Skt. asya, asyāḥ (Pokorny KZ. XLVI. 285). But this, while phonetically possible, hardly accounts for Ir. ai 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 *eisām = Skt. ēṣām, Osc. eisun-'of these'. But it would be more in keeping with Irish phonology to regard é (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. samāḥ, Gk. ἕκαστος, 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

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, limiting 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 3rd 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 vocative.

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 cita, 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

cofined 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$9, also ce, cía cruth (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 fiú (Ascoli Gloss. cccxxii) 'what is the worth?, in what degree? how greatly?'; cía airt (eret, erat) 'what is the duration?, how long?'; cía gním (masc.) 'what is the deed?'; cía, ce, ci hē 'who is he?'; císí
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'

Instead of citné the form cis", 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: cía·beir 'who carries?' LL 12°46; cía·roig, ce·roich 'what (how far) does it reach?'; cía·acca 'whom didst thou see?'; cía·(r)ricc, ce·(r)ric, ci·ric gl. quid ergo, quid igitur, etc., lit. 'to what does it come?'; cía·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 cía·luid 'while they knew not whither she went' Imram Brain I. 17 § 31; cía·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.

Both forms, however, are found; e.g. cía-táí-siu 'who art thou?' LU 6307; cía·bíth 'whoever it used to be' Mon. Tall. 129, 19; cisna·m'é 'what (is it) that divides for you?' LL 113°12; cid as dénti 'what is to be done?' Wb. 12°41, Ml. 51°8.

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°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. cía rannas dúib 'who (is it that) divides for you?' LL 113°12; cid as dénti 'what is to be done?' Wb. 12°41, Ml. 51°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°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. cía du neuch (from nech 'someone', § 489) Ml. 16°9; in quibus? gl. cía isnaib-hí (from an-i, § 474) 49°13; quem? gl.

cinní-sin (from inté-sin, § 476) Thes. II. 227, 30; de quo (uolucre)? gl. ci-de (de 'of him' § 435) Sg. 3°9; quam caritatem? gl. ce seirc Wb. 14°15; in quibus malis? gl. cía i n-olcaib Ml. 23°2; ex quo nominatio? gl. ci ó ainmnid Sg. 207°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 fot
'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*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,) proximity?' Wb. 8*15 (cp. 2*10, 6*4); also cía-pu-dono dún indarpe geinte 'why (then?) should we expel the gentiles?' 19*14 (cp. 7*16). It probably contains the prep. do. The -no is explained by Pedersen (II. 201) as a reduced form of dat. sg. neoch (from ni 'something'), since in Ml. 47*1 (101*4) ci-er-niu (-neo) renders quam ob rem (cp. the full form cía ar neoch gl. ad quid? Sg. 217*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-tuchart cris sa-ri-nea 'what it (tuba) is sounded for is not understood' Wb. 12*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-taibre 'whosoever thou mayst give' Zu ir. Hss. I. 20, 15; cacha-orr 'whichever he may slay' Sg. 12*7; cecha-épert 'all that he said' Anecd. II. 63, 14 (H).

Later it is occasionally followed by nasalization; e.g. cacha-n-dénainn 'whatever I might do' Liadain and Cuirithir p. 24, 18. But cechid-épert (read -épert) 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 'whosoever he, she, it is' (or with the subjunctive of the copula: sechi-p (sechi-b) hé); plural sechit hae + Ml. 69*18, sechit n-é Thes. II. 25, 38 (cp. citné), sechit hae + Ml. 101*4, 102*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*1; sechip hé dán ('art') 13*3; sechit hae + lestrai 'whosoever vessels they be' Ml. 101*4; but also sechib grád 'whatever be the grade' Wb. 10*18. The pronoun is consistently omitted in the expressions sechit dui 'wherever', sechit cruth 'howsoever' (arch. saichi crud Wb. I. 23*22).

i sachi réitib gl. in quibus rebus ZCP. VII482 is probably a Latinism.

462. co-, geminating conjunct particle, means 'how?', '(of) what sort?'; whereby 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, cateet, cateet cateat; genders are not distinguished. Examples: cate infirinne 'of what sort is the righteousness?' Wb. 4*23; as-bera coteet (MS. coteet) mo bési-se 'he shall say what (sort) my manners are' 9*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°1).
Examples: in-coscram-ni (c- = g-) 'do we destroy?' Wb. 2°20; as-rubart i-mboi 'he asked (Ir. 'said')
whether there was' Ml. 43°1. Before a vowel Wb. has in- , Ml. and Sg.in-n- ; e.g. in-intsamamlamar-ni
'do we imitate?' Wb. 11°16; in-n-írr 'wilt thou slay?' Ml. 77°10; in-n-ícir 'seest thou?' Sg. 15°6.

2. In alternative questions 'is it . . . or . . . ?', in may be used before each member (e.g. Wb. 2°5-6). More often, however, the second alternative is introduced by (leniting) fa, fá, ba (= βa), bá (§ 48). Examples: con-feiser . . . in duit féin fa do nach ailiu
'till thou know . . . whether it is for thyself or for another' Sg. 209°30; im fochroib (-chróib MS.) bá chian
'whether it be just now or long ago' 151°2.

If this is the copula ba used in a modal sense, the lenition after it is secondary (perhaps, to the influence of no 'or'), as ba (copula) gemitates.

For alternative questions in a concessive clause see § 910.

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: ca-ni-accai 'seest thou not?' Ml. 25°14; cini glé lib 'is not clear to you?' Wb. 12°4;
cain-ro-noibad 'has not been sanctified' 2°4.

466. ETYMOLOGY OF THE FORMS OF THE INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN, ETC.

The principal form of the interrogative pronoun, cia (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 qui), and resembles rather the Doric adverb néi + "where?". The differentiated neuter is nearly always cid in Ml. and Sg. (ced, Sg. 99°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 cia gním, too, masc, é could have fused with cia ).
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 cia originally ended in a vowel or not. The Britannic forms lenite, e.g. W. pwy bynag (from pynnag) 'whosoever', Bret. piou Bennac. In Irish the gemination caused by proclitic forms before verbs (§ 458, cp. cia-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: cia-mméit beside cia chruth (but also clí chruth ). The latter might be explained as due to
Occasionally the initial Cam. In a few instances archaic -nd- is still preserved: nom. pl. neut. ib has been syncopated, leaving no trace of palatalization, and nn simplified to n. In medial position the nd- is likewise.

After the prepositions originally ending in a vowel immúan Thes. II 242, 15. 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. ni (§ 489), or cáich (§ 490), which may have suggested the long vowel (in cóich). The vocalism may be due to the old anlaut q”. On the other hand, cecha· cachá· (§ 461 a) looks like a reduplicated form; cp. Lat. quisquis, quidquid.

co- ‘how?’ and ‘where?’ is possibly connected with Mid. W. cw, cud ‘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).

ARTICLE, DEMONSTRATIVES, AND ADVERBS OF PLACE

The Britannic forms go back to the same stein: 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-sín ‘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: forsín and forin, fornsa and forna, etc. After etir ‘between’ the plural etir inna Ml. 58’11 and etir na 18’24 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 ocín (d) and ocon (d), after imm both immín and immun (immúan Arm. 18’01 = 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. 20’05, Filargirius Gl.; dundaib Cam.38a; dendíb (MS. -ibh) AL.726.

Occasionally the initial i of disyllabic forms is dropped in absolute anlaut also: ‘na beside inna (§ 114). i- is likewise
dropped in a few examples where monosyllabic forms after r precede a numeral: etar-ā-di rainn 'between the two parts' Sg. 2°2, cp. 45°19; far-ā-ōendeilb 'according to the same formation' Sg. 90°2, similarly 201°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 ē- is still written, although it is really contained in the -t; e.g. int sailm 'the Psalms' Ml. 30°9. Similarly the nom. sg. masc. appears as int before vowels, this being due to the s of the old ending -os (whence -aś); e.g. int athir 'the father' from 'ind(a)ś a... (indh a...).

468. Paradigm:

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<th>SINGULAR</th>
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<th>fem.</th>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>in, int</td>
<td>(before vowels)</td>
<td>a°, int (before ē)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>in ñ, -sin n</td>
<td></td>
<td>a°, -sa n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>in (d)°, int (before ē)</td>
<td>in(ñ), -sin n</td>
<td>in(ñ), na g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>- (s) in (d)°, - (s) in (before ē)</td>
<td>-(s) in (d)°, -(s) int (before ē)</td>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PLURAL</th>
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<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>in (d)°, int (before ē)</td>
<td>in(ñ), na g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>in(ñ), na g</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>in(ñ), na g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>- (s) naib, rarely - (s) na</td>
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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°15 (cp. § 168 ). From examples like donaballaib

(§ 159 ), hūanafaochaidib Ml. 54ú18, hónaimáinénaib 69°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. forsin huilib Sg. 212°13, dona-hí Ml. 46°7, hónai gabálaib 54°25.

Very exceptionally inna is used as nom. pl. masc.; e.g. inna foris 'the foundations (?)' Ml. 63°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 trédiu 'of the three things' Sg. 3°14; ind daerscugud 'the excelling' 40°10; ind da 'the two' Vienna Bede (Thes. II. 33, 21). Or d is left unchanged before ē, e.g. dund sīl 'to the seed' (instead of dunt ) Ml. 44°10; or omitted altogether, e.g. in suin 'the words' 37°10. Or t appears in the wrong position, e.g. isint aímsir 'in the time' (instead of isind ) 14°13, etc.

469. The flexion is substantially that of the o- ē-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 -a² 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°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 'Domnall's son', macc ind f + ír-seo

'his man's son' are definite without the article. Examples: gníme Ad[a]im 'of the works of Adam' Wb. 13°15; rún na cruche 'the mystery of the Cross' 8°5; altóir ind idol 'the altar of the idol' 10°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°15-16, Wb. 26°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' LU4932 f.; (the angel said) airm i-fuirisitis in torcc arimbad and fu-rruimtis a praintechn '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) 'the moon', grian 'the sun', ec (a)is 'the Church', geinti 'the Gentiles', fáithi 'the Apostles', doíni 'mankind', also duíne 'man' (as a species).

b. ainm alaili thríuin 'the name of a certain hero' Sg. 96°4; rad dè 'the grace of God'; corp duíni 'man's body, the human body' (generic) 12°29, as against lasin cinigid 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°21; dund oís nad·chaithi cach túári 'to the folk that consume not every food' 6°11; isind huiliu labramar-ní 'in all that we say' Ml. 31°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°23 (the relative clause does not particularize but designates a type); la-mmaccu nacha·róchlat 'with children who cannot take care of themselves' 19°15 (i.e. children in general; lasna maccu . . . would mean 'with those children who . . .').

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°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 gnimaib inna preceptóre 'on the deeds of the preachers' (which have just been specified) Wb. 5°5; tre thindnacul inna n-dánae in spirito do chách 'through the bestowal of the (wellknown) gifts of the Spirit on every one' 21°2; fo
béesad fir têde do chath, ar gaibid-side céil for bâas in tain têde don chath 'after the manner of a man who goes to battle, for he expects death when he goes to the battle' 9°3.

In other instances the function of the article seems to be different. Thus in don gentlidiu 'to the Gentle' (as type, not individual) Wb. 2°4 and donaib geintliddb MI. 67°2 (as against do geintlb Wb. 2°17, etc.) it doubtless serves to emphasize the substantival use of the adjectival form in -ide. In à cenèle a-doíne 'mankind' Wb. 5°16 (cp. 7°13, 21°22, 21°11, 26°13) the article shows cenèle a-doíne to be a determinate whole and excludes the possibility of '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 caingnímu . . . tairbertar súili fri déicsin maith 'when all the members are subdued to good deeds . . . the eyes are forced to see (the) good' MI. 25°23 (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 gréine 'the movement of the sun' MI. 118°12; din Mumu 'from Munster' LU4645. Cp. assin folud appriscc inna colno ara-roímar 'out of the brittle substance (consisting) of the flesh which we have received' Wb. 9°10, where the appended genitive is appositional (similarly 7°9).

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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 ( Theis. II.290, 7); it riched a-rrathach (sic leg.) 'into Thy gracious Heaven' Fél. Epil.466; la taisecc 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°13; is fáss dún-ni a predchimme 'void for us is what we preach' 13°8. Cp. also nebcchetem a n-ad-adar (= ·f + adar ) 'not to believe what is declared' 27°10 (where syntactically a genitive would be expected after the substantive). Sometimes the prelocative form an- is used before the particle ro; e.g. an ro-scribus 'what I have written' 20c18 beside regular a-rru-pridchad 'what has been preached' 14°23. a n may be separated from the relative clause by partitive di. . . (do. . ., etc.); e.g. a n-du imnedab ocus frithoircni fo-daimi 'what of afflictions and injuries thou sufferest' MI. 55°11. Its use after a preposition, in place of normal an-i ( §474 ), is very rare; e.g. do-farget (sic leg.) 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-tabair dir[e] asa n-gatass 'he does not give a fine for that (lit. 'out of that') which he steals' Ir. Recht22 § 24; farnan 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 n 'in order that' ( §898 ), di-a n 'when, if' ( §§889, 903 ), and probably also in co n, con n '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 n without a preposition means 'while, when' ( §890 ).

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

THE ARTICLE WITH í
With the forms of the article may be combined a deictic element í (hi §25) which is always stressed (cp. Gk. o�ος-∅ + ἐ·); 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; indí frisa·n-érbrath 'she to whom has been said' 220; frecre dondí as·robrad 'an answer to what has been said' Wb. 3°31.

A similar use of í after a noun with the article is found sporadically; e.g. ata·rachtatar (-tár MS.) in maic hi 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 Dáuid '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 chainchomráic hi 'the man of that friendliness (mentioned in the text)' Mi. 61°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 Brittanic dialects Mid.W. yss-it 'there is' seems to be the only example of deictic í (with addition of -t).

THE ARTICLE WITH so, sa, se, sin, tall, ucut, ísiu, ísin, ETC.

1. Adverbs of place may follow a noun with the article. Combined thus with the article (which in this construction 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°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°5. In examples such as rún ind forcill-sin 'the mystery of that testimony' 28°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°4; cp. also Sg. 9°22, 202°3.
It occurs after a personal name without the article in *cosmail fri h-Ailill ucud* (ucud MS.) 'like Ailill there' TBC.3353. Later also *sucut*; shortened *út*, *sût*.

Other isolated examples of a demonstrative particle without the article, like *ærgartha-se* 'this forbidden thing' *Ml.* 69°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 olchenæ* 'the remaining cases'.

2. To emphasize the demonstrative, stressed *i* (*hí*) is placed before the particle; *so*, etc., is then always replaced by

-siu. Examples: *in fer (h)í-siu* 'this man', *in fer (h)í-sín, in fer (h)í thall*; *int Alaxander hí-sín Wb.* 28°20; *ónd rainn inmedónich hí-sín ind aitrebthado* 'from that internal part of the possessor' *Sg.* 198°13.

**SUBSTANTIAL FORMS**

**476.** 1. The forms with *i* may all be used as substantives: *int-í-siu, ind-í-siu, an-í-siu* 'this one', 'the following one'; similarly *int-í-sín, int-í thall, an-í t[h]úas* 'the above' *Ml.* 117°6. Examples: *as-beir-som anísíu* 'he says this' *Wb.* 12°21, *Ml.* 94°5; *isindísiu* 'in this', pl. *isnaib-hí-síu; mogae indísin* 'servi' (pl.) *huius*; *indi riam* 'of that (which goes) before' *Wb.* 17°21; *indi ar chiunn* 'of that (which is) ahead' 28°11.

2. The following forms are also used substantivally: *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-* *iá*-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 suidiú* 'more than that' *Wb.* 24°5.

There is another form *ol-su(i)de*, neut. *ol-sod(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 gō doib* 'they say that the Son is a God of iniquity, which (however) is a lie on their part' *Ml.* 21°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. *olsuidé n-dath gl. quem colorem *Ml.* 76°10, *olsodain oín quod solum Sg.* 41°1. (In *olsodin nad choir anísin* *Ml.* 127°4 the relative clause is given

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=idi quod* only in *Ml.* 29°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 si ind remainsdis in so* 'this is the predeclaration' *Tur.* 24; *is hed for n-ainm in sin* 'that is your name' *Wb.* 5°17; *id in so* 'this here (is) *s* withe' *LU* 4744; *labraid in spirut noib in so* 'the Holy Spirit says this' *Ml.* 115°2; *ni · tusscus-sa in sin* 'I did not understand that' 91°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°3; *da-gniu-sa sin* 'I do that' *Wb.* 14°26.
In the first two examples cited above, *sí* and *hed* do not refer to *in so*, *in sin*, but anticipate the predicates *ind remaisndis* and *for n-ainm* (§ 815). Originally this applies also in such sentences as *hit hé sin inna ranna allí as-rubart túas* 'those (lit. 'that') are the other parts which he has mentioned above' Sg. 22°3, *it hé se inna bríathra* 'these are the words' 4°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]i in so ind rún in so* 'this is the mystery' Wb. 13°16 (cp. *Ml*. 86°3).

Neuter *hese* Sg. 201°3 (as against *ed se* 206°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' Ml. 16°10; *is torbe són* (*cid ed ón*) 'that (even

that) is profitable' Wb. 12°24 (23°31); *batar carait iresaig adi* 'these were faithful friends' Ml. 31°3; *soscélae as-n-ineddat* *di* 'the gospel that these set forth' 42°7; *is é side rod-finndad* 'it is he that used to know it' Sg. 209°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°2 beside *nicon-laímemmar-ni ón* 'we dare not (do) that' Wb. 17°8; *nís-n-áirim mide* *idi* 'I do not reckon these' Sg. 205°2. Cp. also *tít ón* (lit. 'he goes that') 'he goes thus' LU 5072 (cp. § 422).

For *sí + ade* Wb. writes *sí-ede*, Thes. II, 16, 41sí *ide*. For *side, sídi* we find *sede* Wb. 2°21, 24°37, *saidai* (read *saidi*) Thes. II. 12, 33; *sídi* Wb. 3°14, 30°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°4, 71°16) instead of the otherwise universal form (*h*)ed *ón*. Wb. and Ml. generally have *ón* after all emphasising particle with *s*; *e.g. is córu dúb-sí *ón* 'that is meeter for you' Wb. 5°37 (Hessen, *KZ*. XLVI. 1 f.).

480. C. After prepositions the neuter forms acc. sg. *se* (not *so*), dat. *siu*, and acc. dat. *sin* are used. Examples: *ar-se* 'therefore', *co-se cosse* 'so far', *corricci-se* 'so far', *la-se lasse* 'while' (§ 891), *cennitha-se* 'apart from this'; *ar-síu* 'therefore' (*airsiu* Wb. 1°12), *de-síu* 'hence', *hí-síu* *issíu* 'here', *re-síu* 'before'; *ar-sín, cossín, fo-sín, fri-sín, la-sín, tri-sín*; dative *di-sín, do-sín, (h)ji-sín, iar-sín, re-sín, siu*. *Síu* may be replaced by the adverb *sund* 'here': *do-sund*, *thereto*, *ó-sund* 'therefrom', *di-sund*, *hi-sund*, *iar-sund*. Conversely *siu* 'at this side' and (although more rarely) *sin* 'there', *i.e. 'at the said place' (Sg. 9°13, 191°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)di*. Examples: *do *suidiu* (masc. neut.), *ar sod(a)in, amal sod(a)in*. In the plural, however, *su(i)di* often appears in place of the accusative, *e.g. la suidib, fri suidib beside la suidiu, fri suidiu* (Collection: *Strachan, Trans. Phil. Society*, 1903-6, p. 243, note 3; cp. § 451).

Further, any of the pronouns of § 478, 479 may be used

after a conjugated preposition (§ 432 ff.,) which is introduced by the copula. Examples: *is dó in so* 'it is for this' Wb. 27°20; *is airí in sin* 'it is therefore' Sg. 213°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. níba samlid do-éin-sa mo thuaid in sin* 'it will not be so that I shall protect my people' Ml. 37°20. But where there is no periphrasis, such combinations are still rare---*e.g. fuiiri sidi* (instead of *for suidi*) Ml. 199°5, *ant sin* (for *i-sin*) Ml. 36°1--although later they become common.

481. (in) *so* and (in) *sin* are also found as accusative after the equative; *e.g. lérithir in so* 'as eager as this (following)' Wb. 27°19; *demnithir sin* 'as certain as that' Ml. 131°12. *Sin* is dative in *máa sin* 'greater
than that' Sg. 150°1, genitive in i ndiad sin, i ndigaid sin 'after that' Ml. 75°8, 71°11; it may be preceded by a possessive pronoun, e.g. a fius sin 'knowledge of that' Wb. 10°27.

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°39, Thus. II. 251. 6, also *de Wb. 1°3 (dé 26°20); for sidi Ml. 112°20 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. sā sā, Gk. ὅσον), 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 -s. 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.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A where</th>
<th>B whither</th>
<th>C whence</th>
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<tr>
<td>here</td>
<td>sund,</td>
<td>il-lei (Wb.), il-</td>
<td>de-síu</td>
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<tr>
<td>there, beyond</td>
<td>t-all</td>
<td>inn-un (n , inn-</td>
<td>an-all</td>
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<td>above</td>
<td>t-úas</td>
<td>s-úas</td>
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<td>below</td>
<td>t-ís</td>
<td>s-ís</td>
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<td>in front, east</td>
<td>t-air</td>
<td>s-air</td>
<td>an-air</td>
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<td>behind, west</td>
<td>t-íar</td>
<td>s-íar</td>
<td>an-íar</td>
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<tr>
<td>right, south</td>
<td>dess</td>
<td>fa-des, sa-</td>
<td>an-dess</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>left, north</td>
<td>túaid</td>
<td>fa-thúaith, sa-</td>
<td>an-túaid</td>
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<tr>
<td>outside</td>
<td>s-echtair, s-echtar</td>
<td>an-echtair</td>
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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°17; frie de-síu 'on this side of her' Sg. 71°2 (cp. Lat. ab oriente). But dess and túaith may also be employed like prepositions; e.g. túaith 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: diandes, dianechtair, 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 inonnn side_ 'these are the same' _Wb. 23°16_; _condib sinonn persan_ 'that the person may be the same' Sg. 189°2. When used with a feminine noun, it occasionally lenites: _is inunn cretem_ 'the sense is the same' _Ml. 77°1_, 114°1, Sg. 144°1, but not in _Ml. 76°13_ or _Wb. 7°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°26.

When it is used substantively a second _oín_ is added. Examples: nominative after _is_: _is hinon oín_, 'it is one and the same', _is sinonn n-óen Sg. 198°5_; without _is_ but with the pronoun _ed_: _ed’nonóen Sg._, _ed’nun n-oín Ml. 70°1_; acc. pl. _inna oína oína-sa_ 'hos eosdem' 70°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 suñu cétnai_ 'on the same words' _Ml. 133°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 _-éin_; 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._).

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<tr>
<td>1 fén</td>
<td>fadéín</td>
<td>céin</td>
<td>cadéin</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 fén</td>
<td>fadéín</td>
<td>céin</td>
<td>cadéin</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3 masc. neut.</td>
<td>fédé + ‘(i )ssin, fédé + ‘(i )sin, fédé (Fél.)</td>
<td>cē + šin</td>
<td>cadē + šin</td>
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<tr>
<th>fem. fén + ‘(i )sine, fén + ‘sine, fén + ‘s in, fissin</th>
<th>fadisin, fadé + šne</th>
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<tr>
<td>pl. 1 fé + šine</td>
<td>fanis (s )in</td>
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<tr>
<td>2 fé + ‘s (s )ne, fé + ſiš</td>
<td>fadé + ‘sine, fadisin</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 fé + ‘š (s )ne, fé + ‘s (s )ne, fén + ‘(i )sin, fén + ‘(i )sine, fadé + ‘sine, fadé + ‘sine, cē + ‘šine, cē + ‘šine, cē + ‘šine, cē + ‘šine</td>
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Examples: _caraid cesin_ 'he himself loves'; _da-berid-si féissne_ 'ye yourselves give it'; _don chrunn fésin_ 'to the tree itself'; _mé fén_ 'I myself'; _frinn fánis 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 _fén_ seems to occur only in (later ?) poetry. In _Auraicept na n-Ées_ 650 the singular for all persons is given as _fadéin_, the plural as _fadesin_. In _Mod. Ir._ _fén_ 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. *aili*, dat. *ailiu*, 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. *alaill* (the latter followed by lenition, § 232, 7), or, with dissimilation, *araile, araill*. This form is always used without the article (acc. pl. masc. *alailliu*). 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* and the gen. pl. *ala n-aile*; Sg. has also nom. pl. *ala-aili* (but *Wb. and Ml.alaili*). The archaic spelling nom. *allaill* RC. XI.

446, 52 (and acc. sg. fem. *alaill* *ibid. 43*) with -ll- suggests that the fusion originated in the neutrer.

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*21.

*alaill* also means 'some, certain' (*quidam, aliqui*), and in this sense is common as an adjective; e.g. *alaill thríuin* 'of a certain hero' *Sg. 66*4; *alaill sain* 'something different' *6*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'; *dond lucht* ... *dond lucht aliiu* 'to the one group ... to the other group' *Wb. 16*20; *indala-mmod* 'one of the two ways' (mod masc.) *Ml. 45*11; *indala chlas* 'the one choir' (clas fem.) *138*1. Without the article: *li aia lecuinn Saul* 'by one of Saul's cheeks' *55*1.

A possessive pronoun cannot be used with it; cp. *indara* (= O.Ir. *indala*) láim (acc.) dó 'one of his hands' LU5012 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*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 *alaill* ... *alaill*, or may be expressed by the neuter sg.: *araill dlb* ... *araill LU 5017*; *ail* ... *ail Fél. Prol. 23* f.

'Every other' is *cach-la* (from *cach ala*, written *cach le Ml. 19*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*15, 6*18, 13*5. The later form *É(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*7, *elithrigmi* gl. *exulamus, 46*22.
488. aile, pretonic ala, corresponds exactly to Lat. alius, Gk. ἄλλος, Goth. aljís. 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' Ml. 48°34, all-thir 'another land' Trip. 174, 14, aili-thre '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, Supp. 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 Ml. 69°7), which is confined to Ml., 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°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 bail Sg. 5°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°14; acc. masc. neut. ní étade . . . nacha slóglussu .i. nacha síde gl. nullas indutas adepta est Ml. 111°19-20; dat. (without ending) hó nach mindaib 'nullis insignibus (cumulari)' 35°16.

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 ani (§ 474). ní ((a) above), or nanní, from these a hybrid form anní has developed as early as Ml. 90°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 cáich cretes 'of everyone who believes' Wb. 2°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* (cach Thes. II. 255, 4) and the exceptional gen. neut. *caich* Wb. 5°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 oīna* 'all individuals' Ml. 56°20; nom. fem. *cecha dethidnea* 'all cares' Wb. 3°30; gen. fem. *cecha sóinmech* 'rerum omnium' Ml. 91°12; dat. *hi cacha persanaib* 'in omnibus personis' Sg. 208°11 (cp. Wb. 16°27). But forms without any ending are also found: acc. *sech cech rīga* 'beyond all kings' Ml. 84°1, dat. ē *cach tharrmorcnib* 'from all endings' Sg. 43°5.

Before numerals it has a distributive function: *cach oīn* '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°46 still *cach n-æ*) but after a preposition *frí cach n-áe* Sg. 28°8.

(c) *cechtar* 'each (of two)' is always substantival and indeclinable, e.g. *cechtar in-da rann* 'each of the two parts' Sg. 74°5. With a pronoun of the 3rd person the form is either *cechtar n-áí* with petrified *n*- (except, Thes. II. 249, 11) like *nechtar n-áí* (§ 489 c), or *cehtar de* (as genitive Ml. 31°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* 'uterque' 122°9, *in lésbairce cechtardae-se* 'utrumque luminare' 121°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 câch, nech, ETC.

The word *câch* (declined as an o-stem), OW. *paup*, points to *q"āq"os*. It may correspond to Lith. *kōks*, O.Slav. *kakā* '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"os', with an adverbial form of the same stem; cp. perhaps Lesb. *κάν-να* ka 'wherever'. The shortening in proelitic *câch* is regular. The by-form *cech* does not correspond to Bret. *pep*, which represents shortened *pēup* = *éach*. *Cehtar* 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).

*nach*, unstressed *nach*, Britanni. *nep*, obviously goes back to *ne-q"os*, and its original meaning was doubtless 'no-one'. After it had become usual for the verb of the sentence to be also negatived (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. *nē + -kas* 'something' or O.Fr. *nul* 'anyone' in conditional sentences. Neuter *ní* with geminates in the sen- tence, is peculiar, suggesting as it does a basic form *nēq* instead of *nēq*od (or -q"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 (i instead of -ē) may be due to the influence of *an-i* (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 *cehtar* 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-áí* (§ 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 ace. sg. neut. of the article (§ 468.), i.e. -a^n or -sa^n according as the preposition originally ended in a vowel or a consonant: ar-a^n, di-a^n, oc(c)-a^n; cosa^n, fris(s)a^n, lasa^n, tresa^n: fora^n beside forsa^n, but only etera^n, etira^n. In its relative function this element, is invariable in gender, number, and case.

Before a^n the prep. do becomes di, thus falling together with the prep. di. Beside fo-a^n we also find fua^n and fo^n (probably fo^n), e.g. Mi. 35°16, 18; for ó-a^n also ua^n and ó^n (cp. § 114.). Instead of i^n with the relative particle simple i^n 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^n 'if, when', ara^n 'in order that', co^n con^n 'until, so that' (see § 473.).

Before the d of infixed pronouns and before the 3 sg. -d and -b (-p) of the copula, (s)jan-, (s)am- is replaced by (s)im-, (s)im- except in dian-, loan-, oan-; e.g. arin-depur '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, airdip 'so that it may be'; armbad 'so that it might be', pl. airmatis airdmis. A similar elision sometimes takes place before the substantive verb bid --e.g. fris-m-biat Sg. 202°3

beside tresa-m-bí Wb. 23º5--and before infixed pronouns (§ 413.). In poetry it occurs before other verbs also; e.g. ni fris-tarddam 'something to which we call give' SP. (Thes. II. 293, 19); las-luid 'with whom (he) went' Féil. June 15; cos-tiagat '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-ruchtac'h 'to whom should not have been born' Thes. II. 241, 9 (Arm.) (positive dia-); ocna-biat 'with which there are not' Ériu I. 218 § 2; asnach-tuctad 'out of which he would not have brought them' Mi. 125°7; dinacon-bi 'from which is not wont to be' 85°7; cid arna- Sg. 198°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 call 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' Féil. Proil. 162.

2. Negative relative clauses employ the negatives nā + ē, nā + ' (before infixed pronouns nā + čh-), also nadcon, nadchon, instead of ni + ē, 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-ner-ta-ni 'who strengthens us' Wb. 61°11 (class C) beside ronn-icc-ni 'which has saved us' 21°8 (A); donaibh frissid-n-oircitis 'to those

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who used to injure him' MI. 39°20 (C) beside neich frit·curethar chéill 'of anyone who worships him' 41°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, tile, stress then shifting to the next element: e.g. int airdérgud ar·ru·dérgestar 'the plan which he has planned' Wb. 4°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°13 (usually is hed in so ara·thá); ré im·rádad (perhaps -imrádad, see 6 below) 'a time when he might think' MI. 41°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 thór·ther 'of what is denoted' (to-fo-rind-) Sg. 59°18: nech dóestar 'anyone who has eaten' Eriu VII. 146 § 2; indíí torgaba 'of him who has committed' ibid. 142 § 9; cp. Mi. 38°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 as the negative nā + ā, lenite the following initial. Examples: din gním for·chomnaccuir 'to the deed which happened' Mi. 113°3; a n-ad·chiam 'that which we see' 112°13; innání imme-churetar 'of those who carry' Wb. 5°5; ind huli doíni ro·chreitset 'all men who have believed' Mi. 60°16; is hed in so no·chairigur 'this is what I reprimand' Wb. 11°1; sillab nad·sluindi 'a syllable that does not express' Sg. 25°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. ínti ropo magister 'he who was magister' Wb. 13°12a; napo chenéel 'which was not a kindred' 5°14.

For infixed d before vowels and f + 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°5; forsnáí comainnatar 'on those who fulfil' 20°1; a césme 'what we suffer' 13°7 (here c = g because preceded by ar').
In *Ml.* they are sometimes lenited after the forms of *intí*; e.g. *indí chomallaite* 'those who fulfil' 114°7. In *Sg.* lenition has become widespread (except after an); e.g. *cisí aimser derb thechtas* 'what is the definite time that it has?' 26°6. 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°14.

(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°27; *do rétaib ata chosmaili* 'of things that are similar' *Ml.* 51°8; *nip hé·som bes f + órcenn* '(provided) it is not it (masc.) that is the end' *Sg.* 169°1; *indíi beta thuicsi* 'those who shall be chosen' Wb. 4°40; *ba hed ón ba choir* 'it were that that were proper' 10°9; *nech bed chafe* 'anyone that was a friend' *Ml.* 29°16; *betis chumtachtaib* gl. *figendis* 102°10 (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°22; *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°21.

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°17, *bad sissi con·éit* (sg.) 'let it be ye that shall be indulgent' 6°, *it sib ata chomarpi* 'it is ye that are heirs' 19°20. The examples in *Ml.* of a different construction, such as *no-thorisnigiur* gl. *me fidentem* 126°19, 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°9.

Hence they are also used after 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* ° 'while, when' (as distinct, from *a* ° '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°18; *is sí méit in sin do-n-indnagar in díthnad* 'that is the extent to which the consolation is bestowed' 14°15.

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 forctal forndob-canar 'the teaching that (in Irish rather 'how') ye are taught' Wb. 3°23; i n-aimsir in tindnacu[i]ll sin du · n-écomnacht dia inni Saúl 'at the time of that deliverance whereby God delivered that Saul' Ml. 55'.

500. (d) When the antecedent supplies the concept that constitutes the predicative nominative of the relative clause. Examples: cid drúalnide m-bes chechtar in da rann 'though each of the two parts be corrupt' Sg. 202°3; plebs dei as-dan-bérthe-ni '(it, is) plebs dei that we used to be called' Ml. 114°7. The same construction appears in ol-dáu 'than I' after comparatives (§ 779, 1), lit. 'beyond what I am', 3 sg. pret. ol-m-þoi, 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°13; dun chách á-gaibde 'to everyone they seize' Ml. 76°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 ', but after cid the present construction is occasionally found; e.g. cid no-m-betha 'wherefore shouldst thou be?' Wb. 4°24. The meaning here may be a development of (b).

Further, with the verb tâ- (§ 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°9, pret. is hed ro-m-bóth dom 23°24, etc. The causal conjunctions fo bith, 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, 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°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-roichlis-se '(it is clear) in that thou hast guarded me' Ml. 74°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 nà + ò, nà + 'nasalize the following initial. Examples: óre do-n-écomnacht 'because he has imparted' Wb. 1°1; in tan ara-iléghar (ll = nasalized l) 'when it is read out' 9°3; a-nno-n-derbid 'when ye prove' 22°24; ní nád-m-bia 'not that there will not be' 13°17; arna-tomontis na-m-bad rath 'lest they should suppose that it is not a grace' 12°21.

Sometimes, however, the initial of the copula is not nasalized after the negative; e.g. Wb. 16°4, 18°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) á-dond-foirde ainmm 'as a noun signifies it' Sg. 26°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°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: ín tain m-bís
'when he is' Wb. 17°3 (beside in tain bíis 28°28, where, however, the m may have been dropped between n and b); amal ń-giess 'as he prays' 24°19; hóre déte (for téte, d = nasalized t) 'because he goes' 11°7; fo bíth ń-óenigedar 'because he unites' Sg. 172°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°23; do thaidbsiu as n-iress 'to show that it is faith' 19°14; ol at n-émecha 'because they are opportune' Ml. 121°15.

In the later Glosses n occasionally appears before unstressed words; e.g. as n-di thalam Ml. 68°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°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°17; in tain ro-po mithich 'when it was time'.

19°7 (beside in tain ro-m-bo mithig 31°9); ol is amein 'since it is so' 6°8; is derb is fir ón 'it is certain (that) it is true' 25°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 toisegiu grían . . . ocus is laithe foilsigedar 'as the sun is prior . . . and it is the day that makes clear' Ml. 85°11. ní instead of nā + (d) in the second clause occurs particularly often. Collection: Strachan, Ériu 1. 155, note 4. cp. further Wb. 10°11.

Subject and object clauses (§ 503) can also be introduced by conjunctions like ara n, co n, 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-siú, ri-siú 'before', which elsewhere is never followed by relative construction, occurs once with a nasalizing and once with a leniting relative clause: resiú do-n-dichsitis 'before they came' 104°5, risiú ad-cheth 'before he saw' 38°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°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°13, is dó thucad 'it is for this that it has been cited' Sg. 45°19.

Leniting in place of regular nasalizing relative clauses also occur; e.g. cid dían; cian no-théisinn 'though I went fast and far' Ml. 41°9 (cp. 19°11, 22°4); do·adbadar as choms(uigidthe) 'it is shown to be a compound' Sg. 207°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°16a; ci ara·rubartat biuth 'though they have enjoyed' Ml. 91°1; similarly ma 'ra·rubart biuth 112°5.

507. GENITIVAL RELATIONIrish 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 corpus 'there are things here which it is not easy to refer to bodies' (lit. 'not easy is their reference to bodies'), a ' being the ordinary possessive pronoun) Wb.13\(^2\)/4.

b. If the substantive to be defined is the subject of the clause and the predicate is an adjective, the copula has the relative form but the genitival possessive relation remains unexpressed. Examples: don brathir as énirt menne 'to the brother whose mind is weak' Wb. 10\(^{2}\)/1; is ed as maam sere la tuistidi 'that is what is most loved by parents', lit. 'love (of which) by parents is greatest' Mi. 99\(^{2}\)/5.

In poetry the possessive pronoun a can be appended to the copula (cp. (c) below); e.g. na féile ass-a fortrén taitnem 'of the feasts whose radiance is mighty' Fél. Prol.330; atá ( = ata-a ) n-aidbli briga '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 atá ( = ata-a ) chomrama óen-aidchí so ule 'this lad whose fights of a single night all this is' LU 9155; bennachais in rig 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 bíis isnaib titlaib Mi. 2\(^{3}\)/3; cp. also Zenobi atá ( = 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 in later examples (with a negative verb); e.g. gáí . . . na · cumcitis curaid comlíth 'a spear which heroes could not move' Togail Troi (ed. Stokes) 1730.

d. If the substantive to be qualified by a preposition, the relative particle (s)a ' (§ 492.) attached to the preposition can function as the genitive of the relative, but is then separated from the copula by the verb. Example: lasna cumachtgu foa-m-biat . . . màm 'by the mighty, under whose yoke they are' Mi. 59\(^{7}\)/7 (non-relative: biilt fo-a màm ). Here too, i ' is used without the relative particle: e.g. mór n-ingin i-rrába 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 ái 'of each person whose (property) it is' Laws IV. 314, 15; intí bess-a hái 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' Mi. 87\(^{2}\)/15 (instead of dia-suidigther ); ní-fail ní nad-taí mo diligeth-sa fair 'there is nothing on which my law does not touch' Sg. 26\(^{7}\)/7 (instead of forná-táí ).

508. An amalgameation of relative constructions similar to that in § 507 (c) is also found when a superrelative 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: innáni as deg ro-chreitset Wb. 31\(^{6}\)/6 'of those who have best, believed' (non-relative: is deg ro-créitset, with nasalized c); as maam ro-sechestar arsidetaid 'who has most, followed antiquity' Sg. 208\(^{15}\)/5.

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.
509. (a) In all three Britannic 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 gwrr a gareri* 'the man who loved' or *whom she loved* (gareri lenited form of carei). The Old 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 verb 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', *tête*, 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 Britannic *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, Board Celt. Stud. III. 245 ff.). A different vowel is suggested by the Gaulish 3 pl. rel. *dugiontiio*, Dottin no. 33, where it is uncertain whether the form should be analysed as *dugiontio-i* 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 + od = 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* ?, 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* ?, pl. *ata* ?, 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 relatival 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 ? 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 conjuctions *ar-a* ?, *di-a* ?. (co ?), which really belong to the principal clause, and after prepositions with the relative particle *-(s)a* ? 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, ð 'since, after', and co (without) 'so that'.

511. (c) In both types of relative clauses, as well as after the abovementioned conjunctions with a ð, 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 cia 'though' and ma 'if' (§ 426), and is certainly contained in mā + 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. yď (yθ, 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). Infixed 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 use, I after the 3 sg. pres. ind. of the verb 'to be' to characterize the 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 cia and ma is doubtless the same particle. It is true that Mid.W. cyt 'although', neg. OW. cinnit, has t, not ð; 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(ð) (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. ihā 'here' has been suggested; on phonetic grounds one might also consider Gk. ἵδε, which in Homer means 'and', but in Cyprian is frequently used to introduce a principal following a subordinate clause.

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THE VERB


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 druidid ocus dona filedaib 'off with the heads of the druids and the poets!' ZCP. III. 5 § 15; a Hérinn dúib-si 'get ye gone out of Ireland!' (do introduces the prospective agent.) ibid. 4 § 9; in comrar do thaíresem beus no in mocc 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. cúmonga (-ae MS.) foraib, bruít úanidi impu uli, tanaslaidi (-de MS.) óir inna m-brataib, cúrséith 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 may be preceded only by conjunctions, interrogatives, relative (s)a n 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. 20'20.

In the Brittanic 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 ríg 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 mainib miástar '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· chomhdu coíma 'the Lord cherishes me' Sg. 204 (Thes. II. 290, 11); for-don· itge Brigit 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: óenchaíre 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 thúthaib 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 123'2; 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 dugiointiio (§ 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·écmaing, for·cumaing 'happens', saidid 'sits' only in the preterite indicative (§ 619); 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. tiagar 'let people, someone go', lit. 'let it be gone', ro·both 'people have been', etc.

-MOODS-

**515.** The Irish verb distinguishes three moods:

1. Indicative,
2. Imperative, or mood of commands and prohibitions,

**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°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. soira-siu gl. liberato Ml. 61°15 as against non·sóer-ni gl. absolue 46°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°41 as against tiagar-sa (ipv.) 'let me go (at once)' Ml. 58°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 1. 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

communicamini cum illo gl. duús indip fochunn íce dó a indarpe 'to see if perchance his expulsion may be a cause of salvation for him' Wb. 26°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 pityes whomssoever he please' Wb. 4°19: czech (MS. chech) irnigde do·n·gneid 'every prayer that ye make' 5°20; in tan imme·romastar nach noíb 'whenever any saint sins' (pr. subj. with ro ) Ml. 51°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 dia forn·ni
fochith . . . nad·fo-chomolsam 'God puts not upon us (any kind of) suffering which we cannot endure'

Wb. 14°15 ('can' is expressed not by the subjunctive but by the prep. -com-, § 533.) and even (ne commotius in sé) quam modus patitur . . . (undicetur) gl. acht amal fund-lé 'but as it endures it' MI. 32°2. So too after co "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 á-doindae á-du-n-ema in duine 'even human power is able to protect a man' MI. 74°14; is écen dam nonđa-ğes dat-siu 'it is necessary for me that I should pray for them to Thee' 21°9. Clauses dependent on expressions of saying and thinking, and on ní 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 isindísin 'heretics say that this is the difference that is shown therein' MI. 24°25; do-ruménar-sa rom-sa día 'I thought I was a god' 49°13; ní nád-m-bia cid cumscugud donaib pecthachaib 'not that there will not be even a change for the sinners' Wb. 13°17. For examples with the subjunctive see § 520, 2.

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 "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°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°1; dund idbairt ad·oparthe 'for the offering that used to be offered' Wb. 15°20; nilaimthe-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 di '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).

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°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 dim-sa tairrchet ad-cichitis gentiper mé ’it is of me it has been prophesied that Gentiles would see per me’ Wb. 7°2; as-bert Flacc . . . 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.) álil dúib cid accíladam neich dílb da-rígénte (sec. fut.) ‘should ye desire even to converse with any of them ye would be able to do it’ Wb. 13°3 (potential); ni-tíbértais (sec. fut.) plána foraib mani esérístis (past subj.) ‘punishments would not be inflicted upon them if they did not rise’ Ml. 15°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°1; du-uchtar tria rosc aní no-labrafítes ‘through their eye is understood what they would say (if they spoke)’ 55°10; fa-díomed aínced acht dond-ecmaing anísin ‘nature would suffer it save that that (other thing really) happens’ (= if that

did not happen) Sg. 137°5. A somewhat similar use is found in sentences like no-dílastais (nodílastáis MS.) finnæ for usciu ‘they (the swords) would split a hair on water (if used for that purpose)’ LU 7701.

The secondary future is also employed in negative or interrogative clauses to refute a false supposition. Examples: ni-díned Dávid. . . ‘D. would not have done . . .’ Ml. 14°4; cia salscr-biid con-ícéd són ‘what psalmist could have done that?’ 14°6; non . . . significat. . . illud gl. ani hua-n-aínnmíchfide ‘that by which (one might expect) it would be called’ Sg. 30°1, cia ragas (fut., O.Ir. regas ) and . . . cia no-rágad (sec. fut., O.Ir. -rágad) acht mad (past subj.) messe (MS. -sf) ‘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°1: ‘nutritor’ et ex eo nascebatur ‘nutritrix’ gl. no-gigne[d] ‘it would have arisen’ (but has not).

Collection: Baudíš, 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 bésad fir trebuir crenas tíir dia chlainnd cid risíu ro-báe (pr. subj.) cland les, is samlíd ar-robot-som ar n-ice-ní cid risíu ro-beimnis (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°23; as-rubart diá hi recht . . . ara-sechitis a thimnae ‘God

had said in the Law that they should follow His commandments’ Ml. 125°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)’ Ml. 131°3; as-berat alaili combad du déthriub no-tísed (read -ed ) á ii-Jacob ‘some say that “Jacob” applies to the two tribes’ 34°6; dóig linn bed n-acuipraeter qualisocus combad chircunflex for soidiu ‘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°8. To denote unreality: _níait día fo tairigere conid-chumscai̇ged_ 'God does not undertake a promise that He should alter it' _Ml._ 109°5; _ní nád-m-bed ar se dl chorp act atá de_ 'not that it is not therefore of the body (as might be supposed), but it is of it' _Wb._ 12°22; _Euripides ab Euripo (MS. Eurupo) nominatus est_ gl. _ar iss ed laithe in sin ro-ǐ-génair-som_ (pf. ind.), _ní airindí ro-ǐ-genad-som_ (past subj.) _ísind luc-sin_ 'for that is the day on which he was born, not because he was born in that place' (false supposition) _Sg._ 31°6.

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 düib céesad Crist amal ad-cethe no fo-ᚱ-röcad düib amal bid fiádib 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°6. Similarly _is cumme_ . . . _bid idole_ 'it is the same as though it were an idol-offering' _Wb._ 10°4, 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' _Ml._ 135°13.

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_.

_nobis_ gl. _combad_ (past subj.) _sníni for moidem-si_ _i_ . _co-n-érbarid-si_ (pr. subj.) . . . 'so that we might be your boast, i.e. so that ye may say . . .' _Wb._ 15°6; _ab omnibus se abstinet_ gl. _armbad irlamu de don búaith_ 'that he might be the readier for the victory' _Ml._ 11°7, beside _is do bar tinchosc ara-n-dernaid a n-do-gnuam-ni_ 'it is to instruct you, that ye may do what we do' _Ml._ 16°24. It is also found, though very rarely, in general relative clauses after a present indicative in the principal clause; e.g. _mulieres in aeclesís taceant_ gl. _ar is insæ in ball do thinchos[с] neich as-berad cenn_ 'for it is impossible that the member should correct what the head might utter' _Wb._ 13°19, cp. 9°20. Here the normal tense is the present subj. (§ 517). In _Ml._ the Latin gerundive is generally rendered by _bed_ with the verbal of necessity, e.g. _bed airillti_ _gl. ad promerendam_ 22°22.

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.

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 (§...
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)jid (with i-flexion) 'passes the night' the weak flexion is confined to the present tense, 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 -ση, the Celtic in -a, 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 -ā-grade of the root (Brugmann, Grundriss II i. § 163); e.g. ro(i)thid 'sets in motion' beside rethid 'runs'; fu·lug(a) '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-lūadi 'agitates' beside luid 'he went'; with lengthening of the vowel, sá(i)did 'thrusts' (if not formed like Lat. sōpire). In addition, a small number of primary deponents have adopted this flexion:

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sechithir 'follows', Lat. sequitur, Gk. □ηεταί; ar·sissedar 'nitetür, innititur', 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 'uret'; imd(a)e 'numerous': ·imd(a)igedar 'is numerous'; béo 'living': ·bēoigedar 'vivifies'; follus 'clear': ·fo·ligedar 'clarifies, makes clear'; séim 'thin': ·sé(i)midedar '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': ·fogur(a)igedar 'sounds'; debuith 'stripe': ·deBethigedar, ·depthigedar 'contends, fights'; cruth 'shape': ·cruth(a)igedar 'shapes'; su(i)de 'sitting': ·su(i)digedar 'sets'; gáu, gó 'lie, falsehood': ·gú(a)igedar 'lies, falsifies'; écen 'necessity': ·çon·éicnedgar 'necessitates'; aímn (n-stem) 'name': ·aímnigidgar 'names'; airmi. tíu (n-stem) féid 'honouring': ·airmitnigidgar 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, conualcescit';
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 Britonnic dialects have h, a development of intervocalic s, before -ag-; e.g. O.Bret. lemhaam (≪ -hagam) gl. acuo, from lem 'pointed'; OW scamnhegint 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.

§ 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 'night': -certa 'corrects'; deponent, comlán 'complete': -comlándar -athar 'fulfils'.

b. a-verbs from nouns; e.g. nert 'strength': -nerta 'strengthens'; rann 'part': -ranna 'divides'; cenn and forcenn 'end': -forcenn 'terminates'; croch 'cross': -croicha 'crucifies'; deponent, ciall 'sense': -fiallathar 'takes heed of'.

c. i-verbs from nouns; e.g. rád 'speech': -rádi 'speaks'; cenn 'end': -cini gl. finit and definit; dorn 'fist': -duri 'strikes with fists'; slond 'indication': -sluindí 'indicates, names'; immf + ólang 'cause': -imf-log(a)i 'causes', (which has a strong passive im-folangar in Ml.); dál 'share': -fodáil 'divides, pours out'; rim 'number': -rimi 'counts', -rimi 'enumerates'; scél 'tidings': -scél-bi a) 'explores'; toib 'side': -a-toibi, at(t)olbi 'adheres'; selb 'possession': -a-selbi (to-ad-selb-) 'assigns'; deponent, cor 'throw': -cu(i)rethar 'throws, puts'.

From an adjective: solb 'false': -soíbi 'falsities, deceives', which may be modelled on at(t)olbi. 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


526. The particle ro, ru is in origin a preposition (= Gk. npó, 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 function, and does not then differ from other preverbal prepositions (§ 852). For r- in place of ro in hiatus see § 852, ra for ro § 82, roí-, roé- 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 + d: nad-r-es-n-gabsat Ml. 122°8; con-r-os-an 'has ceased', interrog. in-ru-chum-s-an; in-r-úa-ldatar 'they have entered', with nā + d: 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 + ã), rarely after a preposition (§ 39). For its leniting effect see § 234, 2. If there is an infixed pronoun, this generally comes

after the preceding particle, and ro follows fully stressed (similarly after nā + ã); more rarely ro remains unstressed and is followed by the pronoun (§ 410).

b. Fixed ro has an invariant 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. ni-é-r-bart, similarly remi-é-r-bart 'has said before': do-á-r-bas (-ad-ro-) 'has been shown', ní-tá-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-úá-rid 'has remained over' Ml. 44°20, neg. níde-r-úá-rid 31°6; du-n-fo-r-s-aíl (fo-ro-oss-olg-) 'has delivered us' 125°9; do-r-é-cachtar, do-r-é-catar (ē < en) 'they have looked at', 3 sg. prototonic con-da-de-r-cacha LU 7057; nícon-de-r-ae-rachtatar (ae = é, < ess) 'they have not deceived' Ml. 75°12; fo-rr-acab (-ad-gab) 'has left' 37°10, past subj. pass. pl. arna-fa-rcabta Wb. 31°13. Also before -com - do-f-o-cho-salsa-sam 'which we have taken over' 21°4, tu-e-r-c[h]om-lássat (en-ro) 'they have gathered' Wb. 1. 7°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 doublets 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-gaítsam (thógait sam MS.) 'we have not deceived' Wb. 16°22 beside ni-m-tho-r-gait Ml. 38°13, subj. ni-to-r-gaitha Wb. 25°5, etc.; fo-indarld 'subvenient' 3a6 beside nad-r-indúaldatar Ml. 24°11 already cited; do-r-int-ail 'has turned, translated' (uertit) 3°7 beside earlier do-intarráe (-ro-iol) 54°3: nad-r-chum-gab (-com-us-s-gab) 'that he had not extolled himself' 20°7 beside con-n-úá-r-gab 37°15; isíndí ar-n-dam-róichís-se (ró from to-t + ó-) 'in that thou hast guarded me' 74°7 beside pf. pass. pl. ar-f-o-r-chelta Wb. 4°37. Cp.

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do • ró-sat Sg. 31°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 • fuisim, see § 649.

529. When stressed ro is added to the prep. for, this is sometimes treated as if it consisted of fo + r, infixed pronouns and the stressed ro being inserted before the -r. Examples: fo • rro-r-brís 'whom he had defeated' Ml. 67°24, to fo • brissi; fo-da • ro-r-eenn 'who has put an end to them' Wb. 11°27, to for • cenna, beside for-ru-m • chen[n]ad-sa Ml. 127°10; hó bu • ro-r-baither § 592; fo • ro-r-bart (-bairt mss.) 'has crown' Fél. Prol. 173 beside 3 pl. for • ru-bartatar Ml. 101°10, etc.

ro-íor has regularly become rór in do • rórpai 'has arrived' Sg. 196°8 (pres. du • fórban Ml. 61°22), du-rurgab 'has raised, arisen' (Ml.) does not contain the preposition for; the pres. du • furgab is based on a false analysis of prototonic * turgab (vb.n. turlbál), from to-uss-gab- (cp. § 849). The usual perfect tuargab is a different compound with the same meaning, to-uss-gab- (vb.n. turlbál KZ. XXXI. 245, Arm.) with -ro-; it in turn has 3 pl. do • fúargabsat Ml. 96°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 animarcide cia do · ru-rmithe (past subj.) la noiscribenda (noiscribinna 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 . . . iarsindi ro · m-bi hi rigi 'as a bow is reduced to crookedness . . . after it has been straight' Ml. 99f. This use is frequent in legal rules; e.g. ma ro · era flaith seo tuirc[h]uide is díles (dillus. MS.) trian na sét iar n-écaib na flatha don c[h]éli[u] mani-ro · metha forsin céle ceni-ro · biatha 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 + · r-balam-ni ní · bia nech 'if we shall have died, there will be no one . . . ' Ml. 107f.

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' Ml. 89f, is 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 n., 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-imgab '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 dia doib 'may God forgive it to them' Wb. 31f. 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. 30f. 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 wake me for a few, but wake 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 (clidárbastar MS.) 'it is necessary that it should be shown' Sg. 211a10, where likewise ro 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 bi- 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.

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 'continet': 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 (-di-sag-) 'seeks, demands' has pf. con · aitecht, prototonic · comtacht. The 3 pl. of this verb is once (Wb. 814) written con · oitechtatar; 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' Mil. 10245. On the other hand, ro appears regularly before vowels; e.g. con · aitreathar 'consults', pf. con · r-airlestar 1251, 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 coim-, cóem-.

Thus all compounds of orgid 'strikes, kills'; e.g. fris · oirg 'injures': fris · com-org- ; do · imm-uiug 'restrains': do · im-chom-org- ; do · fúairg (§ 855 A) 'crushes': do · comorg- . Further, do · rig 'strips': do · comrig- , pf. do · cóim-arraig (-reraig); do · nig 'washes': do · com-nig- ; fo · loing 'sustains': fo · com-long- , pf. 1 sg. fo · cóem-allag (-lolaig); as · toing 'rejects': pf. as · cuitig (at · cuitig ZCP. X. 47 § 22, XVII. 153; pass. ad · cuitecht).

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 · aire[h]estar Laws IV. 214, 3 (where all that remains of com-w- 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 1. 182, 24, etc., beside do · cum-baig 'he can levy' Laws IV. 326, 18 (see § 550), subj. pass. · to-chmastar (m 〈mb〉) O'Dav. 1550. Cp. further hó · r-esarta 'with which they have been slain' Ml. 34°13 beside as · com-art 'has been slain' 36°22, and pass. do · r-ind-nacht Wb. 20°15 beside do · é-com-nacht 'has bestowed'. In far · rochuaid 'confecta est' ZCP. VII. 479, beside for · cuad Tur. 49, ro has been added to com (cp. Ml. 121°24). § 534. 3. A few simple verbs take other prepositions:

ibid 'drinks' (subj. lús- § 765) has ess.

ithid (or rather the supplementary √ed-) 'eats' has de-fo- (§ 689, 766).

miligid 'milks' has to-oss-: pf. 1 sg. do · ommalig, pass. do · omalacht (AU. 732).

sa(i)did 'sits' and la(i)gid 'lies' have de-en-: pf. do · ess did essid, delig '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.

d o · 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-. . .), present do · rati, prototonic · tarti, cp. §§ 50, 759.

· cuirethar and fo · ceird 'throws, puts': ro-lä- (§ 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 · rúa-laid 'has gone in', nicon · im-ruldatar '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-choín 'despairs': pf. do · ro-choín, but neg. ni-ru · de-r-choín, similarly as · ro-choili 'determines'; (2) ad · roili (· ro-ili) 'earns': pf. 3 pl. ad · roilisset, neg. ni 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 · rurbag, 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-), as 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-commnucuir 'happened' and 'has happened'; nor in fo · làmadar 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 · ci 'sees' (§ 761, but cp. § 536). The deuterotonic perfective forms have a different stem in pf. ad · con-daire 'has seen' and pres. ad · ro-darcar 'can be seen' Sg. 172°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 · airccha-sa 6098), where air- seems to for ár- (ad-ro-).

The compound ro-cí- does not appear to be old; cp. ní · rochim gl. ní · airciu above, ipf. pass. ro · cithea (read -e) 'it could be seen' Laws III. 84, 5.

536. Two verbs, ro · clu(i)nethar and ad · ci, mark the narrative tense (the preterite without ro) by prefixing the conjunction co ' (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 · iccat '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.).

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)j, 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 infixed personal pronoun (§ 410 c); e.g. car(a)it 'they love': no-m-charthar '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.

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. iarmi 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. 21st1. 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' 1349.

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. 68st8.

(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 infixed 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PRESENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1.</td>
<td>no-m-charthar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>no-n-carthar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
A few OW. survivals show that in Brittanic 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.

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., fult., 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.
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 ff.). 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.

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·frith, and ·fúair, ·frith.
In the earlier period lam- 'dare' could apparently be used without the preverb, cp. laimir-sni gl. audemus Wb. I. 15'20, pret. 3 sg. lámair, Ált. ir. Dicht. I. 41 § 25. But also 1 sg. pres. ru·laimur Wb. I. 17'21.

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·inscanna; ·timchella 'surrounds': im·timchella beside do·imchella (but also substantive in·tinscann 'beginning' Sg., ipv. imthimchell-su M1. 28'10, 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).

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 bá + íd 'dies' ('bá IT. III. 53 § 98, pl. 3·baat ZCP. XIII. 374, 28); rá + íd 'rows' ('imm-rá 'voyages'); sná + íd 'swims'; scé + íd 'vomits'; sré + íd 'throws'; bí + íd 'is wont to be' (consuetudinal pres., for flexion see § 784); cí + íd 'weeps'; ad·cí 'sees'; gní + íd 'does'; lí + íd 'imputes'; do·sí 'deserves'; cló + (a)id 'subdues'; ad·noi 'entrusts'; con·ói 'guards' (also deponent con·ó + áthar); só + (a)id 'turns'; as·lúi (·loí ZCP. VII. 482) 'escapes'; 'do·lúi (3 pl. di·luat) 'looses'.

In a number of these hiatus the verb is not original. Some have lost -s-; e.g. ad·cé (pret. pass. ad·cess), and probably di·lu- (cp. acc. pl. síóglussu 'indutias' M1. 111'19); perhaps also bá- (cp. bás 'death'). In só- and (com-)ó-, the ó comes from áu, aw (they were thus originally i-verbs). Stems with -é- seem to have dropped a following w. cretid is by origin a compound of IE. ṣdhē- (Skt. śrad dadhāti), but is inflected like an i-verb (cp., however, § 678).

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: beríd 'bears', celid 'conceals', fedíd 'leads', gelid 'feeds, grazes', melid 'grinds', rethíd 'runs', techíd 'flies', agíd 'drives', alid 'rears', canid 'sings', claid 'digs', cingid 'steps', dringid 'climbs', lingid 'leaps', org(a)id orcíd 'slays', aingid 'protects' (conjunct -anich, root aneg-), rédíd 'drives, rides', tiá(g)ait 'they go' (3 sg. tét, § 591), ad-fiádat '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. pibati (fut. íba, pret. 3 pl. as-ibset, etc.); nascid 'binds', with the present suffix -sc- (cp. vb.n. naímid, but pret. nenaíse ); further, a number of verbs with nn like ad-greinn 'persecutes' (pret. ·gegrainn ), as-gleinn (·glinn Ml. 70*12) 'discutit', fo-gleinn 'learns', do-seinn 'pursues', arch. ro-gleinn 'finds room in'. Since the last verb corresponds to W. gann- (subj. ganno, inf. genn) and is cognate with Gk. χανδανειν (fut. χεασομαι), 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. gred'o '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 + mhati 'fastens', the nasal was originally confined to the present. (as in B III).

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 -I + e-/-I + + o (or according to others -i + ∼/l + + o); cp. Skt. pás-yā-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. oōθω, 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., ā and yātē); ro-laimethar 'dares'; do-moinethar (also ·múinethar, 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. saya (ipf. ·saíed, etc.); 3 pl. sedait, pass. sedair.

laigid 'lies', 3 pl. con-legat (Fianaig. p. 30, 30).

saíg, ·saig 'makes for, seeks', 1 sg. saígim ; 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 (Eriu VII. 142 § 15, ZCP. VIII. 308, 21). The usual form -cum(u)ing -cumaising, pass. -cumungan -cumangar, has been modelled on ful(a)ing 'supports' (§ 550), since the two verbs already had identical endings in forms like pl. 1 -cumcam, -ful(g)am, 3 -cumcat, -ful(g)at. Hence also vb.n cumang beside cumac(c) and the decompounds ad-cumang (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.

The passive of ad-guid 'invokes (as surety)' is ·acidither 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 ged.)

So too, beside bruinnid 'springs forth, flows' (which must not be confused with the weak i-verb bruinnid 'smelts') and do-brúinn Mi. 81-14 (cp. § 45), 3 pl. de-brúinnet ZCP. VIII. 564, do-eprannnat Mi. 39°2 (with to-ess), the byform do-n-eprennnet, with palatal vowel, occurs Sg. 209°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 Sjøestedt, L'aspect verbal et les formations à infixe nasal en celtique (1925).

B III. In a small group, inflected like B I, a nasal is infixed 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-pài 'smears' (√ 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. taithbech 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°2 (corresponding to con-riug ), pass taidbegar beside thabongar (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- 'levys', 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-), dítech (with dl-), and é(i)tech '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-choi-lich 'what it can support' Bürgschaft p. 26 § 72 beside ·fochomlaing Laws iv. 314y

(pr. subj. 3 pl. fo-da-comilset Laws III. 18, 20 beside 1 pl. ·fochomlsam Wb. 14°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 ·utuin, '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 δαμν-μι, -νημι, except that the short vowel of the plural (δαμνον + -μιον) 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 'requites', for-fen 'completes'; glen(a)id 'sticks fast' (W. 1 sg. glynafr); len(a)id 'follows, adheres to' (Skt. linān + tī); tuidmen 'makes fast' (to-di-men-, but wrongly resolved in deuterotonic do-uidmen, cp. Skt. minō + tī 'fixes'); ren(a)id 'sells'; tlen(a)id 'takes away' (= Lat. tollo, < 'tolnā ?); ern(a)id, -ern(n) 'bestows'; sern(a)id, -surn(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 tleinto l + (§ 215). So too ren- has re- < r, if both it and ern(a)id go back to the same original verb (Gk. nēρνμη), 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-adabantar Thes. II. 4, 33, for earlier do-ad-badanar (to-ad-fēd-).

Collection: KZ. XXXI. 84 ff.

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-chrin (see § 423) 'decays', pl. ara-chrinat; ad-gnin 'knows' and other compounds of ·gnin-, e.g. 1 sg., asa-gninaim Sc., 146°16; further, do-lin 'flows', pl. ·linat, although the weak perfect do-ru-lin occurs as early as Ml. 64°18 (vb.n. tuile ). Deponent: ro-finnadar 'gets to know' (§ 519, 1) beside the preterite-present ro-fītir 'knocks, knew'.

Inflected wholly like B I are: marn(a)id, ·maírn 'betrays' and at-baill (§ 423) 'dies', pl. at-ballat (with ∥ < 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 linat (Dottin no. 44) belongs here, -no- may perhaps = -nō- < -nov-, IE. -neu-. For the verb 'to hear', Skt. śn + nu- would lead one to expect a stem 'klīnu-' 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. gwnn 'I know'). On the other hand, 'klīnu- 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 his been confusion between the na- and nu- classes: with ara-chrin compare Skt. śr + nā + ē 'breaks'.

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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-fo-: du·fuibniter, and so on.

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·imagabaim 'I avoid' Sg. 50°8, as though it were an averb, ipv. imma-n-imcab Wb. 30°20 beside imcaib 28°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) 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°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 cara- and gara- (§ 597.), and hence an indicative form cairim occasionally appears (Wb. 23°12). Beside maraith 'remains' Sg.203 (Thes. II. xxii) we find the conjunct form ·mair Wb. 3°15. Beside regular do·aith-minedar (B II) 'reminds' Ml. 136°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.

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
### PERSONAL ENDINGS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A I</th>
<th>A II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>mór (a)im (m) (marbu, gono)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mór (a)j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mór (a)jith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>móras (s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>mór (a)j (predchimmi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mórth (a)j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mór (a)jt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>mórd (a)e mórt (a)e, móraite -ate -ite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### CONJUNCT FLEXION

| sg. | ·mór (a)im (m) (·caru) | ·lécim (m) (·ráidiu, ·bágu) |
|     | ·mór (a)j | ·léci |
|     | ·móra (doófoirnde § 99) | ·léci |
| pl. | ·móram | ·lécem |
|     | ·mór (a)jith | ·lécid -ith |
|     | ·mórat | ·lécet |

#### ABSOLUTE

| sg. | biru (orgo, melim) | ·biur (·canim) | ·tabur |
|     | biri | ·bir (·eim, ·rethi) | ·tab (a)jir |
|     | berid -ith | ·beir (·ber § 554) | ·tab (a)jir |
| rel. | beres (s) | | |
| pl. | berm (a)j | ·beram | ·taibrem |
| rel. | berm (a)e | | |
|     | ·beirthe | ·berid -ith | ·taibrid -ith |
|     | ber (a)jt | ·berat | ·taibret |
| rel. | berd (a)e bert (a)e | | |

#### THE PERSONAL ENDINGS


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 IndoEuropean secondary endings, thus 3 sg. ·beir to 'bheret, Skt. ipf. á-bharat, ep. Gk. □-v epe. The 3 pl. still has -ot in archaic forms: tu-thēgot 'which come', tu-esmot 'which shed Cam. 38b (for later do-thīagat. do-esmot), ni-anɡot 'they do not protect' ZCP. VIII. 330, 9. These forms point to -ont, cp. Gk. □-v epev; 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, ε-ϕέρετε, O.Slav. berete, Lat. ipv. legite (from -ete).
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. ἐ- ἐπείς, 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. vėd-i 'thou leadest' (reflective vėdė-s) and Gk. ἐπείς (where -s is secondary); but this ending is never found together with a 3 sg. ending -i. Undoubtedly the ending -ai in atal (§778) and imme-rail (§590) could be more easily derived from a + ũ + i than from a + ũ + is; but since the absolute and conjunct flexions are no longer distinguished in verbal stems in -a, it is possible that -ai 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), -teig, do-adbit, we find forms with -i like -rethi, -orcail (-oireil), -eclainn mi. 6444, 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 + -.

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 i + ʔ(A III), and in B II: -ráidui, do-gníu, -guidiu, etc. It obviously goes back to -o, the Indo-European thematic primary ending (cp. Lat. ferō, Gk. ἐποῦ), 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. bhárat, cp. Dor. tíðenti), and 3 pl. -(a)it to -o-nti (Dor. ἐποντί, cp. Bret. kanont). Further, 2 sg. -i is not incompatible with an original -e-si (Skt. bháraṣi).

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. -μι); 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. -masi (the by-form of -mah). The doubling of m is probably due to the influence of the copula, where 1 sg. -es-mi, pl.

'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 -om -av, (from -m) was generalized as the ending of the 1 sg. present. In Irish, -(l)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-cam Wb. 833, do-aur-chanaimm Sg. 60°12, beside for-cun Wb. 10°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-athghiniu '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. ProI. 162, fercaiethi-si MiI. 20°13 (deponent); but it is often found in the subjunctive and future: sáraigthe, sulbairichthe. be(i)the bede, comallaide, céste; foinibthe, techtfaide, gigeste; hence the Old
Irish form is not in doubt. It may point to earlier-\textsuperscript{tē}s, 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 -\textsuperscript{tha}, secondary -\textsuperscript{ta}). Latin -\textsuperscript{tē}s goes back to -\textsuperscript{tē}s with short -\textsuperscript{e}.

The OHG. 1 pl. pres. in -\textsuperscript{mē}s bears a certain resemblance to \textsuperscript{-tē}s. If Lith. -\textsuperscript{te} (with reflexive, -\textsuperscript{tē}-\textsuperscript{s}) has been correctly traced to -\textsuperscript{tē}, Ir. -\textsuperscript{-} is the might represent an expanded form of this ending.

564. A further problem is presented by 1 sg. \textit{biru, tiagu, tungu tongu} (also -\textit{o}, particularly after -\textit{o} in the stem syllable: \textit{orgo} ZCP. XIII. 106, cp. § 101\textsuperscript{b}), as opposed to conjunct -\textit{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 -\textit{u}, earlier -\textit{ū} (< -\textit{o}). The same thing occurs in the ā-subjunctive (§ 600\textsuperscript{c}): beside conjunct -\textit{ber}, which has developed regularly from ʼ\textsuperscript{bherām}, ʼ\textsuperscript{beran}, we find the absolute form \textit{bera}, where the retained ending also suggests that some fresh element (-\textsuperscript{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 \textit{as(s)} comes from the form \textit{est}-\textit{t} (with secondary ending) + a relative particle, so too absolute \textit{is(s)} contains the same form \textit{est} (not \textit{esti}) with the addition of the subject pronoun \textit{is} 'he' (cp. Lat. \textit{is}); and the same applies to all 3 sg. forms in -\textit{th}, -\textit{d}, e.g. \textit{berith, berid} from \textit{bheret is}, subj. \textit{beraid} from \textit{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,

which does not distinguish absolute and conjunct. It is true that a final -\textsuperscript{s} would well explain the absence of lenition after the copula \textit{is(s)}, despite its close connexion with the following word, whose initial should normally have been lenited after a basic form \textit{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\textsuperscript{a}). 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.

Pedersens 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. \textit{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\textsuperscript{b}). On the other hand, certain absolute endings could be well explained by assuming that -\textsuperscript{s} alone, not -\textsuperscript{is}, has been affixed; thus 1 sg. \textit{biru, bera}, and perhaps the 2 pl. in -\textit{the}. As for the other endings, it is impossible to decide whether they once had final -\textsuperscript{s} or not; but the absence of lenition after the copula 3 pl. \textit{it}, as after the singular, suggests that the 3 pl. ending also had -\textsuperscript{s}. It may be taken for granted that the geminaton after preverbs goes back to the same element (\textit{bheret} is, subj. \textit{beraid} from \textit{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.

At all events, it is open to question whether Pedersen is right in analysing \textit{is(s)} and \textit{berid} as \textit{est}-\textit{is} and \textit{bheret}-\textit{is}, or whether the division should not be rather into \textit{esti}-\textit{s}, \textit{bhereti}-\textit{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 \textit{es} than \textit{is}, is perhaps indicated by pret. pass. absolute \textit{breth(a)\textit{e}} beside conjunct \textit{breth} (§ 712\textsuperscript{a}), if the first form is based on the masculine nom. sg. \textit{-to}s (so too the active 2 pl. -\textit{the} could go back to -\textit{te}-\textit{es}). That all absolute forms once had -\textsuperscript{s} is not certain. In the singular of the suffixless preterite, for example, where the same forms are used for absolute and conjunct (§ 698\textsuperscript{b}), the absolute form may have lost -\textsuperscript{s}, and this is perhaps suggested by the gemination after \textit{ba} 'it was' (§ 242\textsuperscript{a}). On the other hand, it seems improbable that a final -\textsuperscript{s} was formerly present in all the absolute personal endings in -\textit{r} (deponent, passive, preterite plural). It is uncertain, though not impossible, that the \textit{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.
Among the relative endings, the 1 pl. *-m(m)e is consistently distinguished from non-relative *-m(m)i in Wb. only. In Ml. there are some instances of *-m(m)i in relative clauses also; e.g. in tan m- dimmi 'when we are' 15°4 (see Pedersen, KZ. XXXV. 376).

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°3 (techtaid 'possesses') beside techte (for techt'de) Wb. 2°11; sluindite Sg. 76°5 (sluindid 'designates') beside sluinde (for sluind'de) Ml. 139°6. For the spellings retae, rethae (rethid 'runs'), see § 137.

In later sources *-mae, *-tae -dae are also written *-ma, *-ta -dā (§ 99).

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. lêwychawt 'shines', O.Bret. fleriot 'redolet'. In the other persons the Irish forms afford no information about the earlier quantity; nor do they reveal whether a + ō had contracted with a following vowel, or whether, on the model of the non-thematic verbs (Gk. ἰδωμ-τς, ἰδωμ-ον), the personal endings (or some of them) were added directly to the a + ō. 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. bicartaunt (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. istlînnit = O.Ir. sluindid 'designates' (conjunct *sluïndi) suggest that in A II also there were forms with a long vowel, 3 sg. conjunct -iit; but in other Britannic forms,

such as Mid.W. ni wnêy'd 'does not', the ending goes back to *-ii + (et), which would likewise give *i in Irish. The 3 pl. * lêc-ët may correspond to forms like Mid.W. dywed-ynt (from *-int) 'they will say', but the Irish ending could equally well come from *-iônt. Accordingly there may have been confusion between different formations. Cp. also the flexion of bild (§ 784) and do-gni (§ 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 *-ai (cp. *-tau. *rai § 590), for in the asubjunctive, 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.
569. In the absolute flexion deponent forms are outnumbered by active by-forms. Of the a-deponents, for example, apart from the 2 sg. *follaither* 'thou rulest' *Ml.* 82°5, only relative forms are found with deponent flexion; e.g. 3 sg. *labrathar* 'who speaks', pl. 1 *labram(m)ar*, 3 *labratar*. Hence a complete paradigm is given only for the more numerous *a* 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* (*·muinethar* *Ml.*) 'thinks for B II.

### Absolute vs. Conjunct

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<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Absolute</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><em>middiur</em>, B II</td>
<td>·<em>suidigur</em> (<em>·cuiriur</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>suidigther</em></td>
<td>·<em>suidigther</em> (do ·<em>mmeiccither</em>, ·<em>erissider</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>suidigidir</em> (midithir, B II)</td>
<td>·<em>suidigedar</em> (<em>·airlethar</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.</td>
<td><em>suidigedar</em> (<em>airlethar</em>)</td>
<td><em>·suidigmer</em> (<em>·airlemmar</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.</td>
<td>1 <em>suidigmir</em></td>
<td>·<em>suidigid</em>, -ith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.</td>
<td><em>suidigmer</em></td>
<td>·<em>suidigetar</em>, -eddar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>suidigthe</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>suidigitir</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.</td>
<td><em>suidigetar</em> ·<em>eddar</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### A I (Conjunct) vs. B II (Conjunct)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>A I (Conjunct)</th>
<th>B II (Conjunct)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>·<em>molor</em> 'I praise'</td>
<td>·<em>moiniur</em> (<em>ro·laumur</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·<em>labrither</em> 'thou speakest'</td>
<td>·<em>mointer</em> (§ 139)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·<em>labrathar</em>, ·<em>moladar</em></td>
<td>·<em>moinethar</em> (enclit. ·<em>minedar</em>, ·<em>menadar</em>, § 554).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.</td>
<td>1 ·<em>comalnammar</em> 'we fulfil'</td>
<td>·<em>moinemmar</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·<em>comalnid</em></td>
<td>·<em>moinid</em>, -ith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·<em>labratar</em></td>
<td>·<em>moinetar</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *-thāḥ*, 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 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. -ro, -vto) with an r-ending (although no conclusion as to the quality of the lost final vowel can be drawn from du·fuisledar ‘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’, Marrucinian fere-nter ‘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. -rai, -vrai, beside 3 pl. Skt. -rē < -rai, e.g. duh-rē + j; in Celtic this diphthong would have become -i. 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 was 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°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.
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-advadgar, du-füssesmar, 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-)berar beside (as-)berar could be explained in this way, since normally no 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-formágær, ·cumáing, do-fúissim, 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. 31310, beside more frequent ·folngar 44°10, 71°6, 88°15, 122°5, 143°4, and amal du-n-esmar 'as is shed' 44°1, beside du-esemar, do-n-esmar 56°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. Claflin, 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 -thr 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 ·álzii + ari 'is recited' (3 pl. act. ·álzii + anzi), middle ešari 'sits down', ipv. ešaru.

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°11. Only in the relative and the 3 pt. conjunct is -tar commoner than -ter (except in stems in i, like do-gniter, § 589).
A few archaic forms in -thiar are found (Stokes, KZ. XXXVII. 250 ff.), not only in i-verbs like i-néthiar '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 ilemityor '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 f.). 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A I</th>
<th>A II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>1 ·móír (a)in (n)</td>
<td>·suidigin (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 ·móírtha</td>
<td>·suidigthea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 ·móírad, -ath</td>
<td>·suidigded, -eth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>1 ·móír (a)is</td>
<td>·suidigmís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 ·móírth (a)e</td>
<td>·suidigthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 ·móír (a)ís</td>
<td>·suidigtsis, suidigddis,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pass. ·móírth (a)e</td>
<td>·suidigthe, rethitis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 pl.</td>
<td>·móír (a)íis</td>
<td>·suidigtsis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B I</th>
<th>BI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>1 ·berin (n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 ·bered (·berad § 554)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass.</td>
<td>·bereth (du ·immaircethe, ad ·oparthe)</td>
<td>·beirtis (·bertis, do ·fúaircitis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 · tosnachtaigthea 'that thou wast wont to hang' Ml. 78c3; du · gnítha 103º16, from do · gni 'does', is shown by the context to be an error for subj. du · gníthe. 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' Ml. 115º16 (in fu · lúngáin 86º13 the a (á, § 45) is due to the sound-group -ung-, § 166) ; 1 pl. no · têigmis ZCP. ix. 340 § 52, imma · réidmis Hib. Min. 79, 6; 3 no · feidtis Ml. 54º12. 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°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' Mi. 26°19 (from *ar · cela*), if not a misspelling, has been modelled on the syncopated forms (*· celatais*), 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*.

The neutral *-δ* (*-th*) of the 3 sg. active has been taken to represent the earlier middle secondary ending *-to* (Gk. δ -ψετο.). 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. δ -ψεπες); 2 sg. Bret. *-es* (Gk. δ -ψεπες). 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. δ -ψεπες). 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. ψερντες), 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td>móř</td>
<td>móřat -ath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td>móram</td>
<td>móř (a) jid - (a) jith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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B I
B I

sg. 1 biur
2 beir (ber, like B IV, cp. § 554)
3 ́bered -eth (forcanad)

pl. beram
berid -ith
berat

584. B. DEPONENT

Paradigms: A I, · comalnadar 'fulfills'; A II, suidigidir 'places'; strong verbs, ro · clu(i)nethar (B V) 'hears'.

A I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>AII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>(úgur)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 comaln (a)jthe-de</td>
<td>suidigthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 comalnad -ath</td>
<td>suidigid -eth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pl. (finnamar B V)

| 1 | suidigem (́suidigmer) |
| 2 comaln (a)jth | suidigid -eth |
| 3 comalnatar |

STRONG VERBS: B V (= B II)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>cluinem ́-emmar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 cluinte (§ 139)</td>
<td>cluinid -ith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 cluined -eth</td>
<td>cluinatar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

585. C. PASSIVE

A I (ACTIVE)

| gen. form |
| mórthar |
| suidigithe |
| berar, ta-barr |

A II (DEPONENT)

| gen. form |
| mórthar |
| suidigithe |
| bertar |

B I (ACTIVE)

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·ric '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°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°27; but timmargad Ml. 136°8, forcanad Wb. 22°8, comtangad 31°15, indnadad 11°14 (2 sg. indnite 10°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°6, nú[a]laimem 'ploremus' Ml. 114°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·callathar 'heeds'), na·hágumar LL 308°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. ἔπητε, 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 verbal stein is unstressed, the stem vowel also (just as in the 3 sg. subj., §§ 627, 628):

\[\text{at · ræ + } (\text{= ré}) \text{ Ml. 126}^{\text{a}}-3, \text{ com-éí-r Fél. Aug. 26, 'arise', from } \sqrt{\text{reg}}-, \text{ subj. stem } \text{ress-}.\]

\[\text{aic(c) ZCP. XV. 366 n.2, from ad · guid 'invokes (as surety)', subj. stem } \text{gess -}.\]

\[\text{no-m · ain 'spare me' RC. VI. 175, 31, from } \sqrt{\text{aneg}}-, \text{ subj. stem } \text{anness -}.\]

With a long vowel in the subjunctive:

\[\text{tog 'choose', ZCP. XIX. 169, from } \text{do · goa (§ 522), subj. stem } \text{göss -}.\]

\[\text{tair 'come', from t-air-ic, subj. stem } \text{iss - (cp. § 627).}\]

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.

\[\text{fo-reth- 'help', 3 sg. ipv. fairtheth ZCP. XI. 92 § 10, probably had a 2 sg. *foir, with to- : *tof + òir, *tóir. This last form subsequently gave rise to a verb fóirim 'I help', with long o as in the decompound. Cp. 2 sg. ipv. to-n · fóir LU 5220, pl. 2 to-n · forid LL 126a8.}\]

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, · gniiid, · gniat (also · gniam, etc., § 47); pass. · gnither, pl. · gniiter. Absolute: sg. 2 gnii, 3 gnith; rel. gnis, pl. gnite. Ipf.: sg. 1 · gnin, 3 · gnith, pl. 3 · gnitis; pass. · gnithe.

In the 1 sg. the ending fluctuates: · dén(a)im (de-gni-), prototonic form of do · gníu; déccu Wb. 24°13, beside fris · aiccim Thes. II. 228, 31, to ad · ciú; liim Wb. 13°18, conjunct · liim 10°1, · liu IT. 1. 106, 21; ad · roilliu 'I deserve' Ml. 75°11 (ad-ro-slí-).

For · accastar as pass. of ad · ciú 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* Ml. 56*5; *comainse* 'condemn' Ml. 22*2 (con · nessá).

The 2 sg. ipv. *escse* gl. *intende* Ml. 65*4, from a verb with subj. stem *cess*- (pass. as · cesa 44*4, U+221 Acid ?), seems to combine this formation with that of § 588. *tale dam-sa a lóg* 'give me the reward for it' Ml. 36*22 probably does not belong here, but is the same as *dale* LU 373, *dalei* LL 251*46 'give', which may be connected with ille 'hither' (§ 483).

*cí + íd* 'weeps' has a divergent flexion; 3 sg. rel. *cías* (disyll.) Fél. Epil. 350; ipv. · *cíad* 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. *soïd*, rel. *soas*; conjunct sg. 1 *con-im-chláim*, 2 · *soï*, 3 *con-oí, óei*, prototonic · *com(a)i*, deponent *con-oadar · comathar*; pl. 1 *do-intám* (·*ind-oam*), 2 *con-óith*, 3 *soat*, enclitic *con-toat* (·*to-soat*), · *comthoet* Sg. 163*1; *con-oat*, enclit. · *com-at*; pass. *soíther*; ipv. 2 sg. act. *toí*.

as · lui, · loi, with enclitic stem *con-álai · comlai* (com Adam) 'stirs' Ériu XII. 20 § 25, · *æscomlai* 'sets out', pl. *as luat*. Deponent: *fo-llúur* 'I fly', 3 pl. *fo-luatár*.

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*; ipv. 3 sg. *no-luínn* 'I used to fly' Imram Brain II. 291 § 11; 3 *as-luad*.

colla 'go' (miswritten *collaa* LU 5991) seems to be 2 sg. imperative of *con-slá* 'goes'.

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*13 (beside deuterotonic con · é-tet Sg. 197*17, 203*22) and ipv. 3 · *cométiged* Wb. 10*7.

The same stem appears in 2 pl. for · *téit-si* Wb. 14*3 (but con · éitgid 22*26), and in *taít* pl. ipv. of *do-téit*. 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* (=5) and -*th* make present forms with the ending -*t*₈, 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 · · *tuídchet*. But the ending -*t* 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 · fluid* Sg. 221*4; ipv. 3 sg. *du-m · fett ZCP*. VI. 258, 1. From ar · *coat* 'injures', beside ipv. (rel.) *ara · choided* (with *oi* ?) Ml. 83*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 · diurat 'remains over', du · etarrat 'includit', con · tetarrat 'comprehendit', beside in · reith, fo · reith; probably also 1 sg. fo · timmdiriut 'suffio' Sg. 185\textsuperscript{3}.

ad · fiadat 'they relate', pass. ad · fiadar: 3 sg. act. ad · fét, in · fét, do · ad-bat, as · ind-et (cp. pass. do · appardar, as · indedar, also ass · indearth Ml. 90\textsuperscript{3}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.

v\textsuperscript{sed}: sg. 3 ar · néat, · airnet 'expects, sustains' (3) pl. ar · neithet, see § 846), 1 ar · néut-sa Wb. 14\textsuperscript{3}18, 23\textsuperscript{3}27 beside in · néuth Thes. II. 42, 11 (ipv. 3 sg. inndnadad § 586); also ta · n-aurnat 'bows himself down' Thes. II. 253, 5.

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\textsuperscript{3}1 (§ 846), 3 pl. ar-neigdet, 2 pl. ipv. irnigdid Wb. 22\textsuperscript{3}8 (cp. guidid); · díthat '(a pledge) is forfeit' Laws v. 398, 400, from di and · tuit 'falls'. The origin of for·deret gl. illustrat Ml. 78\textsuperscript{3}8, beside deponent preterite for·derisiur gl. lustraui 133\textsuperscript{3}8, is uncertain.

The peculiar form ó ro·scíthet '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 téit.

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: · daimim, · foibai, · con·rigi, · du·rii. But in the 1 sg. beside · daimim, · gaibim, · gu(i)dim · gu(i)diu, · con·grimm, · con·gairiu, · taccru (with to-ad-), the forms · gaur, · for·con·gur also occur, and in the plural du·airgerat Ml. 87\textsuperscript{1}15, with neutral r, beside · gairem, · gairi. 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\textsuperscript{2} (§ 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. · cren(a), pass. · crenar (like B I), pl. · cren(a), · crentar. Absolute: cren(a)im, cren(a)i,

· cren(a)id, rel. crenas; 3 pl. · cren(a)it, rel. · crend(ae) ; pass. · cren(a)m. Ipf. 3 sg. · crenad. Ipv. 2 sg. cren, 3 · cren(a)it (atat-air·bined Ml. 86\textsuperscript{3}10); pl. 1 crenam, 2 cren(a)id; pass. crenar. Similarly 3 sg. pres. fo·sern(n), pass. · sernar; ipv. 2 sg. ernn Thes. II. 257, 11, sërn 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. δαυνημι, vo + μεν), spread to the singular also. This is confirmed by the Britannic 1 sg. in a + μ: W. prynar, 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. ἀπειπέτ Mi. 73°7, aipleat 104°2 (from at·bailί dies', § 552), the palatal consonance points to formation from the subjunctive stem; cp. at · bela § 597. cosrad 'studeat' Mi. 124°5 and cosrid 'studete' 68°15 also recall the subjunctive stem sēra-, but have non-palatal -sr-, as though they went back to a basic form without a vowel co(m)-sr-; cp. the vb.n. cossaître '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, ·bi (§ 784); e.g. hó bu·rorbaither (bu· = fu·) 'when it has been completed' Mi. 15°6, from for·fen (cp. ACL. III. 230, 146), like hó ru·bither; tinbi 'is wont to slay' IT. II. 185, 289 (to-ind-ben-); possibly even the simplex benaid: 3 sg. rel. bīs (bis) 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 fintel(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 attingo, 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 < -āt. 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 (mōr-a-) 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 -ena 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-, bela-, inflected like B I.

In the past subj. pass. ·sernte Wb. 18’8n 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

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>mór(a)</td>
<td>léce(a)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mór (a) e</td>
<td>léce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mór (a) id - (a) ith</td>
<td>lécid -ith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>mór(a)s</td>
<td>léc(s)</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>mór(a)m - (a) Jimmi</td>
<td>lécim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>mór (a)e (labr(a)ainmme)</td>
<td>lécime</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mór (a) e</td>
<td>léch</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mór (a) it</td>
<td>lécit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>mór(a)e -t (a)e, mór (a)ite</td>
<td>lé (i) cde -te, lécit</td>
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CONJUNCT

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>·mór</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>·mór (a) e</td>
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<td></td>
<td>·móra</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>·móram</td>
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<td></td>
<td>·mór (a)id -aith</td>
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<td></td>
<td>·mórat</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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600. STRONG VERBS (B I)
### 601. B. DEPONENT

A paradigm of the absolute flexion is given only for the largest class, the weak i-verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSOLUTE</th>
<th>CONJUNCT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td>bera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ber (a )e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ber (a )id - (a )ith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>beras (s )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 1</td>
<td>berm (a )i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>berm (a )e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>berth (a )e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ber (a )it</td>
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<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>berd (a )e bert (a )e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 602. AI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSOLUTE</th>
<th>CONJUNCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td>·suidiger (erladaigear )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>suidigther</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>suidigidir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>suidigedar</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl. 1</td>
<td>suidigmir</td>
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<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>suidigmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>suidigthe</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>suidigitir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>suidigetar</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### 603. C. PASSIVE

The same paradigm covers both active and deponent verbs, which have identical forms in the passive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A I</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A II (DEPONENT)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 3</td>
<td>móth (a )ir</td>
<td>berth (a )ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>móthar</td>
<td>berthar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 3</td>
<td>mórt (a )ir, mór (a )itir</td>
<td>bert (a )ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>mórtar, móatar</td>
<td>bertar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gen. form</td>
<td>·móthar (·comalnither )</td>
<td>·berthar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 3</td>
<td>·mótar</td>
<td>·bertar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>·mótar</td>
<td>·berdar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. 239, con iárim-se 14'17 (ad ·rími ), arna de-r-línd 10'14 (do ·sluindi ), for an ending corresponding to Lat. -iōm, -eām 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. lecéa. 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. 12'36); it corresponds to Lat. -erar, 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. 106'6 ( § 87), possibly influenced by the active ending -ea; but cp. the regular forms gaimigfer Wb. 14'9, adbartaigfer Ml. 37'12 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, bertha 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A I</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>A II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ·móir (a)ín (n)</td>
<td>·ber (a)ín (n)</td>
<td>·suidigin (n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ·móirthe</td>
<td>·bertha</td>
<td>·suidigthea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ·móirad -ath</td>
<td>·berad -ath</td>
<td>·suidiged -eth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1 ·móirm (a)ís</td>
<td>·berm (a)ís</td>
<td>·suidigmis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ·móirthe (a)e</td>
<td>·berth (a)e</td>
<td>·suidigthe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ·móirt (a)ís</td>
<td>·bert (a)ís</td>
<td>·suidigtis</td>
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<td>(·intamlitis</td>
<td>(·roissitis</td>
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<td>PASSIVE</td>
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<tr>
<td>gen. form</td>
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<tr>
<td>·móirth (a)e</td>
<td>·berth (a)e</td>
<td>·suidigthe</td>
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<tr>
<td>(·comalnide )</td>
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<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 ·móirt (a)ís</td>
<td>·bert (a)ís</td>
<td>·suidigtis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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·logo·bid, but pass. du·logo·thar; ·cuire·thar 'puts, throws': subj. 3 sg. ·cor·thar, past ·cor·ad, but 2 sg. pres. ·coir·thar, 3 pl. past ·coir·tis; ad-suí·di 'holds fast': subj. 2 sg. ad·sú·d; ·soi·bi 'falsifies': subj. 3 pl. ·soi·bat; but in·tuig·thar 'induitur': subj. in·tuig·thar.

Where the verbal stem is unstressed its final consonant may or may not be palatalized. Examples: do·lugi : subj. sg. ·dil·ga Mi. 30°3, 46°5 beside d-a·ro-·lgea Wb. 31°2, sg. 2 ·de·r·lai·ge [e ] Mi. 21°7; con·tuili 'sleeps': subj. (with -ad-, § 532) ·com·tala (MS. -tala) LU 5649.

Forms like im·me·rá·d Wb. 23°24, etc., 3 sg. subj. of rá·di, may also be classed here, though verbs with -á- have forms without palatalization even in the indicative: im·rá·daim, im·rá·dat, 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, gni·id 'does' agrees with bi·id in all the forms with stressed stem. Thus conjunct pres. ·gné·u ·gné·o, ·gné·, ·géné; ·gmt ·gne·ith ·gne·id, ·gnet; pass. ·gne(i)·ther, pl. ·gnet·ar. Absolute: 3 pl. rel. gnete. Past sg. 1 ·gnei·n ·gnee·n (·gnén Wb. 10°6, see §45.), 3 ·gnett ·gne·d; pl. 1 ·gmt·mis, 3 ·gmt·. pass. ·gmt·eth.

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. dént·ar, pl. ·dén·atar; past 3 sg. ·dénad, pl. ·dén·a, 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·gni 'serves': subj. 3 sg. ·fogna, pl. 1 fo·gnem, 2 fo·gneth, etc. c i + iđ 'weeps' has past subj. 3 pl. ·cet·is Wb. 1066.

609. (b) The compounds of ei 'sees' have deponent forms: pres. sg. 1 ad·cear, with enclitic stem ·acc·ar, 2 ·acc·e·ther ·acc·ther, décei·der do·écd·ther, 3 ·acc·ad ·acc·thar; pl. 1 ·décc·mar, 3 ·acc·tar. Past sg. 1 ·acc·in, 3 ad·c·eth ad·c·ed; pl. 2 ad·c·eth, 3 ·acc·tis. Passive pres. pl. ad·c·eter; past sg. ad·ceth.

In the passive, when the stem is unstressed, an subjunctive appears instead, which presumably represents the earlier formation: pres. sg. ·acc·c·tar, do·écd·tar. But the form ·acc·c·tar is also used as indicative Wb. 25°28, 26°12, Trip. 206, 6 (deuterotonic ad·c·ther). An active 2 sg. for·a·cis (for·aces, for·cis MSS.) occurs Laws IV. 18, 21. The deponent flexion is doubtless due to the influence of ro·clun·ethar (§ 612).

610. (c) Forms from verbs in -o include sg. 2 ·soe, with enclitic stem du·int·ae (·ind·soe), 3 do·intá (·ind·soa), 2 pl. ·intá·; past 3 sg. ·impád (·imb·soad), etc.

But foíd 'spends the night' has 3 sg. ·fia Laws IV. 318, 2, 10, Éru XII. 34 § 44 (from 'wes-á-'), past ·fia·d Laidain and Cu·ir·thir 20, 6. The relation of the isolated subjunctive 3 sg. ro·bri·a 'he may spoil, destroy' O'Dav. 300, pass. ro·brí·athar (sic, not ·bri·ther) ibid. 287 and 214, Laws IV. 100, 7, V. 168, 15, to pres. ind. bron·n·aid (A 1) '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-loín, fu-luīnn, 3 pl. -élaitis.

B IV

611. Pres. conjunct sg. 1 -créu (like -béu, § 787), 2 -crie -criae, 3 -cria (with enclitic stem: -be, to benaid); pl. 1 -criam, 3 -criat (enclitic -bet); pass. -crether. Absolute: 3 pl. rel. crete; pass. sg. crethir, pl. cretir. Past: 3 sg. -criad (enclitic -bed, -bath), 3 pl. -cretis; pass. -crethe, pl. -cretis.

B V


The attested subjunctive forms of gnin are: pres. pass. asa-gnoither Sg. 180°2 (probably modelled on ro-clusiathar; the pl. en-ggnatar 209°13 is possibly indicative); past 3 pl. act. remi-ergnaitis Ml. 19°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-clusiathar 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. áśrot, Gk. ipv. κλυ + θι).

THE S-SUBJUNCTIVE


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. θεσσασθαι, pres. ποθεω.

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°19; past 3 sg. -sásad Sg. 62°2.

So also has maidid 'breaks' (intrans.): 3 sg. más LL 332°56; cp. fut. *mema with a retained (§ 667.). The similar retention of a in *nena, future of nascid 'binds' (vnam-), 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, iá; e.g. tiágu (3 sg. téit) 'I go': tēss- tiass-; con-rig 'binds': rēssrīass-; snigid 'drips': snēss-sniass-.
Of those with initial f- (from w-), wid- weid- (ro-fírir 'knows') fluctuates in quantity: sg. 3 ·fëssar and ·fíastar, 2 ·fésser Féi. Feb. 4, Oct. 24, pl. 3 ·fesatar Wb. 26°23; past 2 sg. ·festa 10°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-fesmaiis Mi. 17°8; do-fich ·féich 'avenges' (väwikweik-): subj. pass. du-fessar 32°20.

é, ia is doubtless earlier, ê 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 Mi. 39°12); root dhigh- dheigh- (Lat. fingere, fictus).

fo-lóing 'supports, endures': ·löss- (1 sg. ·lós Mi. 33°2, 62°12); root lug- leug-. From this may be inferred bóss- to bógid 'breaks', tôss- to tongid 'swears', etc., though neither

the mark of length nor the diphthong úa is ever found. Cp. also ·old 'lends' (with o + < u): 2 sg. óis LU 3489.

617. (d) Roots in which -n- is not confined to present forms likewise show a long vowel. Thus ·ic (from 'ínk-): -íss-; sennid, do-seinn : sëss- (1 sg. du-sëss Mi. 61°16, past pass. do-t · [s]ësta [e] Ériu I. 200 § 25); in-gleinn 'investigates': glëss- (2 sg. in-gléiss Mi. 140°7, cp. past 3 sg. fo-gléised Ériu II. 63 § 1). This ê is sometimes diphthongized to ía (through confusion with § 615 b); e.g. in-greinn 'persecutes': past 3 pl. ·griastais Mi. 38°5; lingid 'leaps': 3 sg. rel. lias 33°8.

do-bré O'Dav. 320, 620, 1209, subj. 3 sg. of do-brüinn, 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-ceír 'throws': subj. stem ·cerr- (e.g. 2 sg. fo-ceírr); 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-fírir 'knows': fess-(fëss-) ; Ved- 'eat'; ess- (§ 766). Further, the preterite-present ·dúthraccair 'wishes' has subj. sg. 2 ·dúthairser LB 26°9, 3 ·dúthrastaar, pl. ci [a] dutairsetar (read du-dúthairsetar?) Mi. 56°7; and ·com-airc 'asks' has 2 sg. prototonic ·comairser Laws IV. 18, 18, O'Dav. 488 (cp. 1012), past 3 sg. imme-chomairsed Mi. 20°18, 63°9 (present -are- <'(p)r + sk for '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.
### ABSOLUTE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>CONJUNCT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1)</td>
<td>·tisid</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>·tias (a)it</td>
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### REL.

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<td></td>
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<td>·tiast (a)et</td>
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### 621. B. DEPONENT

The only absolute forms quotable are sg. 2 *meser* Corm. 1135; 3 *estir* Wb. 6624, rel. *mestar* ML. 127*12. Conjunct (for by-forms with *fēss* - *fiass* - see § 615):

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td>·fessur</td>
<td>pl. ·fessamar (<em>·fiasmar</em> TBC. 1193)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·fe(i)sser</td>
<td>·fessid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·festar</td>
<td>·fessatar</td>
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### 622. C. PASSIVE

Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
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<th>CONJUNCT</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·gess (a)ir</td>
<td>·gessar, ·messar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.</td>
<td>·tiasar, ·gessar (<em>mestar</em>)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL. 3</td>
<td>·gessatar</td>
<td>(du · indnastar)</td>
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### 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).

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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 -strof 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- (-xs) one would expect rather -cht-; cp. *echtar* 'outside of' from *'eks, ess-', *úachtar* '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 *tias* to a lost neutral vowel.

The thematic forms can be explained as old subjunctives of the s-aorist, like Homeric *πυσσομεν, τς + ἐτε*; Skt. *darṣasi, nēatha*. 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. Middelelser 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. *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. *decidam* Ml. 23°23, misspelt for *-ro-thus-sa* (from *di-* and *-tuit* 'falls'), as well as from later attested forms like *-lius, -ius, -erus* in *Patrick Hymn* (Thes. II. 357, 17), to *laigid, sadid, érig* (ess-reg*), with the vocalism of *-blur*.

The palatal ending of *do-dúthris* Wb. 20°9, *do-futhris-se* 32°9 'I would fare' (§ 516.), is peculiar. This looks like a second sg. (cp. *ni-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* Ml. 44°9 (to *do-fich* 'avenges') is merely an inaccurate spelling of *-feiss* (§ 86.); cp. 3 sg. *cía thes* 23°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 *-ér*: *-tíe, ad-sléi* 20°2 to *ad-slíg* 'induces' (§ 56). The

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stem vowel has combined with a preceding vowel in *do-có* 'he may go', from *di-co-wess-* (§ 534, 4.), in ar-coí Ml. 46°11-cp. indic. 3 sg. rel. *ara-coat* 'prevents, injures', ifp. *ara-choided* (with *ói* or *oi*?)--and in *tái* Sg. 26°7, Ml. 31°6, pres. subj. of *do-tét*, prototonic *tait*, 'comes' (§§ 591, 770); cp. *fo-roí* (§ 628.). Elsewhere *-i* is never found. A short final vowel, when stressed, is lengthened (§ 44 b.); thus not only *-tē: tiagú, -grē: (in) greinn (gréss-*), *-ré: du-rig (rēss-, rīass-*), *-ic* (is-*), *-ma: maidd, -ná: nascid*, *-sā: saigid, bó: bongid and (as)bond, -ló: fo-loind, -tō: tongid, but also *-ré: rethid, -fé: fedid, -gē: gu(i)had (gess-*).* cp. *-fē: in-fēt, ad-fiadas.* 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 reductionStems with original short vowel:

*ainigd, *-anich* 'protects' (væneg-): subj. stem *aness-* 3 sg. *ain LL 251°25 (3 pl. *anset Thes. II. 301, 3).*  
*ad-er-rig* 'repeats, amends' (vreg-): *ath-eirr, -errÉEriu VII. 146 § 32, 172 § 2, *aithir 162 § 4 (pass. *aithirrestar Ml. 32°13).*  
*diurât* 'remains over' (cpd. of *rethid* § 592, subj. stem *ress-*): *for-duair* (read *diúair*) 'supersit' Ml. 23°7 (cp. past subj. 3 pl. *di-fáiartsísis*).

*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 *ói*. Perhaps *foil* has spread from the fut., where it is easier to explain; cp. § 660, also § 588.

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*scochd* (later *succhid*), 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°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. *totsat, totsat* (t from th before s); past *con-dositis* Wb. 5°11 (with assimilation of th to s, § 139); with *-ro-*: pres. 1 pl. *torthissem* 32°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-, *-ē*).

627. Stems with original long vowel:

*saigd* (sáss-*): retains the *-a*: .cuintea 'he may seek' Ml. 51°18 (‘cun-di-”a).
But tét (tiagu), subj. stem tēss-: con-éi-t Wb. 6.1, 7 (con-étet '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-ťsam ML. 16.16). Cp., however, con-imthæ (§ 656.) from the same stem.

The compounds of -ic (iss-) sometimes keep the stem vowel, sometimes drop it. Thus con-ric 'meets': con-ri, prototonic -comuir (≁-mr + ) Wb. 24.17; cp. 1 pl. -comairse Wb. II. 33.9 (deuterotonic con-risam), con-ic, *cumuing -cumaining 'can' (§ 549): con-ỉ, prototonic -cumai ML. 31.19, 32.15(a (a in accordance with § 166.) and -cum 87.13 (misspelt -cu 129.6); cp. 3 pl. -cumset ML. 39.26. ad-cumaining, -ecmaining 'happens' has only -ecmi Wb. 5.35, -ecmai ML. 15.5, 22.8, 121.13, 122.5; cp. past subj. do-ecmoised Wb. 5.26, pl. -tecmaitse Wb. 102.24. So also ar-ic 'finds': ar-ỉ, prototonic -airi ML. 30.24, cp. 14.16, 27.12. Beside tairi 'he may come' SP., etc., tair, do-mm-air is common in poetry.

as-boind, -opaind 'refuses': -op ML. 20.6, -oip 42.2 (with palatal p = bb, modelled on roots with palatal vowel), as-ro-bÉriu XI. 73 § 3; cp. 2 sg. -obba ZCP. III. 454, 10.

bongid, subj. bó Ériu II. 210 § 33: to-ai-th-bibil. VII. 162 § 5 (cp. pass. to-ai-th-bestar Bürgschaft p. 30 § 81), -to-rai-b

§ 533, and even -toirb Anecd. III. 24, 20 (cp. 2 sg. -torbae); but -conba (read -com-ba) Laws IV. 334, 5.


im-cing 'disregards': im-de-roi-ch Laws V. 178, 3 (H. 2. 15); cp. pass, cessair (with e ?) ZCP. XII. 362. 2 = clásair Cóic Con. Fug. p. 43, 1.

as-gleinn, -eclainn 'discutit' (glëss-): -eclai ML. 56.8; for-dui-clainn 'devours': -fordiucail 30.32; cp. 3 pl. for-dui-cluiset 4.32.

But in-greinn 'persecutes': arna-ingre ML. 111.6, 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.c24, Thes. II. 349, 2; with to-: -tudig ZCP. III. 453, 29 (R); less regularly -decha, e.g. Wb. 18.30 (cp. § 769.).

fo-fich 'injures': perfective subj. (tel.) fo-roí Laws IV. 220, 12; cp. pass. fo-ruarastar II. 396.y, and past subj. act. fo-róesad (read -sea) Corm. 883 (Laud).

to-di-fed- 'conduct, bring', 3 sg. pres. ind. do-diat (§ 592.): subj. du-di ML. 35.30; cp. past pass. du-diastae 45.4.

as-ind ML. 23.2, subj. of as-ind-et (-/et) 'expounds' (§ 592.), would seem to have lost the ending of the disyllabic preposition inde as well as the verbal stem. But forms like fut. ass-inde ZCP. VII. 483 and 3 pl. subj. as-indset ML. 23.19 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 ML. 85.3, -comar 23.8, etc. (3 pl. -orrat, pass. -orratar ZCP. VII. 480) and milgid (with to-ind-uss-) makes -tiunmell (MSS. tuinemell 'he may assemble' (with false analysis do-fiunmell) ZCP.XVI

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XVI. 275, du-inmail gl. eliceat (read -iat) ML. 50.1 (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. 9r, Ml. 24r10, 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·dárbastian, furastar, -accastar (§ 609). In later sources -tar is also common in forms with stressed stem: rel. dilestar, (conjunct -riastar, -nástar, etc.

There are two examples of -er in the passive: ce-ni·fesser Ml. 24r22, con·feiser Sg. 209r30. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>·gessin (n)</th>
<th>(·téissin, ·sésaann)</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>·gesm (a)is (·roi-msimmis)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·gesta</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>·gest (a)e (·orth (a) e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·gessed (·bósad)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>·gest (a)is (·toirsitis)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PASSIVE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>gen. form</th>
<th>·gest (a)e</th>
<th>3 pl.</th>
<th>·gest (a)is</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(do ·imm-arthaë)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Ml. 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 18v7 (bongid), ·orrad 124v8 (orgid), ·sésaann 41v5 (·seinn). In the plural too. Ml. sometimes has -mais, -tais with neutral quality.

In the 1 pl. of the pres. subj. ·tōssam (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. ·icfëa;

2. Those of -moinethar, -muinethar, such as do·moinethar 'thinks', fut. ·moinfethar, -muinfethar;

3. Sometimes those of em-; e.g. do·emfëa 'will protect' Ml. 128v8 beside du·émä 67c5.

Conversely, the weak verb car(a)id 'loves' has a strong fut. ·cechra (§ 648).

For the é-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 Ml., however, it is occasionally replaced by b, especially after s; e.g. 2 sg. do-nesbe 112c3; 3 pl. ar-tuaisibet 126b12; pass. 3 sg. for-brisbedar 51’s; beside act. con-nesfea Wb. 4θ15. After other consonants b is very seldom found; e.g. secondary fut. 3 sg. ·soirbed Ml.

53θ6; fut. cot-n-erba gl. confidet 112θ3 (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 atrebae Ml. 35θ24, ·noibfae Wb. 13θ19.

Between unstressed vowels, f and b are used indifferently; e.g. du-róseaifea 'will surpass' Ml. 139θ3 beside du-róscaibea 89θ12.

636. The vowel before the suffix -fa- was, of course, palatal in A II, so that here syncope results in a palatal soundgroup (·léicféea). But in the a-verbs also (A I) palatalization generally takes place. Examples: 1 sg. aínfa ( Wb. 14θ8), sec. fut. 2 sg. ·ainfeda, 3 ·ainfed, to ·ana 'stays'; I sg. ad-e(j)liüub, to ad-ella 'visits'; 3 sg. ·soirfa, to ·soira 'freees' (the same sound may be represented by ·soirfa Wb. 11θ4; see § 97 ); fu-céllféea Ml. 90θ15, to fo-clialathar 'takes care of'; pass. fo-m-firfider-sa 33θ10, to fo-fera 'prepares'; sec. fur. 3 pl. for-conínfitis, 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. 12θ4, from ·labar...; ·samlafammar 'we shall liken' 17θ12, from ·saml...; similarly ·comáinbadar Ml. 46θ20 (a in accordance with § 45 ) 'he shall fulfill', 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. 9θ22, pl. 3 molfaí Ml. 69θ1, sec. fut. 3 sg. ·molfath 94θ14, to ·moladar 'praises'; ·cumsanfa 80θ5, to con-osna 'rests'; 1 pl. con-delcfam Wb. 17θ10, to con-delga 'compares'; im-timchæl[l]féam Ml. 24θ7, to im-timchella 'encircles', etc.

Further, neutral quality may appear even in original iverbs whose final consonance had been depalatalized in other forms according to the rule in § 166. Examples: 3 sg. ·tucfa Wb. 12θ3, etc., 2 pl. da-uscbbaid 21θ12, to ·tuc(a)i 'understands'; attuchfam (ad-buch-) 17θ2, to attuchethar budi 'gives thanks'; du-lugfa Ml. 58θ18 beside du-luíchfaea 12θ6, to do-lugi 'forgives'.

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 (β) in syllabic auslaut, and may be either voiceless or voiced between unstressed vowels, thus corresponding exactly 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 β.

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 -haun- (from -sa + -), like briuhaud 'he will break', cuinhaust '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 -βe -a + - , 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.

### 1. FUTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE</th>
<th>DEPONENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSOLUTE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>1 léicfia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 léicfe</td>
<td>suidigfider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 léicfid -fith</td>
<td>suidigfithir 'fidir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>léicfies (s )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>1 léicfimmi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>léicfimme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 'léicfithe -fide</td>
<td>'suidigfide (folnibthe )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 léicfit</td>
<td>'suidigfitir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>léicfite</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 639. CONJUNCT

| sg. | 1 ·léiciub (do·lugub, ·predchob ) | ·suidigfer (fo·sisefar ) |
| 2 · léicfe (do·nesbe ) | ·suidigfider |
| 3 ·léicfia (do·róscibea ) | ·suidigfedar (·comálnabadar ) |
| pl. | 1 ·léicfem | ·suidigfemmar (·labrafammar ) |
| 2 ·léicfit (da·ucbaid ) | ·suidigfide (·samlibid ) |
| 3 ·léicfit (·cumgubat ) | ·suidigfitar. |

### 640. PASSIVE

Active and deponent verbs are inflected alike.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSOLUTE</th>
<th>CONJUNCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>3 léicfidir -ithir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>léicfider</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>3 léicfitir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>léicfiter -fetar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2. SECONDARY FUTURE
641. Active and deponent verbs have the same flexion.

ACTIVE (AND DEPONENT)

 ACTIVE (AND DEPONENT)  
 sg. 1 ·léicfin (n) pl. ·léicfimmis
 2 ·léicfed  ·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. ·dligibther; sec. fut. 3 sg. do·coischifed, du·aircibed, ·cumcaibed Ml. 42²32 (beside 3 pl. fut. ·cumgubat 54²19), etc.; and even conjunct 1 sg. fo·dádib-sea 78°10, no·prithchib 45°8, cp. 53°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°3 (more frequently -icfed). In pass. for·brisbedar Ml. 51°1 -dar has replaced -der.

643. In Ml. most of the short verbal stems remain unsyncopated in the I sg. deponent: fo·ásisefar 58°17, fris·ailefar 38°10, do·ceuirifar 3°1: but ad·áchfer 68°17, like no·molfar Wb. 9°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 Ml. 61°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 Ml. 33°1; 3 sóifid RC. XXVI. 40-42; pass. ·clofether Ml. 67°11, pl. sófitir Wb. 26°21 (read -oi- 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 foiid 'spends the night', subj. ·fia § 610: sg. 3 ·fiea IT. II. i. pp. 180, 186 f. (doubtless to be read everywhere with i), 1 fiba Ériu II. 3, with suffixed pronoun fitit-sa IT. III. 322 § 70; pl. 1 ·[f]ifam-ní LL 274°7, 3 fibait 116°5; pass. fibhthir ZCP. VIII. 565, fibhair LL 275°42. Cp. 3 pl. sec. fut. with ro : ·raifitis, ·rufitis Laws v. 132 n. 3 (read ·rolfitis).

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 viw-v-, fit- (§ 132.), and that the starting-point of the f-future is to be found here; the long i is an argument against it.

as-lui: 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 é-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.

647. Examples:
a. Reduplication with /i/:

   gainithir 'is born' subjunctive stem gena-, future stem gigne- < *gigena-: 3 sg. gignithir, ·gignethar, pl. gignantir; 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, ·didem LU 5232); sec fut. 3 sg. ·didmed Sg. 137²5 (where the palatalization of -dm- is peculiar). The prototonic 3 sg. fut. ·fuidema Ml. 56²9 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. 69³3 (so Strachan emends MS. ní lib matur).

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 i·ba- (with contraction of the reduplication vowel, cp. § 658a): sg. 1 ·iba, ·ib. 3 ·iba, 3 pl. ibait.

648. (b) Reduplication with /e/:

   canid 'sings', subj. stem cana-, fut. stem ·cechana-: 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. ·cechrailt, ·cechrat; sec. fut. 1 sg. ·cechrainn.

ad·gládathar 'addresses': sg. 1 ·gegalldatharibid. 3 ·gegalldathar Ml. 129²5 (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. ·gegmais.

A III verbs:

bā- 'die', subj. 3 pl. ·baat: fut. sg. 1 beba ZCP. XX. 197, ·bebit RC. XVI. 41; 3 ·bebat, ·beba; pl. 2 bebthe (-thi MS.) Anecd. III. 59, 2; 3 ·bebat ZCP. III. 461, 24; rel. pl. ·bebe (-tē MS.) Wb. 25³16.

rā- 'row': 3 sg. do·rera ZCP. XI. 87 § 49, 97 § 57.

ad·co·ta, ·éta 'obtains' (§ 544): fut. 3 sg. ·étada Ml. 129³5 (-a- from older -e-, cp. § 680), 1 pl. ·étatham-·[n] Cam. (Thes. II. 247, 23); pass. ·étastar Trip. 118, 23, sec. fut. ·étaste Ml. 43³20, 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 -dignad; pl. 1 -dignem (also -digénam ML. 30'90), 3 -dignet. Pass. -génar. Sec. fut. 3 sg. -dignad, 1 pl. -dignmis; enclit. 3 sg. -digned, pl. 1 (with -ro- ) do-rigénmaiš (read -génmaiš) LU 4638, 2 -digénte.

After this model con-sní 'contends' has fut. 3 sg. *con-séna, ·cosséna LU 8791, pl. ·cossénat (MS. ·consenat) TBC. 3088, cp. LL 95^43; sec. fut. 3 sg. (with ad-ro-) ·airc[hl]sénad Laws I. 150, 18.

B V verbs:

·gnin 'knows' (subj. § 612.): 3 pl. ·génae, 2 ·génae, 3 ·géna; abs. rel. génas; pl. 1 ·génam, 2 ·génid, 3 ·génat. With enclitic stem: sg. 1 ·digna, 3 ·dignea; pl. 1 ·dignam (also ·dignem ML. 30'90), 3 ·dignet. Pass. ·génar. Sec. fut. 3 sg. ·génad, 1 pl. ·génmis; enclit. 3 sg. ·génais, pl. 1 (with -ro- ) do-rigénmaiš (read ·génmaiš) LU 4638, 2 ·digénte.

649. (c) eb- instead of reduplication:

ernaid, ·ern 'bestows', subj. ·era, has future stem ebra-: 3 sg., with suffixed pronoun, ebarthi ML. 46^612, pass. ebarthir Wb. 32^27. As the root originally began with p- (Gk. nopei + v), ebra- must go back to earlier *píprá- (§ 227 e).

Similarly ebla-, which serves as the future stem of a(ï)gid 'drives', goes back to *piplā-, 3 sg., with suffixed pronoun, ebarthi ML. 46^612, pass. ebarthir Wb. 32^27. As the root originally began with p- (Gk. nopei + v), ebra- must go back to earlier *píprá- (§ 227 e).


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. *ebaltar (ebeltair, -tar, ébéltair MSS.) TBC. 537; sec. fut. pass. ·ebalta BB 397^16 (*ebleta RC. XVI.154, 2).

airid 'ploughs': 3 pl. ·ebrat (-ad MS.) RC. XII. 106 § 160.

2. THE ë-FUTURE

650. In place of the radical e or a of the subjunctive stem a compensatorily lengthened ë (§ 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' (vsem-): fut. pass. do-fuisémthar Wb. 4^7 dl-em- 'protect' : ·éma (beside ·emfea, § 634.).

marn(a)id, ·mairn (B IV) 'betrays', subj. stem mera-: fut. ·méra.

at-baill 'dies', subj. stem bela-: fut. ·bela.

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 28851 found in later sources do not appear to be old.

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652. The flexion of the è-future is the same as that of the a-subjunctive: ·bér, ·bér(a)e, ·béra; ·béram, ·bér(a)id, ·bérat; pass. ·bérthar, pl. ·bérta; absolute sg. 3 béraid, rel. béras, etc.; sec. fut. 3 sg. ·bérad; pl. ·bérmais, ·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. 7716, ·tibérad 9710, ·tibértaias 157, con·ocǽba 205. But since syncopated forms like ·tibre RC. XX. 12 § 20, ·tibred 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 ·dignea, ·dignem, ·dignet, § 648.

3. THE FUTURE OF THE B IV VERBS

Collection: Strachan, ZCP. III. 481.

653. (a) Clearly reduplicated forms:

sg. 1 as·ririu-sa Wb. 1814; 2 absolute lile (? MSS. lile-ssu, lile-sa, etc., emended by Stokes to lili) Fél. Prol. 309, 311; 3 liillith Ériu V. 242, 178, as·rii Wb. 2566, Ml. 3013, rel. liiives Wb. 1055; pl. 3 liilith Trip. 180, 26, giulait 'they shall adhere to' Ml. 567 (from *gi-gl-); pass. as·rirther Wb. 153, do·rir[h]er Laws IV. 20, 6 (H.3.17); sec. fut. 3 sg. ·giulad LU 6822.

ara·chrin (B V) follows the same pattern: 3 sg. ·airchi (MS. ·chiure) ZCP. XI. 88 § 8, pl. ara·chiurat Ml. 599.

654. (b) In the fut. of fen-, with f- < w-, the loss of -w- after -i- has resulted in seemingly non-re duplicated forms. Thus the fut. pass. of aith-fen- 'requite' is written ad·fether Wb. 207 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 *bí̂- (from bî̂-); cp. sg. 1 coich biu 'whom shall I slay?' TBC. 3592, ata·bíu ZCP. III. 216, 28, LL 119b40; 3 du·fó-bí Ml. 967, ar·dí-bi LU 5573, rel. bias TBC. 2651; sec. fut. ·biad 2942, pass. fo·ind-a-r-paide Ml. 261.

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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 ·cl 'sees' (A III) has future stem cich.. which, unlike the subjunctive (§ 609), has active flexion: 3 sg. du-é-cigi (misspelt-écigi) Ml. 111° 13, accigi Trip. 130, 18, pl. ·accichetibid. 158, 11; sec. fut. 3 sg. at-chiched (-ead MS.) BDD. § 11, ·acciged Trip. 130, 17, ·acciged LU 5336, 3 pl. ad-cichitis Wb. 7° 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 Líphi, 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[he]cha § 535b is a later transformation.

The passive has a sigmatic formation (like the enclitic subjunctive): atat·chigestar Ml. 59° 12 (at-chichestár LU 2760 is more regular, since ch after a stressed vowel does not become y). 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° 11; 3 cichit Anecd. V. 29, 22.

656. The verb 'to go' (§ 769), subj. stem tēss-, tîass-, has an unreduplicated future stem rega- or riga-, inflected like an a-subjunctive; e.g. sg. 1 ·reg Wb. 7° 15 beside ·rig Ml. 87° 18; 3 ·rega 28° 10 (absolute regaid Sg. 36° 1) beside ·riga Ml. 85° 1a, Wb. 25° 38; sec. fut. ·regarad Ml. 118° 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-riga Ml. 121° 17 beside 1 pl. ·te-rgam 107° 11, as if ·torega- had been transformed into ·teroga before syncope took place.

The i beside e is possibly due to the influence of the numerous futures with i-reduplication. The solitary instance of i in ni·rigad Wb. 11° 22 (cp. § 46) may be disregarded. For the origin of this formation, cp. § 769.

Compounds of tiágú with two prepositions, however, have the s-future (without reduplication, § 661): con·im-thæ 'it will accompany' Wb. 12° 4; ·inotsat (in-oss-) 'they shall enter' 33° 14.

IIb. THE s-FUTURE


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 ð; thus not only in

gu(i)did 'prays', subj. gess-: fut. gig l.s-, con-rig 'binds', subj. rēss-, riass-: rir l.s-, nigid 'washes' nin l.s-, ligid 'licks': lil l.s-, ·con-clich 'dashes, tosses': ·cichl..s, cingid 'steps', subj. cēss-, class-: cich l.s,
for-ding 'oppresses', subj. ·dēss- ·dias-: did 's-, tennid 'cuts': tith 's- ·fo-gleinn 'learns': ·gigl.s- ·fo-ceird 'puts, throws', subj. ·cerr- (§ 618): -cicherr- ·dóethus-sa: didl.s-.

**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:

a. 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' (vēd-, § 766): fut. iss- (cp. § 113), which, however, by analogy with iba- (§ 647) is inflected like an a-subjunctive: sg. 1 ·is (s), 3 issaid, isa (KZ. XLVIII. 59); sec. fut. 3 sg. ·issad (RC. VIII. 58), pl. ·istais.

b. Roots beginning with sl drop the lenited s after reduplication (§ 216; elsewhere sl becomes l, § 153 b), cp. sel.s- above (fut. of sla (i) did). So too sligid 'fells': fut. sil 's(3 sg. silis); cp. fu·silis gl. damnabis uotis Filargirius Gl. (Thes. II. 46, 23; 361).

c. sennid and do·seinn (U+221 Aswenn-: § 548), subj. sēss-, have regular sif.s-, with f from lenited sw: sg. 3 sifis, ·sib (§ 667), 1 sibsa (§ 666).

d. saigid 'seeks, makes for', subj. sāss-: fut. sāss-, with ·s- dropped: sg. 3 siais ZCP. IX. 455, 24, ·sia, 1 sesa (from ·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-, fias- < ·wiwess-. 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 ·fi; pass. ·fiaster (trisyllabic, Fianaig. p. 36), but pl. ·fesatar, abs. fessaitir.

in·fet 'relates', pl. ·fiadat : 3 sg. ·fi (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

with the subjunctive spreads still further; thus ·festar as fut. Wb. 1227.

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 ·miwess- instead of ·miess-: sg. 3 con·miastar (four syllables) Ériu I. 195 § 10, rel. miastar Wb. 1a9; pass. miast (a) jir, ·miastar (trisyllabic, Fianaig. p. 36, or deponent?), rel. miastar; but 1 sg. dep. ·mesor, ·mesl, pl. messmir, ·messammar.

660. (f) Stressed fo- and to- before the reduplication syllable become fő- and to-, tőe-, with loss of the reduplicator (§ 179); e.g.

·fóisi ·sitis Wb. 1520, < ·fo·ill..sitis, to fo·loing.

·foichiurr MI. 78·8 (·foichurr LL 251·20, with mark of length in MS.), deuterotonic fo·cichurr ·cichiurr, to fo·ceird.

do·tőeth 'will fall' Thes. II. 248, 8, pl. tőetsat LL 112a40, 1 sg. do·fóethus-sa ZCP. VIII. 318, 5, etc.: pres. ·tuít (do·tuít, do·fuít), subj. ·tód (§ 626).

Cp. coem- for com - (§ 688) in im·coemrus- [s] ja '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 Ml. 47*19.

ar·fui·rig 'detains' (cp. con·rig, fut. ·riris·s-): 3 pl. ·fuirset.

orgid, fut. iorr- ( §§ 658a, 665): sg. 2 to·ss·imm·uurr Bürgschaft p. 22 § 65a, 3 do·ess·arr Wb. 5°12, and similar forms; pass. du·imm·arthur Ml. 90°9.

Cp. further ar·utaing (·uss·ding-, § 550) 'refreshes': 2 sg. ar·utaits Ml. 56*1; du·fu·tharcair 'wishes': 3 pl. du·futharset 54°28; im·roimdetahr ·ruimdethar (-ro-med-) 'sins': 3 pl. im·roimset ·ruimset 54°23, 54°27; do·fór·maig 'increase': 3 sg. pass. du·fórmaster 105°8 (cp. subj. ·tómaster 20°19). In the secondary fut. do·foirmsed 35°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 du·ichthim ZCP. XV. 298 gl. 20 (to-di-c(am)-wed-).

tíagu 'I go': 3 pl. ·inotsat 'will enter' ( § 656) Wb. 33°14, like subj. in·otsam Ml. 16°16; do·coised (probably = ·coísed ) 'he would be able to go' LU 5919, like subj. ( § 625).

But ·indail Ml. 96°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 Ml. 74°11; sec. fut 3 sg. ·roissed 39°34. Similarly con·desat 46°13, to ·dieg·con·daig (-di-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°8); sec. fut. ·sessed Mon. Tall. p. 140, 9, etc. Here also depends dependent ar-ta·nesamar (for O.Ir. arus·) 'we shall await them' TBC. 3132 (-nes- < -ne·üss-).

reg #: sg. 1 atamm·res Ml. 31°14, enclitic ad·er·rius 89°3, du·á·rus 137°7; 3 at·ré ZCP. VIII. 200 § 9; pl. 3 ·resat IT. III. 490, 372, etc.

rethid 'runs': sg. 3 reiss LL 252a33, in·ré Ml. 113°7, fu·ré Thes. II.241, 13 ( Arm.); pl. 3 f-a·resat ZCP. XI.92 § 10.

techid 'flees': 1 sg. ·tess (misspelt ·téis LU5747).

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).
663. 1. FUTURE

A. ACTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>Abs.</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>'gigsea (bibsa)</td>
<td>·gigius (fo-lilus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>gigis (memais)</td>
<td>·gig (·cich, ·mema)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.</td>
<td>giges</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.</td>
<td>gigsim (m)</td>
<td>·gigsem (·memsam)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.</td>
<td>gigeste</td>
<td>·gigsid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.</td>
<td>gigsit</td>
<td>·gigset (fo-lilsat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

B. DEPONENT

The attested forms of ro-fiter and midithir as in § 659.

C. PASSIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>Abs.</th>
<th>Conjunct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>miastir</td>
<td>·rirastar, ·lilastar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.</td>
<td>gigestar, miastar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL.</td>
<td>fessaitir</td>
<td>·didsiter, ·fesatar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 77a16), 3 ·iarr, ·ior, pl. 3 ·errat MI. 009 (regular, from ·iurat) beside ·furthar.

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·iurat 33a1, abs. iurait ZCP. III.465, 4; pass. ·furtha LU 7478; sec. fut. pass. ·furtha BDD. § 83.

It is uncertain if the 3 sg. rel. íuras LU7107, 7154, 7172, etc., is an old form.

fo-ceird 'throws': sg. 1 ·cichiur (r) ·cichur (r) (·foíchiurr, § 660), 3 ·cicherr, pl. 3 ·cichret ; pass. ·cicherthar; 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 LU10921 (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 sennd ), and probably silsa LU6328 (to sligid )--or -ea has become -e, e.g. gigse-sa MI. 47a4, ríse ZCP. VIII. 330, 9 (to reg- ). In the conjunct 1 sg. u-quality is normal; but cp. do-imn-arr Wb. 9a20 (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 119a12 (3 cichis (s), pres. cingid ); a form like ·cichi 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 ML. 89°11 (absol. memais).
do-for-maig (or do-fór-maig) 'increases': du-for-ma (Strachan, Trans. Phil. Society 1899-1902, p. 293).

nas·c·id 'binds': tu-s-nena Zu ir. Hss. I.50 (cp. 52, 24), ar·nena ZCP. III.465, 14; but fo·nen ZCP. 464, 12 and 465, 1, beside fo-nená 465, 22, etc.
sla(i)did 'strikes': ar·sela Fél. June 23, but sélu LU8650.
sa·gid : *sia (§ 658d), e.g. ZCP. XI.87 § 52, con·dia (com-di-sag-) ibid.

Verbs from other roots which keep the stem vowel are
té·t (1 sg. ti·agu ): con-im-thae 'will accompany' Wb. 12°4.
bong·did 'breaks, conquers': *biba Trip. 88, 1; far-bbiba, for-bb (meaning obscure) TBF.187 almost certainly belongs here (cp. ZCP. XIII.101 f.; 1 sg. do-bibus).

Most verbs, however, drop the radical vowel:
aing·id (vaneg) 'protects': *ain Wb. 1°1, 25°14: do-ind-in 13°29.
cing·id 'steps': *cich ZCP. III.463, 18, etc. (abs. cichis).
con·cich 'dashes': con·cichail (for OIr. *cichuil) Anecd. II.8.
in·lo·ing: *in[di]dail § 661 (palatal -l due to the influence of verbs with palatal vowel).
fo·gle·a 'learns': *giguil ZCP. III.448, 9.
fo·lo·ing 'supports': fo·li·lí Éirú II.208 § 28, -foil Ml. 23°8 (1 sg. -ilis ).
do·s·h·i 'abandons': dér Ml. 57°7.
-díut (di-oss-reth-) 'remains over': *díuaír Ml. 56°2.
fo·rig 'delays': *fír Fél. ProL.322, 326 (fo·ri·ri-s- ).
do·se·nim 'pursues': do-s-sib LU10677 (§ 658c).
slig·id 'fells': ar·sil Fél. Sept. 29 (abs. sills).
do·té·th 'will fall', § 660.

668. Verbs with initial f (cp. §§ 628, 659):
do-fich 'avenges' du-fi Ml. 67°5 (pass. do-fi·astar § 659, ·diastar TBC.2981).
ad··, in·fé·t 'relates', as·in·det 'expounds': ad·fii (= -f) Imram Brain I. 25 § 52, II. 285 § 1 (Laud),
ass·in·de ZCP. VII. 483 (cp. sg. 1 ·ais·nd·i·us, pl. 1 as·in·di·sem, 3 as·in·di·set ).
ar·co·at 'injures': *irchoi Wb. 7°11 (cp. § 625).

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. XXX VIII. 143 ff.). In the first place, the é-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. e·bra·- (< 'pír·ra' (§ 649), beside subj. (p)erá. Accordingly cé·l·a- can be traced back to *cechla-, *kiklā-, gé·ra- (fut. of both fo·ge·ir and gair·id ) to Celt. *gí·rā-, gé·na- (fut. of gona·id ) to Celt. *gí·nā-. From such models, reinforced by the example of gé·na- (future of both gni·id and -gnin, § 648) the é-formation had already spread in the Old Irish period far beyond its original limits; thus béra- and mé·ra- do not represent the regular development of *bibrā-, *mí·rā-.

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 reduplicative 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-; bibh·tsati from ∞ bhēd- bhid-; The Irish formation differs but slightly from this: u-roots also have i as reduplication vowel, e.g. lili·s- from v·leug-lug-; the 3 sg., and presumably the unattested 2 sg. deponent, have non-thematic forms—an 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-iil the root syllable has been reduced to -i.

Of the roots ending in a vowel, those in -i ( § 653 ) correspond to the abovementioned Sanskrit formation. 'i-liliu (cp. *riiriu ) may come from *lilisù (-sō) with regular loss of -s-, 3 -lili from 'liliset (*lilis-t seems to be excluded by absolute lilith ), cp. Skt. cikri- atē 'wishes to buy' ( √ krī- ). The 2 sg. ille is a very doubtful form; should it be correct, the must have been taken over from the other futures. Oil 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 ( KI. 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 √. The √ combined with the preceding liquid or nasal to give the sounds which de Saussure represents by r + . + , l + . + , n + . + , etc., and which appear in Celtic as rā, lā, nā (§ 215); e.g. Skt. cikir-atī, from ∞ kar-, where -kīr- corresponds to IE. *kr + . + -. 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/ / .- < 'kikl + . + / , etc. It is probable that génaid 'will wound' corresponds exactly to Skt. jighāṃsati ( -ām- for -n + . + ) from √ Skt. ān-. The loss of s and the contraction of a with the following vowel must have given rise to many

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 jījāni-atē 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. reṣṣ- and Gk. ἔξω, less- and ἔξω, 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)b id 'takes' like an averb: 3 pl. ibset, gabsat. Only in the 3 sg. is gaib sometimes written instead of gab in Mi.

Further ad-glādathar 'addresses', pret. -glādastar. 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 (-arlástar MS.) LU8269.

There are sporadic instances, particularly in the later Glosses, of spreterite forms of other strong verbs also; e.g. ar-ru-muniset fjéjíd 'they have honoured' ML. 90'1, fo-ru-r-áith-minset 'that they have remembered' 135'1, beside strong -ménatar ( § 687 ); ni-ru-frescisset 'they have not
hoped' 72°13 (cp. 34°11), beside ni-ru-frescehtar 34°17 (cp. 26°25), to ad-cí 'sees';
ad-comcisset Wb. 4°13, to ad-cumaing 'happens, hits'; nád-arroímsat 'who have not accepted' Wb. 26°23, usually ar-ro-ét § 682 (air-to-em-); deponent ro-dligistar Ml. 36°29, pf. of dlígas 'is entitled to', dlísius (with suffixed pronoun) Alt. Jr. Dicht. I.17 § 7. Cp. for-deresiur gl. 1ustráui Ml. 133°8, pres. ind. 3 sg. for-deret § 592. ad-ro-neestar, ar-ro-neestar (§ 690), to in-neat, ar-neat (ne-sed) 'expects', may be old forms, but 3 pl. ar-ro-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: Päpke, 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 -ăss-; 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.

**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 the s-subjunctive (§§ 620 ff.). The explanation suggested by Vendryes, RC. XII. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>A I</th>
<th>CONJUNCT</th>
<th>A II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>gabsu</td>
<td>·mórus (·predehos)</td>
<td>·léicius (·múnus)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>sóers (a)</td>
<td>·móir (a)</td>
<td>·léic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>món (a)</td>
<td>·móir</td>
<td>·léic (·creti)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABSOLUTE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A I</th>
<th>A II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>sóeras, foídes</td>
<td>mórsam (predchissem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>síeras, foídes</td>
<td>mórs (a )id</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>celebirsimme</td>
<td>mórsat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>cars (a )it, craisit</td>
<td>mórsat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

675. B. DEPONENT

Only a few absolute forms are quotable: 3 sg. (A II) cichnaigistir, gl. striderat Sg. 152'2, eissistir 'besought' Imram Brain I.56, 7 (ráthaigestair 'perceived' (raithigestair MS.) TBC.2943); 1 pl. rel. (A I) céllsammar (-ár MS.) 'which we foreboded' (?)](LU6974). The 3 pl. tuilsitir 'they slept' in the late poem IT. I.162 may be correctly formed.

A II (CONJUNCT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>súidigsiur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>súidigsemmar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 26'6. con·folmaissiur 'I was on the point of' Ml. 50'8 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 ·samalser.

In the 3 sg. the deponent ending begins to spread to active verbs at an early period: a-rru·n·éllestar (to as·léna) 'when he polluted' Ml. 63'14 (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·riltset, con·écnisset, at·roillisset, ·tartisset (beside ·tartset ). But this does not imply that the endings originally had a palatal vowel; for archaic forms have -at, e.g. tu·ercomlassat Wb. I. 7'7, ·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 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 -ο in the stem, against -u- in the present. Examples: cuirethar · corastar, pl. d[o]-coirsetar Y Gymmrador XIV. [85] § 13: con-ruidur 'I intend' Fél. Prob.277: rodastar Wb. 7°14; ad-su(i)di 'holds fast': ad-ro-roid Mi. 97°16; slucid 'swallows': sloic LU10652, with suffixed pron. sloicsi Trip.130, 19, pl. sloicsii 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°8, etc., pl. do-ru-sluinset 90°17 (cp. pres. subj. cia sluindid Sg. 197°11), which show either that -iss- also occurred or that forms with -iss- had modelled themselves on those with a short vowel (see § 678).

678. (b) cretid 'believes': pret. sg. 3 creti (only sporadically ·creit Wb. 5°2, ·cret Mi. 33°5), 1 ·cretus, pl. 3 ·cretset ·cretset etc. The stem had i < e (§ 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°7, pl. 1 ·roilissem, ·árilsem, 3 ·roillis(set) ·áril(l)set, also ·áril(1)set Mi. (no deuterotonic forms of the preterite of fo-, do-sli have hitherto been discovered).

But -i is found in other verbs also: tibil 'laughs': pret (with fo-ad-) fo-r-aibri Tur.62, fó-aibri Trip.98, 7 (E); rádid 'says': ru-rádi Wb. 7°9 beside imme-ro-raid Sg. 197°15 (rel. ir-raid Mi. 90°14, probably a misspelling); ro-da·uccai 'which brought them' 46°19, du-d·uccai 27°23, usually ·uc, ·uic.

It is uncertain whether some of these verbs originally had i or whether the ending has been taken over from ·creti, etc. In Fél. Prob.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-légtai 208, 10, etc.

A III

a. 679. Verbs in -ó + ; with stressed stem: sg. 2 ·cloí, ·cloí, pl. 2 ·soisid, 3 ·soisset (with -ói-?); with enclitic stem: 3 sg. do·intari (·ind-ro-so-) Wb. 16°18 do·r-intai Mi. 3°7, du·intarai 54°3, ·toroe 123°7 (probably to be read ·af-, ·af-, ·af). But nó + ə, 3 sg. pres. (or pret.?) at·noí 'he entrusts (entrusted?) him' Trip.140, 3: ad·ro·ni Wb. 29°29, imm·rá·ní 'has bequeathed', pl. imm·r·ánsat Thes. II. 239, 12-13 (Arm.).

b. (as)-luí : sg. 1 as·ru-luíüs (= -lús) Wb. 17°16; 3 as·lóe ZCP. XVI. 343 § 34, as·ru-chum-láé, ·rochumlai, con·húa-lai Thes. II. 320, 7, etc.; pl. 3 as·lúiset (with -uí-?) Laws I. 64, 3, ro·lusetar 'they flew' Anci. III.59, 22, fo·luassat Mi. 67°16 (probably with úa).

680. (c) Verbs in -á + and two verbs in -i + ; gní + and sní + , in which i goes back to e, have a mixed formation, an s-preterite combined with reduplication; the reduplication vowel is e.

bá + : 'die': 3 sg. bebeais, ·beai, later ·bea ; pl. 3 bebsait.

rā + : 'row': 3 sg. imm·ræa Sg. 62°7, pl. ·ræsat LL 134°18.

Here also seems to belong re(a)is 'he moved (?)', rel. reras Imram Brain I.29 § 61 and 43, 8. con·slá 'goes (away)': 3 sg. con·sellai 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°16), 3 ad·cotadai Thes. II.240, 23 (Arm.), ad·cotade, ·étade ·étade ; pl. 1 ad·cotadams, 3 ad·cotatsat, ·étatsat.

Another (and rarely found) (va) 'vanish, dwindle' (vb.n. tám ), subj. arna·tta (for O.Ir. ·taa ) Mon. Tall.159, 35: pret. ro·tetha Fél. Prob.193 (cp. § 772).

ro·lā + : (§§ 534, 762) has unreduplicated forms but the same 3 sg. ending as the foregoing verbs: ru·lae (trisyllabic) Trip. 212, 23, ro·laa Sg. 75°4, r·a·lásom Tur.80, r·ale Mi. 23°16.

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·ralae 90°17; pl. 2 ro·lásid, ·ralsid, 3 ·rolsat Mi. 16°2; cp. sg. 1 ro·da ·lláus LL 249°40, 2 ro·lláüs 251°14.
The ending -(a)e which, judging by ru-iaē, 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. 58’12, do-rinōl 51’21.

For snā + -swim' no reduplicated forms are attested: 3 sg. ro-snā as early as Imram Brain 1. 21 § 42 (hardly pres. ind.), like later ro-snaus-[s]a LU 9436, -rā(i)set, etc.

681. (d) gniid 'does' has preterite stem gēniss- < *gēnīss-: 3 sg. ·gēni, pl. ·gēinset Ml. 29’4, ·gēinent 80’6.

In the compound with de (di) and ro (which becomes ri, § 852) the forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>DEUTEROTONIC</th>
<th>PROTOTONIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>do-rignius, ·rīgēnus</td>
<td>·deīrgēnus, ·dernus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·rīgnis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·rīgni, ·rīgēni</td>
<td>·de (i)rgēni, ·dergēni, ·deirgni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>·rīgensam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·rīgensid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·rīgensat</td>
<td>·dergēnsat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mark of length in do-rīgeni, ·rīgensam, ·rīgensat Wb. 11’28, 12’29, 24’3, 28’19 has no significance (see § 46). In do-rīgensat Ml. 16’6 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-snī 'strives for' has been modelled on the above formation: ad-ru-choisséni (or ad-ru-?) Ml. 69’4, 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 (?)' Fél. 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-usss-) sem- : ·sét-, enclit. ·sat-, ·set-.

agid 'drives': acht-; aingid 'protects': anacht- (< *anecht-); do-for-maig 'increases': ·macht-; ess-reg- : ·recht, ·éracht; orgid 'slays': ort- (< *orcht-).

saigid (§ 549): siacht-, apparently with reduplication, is isolated; it may be an analogical formation after siassair (§ 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. 683, 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-décht. The meaning of fiacht LU 5324, Éiriu II. 3, 4 (Eg.) is obscure; but fo-rúachtatar Éiriu XI. 44 § II (cp. Laws IV. 178, 17), da-rúachtatar Éiriu VI. 149, 72, and sg. fo-riacht Trip. 234, 15, suggest that fo-fich 'commits (a crime)' and di-fich- 'avenges' had a preterite stem fiacht- (beside fich- , § 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 kymrth '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 -fich-. The formation is also found in Britannic; e.g. W.

684. CONJUNCT

FLEXION FOR THE t-PRETERITE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG.</th>
<th>STRESSED STEM</th>
<th>ENCLITIC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td>biur (ét)</td>
<td>as-ru-burt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 2</td>
<td>birt</td>
<td>·ru-b (a)irt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 3</td>
<td>bert (alt, ort)</td>
<td>·ru-bart (do-rósat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 1</td>
<td>bertam (m)ar</td>
<td>·ru-bartm (m)ar (do-rochtammar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 2</td>
<td></td>
<td>·ru-bart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 3</td>
<td>bertar, bertatar</td>
<td>·ru-bartatar (att-ru-baltar), ·ru-bartat (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the absolute flexion only forms of the 3rd person are quotable: sg. birt, sirt ZCP. XIX. 200, milt ZCP. VIII. 308, 3, uirt Alt. ir. Dicht. II. 27, rel. berte Fianaig. p. 28, altae LU 10602; pl. 3 geltatar 4733, rel. berta Mil. 127°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, Ota Morseiana I. 128 § 23, conid-roíter (sic leg.) Laws I. 30, 24; 1 sg. con-roétar LL 119a33 (ending as in § 697); the 3 pl. form con-roíatar Mil. 55°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-rócirt, dunda-raigurt, fris-comurt. On the other hand, u-quality is not shown in do-rré Wb. 31°1, ar-roilét-sa 6°14 (cp. § 54, 688), con-altecht (-ad-di-siacht) Mil. 132°5; cp. also as-comort Sg. 210°6 (see § 101).

2 sg. do-birt Mil. 56°13, at-birt TBC. 1755 (in ro-meilt Hib. Min. p. 71 the vocalism is not original); enclitic con-tochmairt Mil. 17°2, 19°7, dundíairgiirt 74°20, do-romailt LL 246°8. But forms with -cht are not palatalized (§ 162): du-n-écomnacht Mil. 56°18, ·comacht 60°20 (but ma-ra-rubart 112°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-réachtid Wb. 18°6, ar-[r]oítid 13°30.
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 Ml. (except for con-geltat, fo-geltat LL 58’25-26), 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 unreuplicated 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(id)id 'digs': cechlad-; ma(i)did 'breaks' (intrans.): memad-; nascid 'binds': nenasc-; reg- 'regere': rerag-; (fo)-gleinn 'learns': ·geglann-; (ad)-greinn 'persecutes': ·ggrann-; 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': ggon-; bruinnid (§549): ·bebrann- (3 pl. bebarnatar). In
génair (< gegen), 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 Ml. the vocalism of the present has spread to the reduplication syllable in 3 sg. ro·cachain 48’11 (later common) instead of regular ·cechain ·cechuin (also ·cechann 64’22, 66’12, 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-; réd-; riad- '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-; 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 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-, -roigrann-, etc.

By analogy with this the preposition com-, when used as a verbal particle (§ 533) in the same position, often becomes coim-, coem-. Examples: 3 sg. du-coimarraig (-com-riag), to du-riq 'strips', 3 pl. du-coímraithe, 1 sg. fo-coëmiall (-com-lal), to fo-loing 'supports, endures', 3 pl. fo-coimlachtar; do-coëmmachtar, to do-riq 'washes'.

Similarly -coímnucuir, -coínnacuir, etc., prototonic forms of con-ánacuir (§ 689); but always for-connucuir, for-connacuir 'happened', attot-chomníc.

In Ml. confusion sets in among ro-forms. Sometimes ro- appears for roí-: for-ro-chain 68°8, in-ro-graínn 26°24, fo-ro-raid 51°23 (to fo-roind 'reddens, darkens'); sometimes roí- appears where the reduplication syllable is kept: fortan-roícheñtar 63°1, ad-roígegrannatar 25°11. So also comfor coim-: do-comarraig 48°15, ñ-comnactar 76°7.

On the other hand, róe- spreads rather early to non-reduplicated preterite forms; e.g. ad-róethach 'I have sought' Thes. II. 353, 5, to ad-tech-, pret. tách- (§ 692); ad-róegaid LU 9810, to guidid, pret. gáid; do-róemadair SR. 7955, to mid(a)ir (§ 693), etc. Cp. also the t-pret. (stem ét-) of air-fo-em- 'accept': sg. 1 ar-roiléit-sa Wb. 6°14; 3 ara-roiat Ml. 24°28 (beside ar-roét). In this verb roí had arisen regularly by contraction of ro-f + ó-ét- in forms like ara-roítmar Wb. 9°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 -ánac- (c = g, -ánecc- Wb. 14°40), which may be compared to Skt. ánámśa, pl. of aśnā + tī 'reaches'.

The verb 'to eat' forms its preterite from √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) Tripl. 198, 8, du-fuetar (read -füatar) Ériu VII. 164 § 8, prototonic -dótar, -dútar. But by-forms like do-feotar LL 291°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 éóid-, 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, Otag Merseiana I. 123 § 6, with obscure stem formation (from uód- 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. desil Tur. 59, tairbling LU 6697. By analogy with this, dringid 'climbs' has pret. 3 sg. drebraing Fél. (corrupted to dreblaing in some MSS.).

Since pepl. . should have given Ir. ebl -, the -l- of leblang- has been introduced from other forms of the verb. The p makes the equation with Skt. lághati 'overleaps' and its cognates (cp. Walde-Pokorny II. 426)

unlikely. For the equation with Gk. πλισσομαι 'I stride out', πλιχά '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 cíng- 'step', had shifted to the en- grade (which W. llam 'a leap' seems to suggest); for the equation with O.Slav. píšešati 'to dance' (if this goes back to plark + į), 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 *-fí and -fúair § 691, fíu § 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, ñsed-, is unique (1 sg. *sessor Aisl. MC. 93, 2 is probably a later form influenced by subj. and fut. sess-). It looks like a mixture of a reduplicated pret. 'señod-', 'sēad- and an old s-aorist 'sed-, 'sess-. The perfect (with de-en- § 534) has active singular do-essid des(s)id 'has sat, has been settled' (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. *seṡod-, *sëad- and an old s-aorist *sed-, *sess-. An exactly parallel formation to des(s)id, etc., is dellig, pl. dellgetar (LL 43°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(a) 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°35, ar·ru-neastar Ml. 50°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.

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]ú[i]lu[i]I ZCP. XX. 212.

In compounds of fen- (§ 551), 'wiw- would have regularly lost -w- after i, thus giving 3 sg. *-fi. The only attested form is for·chui (MS. forthui) Ml. 33°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-soa (FM. 701), in·rá[r]ba Ml. 46°10; 2 -rubá Ml. 13°25; 3 bí, ·rubai LU 5334, ·rindarpai Wb. 5°18, etc. (etir·rudib Ml. 123°10 has perhaps been remodelled after ·lil, ·rir): pl. 2 fo·rubid Wb. 27°27; 3 ·béotar LU 5110.

(b) B V:

ara·chrin 'decays': pf. 3 sg. ara·ruichiúir Ml. 136°8, ar·rochiúir (or ar·ro-) Fél. Prol. 67, 127; pl. ar·rochiúirtár (read ·chiúrtar?) LU 1698, ·arc[h]éoratar Ml. 26°6.

·gnin 'knows': sg. 1, 2 ·gén (< geyn.), 3 ·géuin, ·géiuin; pl. 1 ·génammar, 3 ·génatar.
(c) **ciid** 'weepes': **cich** (written cich LU 10964, likewise **ro-chich** BDD. § 106 (YBL), but **deichmo**- (read dechmo-) **rochich** RC. XVII. 188, with i).

(d) The active preterite corresponding to passive ·fríth 'was found' (§ 706.) is sg. 1 ·fúar, 3 ·fúair, pl. 1 ·fúaramar, 3 ·fúaratar (fúar- < fór-, 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 i may go back to ē (cp. Gk. η = ρη-κα,ε = ρη -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 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-thetar ML. 104²8, do-rrúairthetar Sg. 18³6, beside regular in·rorthetar ML. 35²21, do·rúarthetar Sg. 5¹13, the palatal r of the other forms of *rethid* has spread to the preterite; similarly in ma du-d·r-imthid 'if she has attended' Wb. 28³30 (cp. 32¹15), pl. do·r-imthirthetar 32²5.

*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, -coid, 3 -coaid, -coaid; -cuaid; pl. 1 -commar (= -cómmar, c) 3 -cotar (= -cótar, c) cuatar. Prototonic sg. 1 ·dechud, 3 ·dechuid, ·dechuith; pl. 1 ·dechommar, ·dechummar, (2 ·digtíth Wb. 9³19 may be perfective present), 3 ·dechutar.

That -d- is earlier than -th- is shown by Mid. W. go-di-wawd (-d = -δ) '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 Ml. 99²2.

The i- preterite ro-fich 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-midhratur AU. 1088 for O.Ir. ·midatar (§ 693).

*daimid* 'grants, admits': ·dámair. The plural has the remarkable form fu-ro-damnatar Ml. 96²8, 105²9 (misspelt ·damnamtar 90²13); cp. damnatar LL 262²30, ro-damnatar.
2. THE ī-PRETERITE

693. A few verbs have medial ī in the preterite:

ern(a)id 'grants', subj. -era: pret. 3 sg. īr Wb. 17a13, 20a11, etc.

midithir 'judges': sg. 1 ·mídr Wb. 9a5, encl. ·ammadar, 3 ·míð(a)ir, do-ru-madir; pl. 3 ·mídatar Trip. p. lix, 14, ·ir-madatar, ·im-ru-mdetar.

fichid 'fights': sg. 3 ·fích, rel. fiche ZCP. XI. 109 § 19, enclitic da-ru-ich Ml. 43d19; pl. 1 fichim(m)ar (-immir LU) Imram Brain I. 48, 7.

in ·, ad-fét (fēd-, fiad-) 'relates': 3 sg. infid LL 29b6-7. It is uncertain if 3 pl. ad-fíadatar RC. XI. 442, 5 (ad-fiadatar ACL. III. 6, 1) is an old form. With -co(m)- (§ 533): 3 sg. ad-cuaid ·cuaid, prototon. ·écid; pl. 1 ad-coidemmar, 2 ·écid, 3 later ad-cuadatar (RC. III. 346, 1, etc.); for the prototonic form in BDD. § 52 the MSS. point to ·écetar or ·écdatar. Similarly the decompounds as·ind-et 'expounds' and t-ad-bat 'shows' (§ 592): 3 sg. as·rivid and do-árbith·árbuid·árbaid; in the latter verb spirant ̣ instead of ƒ + ̇ after r(o) is due to the analogy of forms without ro, where w came immediately after δ (cp. § 201a).

In the pret. of do·fet (fed-) 'leads', ī is not actually attested but may be postulated as certain: 3 sg. *·fíd (misspelt du-d·fich RC. XI. 446, 44), enclitic du-da, ruïd Ml. 63b12 (cp. du-s·i-deraid 99b13, with to-di-), 3 pl. rel. dut·fídetar 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 REPUBLICATION

694. (a) fo-ceird 'throws, puts': pret. 3 sg. fo-caird, pl. fo-cartar,

scredid 'scrapes off': 3 sg. ro-scaird Ml. 14b2.

This is possibly the same formation as that of § 692, with shortening of ă 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' (v/derc-) (§ 535b) may either be formed like fo-caird or go back to -dedarc-. Cp. further do-ormalgg (§ 534, 3) 'I have milked' Sg. 23b2, du-r-inmaicc gl. promulgait Ml. 31a3 (to mligid, √melg-); du-futharcair, -dúthraccair 'he wished, wishes'; im-, fris-comcarcair (§ 695).

con·rótaig 'has built', to con·utuing (§ 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·ldatar, *tuldatar (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 δ has become t after s?).

A similar form is *buich RC. XX. 174 § 39, con·buig (combuig MS.) Àlt. ir. Dicht. II. 18, archaic by-form of *bobig (§ 687), to bongid 'breaks'.
These are evidently old aorists like Gk. □λυθον, □φυγον.

(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 decompounds: con·ánacuir, co-t-áneccar-sa Wb. 14·40 (but active 3 sg. co-t-ánic once, 8·14), for·commucuir, teccommucuir (but attot·chomnicc 6·13, etc.); sa(i)did 'sits': preterite síasair (but perfect do·essid, dessid) §690; (im)·com-airc 'asks': im·chomarcair LU 5102, fris·comarcuir 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-étegair Trip. 214, 10 (earlier pret. form unknown); con·aitecht; ar·róerachair 'attained' 104, 14, etc., apparently to ar-reth- (cp. §708).

696. A. ACTIVE (CONJUNCT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>·rerag (·gegon)</th>
<th>·ánac</th>
<th>·gád</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>·rerag</td>
<td>·ánac</td>
<td>·gád</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·rer (a)ig</td>
<td>·án (a)ic</td>
<td>·gáíd</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·rer (a)ig (·cechuin §172)</td>
<td>·án (a)ic</td>
<td>·gáíd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>·rergammar</td>
<td>·áncammar</td>
<td>·gádammar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>·rerg (a)id</td>
<td>·ác (a)id</td>
<td>·gáid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·rerg (a)id</td>
<td>·ác (a)id</td>
<td>·gáid</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·rergatar</td>
<td>·áncatar</td>
<td>·gádatar.</td>
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<td>·leblangtar</td>
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697. B. DEPONENT (CONJUNCT)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>·ménar</th>
<th>·coimnaear</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>·ménar</td>
<td>·coimnaear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·mén (a)ir</td>
<td>·cimmucuir ·coimnaeuir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·mén (a)ir</td>
<td>·cimmucuir ·coimnaeuir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pl.  | ·ménammar (·derménmar) | ·coimnaeuir |
| 1    | ·mén (a)id      | ·coimnaeuir |
| 2    | ·mén (a)id      | ·coimnaeuir |
| 3    | ·ménatar        | ·coimnaeuir |
698. The absolute flexion, of which there are very few examples in the early MSS. (luid § 694c, táich Ml. 32124), 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 rérig, selai, ill, bi, gáid, fích, etc.; dep. génair Thes. II. 308, 16, dámaír ZCP. XIII. 144 § 2. The active flexion had a 3 sg. relative form in -e; e.g. liude Ml. 1273, etc.; glúth Tur. 125; gégn[a] Fél. Oct. 23 (R'); dide ZCP. XVIII. 397; ríre ZCP. XIII. 334, 8; gáide Thes. II. 339, 5; fíche ZCP. XI. 109 § 19.

In the 1 and 3 pl. the non-relative forms show fluctuation between -ar and -ir: bámair § 789, ó lodmar-nil LL 246626, beside femmir § 702; fichhimmar or -mmir § 693; bátar and báitir (§ 789, cp. § 810); ráthatar Fél. Sept. 18, gádatar Thes. II. 313, 1, jelgar 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. (a)λέλαυσ-, -e; (a)νυ-oy, -e) or the IE. perfect (Gk. -a, -e.). 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. τετροθε, nēnoθa); further, the lowering of u to o in the reduplication syllable, e.g. *bobuid (§ 687.), which 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’, gwóst ‘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·colmachtar, du·colmachtar, do·colmachtar, 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 (-cótar?) show that this is not regular.

Similarly in the 1 pl., beside ·gádammar, ·génammar, we find the more regular form ·lodmar. do·cómmar (with -i-?, § 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 + ūr.

- r may be taken as the old 3 pl. ending of the active perfect, corresponding to Avest. -ara, Skt. -uh,(= -ur); cp. Tochar. 3 pl. pret. -ar, -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 -dar (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-ánacair SR. 3472, ·cúalaba[ír-s]i 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; -baír seems to be based on the 2 pl. possessive pronoun bar.

Collection from LU: Strachan, ZCP. II. 492 f.

700. The deponent flexion has -r in the singular also. But the quality of this -r is obviously conditioned by 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: ·coimnactar, du-fúthráctar. Similarly in the 1 pl.: ·coimnacmar, ·derrménmar.

701. The á-preterite, in which á most probably represents old ö rather than å, was common to all the Insular Celtic languages. Cp. OW. guo-raut, gwa-rawl = O.Ir. fo-ráith 'he helped'; Mid.W. dy-wawl 'he said', go-di-wawdl (§ 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. θη-έπλω, is perhaps to be compared.

In the i-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), i < ĕ 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 ·mid(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. uici, uidi. Since two of them belong to the i-series (fich, in-fid), 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-fid- (véfid-) 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.

ad-cí 'sees', do-é-ci 'looks (at)' and their decompounds: sg. 1 fris-racacha, 3 fres-n-accache, ·frescachae; pl. 1 ·remdercachmar, 3 ·frescachtar (·frescchtaur Mi. 34v17), do-récachtar; or with the reduplication suppressed: sg. 3 ·acae, 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 (vé Gus, gus), only perfect forms with ro(i) are found in early MSS.: sg. 1, 2 do-roíga, 3 ·roígu; pl. 2 ·roigaid. 3 ·roigatar.
The 3 sg. ending -u appears again in fiu, fiú 'he spent the night' Trip. 156, 19; 174, 6; 184, 15, etc.; cp. pl. 1 femmir LU 10242; pl. 3 féotar, once féôir LU 10602, (pres. fôid, vb.n. fess, ñwës-); 2 sg., with enclitic stem, -ro-a (for -f + a) 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 fiu, before a neutral ending féo-. In later attested forms like at-gege, at-a-gegai ZCP. XVIII. 325, the ending has probably been changed. In femmir and fêtir (read fët- ?), -w- (< -us-) seems to have disappeared without leaving any trace.

SPECIAL FORMATIONS

703. (a) The preterite-present ro-fruitar 'I know, knew' (fruitor only once, Thes. II. 241, 10, Arm.), 2 ·feitár, 3 ·fitir; pl. 1 ·fitemmar Wb. Sg., ·fétammar Ml., 2 ·fitid ·fitis Wb. 6'18, 14'12, probably extracted from ·fiti(d)-si, cp. § 139). 3 usually ·fitetar, seldom ·fetatar Ml. 54'14. ·fetar Wb. 28'12. Ml. 96'2 (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. vêda; pl. witum, ṇµε, vidmâ; the 3 sg. ·fitir to Mid.W. gwîr 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 vidrê; 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-cestar TBC. 2925, rel. do-chertar Anecd. III. 62, 19. The form with ro tends to be inflected normally: 3 sg. do-rochair Sg. 29'8, 29'7, Tur. 19, beside ·torchair Ml. 34'14; further, sq. 1 ·torchair Trip. 124, 25, (2 ·torchar LU 6039 = TBC. 1568 is scarcely correct); pl. 3 do-rocharatar, ·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. 98'8, condi-d-aptha AU. 830, etc.

·cer (base 'k + ér-, principal ablaut forms 'kera- and 'krê-) is an old radical aorist 'keret; cp. Skt. a-śarît 'he crushed', Ir. crîn (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 -bâth, -bâthatar; but short a is confirmed by rhyme, e.g. Fianaig. 12 § 22, Met. Dinds. I. 46, 3, IV. 354, 43; cp. the abstract noun bâth 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. caputus, -a, -um est), to supply this tensiform. 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 (= ð). Thus in all weak verbs: A I móra-d, A II -lêce-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-oideth*, should regularly have th from s + ð (§ 131), but has kept the -ð- of the other forms.

ibid 'drinks' has adopted the formation of the i-verbs, ga(i)bíd, 'takes' that of the a-verbs (cp. § 671): ·ibed, ·gabad.

o-verbs (A III: cloïd 'subdues': ·cload; soïd 'turns': ·soad, 3 pl. ·soithe (probably with oí) Sg. 73°11 (-e from -ea).

ro·lā- (§ 762): ro·laad, 3 pl. ·látha.

gniid 'does': ·gníth, with enclitic stem do·rónad (< ·ro-gnīth); 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.

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Before t a guttural appears as ch (§ 221); e.g. aingid, ·anich 'protects': ·anacht (from ·anecht); reg- 'stretch out': ·recht; didgíd 'is entitled to': ·decht; sligíd 'fells': ·slecht; fidh' 'weaves' and fi chúid 'fights': ·fecht; bongid 'breaks, reaps': ·fecht (for the vocalism of to-n-aid-becht RC. XXII. 401 § 168, see § 550); ·ic 'reaches', etc.: ·icht (cp. § 210), enclitic ·air-echt.

gníd 'slav': ·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)díd 'prays' (subj. stem gess-): ·ges(s); clai(id)id 'digs': ·class; sla(id)id '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°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-séssa LU 6748; tennid

'scuts open': ·tēs O'Mulc. 474; fo·gleinn 'learns': fo·glēs ibid. 665; do·eclainn (·eg-glenn-) 'selects': perfect du·érglas Ml. 120°2.

do·etar-rat 'overtakes' (cpd. of rethid) has the peculiar form do·r-etarracht Ml. 33°20 (cp. the vb.n. comtetracht, § 737.).

ad-ci 'sees' (√k“is-, k“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 Fél. Aug. 24.

-s has also spread beyond its original limits in fo-m·lámas bádud 'drowning impended over me' Wb. 17°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' (√v·gus-, geus-) forms its preterite passive like a weak verb: do·roigad (cp. § 711) Ml. 123°14, do·rogad 124°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-ócrad, do-r-airngred, etc. Forms such as ar-garad BDD. § 13 and do-r-airngerad Ml. 1135 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 113313, ZCP. III. 38, 2; ar-fo-em- 'receive': 3 pl. ar-foitea ZCP. VIII. 312, 19; do-es-sim 'pours out, sheds': pf. do-r-esson; 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-dét, instead of ·dét, see § 50b.

711. Sometimes the passive preterite is influenced by the active form. Thus roi- (§ 688.) is taken over, e.g. in do-roi-gad

§ 708, fo-roíblachta 'sunt praeventi' Ml. 586, modelled on ·roi-bl(a)ing (§ 689.) 'has sprung'. Cp. further con-árracht 12332, with rr as in act. con-árrig ('ad-er(a)ig), to con-rig 'binds'; ·siaacht, with reduplication like the active (§ 682). A somewhat later form is ·ai-récht 'was found' Thes. II. 348, 1, instead of ·air-echt, by analogy with act. ·airmie ('air-ánic).

FLEXION OF THE PASSIVE PRETERITE

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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 bi-tha '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, sudithi (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 ·bri-thi 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.).
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 + á-, and inflected like the adjectives in § 354. The participle of a compound verb is stressed on the first syllable ( § 364 ). Weak verbs: A I mórthea, oirdnide 'ordained, worthy'; All léithe, foithe (to foíd 'sends'), sudíthe. So also cloithe (probably cloithe), to cloíd 'subdues', ad-cota, -éta 'obtains': ét (ta) e (as against pret. pass. -étas, § 708 ). gaibid 'takes': di-, 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': bithé, tóbaide (with to-f + ó-), imdbithé, aidchuimthe, fubide (without syncope) ZCP. VII1480; so also im-fen 'encloses': imbithé, -ide; for-fen 'completes': forbaide Ml. (the syncopated form foirbthé serves as the adjective 'perfect').

gnín 'knows': pl. aetgnithi (read etar- ?) Wb. l'14, inngaidhe Ml.
reg- 'stretch out': recht (a) e; déracht (a) e 'abandoned'.
do-formaig 'increases': tórmacht (a) e.
sag- 'farfacht (a) e 'asked'; cuinteacht (a) e 'sought'.
fo-slig 'smears': fuillecht (a) e.
con-rig 'binds', di-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.
or gid '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' (v-sed-): impesse (-sesse).

as·indet 'expounds': aisndisse.
cla (i) did 'digs': claise.
in·snaid 'grafts': esnaisse.
ad·gládathar 'addresses': acailse.
im·naisc 'binds together': immainse.
for·diuclann 'swallows': forducaisle.
rondid 'reddens': ruisse ( IT. II. ii. 191, 56, etc.).
do·goa 'chooses': tuigse, tuichse Ml. (tuicse Wb., with to-usss-).
ro·clu (i) nethar 'hears': clothe.
berid 'bears': 'bríthe (cp. sríthe 'exsertus' Ml. 31'8).

In the syncopated participles of compounds there is fluctuation between palatal and non-palatal rth (cp. § 164); e.g. tairberthae Ml. 130'7, pl. tairberthi Thes. II. 234, 6; remeperthae Sg. 4'7, acc. pl. (substantival) remeperthiu Ml. 69'4. In compounds of gairid 'calls' rth is as a rule non-palatal; e.g.

ergartha, dingartha, esgarthe; but tairngirtha Ml. 110'5. In pl. forngarti Sg. 31'7 the t seems to be unliented (if not a scribal error).

celid 'conceals': clithe; cp. nph-glidi gl. intonsi Filargirius Gl. ( Thes. II. 46, 21; 361), to gelid 'grazes'.
alid 'rears': alt (a) e.
canid 'sings': cétè; but the compounds, for·cain: fiórchthe Ml. 35'6, do·er-chain : terchant (a) e (like a weak averb) 24'6, are irregular. So is ataim (ad-daim) 'acknowledges': atmaithet (-I,MS.) Laws III. 12, 11.
air-em- or air·fo-em- 'receive': erite.
do·essim 'pours out, sheds': teste.
do·moinethar 'thinks': toimte.
gonaid 'wounds, slays': göite.

The following show irregular formation:

gṉid 'does': pl. gṉethi Ml. 115'2, also in compounds like már- , cán- , mí- , rem·gnethi. The e was probably long; cp. gṉéthid 'operatorius' Wb. 30'9, and later gṉéthech, (gen. -ige, 'active voice'. The source of the é is not clear (cp. sṉíthe 'twisted' Ml. 24'7, to sṉiid ); influence by gné 'form' is hardly probable.
fri·acci (-ad-ci) 'hopes': frescast (a) e, where t has been
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.iṣṭāyē 'for desiring', pāṭāyē 'for drinking.'

The suffix -ti, -thi, -di is not inflected. Only in Ml. is the dat. pl. ending -ib sometimes attached to it; e.g. donaib déedib betis chloithib (with -oi-?) gl. ad conuincendos desides 131'11; airtbidib gl. perimendis (malis) 116'4. 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 móth (a )j, comalnaidi.A II lícithi, su (i )dchtii, fodlaidi ; without syncope: sechidi (to sechithir 'follows'). -cuirethar : coirthi Strong verbs: con-rig 'binds': cuimrechti.

do-fich 'avenges': diachti.

cosubjects

Con-utuing 'builds': cumtacht (a )i.

to- (fo )-org- 'crush': túart (a )i.

canid 'sings': cétí (but for.cain : forchtii Ml. 132'4 and forcanti Thes. II. 22, 39).

do-em 'covers, protects': díthi.

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, tinfeste § 716.). Thus beside regular forms like messi to midithir 'judges', gessi to gu (i )did 'prays', aisndissi to as-infet 'expounds', indrissi to ind-reth- 'invade, lay waste', we find both ecalli 'discutiendus' Ml. 15'7 and eclastai Sg. 27'15 to as-gleinn, imcasti 'consideranda' Ml. 18'22 to ad-cí (with imm- ). Cp. comitesti Wb. l'12, to con-tétéométtig 'yields to'; here there has also been influence by the s-subjunctive -tess-, -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. 68'5 (pres. serraid ); cp. compounds like tabarthi, tedbarthi, eperthi. Cp. further clethi Thes. II. 345, 1, to celid 'conceals', but cliithi (rhyming with michi ) Fél. Epil. 306. benaid 'strikes' (partc. bithe ) : bethi Ml. 114'12.

In Britannic the corresponding forms always have á before the dental: O.Bret. in-aatoe 'ineundum' from a(g)-; W. -adwy, e.g. credawvy 'credible'; Corn. caradow 'lovable', casadow, 'hateful'. On these lines one could explain the e in bethi as < -ia-, but not that in brethi, clethi. That the last two forms were influenced by the verbal nouns brethi and 'c lethi is possible, but the reason for any such influence is obscure. cliithi is undoubtedly a secondary formation based on the participle.
3. THE VERBAL NOUN

Collections: Windisch, Bezzenbergers 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 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** (nom.) do thúarcuin 'it is a custom with them that the oxen thresh' (lit. 'the oxen for (the) threshing') Wb. 106; **ni·guid dégail** (acc.) du thabairt foraib 'he prays not that punishment should be inflicted on them' Ml. 42a4; **atot-ághathar dia mrath** (mbrath MS.) 'he fears thou wilt betray them' LU 4707; **dénúm maith** (gen.) ocus imgabáil uile 'to do (lit. 'doing of') good and to avoid doing evil' Ml. 1412; **dob·roíga-sa i-mmess** (or im mess?) fíra do brith for éach 'I have chosen you to pass true judgement on all' 10315. Cp. also **ni·epur fri etarscarad** (acc.) fri suidiu 'I say not to you to separate from these' Wb. 919.

But is **mithich dán t(rá) intinnseital 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 + ñeich fri indeb in domain** ettoil dæ + 'do dénum 'to separate from the gain of the world and to do God's will': here the parallel to scarad is not toil (dæ + ?) but the entire clause toil 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. 1012 beside a m-buith 'their being' 1014.

Many verbal nouns are used in a concrete sense also; e.g. **cuimrech** '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 root as the verb to which they are attached. But there are certain exceptions to this. Thus **gal** fem. serves as verbal noun of **fíchid** 'fights' (dí-gal of dí-fich-, to-gal of to-fich-, etc.).

**serc** fem., vb.n. of **car(a)id** 'loves'.
**dúl** neut., dat. sg. **dúl** Mil., vb.n. of **bid** 'drinks'.
**luige lugae** neut., vb.n. of **tongid** 'swears' (but fretech 'renouncing', dat. pl. fritchib, to frís-toing; dí-thech 'denying on oath'; e-tech 'refusing', to as-toing; cp. § 550.).
**precept, preceupt** (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': ásáid.
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': rédid (but im-rádud).
rim fem. 'counting, number': rémid; cp. áram, tuirem: ad-, do-rími.
samail fem. 'comparison, likeness': samlaithir; cp. intam(a)il: in-samlathar (but, with dí-: diamlad Ml. 52).
slond (dat. slund) 'signification': sluindid (but with ad-: asslondud Fél., with dí-: diltoth, díltud § 131: simplex also slondod Thes. II. 292, 2).
togaís 'deceit', vb.n. of do·gaítha, is somewhat different, based on the noun gais 'wisdom', beside gáith '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'

: comalnad, -ath; léciud: léciud, -iuth (for foit, vb.n. of fóidid, see § 110); su(i)digidirsu(i)digud, -uth.
sō + id (A III): sō + ūd (with imb-: impuud, impúth, impúd; with to-ind-: tintúd, etc.); srē + id: 'srē + ēd (as-sreud, æsreuth);
li + id: 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·loing 'cleaves': indlach.
fo·loing 'supports': fulach (also fulang, with the n of the present stem), arch. folog Wb. I. 17°23;
in·loing 'unites': ellach.

Other classes:
do·for·maig 'increases': tórmach.
atteich ('ad·teich') 'beseeches, takes refuge': attach.
do·for·nig 'washes off': diunach.
con·rig 'binds': cuimrech (dat. pl. cuimregib beside cuimregaib, § 280); du·rig 'strips': direch.
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°1.
do·infet 'inspires, aspirates': tinfed, tinphed.
ad·boind 'proclaims': apad; as·boind 'resists': obbad, opad.
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-tera** 'prepares': **faír**.
- **in-tinnscan** (n) **ja** 'begins': **intinnscann** 'beginning' Sg. (cp. § 73.1).

In Ml. some formations 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 cain-chomrac* 19°14, acc. pl. **comtherchomracu** 37°8 beside neuter plural **comtherchomrac** 37°6. Cp. further **int erchót** Ml. 61°8, vb.n of **ar-coat** 'hinders, injures', and acc. pl. **cuimlengu** 'congressús' 112°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. **esníd** Wb. 5°42; **do-mathi** 'threatens': **tomad** 11°16, acc. dat. **tomaith** Ml. 31°26, 33°15, 18 (a-stem?), but gen. **tomtho** 26°2 (like a u-stem); **con-sern** 'studet': **cossír** ZCP. VII. 484.

**725.** 2. Neuters in -e (io-stems), e.g.

- **sa(i)d** 'sits' su(i)de, in(d)n(a)ide 'awaiting'.
- la(i)gid 'lies': **lige**.

Compounds of **gairid** 'calls'; e.g. **ar-gair** 'forbids': **irgaire ergaire**, **esnáir** **tairngire**, **dring(a)ei**. **diurc(a)ei**, fócr(a)ei, frecc(a)ei, tac(a)ei, etc.
- **do-é-rig** 'abandons': dé(i)rg; 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)ei, imdíbe, etardíbe, 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** 'requires' occurs later as **althe** ('aith-f + é'); but in Wb. the acc. is always **aithi**, and in Sg. 111°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': **dlieth**.
- **ara-chrin** 'decays': **ichre, erchre**.
- **ad-gninn** 'knows': **aithgne**; similarly ecne, etarcn(a)ei, ingn(a)ei.
- **do-lín** 'floods': **twile** (with to-us- or to-fó-: tólae).

A peculiar formation is **aithne**, vb.n. of **ad-noi** 'entrusts'; so also **imn(a)e**, **timn(a)e** 'bequest', with (to-)**îmm-ad-** (but as-noi '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-noi** (pret. 3 pl. fo-noiisit) 'cooks, bakes', the palatal n is hard to account for.

**726.** 3. Feminines in -e (iá-stems), e.g.

- **cla(i)did** 'digs': **cla(i)de**.
- **sla(i)d** 'strikes': **sla(i)de**.
- **figid** 'weaves': **figé** (coi-bge).
- **sligid** 'fells': **slige**.
- **ithid** 'eats': **ithe**.
- **reg** 'stretch out': **ríge** (ep. déirge, § 725.).
- **for-ding** 'oppresses': **fortige**.
- **gu(i)lid** 'prays': **gu(i)de**; with ad-: **aicde** (for the vocalism see § 549); **irnidge, ernaidge** 'praying, prayer' (§ 846.).
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. brihe, 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.

gelid 'grazes': glith ace. sg. IT III. 37 § 20, gleith Laws.
melid 'grinds': mlith dat. sg.; but to-malt (-a-stem), as against com-mlith Ml. 118°3.
sern(a)id 'spreads, arranges': sreth (dat. sreith).
The verb 'to be' (§ 774 ff.): buith, gen. buithe (rarely both, beith, bith, gen. bithe).
tiágu 'I go': techt, but gen. taírmheicto (once) Wb. 3°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 fortachtæ.
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. dúthrath, gen. dúthrachtan (nom. acc. pl. dúthrachtata).

With intermediate vowel: saigid 'seeks, makes for': saigid -ith (i-stem); con-dieig (com-dí-): cuimid cuindchid; fo-saig: fochaid 'tribulation' § 131. 728. 2. Neuter o-stems (suffix -to-), e.g.
marn(a)id, ·mairn 'betrays': máth (but fo-mraith, fo-mraid).
er(a)id, ·ern 'bestows': rath.
Various compounds of ·moinethar such as dermat dermet 'forgetting', aithmet, taidmet, forathmet 'remembering', format 'envying'. bás 'death' also belongs here if the root of the verb bá + 'originally ended in s. baath RC. XX. 170 § 31 is doubtless a secondary formation, but the compound dibath dibad is old. An intermediate vowel appears in

dligid 'is entitled to': dliged,
teched '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.).

ro-flítir 'knows': fiús(s), fis (for gen. sg. físs see § 309.). com-em 'preserve': comét, gen. sg. cométa Ml. 55°6, Laws. 730. 4. Feminines with nom. sg. in -tiu (-tu), gen. -ten (-tan); cp. Lat. tactio:t-ic 'comes', r-ic 'reaches': tichtu, richtu (cp. comrac, etc., § 724.). Compounds of em-, such as airtiú 'accepting', diúi 'protecting'. Compounds of sem-: te (i)stiu 'pouring out', tuistiu 'procreating'. Compounds of ·moinethar: toimtiu 'thinking', foimtiú 'attending to', airmithiu (ermithiu) féd 'honouring'. daimid 'admits, yields': dé (i)tiu ; foditiu fodaitiu 'enduring', a (i)tiúi 'acknowledging'.

By analogy with this: foisitiu 'confessing', to fo-sísse dar (cp. § 733).

ro-la (i) methar 'dares': létiu.
at-baill 'dies': epeltu (apaltung Ml. 30°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 (aisiddís Sg.) beside gen. pl. aisndísen, nom. pl. aisndísin, acc. pl. aisndísnea; influenced by fis '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 Ml. 51d12).

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. gníid 'does': gním (dénum, gen. dénma, frithgnom -gnam, fognam, etc.). do-sli 'earns': tuillem (similarly fuillem); but ad-roiill:á(i)rilliud (pl. nom. áriltin, as in § 730, beside árilti, acc. áriltnea).

con-sni 'contends for': cosnam (with ad-: ascnam, § 181).
im-rá 'nauigat': imram.
con-nessa 'condemns': comainsem (likewise ál-nsem, tui-nsem).

fo-sis(s)edar 'protects': fóessam (Mid.W. gwaessaf 'guarantee'; for foisitiu, 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.

734. 2. Feminine á-stems (suffix -má-), 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.
moíid '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°4, moídem 14°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-):
  maídid 'breaks' (intrans.): maídn (tolmaidm).
  nascid 'binds': naíd (fo-, for-naíd, 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.
  réidid 'rides, drives': réim(m) (imrim(m), etc.).

fo·gleinn 'learns': fogl(a)im(m); similarly ecl(a)im(m); for-diúlaim(m) 'swallows': fordíuclaim(m).

in·greinn (ad·greinn) 'persecutes': ingr(e)im(m), ingráim(m) (Ml.), pl. ingremmen Wb., ingramman Ml. (similarly tograim).

ga(i)rid 'calls': gairm (togairm), cp. Mid.W. garm; but irgair, 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. bítan, 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°18 (misspelt seinim Hib. Min. p. 2, 36), dat. senim(u)im, vb.n. of sennid 'sounds, plays (a musical instrument)'.

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. ánne LU4869.

2. Feminine á-stems with intermediate vowel:
orgid 'slays': orcun orcon orgun, gen. oircne (but once masc. acc. pl. comroï(r)cniiu 'errors' Sg. 1°2, as against comroîrcnea Wb. 30°21).

fedid 'leads': fedan, gen. fednae; similarly tuidid (with to-di-), etc.

3. Neuter o-steim:

mlegon, vb.n. of mligid 'milks', dat. sg. tinmlegun Ml. 71°18.

E. SPECIAL FORMATIONS

737. ad·(h)aim (ad· for pretonic ind-) 'washes (feet, hands)': indmat Ml. 126°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 'capitilauim' (§ 917)?

ciid 'weeps': coi (indeclinable ? gen. not attested).

ro·clu(i)nethar 'hears': clúas (fem. ā-stem, but dat. sg. clúas Wb. 23°2).

The s is not to be explained as in ·closs (§ 708); it appears also in W. clust 'ear'. Cp. Skt. śruṣṭih, '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°10, taidchricc Wb. 2°9, fochr(a)ic 'reward', ér(a)ic 'payment; gen. always -e.

These forms have evidently been attracted by ícc 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. dire 'fine' to di-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°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°1), lenamon, tlenamon (fem. ā-stems); cp. díthe § 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°18, 23°21, 26°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 tiamóreacht, 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).
**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**

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<td>1éicde, 1écite</td>
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**740. PRESENT, CONJUNCT (§§ 557, 570)**

| | | |
| sg. 1 | ·mór (a)im (m) | ·lécim (m) (·ráidiu) | ·suiagur |
| 2 | ·mór (a)i | ·léci | ·suidigther |
| 3 | ·móra | ·léci | ·suidigedar |
| pl. 1 | ·móram | ·lécem | ·suidigmer |
| 2 | ·mórat (a)id | ·lécid | ·suidigid |
| 3 | ·mórat | ·lécit | ·suidiggetar |

**741. IMPERFECT (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 580)**

| | | |
| sg. 1 | ·mór (a)in (n) | ·létin (n) | ·suidigin (n) |
| 2 | ·mórtha | ·léicthea | ·suidigthea |
| 3 | ·mórad | ·léced | ·suidiged |
| pl. 1 | ·mórm (a)is | ·léicmis | ·suidigmis |
| 2 | ·mórtha (a)e | ·léicthe | ·suidigthe |
| 3 | ·mórt (a)is | ·léictis | ·suidigti |

**742. FUTURE, ABSOLUTE (§ 638)**

A I as a rule inflected like A II (§ 636).

| | | |
| sg. 1 | léicfea | suigidfer |
| 2 | léicfe | suidigfider |
| 3 | léicfid | suidigfidir |
| rel. | léicfes (s) | suigidfedar |
### DEPONENT

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#### 743. FUTURE, CONJUNCT ($§ 639$)

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#### 744. SECONDARY FUTURE (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, $§ 641$)

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#### 745. PRETERITE, ABSOLUTE ($§§ 674, 675$)

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For the other persons see $§ 672$.

#### CONJUNCT ($§§ 674, 675$)

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#### SUBJUNCTIVE

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<td>suidigthe</td>
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<td>lécit</td>
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<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
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<td>léicde, lécite</td>
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#### 747. Present, Conjunct (§§ 599, 601)

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<td>·lé·cet</td>
<td>·su·idi·get·ar</td>
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#### 748. Past (Always Conjunct, § 605)

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<td>·lé·c·in (n)</td>
<td>·su·idi·g·in (n)</td>
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<td>·lé·icthea</td>
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<td>·lé·ced</td>
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<td>·lé·icthe</td>
<td>·su·idi·g·he·t·he</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·mó·r(a) id</td>
<td>·lé·ictis</td>
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#### 749. Imperative (Absolute and Conjunct, see §§ 583, 584)

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### Passive

#### Indicative

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<td>mó·rta, mó·r·ar·tar</td>
<td>lè, lèc·etar</td>
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<td>mó·t·ar, mó·rat·ar</td>
<td>mó·tar, mó·r·at·ar</td>
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</table>

Present, Conjunct (§ 577)

|   | gen. formmó·r·the·ar | ·lé·ict·he·r | ·su·idi·g·he·t·he |
pl. 3 -mórtar, -móratar  ·léctar, ·lécetar  ·suidigter

IMPERFECT (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 580)

gen. form  ·mórt(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  mórt(a)e  léicthe  suidigthe
(pl and rel.)

pl. 3  mórt(a)i (?)  léicthi (?)  suidigthi (?)

752. PRETERITE, ABSOLUTE (§§ 712, 713)

sg. 3  mórt(a)e  léicthe  suidigthe
(pl and rel.)

pl. 3  mórt(a)i (?)  léicthi (?)  suidigthi (?)

A I  A II  DEPONENT

CONJUNCT (§ 712)

753. SUBJUNCTIVE

PRESENT, ABSOLUTE (§ 603).

sg. 3  mórt(a)ir  léicthir  suidigthir
rel.  mórthar  léicther  suidigther
pl. 3  mórt(a)ir, móraitir  léictir, léicitir  suidigtir
rel.  mórtar, móratar  léicter, léctar  suidigter

CONJUNCT (§ 603)

gen. form  ·mórthar  ·léicter  ·suidigther
pl. 3  ·mórt,  ·léicter, ·lécetar  ·suidigter
 ·móratar
PAST (ALWAYS CONJUNCT, § 605)

gen. form ·mórth(a)e ·léicthe ·suidigthe
pl. 3 ·mórt(a)is ·léictis ·suidigtis

754. IMPERATIVE

(Absolute and Conjunct, § 585)

gen. form mórthar léicther suidigther
pl. 3 mórtar léicter suidigter

755. VERBUM INFINITUM

mórth(a)e léicthe suidigthe
VERBAL OF NECESSITY (§ 718)
mórth(a)i léicthi suidigthi
VERBAL NOUN (§ 723)
mórad léciud suidigud

PAST PARTICIPLE PASSIVE (§ 714)

mórth(a)e léicthe suidigthe
VERBAL OF NECESSITY (§ 718)
mórth(a)i léicthi suidigthi
VERBAL NOUN (§ 723)
mórad léciud suidigud

general.
mórho -a léictheo -ea suidigtheo -ea

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, án § 736, l.
alid 'rears', ·ail § 548; subj. ·ala, cp. § 597; fut. ·ebla § 649; pret. ·alt § 682, pass ·alt § 709; partc. 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. ·bó, pl. ·béotar, § 691; pass. ·bith § 706; partc. bithe § 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 § 682; vb.n. obbad opad § 724.
bongid 'breaks, reaps', ·boing § 550; subj. ·bó, pl. ·bós(s)at, § 616, 625, 627; fut. l sg. bibsa
-bibus § 657, 666; pret. bobig § 687, pass. bocht § 707; vb.n. búain § 736, enclit. -bag -bach -bech § 724.

bruinnid, do-bruinn (dobróinn MSS.) 'springs forth, flows' § 549; subj. do-bré § 617; fut. do-bibuir § 667; pret. 3 pl. bebarnatar § 687; vb.n. bréisiu, dibairsiu, § 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. ·cète § 715; v. necess. ·céti § 718; vbn. ·cétal § 731.

celid 'conceals', ·celi § 548; subj. ·cela § 597; fut. ·cecla § 650; pret. ·celt § 682, pass. ·clet § 709; partic. clithe (clithi) § 719b; vbn. cleith, cleth (dichtel) § 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; vbn. cor § 722. Cp. also § 762.

ci + id 'weeps' § 547, rel. clías; ipv. 2 sg. ci § 589; past subj. 3 pl. ·cetis § 608; fut. 3 pl. cichit § 655; pret. cich (ciche?) § 691c; vbn. coi § 737.

cingid 'steps', cing § 548; subj. pass. claisair § 627; fut. ·cich, pl. ·cichset, §§ 657, 666f; pret. ·cuch(a)ing § 687; vbn. cém(m) § 735.

cla(i)id 'digs', ·claid § 548; subj. ·clá, pl. ·clás(s)at (1 sg. past subj. written ·clasaind RC x. 82), § 614; fut. 1 sg. ·cichlus § 657, 666; pret. ·cich(l)id § 687, pass. ·clais(s) § 708; partic. claisse § 715; vbn. cl(a)i(de) § 726.

ro·clu(i)nether 'hears' §§ 552, 543a; subj. ro·cloathar, 1 sg. ro·clo, § 612; fut. ro·cchladar, pass. ro·cechlastar § 648; perf. ro·cuál(a)e, 1 sg. ro·cúala, § 687, pass. ro·clos(s) (-cloth) § 709; narrative perf. co·cuál(a)ei, pass. co·closs (-cloth), § 536; partic. clothie § 715; vbn. clás(s)at § 737.

ar·coat 'hinders, checks, injures' § 592; ipv. ar·coideid (-coïded ?); subj. ar·cóid § 625, past subj. ar·coossed (-coossed ?); fut. ·irchoí § 668; perf. pass. ·archois (cp. § 708); partic. echois; vbn. erchoat, erchó §§ 592, 724.

The root is Ir. wed-, but probably distinct from that of fedid (below); cp. feidim 'effort'? cren(a)id 'buys', cren §§ 551, 594; subj. ·cria § 597; pret. ·cióir, 1 sg. ·céir, § 691a; pass. ·cirth § 706; vbn. dat. sg. creicc § 737.

ara-chrin 'decays' §§ 423, 552; subj. pl. ·aurchriat § 612; fut. ·airchuíri, pl. ara-chíurat, § 653; perf. ara·ruichuir § 691b; vbn. 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; vbn. foditiu § 730.

for·ding 'oppresses' § 550 (cp. con·utuinc·utaing 'builds'), pl. for·dengat; subj. pl. for·diassat § 616; fut. pass. pl. ·didsiter § 657; pret. for·déd(a)ig § 687, con·rótaig § 694b, pass. con·rótacht, cp. § 707; partic. forteach(t)ae § 715; v. necess. cumtauch(t)a/i § 718; vbn. fortige § 726, cumtach § 724.

dilig 'is entitled to', pass. dleg(a)ir ·dlegar; subj. ·dlié, pl. ·dlessat, § 613; pret. ·dligestar § 671 1. (cp. § 682), pass. ·dichten § 707; vbn. dliged § 728.

do·sfeif 'coves, protects'; subj. do·sfaمخ, protontic ·dimea, § 158, perfective ·deroima § 852a; fut. do·éma and do·emfea §§ 634, 650; perf. do·r-ét § 682, pass. ·do·r-ét (cp. § 710); v. necess. diti § 718; vbn. díti § 730.

ern(a)id 'bestows', ·ern(n) § 551; subj. ·eira § 597; fut. ·ebrá § 649; pret. ·ir § 693, pass. ·rath § 709; vbn. rath § 726, 215c.

fedid 'leads' § 548, do·fet § 592; subj. ·fé, pl. ·fessat, § 613; pret. (with to-ro-) du·ruíd, pl. ·du·fídétar § 693; vbn. fedan § 736.

ad·fé (in·fé) 'relates', pl. ad·fíadat, §§ 548, 552; subj. ad·fé, pl. ad·fessat, §§ 615, 625; fut. ad·ffí, pl. ad·fessat, §§ 659, 668; perf. ad·cu(a)id, protontic ·écid, 2 pl. ·écid, § 693, pret. pass. ad·fess § 708; vbn. indisiu § 730.

do·fich do·feich (§ 74) 'avenges, punishes', protontic ·díg Mi. 24°17; ipv. 2 sg. deich; subj. pass. du·fessar § 615; fut. du·ffí, pass. du·fíastar, pl. du·fesatar, § 659, 668; perf. do·ruich § 693, pass. du·ruacht do·roacht § 79; v. necess. diacht(a)i § 718; vbn. 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)ld 'spends the night' U +00A7 522; subj. ·fia § 610; fut. ·fifea § 644; pret. fíu fiu § 702; vb.n. fess (feiss), cp. § 727.

g(a)(i)bid 'takes', ·gab, pl. ·ga(i)bet, §§ 549, 593; subj. ·gaba § 597; fut. ·géba § 651; pret. ·gab (·gab), pl. ·gabsat, § 671, pass. ·gabad § 706; partic. gabtha(e) § 714; vb.n. gabáí (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-gairet, §§ 549, 593; subj. ar-gara § 597; fut. ar-géra § 651; pret. ar-gart § 682, perf. pass. ar-rograd § 709; partic. gartha(e) § 715; vb.n. irgaira, ergaira § 725.

ad-gládathar 'addresses' § 548; subj. 1 pl. (with ro) ·árdlmar Wb. 29th 10; fut. ad-gegalldathar § 648; pret. ad-gládastar, perf. ·U+00E1lrestar § 671 1.; partic. acailse § 715; vb.n. ac(c)aldam § 734.

fo-gleann 'learns' § 548; past subj. ·glesai § 617; fut. ·gguil § 667; pret. ·ggiainn § 687; v. necess. fogailsi, cp. § 719a; vb.n. fogail(m) § 735.

glen(a)ld 'sticks fast', ·glen § 551, cp. § 594; subj. ·glib § 597, cp. § 611; fut. 3 pl. giulait § 653; pass. ·giiul § 691a; vb.n. glenamon § 737.

do-gní does' §§ 547, 589, prototonic ·d(a)n, i, perfective do-rón(a) ·d(a)n, pl. do-gn, prototonic ·d(a)n(i)m; ipv. 2 sg. déne § 589; subj. do-gné ·déna § 608, perfective do-róna ·derna; fut. do-géna ·digna § 648; pret. do-géni, perf. do-prioghi do-riogéni, pl. do-priogénsat ·derna, § 681, pass. do-géni ·dénd, perf. do-rónad ·dernad, § 706; v. necess. denti dienti (misspelt denti Wb. 17); vb.n. dúná dúnun §§ 733, 170b.

as(a)-gnin 'knows' §§ 552, 555, 834B, 535b, pass. ·gnitar; subj. pass. ·gnother § 612; fut. génia § 648; vb.n. ·gúin, 1 sg. ·gén, § 691; vb.n. ecne § 725.

do-goa 'chooses' § 522; ipv. 2 sg. ·tog § 588; subj. do-go Laws, cp. § 625 (with uss-: past subj. ·uicseid); fut. do-gega § 648; perf. do-roigu § 702, pass. do-roigad ·roagad § 708; partic. tuigse tuichse § 715; vb.n. togu § 737.

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gon(a)ld 'wounds, slays' § 522, ·goin § 554; subj. ·gona; fut. ·géna § 651; pret. ·geguinn § 687, pass. ·goit ·góet § 710; partic. goite § 715; vb.n. guin § 724.

ad-greinn (in-greinn) 'persecutes' § 548; subj. 3 sg. ·gré pl. ·gréssat, §§ 617, 627; perf. -róigrein § 687, 688; vb.n. ingrim(m), ingrā(m) § 735.

gu(i)ld 'prays' ·güd, pl. gu(i)det, §§ 549, 593 (2 sq. ipv. with ad:- aie(c) § 588); subj. ·gé, pl. ·gessat, §§ 613, 625; fur. 1 sg. gigs(e) § 657, 666; pret. ·gáid §§ 692, 696, pass. ·ges(s) § 708; v. necess. gessi § 719a; vb.n. ·gu(í)de § 726.

t-ic 'comes' (and r-ic 'reaches'), pl. fecat, §§ 549, 535b; subj. ·tí, pl. ·tis(s)at, §§ 617, 625; fut. ticea tifca §§ 634, 644; pret. ·tán/a(c) § 689, (pass. richt § 707); vb.n. tichtu § 730.

Cp. con.ic 'can', ·cum(a)c ·cum(u) ·cum(a)maing § 549, 1 sg. concicum(c)m, cumcu-cumgaim, 3 pl. con-ecat, ·cuc(ma) ·cumagat ·cumget; subj. con-i, ·cumai ·cum, pl. con-i(s)at, ·cu(i)mset, § 627; fut. 1 sg. con-icub, ·cumgub § 634, cp. § 642; perf. con-áncuiri, ·coimincuir ·nacuir, §§ 689, 695, 697, vb.n. cumace cumang § 724.

ro-laimethar 'dares' §§ 549, 543; past, subj. ·lamad LU 8208; fut. ro-llimathar? § 647; pret. ro-lám(a)ir § 6892, 695; vb.n. leídai § 730.

len(a)ld (with prep. dé ) 'adheres to, follows', ·len § 551, cp. § 594; subj. ·lia § 597, cp. § 611; fut. líth § 653; pret. ·lí, pl. ·leidar, § 691; vb.n. lenamorn § 737.

lingid 'leaps', U+00B7ifting, pl. ·lengat, § 548; subj. rel. liás § 617; pret. ·lebl(a)ing § 689; vb.n. léim(m) § 735.

lo-loing 'supports' § 550; subj. fo-ló ·ful, pl. fo-ló(s)at, §§ 616, 625, 627; fut. fo-li ·foil, pl. fo-li(s)at, §§ 657, 667; perf. (with com ) sg. 1 fo-cóemallag § 688 (pret. sg. 3 in-lo(a)ig § 687), pret. pass. fulacht(a) § 715; vb.n. fulach, fulanu § 724.

ma(i)ld 'breaks' (intrans.), ·maid; subj. más ·má, pl. ·más(s)at, §§ 6614, 625; fut. memais ·mem, pl. ·memasat, §§ 657, 667; pret. ·mem(a)id § 687; vb.n. maídm § 735.

do-for-maig (also -fór, · 838) 'increases'; subj. 2 sg. ·tórmais, pass. ·tórmaistar; rut. du-forma,
pass. du-fórmastar,

§§ 661, 667; perf. du-rómacht § 682, pass. du-rómacht, cp. § 707; partic. tórmaech(a) § 715; vb.n. tórmach § 724.
márn(a)d 'betrays', -máirm § 552; subj. ·mára § 597; fut. ·mérá § 650; pret. ·mért § 682; vb.n. mraith § 728.
melid 'grinds', ·meil § 548; subj. ·mela § 597; fut. ·méléa § 650; pret. milt ·melt § 682, 684, pass. ·mleth. cp. § 709; vb.n. mlith (tomált) § 727.
midhith 'judges', ·mídaedar § 549; subj. ·místar, pl. ·míssatar, § 659; pret. ·mídr(a)ir § 6693, pass. ·mes(s) § 708; partic. me(l)ísse § 715; v. necess. mëssí § 719; vb.n. mes(s) § 729 (ermaissiu § 730).
do-moinethear ·mu(i)nethar) 'thinks' § 6549, 213; subj. do-menathar § 597, 602; fut. do-moinethar § 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, § 661, 625; fut. ·nena (-nên), 1 sg.
·nenas, § 657, 666, 667; pret. ·nen(a)sc § 687, pass. ·nass § 708; (partic. immaimse, to im-naïsc, § 715; cp. § 112); vb.n. naídm § 735.
ar-néat, ·airnet 'expects, sustains', 1 sg. ar-néuit-néuth, 3 pl. ar-néithet, § 592; ipv. 2 sg. (dep.) indnité § 137; subj. pass. ·eínstar Ml. 118°10; fut. 1 pl. ar-nésumar § 662; perf. ad-róneaster ar-róneastar § 690; (in Ml. forms with weak flexion are also found: subj. 2 sg. ·neth, perf. 1 sg. ar-to-t-neithius, etc.; see § 846); vb.n. indn(a)ide § 725.
·oid 'lends', pass. ·odor; subj. 2 sg. ·óis § 616; pret. ·úr-00FAaid § 689a; vb.n. ón (h)úan, ón (h)úain § 736, 1.
org(a)id, orcid 'slays', ·oirg ·oirc § 548; subj. ·orr, pl. ·orrat, § 618; fut. ·lor(r) ·iarr, pl. ·errat ·iurat, § 658a, 665; pret. ·uir ·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. ·rith § 706; partic. ·rite § 716; vb.n. dat. sg. reic, ricc § 737.
rethid 'runs', ·reith § 548, cp. § 592; subj. and fut. ·ré pl. ·ressat, § 613, 625, 662; pret. ·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-éracht § 682, pass. do-r-éracht; partic. dréacht(a) § 715; vb.n. dé(i)rge § 725.
con-rig 'binds'; subj. 1 sg. con-rías § 615; fut. 2 sg. con-ríris § 657; perf. (with ad, § 532) con-árr(a)ig § 687, pass. con-árracht § 711; participle cuimreacht(a) § 715; v. necess. cuimrecht § 718; vb.n. cuimrech § 724.
sa(i)d 'sits', pl. sedait, §§ 83a, 549; subj. and fut. seiss §§ 613, 662; pret. (narrative) sáis(s)ar, perf. do-essid, §§ 690, 534; partic. ·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. sáis ·sia, pl. ·ses(s)at (roisset), §§ 658d, 661; pret. ·siach ·(ro-aucht)

§§ 682, 685, pass. ·siach § 711; vb.n. saigid § 727.
doe-sim 'pours out', subj. ·do-eismea (pass. do-esmidor); fur. ·do-esséma, cp. § 650.

§ 650; perf. ·do-r-e(i)rsset § 682 (with-to-ro-uss:- do-résat § 528), pass. do-r-esset § 710; parte, teste § 715; vb.n. te(i)stit § 730.
doe-sinn 'pursues' § 548; subj. 1 sg. do-sé § 617; fut. do-sib §§ 658d, 667; pret. doe-sphainn § 687, pass. do-sés § 708; vb.n. dat. sg. tofun(n) § 724.
salig 'smears', 1 sg. fo-slíghim; subj. fo-slí(i), ep. § 625; fut. fo-síil, cp. § 667 (2 sg. fo-síils § 658b); pret., fo-sél(a)ig, pl. fo-seglatar, § 687, pf. pass. fo-ruillecht § 707; partic. fuillecht(a) §§ 715, 153b.
con-sni 'contends', ·cosn(a)j; subj. ·cosna (past subj. pass. ·cosnatae Ml. 115°13); fut. ·cosséna § 648; pret. con-séna[i] § 681; vb.n. cosnám § 733.
ad-co-ta 'obtains', ·êta § 544; subj. ad-cota, ·êta, 1 sg. ad-co-t; fur. ·êtada, pass.
·étatar, § 648; pret. ad-cotedae ad-cotade-étad(a)j, pl. ad-cotatsat-étatsat, § 680, pass. ·étas § 708; partic. ét(a)ja § 714; vb.n. ét, acc. dat. ét.
techid 'flies', ·reich § 548; subj. and fur. ·tê, pl. ·tessat, §§ 613, 662; pret. táich §§ 6.
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(ı) 'dies' (prep. ess- with infixed pronoun, § 423, ni-epil (-apail) § 552; ipv. 3 pl. ·epilet § 594; subj. at·bela § 597; fut. at·bela § 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·er·bailt (for O.Ir. ·erbalt) 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, ·balt ·ber § 554, pass. ·berar ·berr § 578; subj. ·beta §§ 597, 600; fut. U+007béra §§ 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(a)iruc(a)i (cc = gg), pl. ·ructa; subj. ·ruc(a); past subj. pass. ·rueth(e), pl. ·ruct(a)is; perf. sg. 1 ro·uccius, 3 ro·ucero·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).

The compound tremi·beir 'transfers' also makes perf. pass. trimi·rucad Ml. 2617.II. do·beir, ·ber, prototonie ·taba(jr (§ 82), 'brings' and 'gives', is conjugated like ·beir (fut. ·tibéra § 652); but vb.n. tabart tabart § 727. The ro-forms are supplied:

a. In the meaning 'bring' by do·uc(a)irtuc(a)i, pass. ·tucθar; subj. ·tuc(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.

b. In the meaning 'give' by do·rat(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 ·tartiss; pass. do·farad ·tardad, pl. do·rata ·tarta.

So also húandí fris·tarat gl. obdendo Ml. 513.

It has been sought to connect ro·det 'has been granted' (in poetry) etymologieally 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·robaire; 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. 2027.
There has apparently been confusion with another verb *do·im-chella*, *do-air(m)chella* 'surrounds', *ar-cella* has no connexion with *ar-ciallathar*, which seems to mean 'takes care of, heeds'; ZCP. XI. 83 § 27, LL 123a31, Corm. 799.


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* " (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)cc* § 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-accai 'hopes' has movable ro; e.g. perf. 3 pl. *fris-racatar ni-ru-frescachtar*; particp. *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. *cuird*. In the future the simple verb is supplied by *fo-cherr*, its compounds by prototonic *foicherr*; e.g. 1 sg. *fris-foiicherr céill* Mi. 78°8 (to fris-cuirircéill 'colo'), 3 pl. íarsindí . . . *du-n-athfoíchret (do-aitchuirredar 'returns') 72°4*.

There are no ro -forms of either verb, these being supplied by *ro-lā-* (§ 534, 4); e.g. pres. *ní-ro·lāim* 'I cannot lay (an eye on)' LU 4774, pl. 3 *nad-[f +]rith-rolat* Laws IV. 210; subj. sg. *ραλ, 3 ραλà* (§ 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. *tochr*, 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-cuirinfar* Mi. 3°1; vb.n. *tochuirid*, the simplex *cuirid* being attested later (LU 3653). This is doubtless a new formation from *cor* in the sense of *stirring, moving*.

The simplex lá- (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; di-lā-, *vb.n. *díl; do-in-óla* 'collects' (perf *do-rínól* Mi. 51°21, like A I), fut. pass. *tinólfith[ή]er* Thes. II. 38, 3, vb.n. *tinól; ad-com-la* 'joins' (perf. *ad-rochomul* Mi. 58b12), vb.n. *accomol*, etc.

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763. *fo·gaib* 'finds', subj. *fo·gaba*, fut. fo·gēba (see *ga(i)bid § 756*); but pret. *fo·fúair, and *fúair, §§ 543a, 691d*, pass. *fo-frith*, and *frith, § 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. *telltar; perf. ma du·d·él* 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. ·iiba § 647; pret. ·ib, pl. ·ibset, § 671 I, passv. ·ibed § 706; vb.n. ·oib § 721; perfective forms with ess- § 534, 3, e.g. 1 pl. perf. ass-ibsem Wb. 12*17. As subjunctive eba- is occasionally found even in the Glosses, e.g. 3 pl. pass. rel. n-ebtar Ml. 101*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. (opertet . . . sápíscum . . . esse . . . non) uinolentum Wb. 31*9, where we should perhaps read [ni róiba 3 sg. subj., contains, not the verbal particle ro, but ro in the sense of 'too much' (§ 852A), as in róólach gl. crupalatus 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. issaid ·éis(s)ai § 658a; pret. probably 1 sg. ·eod (§ 689a); pass. ·ess; partic. eis(s)ei. 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. conroítatar, § 684; but (with for-) pret. 3 sg. also ·foremastar LL 123*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. cossaig Corm. 1013, perf. 3 sg. (with -ad- § 532) cotam -asaig 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. coseitir Wb. 31*25, coseitir 22*10. Subj. cut-n-asca ZCP. III. 451, 26 (R), with ·ad- (§ 532), but maniño·chosea Wb. 28*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 ·sechéd, etc. So doubtless are the compounds with fo-ad and to-fo-ad (vb.n. fásé, táse 'announcing'): e.g. ipv. 2 sg. fásaig ZCP. XI. 80 § 2, 91 § 2; perf. pass. do ·fársigid Wb. 7*11. But the verb corresponding to in-cho-se 'signifying' has strong flexion (like saigid § 756): 3 sg. in ·cossid(s), also ·cossaig, pl. ·cossiet, pass. ·coissegar ·coisechar (cp. § 123); past subj. in-coissid(s)ed : pret. pass. rel. in-coisecht Ml. 16*10, etc. But with fo- (vb.n. tinehose and tescosch 'teaching'): perf. do-d-n-archosaig TBC. 564 ('ar- for -err-, -en-ro-) beside do ·rinehose 567.

769. I. téit 'goes', .tét, rel. tète, 2 pl. also ·tét. forms the remaining persons of the present tense from the root Ir. tég-: sg. 1 tiagu ·TU+00EDag, 2 tégi ·tég, pl. 3 tiag(a)it ·tiagat § 591, pass. ·tiagar ; ipf. no-téded.

Imperative:

sg. 1 tiag, tiach (§ 586) pl. tiagam

2 eirg(g) airg(g), aire ·erg(g)id (eircid LU 8473, etc.)

(§ 83a), neg. na-tédig

3 tét tiagat

pass. tiagar

Subj. téis ·té (i), pl. ·tias(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 periods (§ 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, x·digthim SR. 3203; subj. do·coí, prototonic ·dich ·dig ·decha, 1 sg. ·dichius Birth & Life of St. Moking (ed. Stokes) p. 20 § 26 (also ·dich(j)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 tágu, etc., corresponds to that of Gk. στείχειν, Goth. steigan (§ § 184b, 217); the root of luid to that of (Homeric) διήθων, (fut. διήθυσα); for *wed*- (IE. wedh-) see § 692. In téit ·tét Bergin (Ériu XII. 227 § 21.) sees, perhaps correctly, a form of IE. *vten-* ’stretch’ (cp. Ir. téit ’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. δορεθαί, 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. διαφαί, 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·tiagat, 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·tiag, protot. taíg ·táeg, 3 do·tét, protot. ·tait, pl. do·tiagat, protot. ·taígat, etc.

Imperative: sg. 2 tair (§ 588) pl. tait (§ 110).

3 taít taát taígat

Subj. sg. 1 do·tías, protot. ·táes, 3 do·té (i), protot. ·tái, 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 ·tuidchissed, 1 pl. ·tuichesmais (from ·tuidohesmais, § § 127); perf. 1 sg. do·dechud, ·tuidchéd, 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·ruálaíd beside narrative in·olaid, im·tét ’goes about’ also makes its perfective forms with ro: perf. 3 pl. ·imruálad beside narrative rel. ·imme·lotar. The decompound with con- has fut. 3 sg. con·imthaé § 667 (vb.n. cóimthecht § 179).

In con·é-tet (com-en-) ’yields to, is indulgent’, protot. ·cométíeg, vb.n. com(a)itecht comechtecht (read -ét-?), more forms are based on the stem tēg- than in the simplex (§ 591): 2 pl. con· éitgid, ipv. 3 sg. ·cométíged; subj. 2 sg. ·coméítís. 3 con·éít § 627; v. necess. comítesti § 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·éit § 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. ·teth[a]e § 680 (vb.n. tám) originally belonged to pres. tinaid.
The weak verb *dédh 'dwindles' (perf. ro·déd, pl. ru·dedsat) in *Ml.* is apparently unconnected with the above, despite the isolated 3 sg. perf. con-ro·déd gl. contabuit 118b2. It is difficult to connect with either the noun teidm (n-stem) 'pestilence', to whose influence the scribal error no·tédmais, for *dédmais*, in *Ml.* 131'4 should doubtless he 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, ·torthaíset, § 626; fut. do·tóeth, pl. ·tóetsat, §§ 660, 667.; vb.n. toth(a)im § 735.

The preterite is supplied by doścer: perf. do·ro·chair, protot. ·torchair 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. con·tuitet Sg. 205a4 (vb.n. cut(u)im); with di-: sg. 1 do·fuitim 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. óndi rond·gab 'from that which it (the word nupta) is', *Thes.* II., 227, 29; *is faiotech rond·boi-som* 'it is cautious he was' *Ml.* 21'4 (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 sommae* 'a man . . . whose wealth should not be too great' *Thes.* II. 241, 8 f., where in the last clause the relative connexion remains unexpressed.

2. In the rare cases where the subject stands between verb and predicate; e.g. atá *díal atach n-dún-ni ais dethrebo* 'God is a refuge to us the people of the Two Tribes' *Ml.* 66°1; a·ro·boí a rigthech lán de ríg aigb 'when the palace was full of kings' *Im* Brain I. 3 § 1.; *ataat mesai dàe nephchomtarracht amal abis* 'the judgements of God are incomprehensible like an abyssus' *Ml.* 55'11 (perhaps an attempt to keep the order of the Latin *Iudicia Domini abisus multa*). Isolated examples where the predicate follows the verb directly,

as in *bild ersoilechtr ar c[h]iunn for ríg* 'be ye (doors) opened before your king' 46'7, are unexplained.

Collection: Ó Máille, *Ériu* VI. 73 ff., who (p. 64) rightly amends (ataam for) *tectiri* Wb. 15'13 to *tectirect*, cp. 13'5. 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 remilib bóairechaib* 'a bó-aire (freeman) who takes precedence of bó-aires' *Laws* IV. 316, 5; *donaib chelaib* (read *cenelaib* imme-rabtar *ludeu* 'to the nations who were around the Jews' *Ml.* 37'16; *la ríg 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-rrobatar seacht céit míli fer n-armach cemno-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 cemnathá cemmothá (cemná Sg. 201b18), also used as a conjunction ‘besides that’ § 887; iarmithá deud ‘after the end’ Ml. 58’16; arathá sin ‘therefore’ Laws V. 372, 7; (h) óthá ‘from’; cotá ‘till’. Later iarmothá, riámothá are also used adverbially for ‘afterwards’, 'previously'. A similar formation is immathá, imthá (with or without following samlaid) 'so is', neg. níthá '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. ϕυομαι, ϖϕυν, 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

"that they would have"; but without an infixed pronoun no-m-biad 'that it would be', etc. ZCP. xx. 204.
The exception fochráicc 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.
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 indocbál no-b-tá 'the glory ye have.'
   b. When the conjunct particle consists of a preposition + the relative element (§ 492), and after i n 'in which, whom'; e.g. lass·tá 'with whom (which) is', hua·taat, hó·taat 'from whom (which) are', i-táu 'in which I am'.

778. Conjunct flexion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg. 1</th>
<th>·táu, ·tó</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>·taam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>·taí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>·taid, ·taid (-taad),</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>·taith</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>· tá (-táa Wb., § 27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>·taat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pass.</td>
<td>·táthar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 the pronunciation, these forms are nearly always written with d-, not t-: sg. oldoas (oldoaas only once, Thes. II. 10, 10), indaas (= ind daas) indás indáas; pl. oldáta(a)je oldáta, indáta(a).

The other persons and tenses are apparently not formed with absolute endings: sg. 1 oldáu-sa oldó-sa, 2 oldái (oltai Ml. 112’2), indai-siu; consuet. pres. 2 sg. olmbí ACL. III. 312 § 4; pret. 3 sg. olmbói, imboi Ml. 53’6 (read inboi or inboi?), pl. olmbátar. Later forms with absolute endings, pl. 2
3. **Entirely as the substantive verb.** It is used: 

imperative (‘see!’) of the verb which appears in Middle Welsh as

That which is follows in the accusative or is expressed by an infixed personal pronoun. In origin

That which is 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 slúag dúin** ‘the hosts are near to us’ LU 5502.

Later the 3 sg. is found with the ending -dá (perhaps already in **Ml. 83°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°7; mou . . . indáte bitis cranna’ more than if they had been trees’ 92°6. Once, indeed, the singular occurs before a plural verb: **oldaas ata n-diglaidi** ‘than that they are vindicatory’ 111°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 aildiu a-mmag ro-gab súil oldó-sa** ‘the field which the eye has taken in is more beautiful than mine’ Wb. 12°25.

Cp. **ZCP. XX. 244 ft.**; for the various possible construction, **Hertz, ibid. 252 ft.**

2. In nasalizing relative clauses where **tá + ـ** 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°9 (pret. **is hed ro-m-both dossom 19°9**); 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-taïd dom** ‘it is not any 

other fault that makes you vexed with me’ Wb. 19°26; sg. 1 **cid no-tó ZCP. VIII. 176, 5; 2 cid no-tái IT. I. 97, 9, ZCP. XIII. 24, 23, etc. (but ceid taí 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 **feil** (§ 168) **feil** (later sometimes **fail** with neutral **f**), is used. 

That which is 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 rann** ‘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-nail naili (= na aill or a n-ail) 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°5, cp. 11°2, 12°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 cenélle martre atta lómara ‘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 slúag dúin** ‘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'.

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°10. It usually has a somewhat wider meaning, e.g. 'to exist': arnab uilib cumactib di-choissin 'for all the powers which exist' 21°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 ·díxnigedar, 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-ndíxnai-gther-siu gl. qui sis ML. 75°9.

in-díxnigedar 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°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).

784. Attested forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSUETUDINAL PRESENT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSOLUTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>biiuu (-sa Wb. 16°8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>biiid, biith, biid</td>
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<tr>
<td>bís</td>
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<tr>
<td>-bíú</td>
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<tr>
<td>-bí</td>
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<tr>
<td>CONJUNCT</td>
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<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
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<tr>
<td>bít, biit</td>
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<tr>
<td>bít, bít</td>
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<tr>
<td>-bíat, -bíat, enclitic -ru-b(a)i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| PASSIVE                |
| 3 sg.                 |
| rel.                  |
| bíthir                |
| -bíther, enclitic -rubthar |

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. fio.
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*²¹²; pass. · **r-o-c-maither** O'Dav. 1373. Cp. § 594.

785. IMPERFECT

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td>·<em>biinn</em>, ·<em>biinn</em></td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>·<em>bimmis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>·<em>bíth</em></td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>·<em>bitis</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pass. sg.</td>
<td>·<em>bithe</em></td>
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786. IMPERATIVE

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 2</td>
<td><em>bí</em></td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td><em>biid (na·3bíth Wb. 22</em>²²)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bíth, bíd (bíth, bíid Wb., § 27)</td>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>biat</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Monosyllabic 3 sg. ipv. **bíth** corresponds exactly to Mid. W. *bit*, which, however, has 3 pl. *bint*.

787. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td><em>beu</em>, <em>beo</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>·<em>be¹o</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>·<em>bee</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>beith beid</em>, <em>beth bed</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>·<em>bé</em>, enclit. ·<em>roi-b</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td><em>bes(s)</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pl. 1</td>
<td><em>be(i)mmi</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>·<em>bem</em>, enclit., ·<em>ro-bam</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td><em>be(i)the</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>·<em>beith</em>, ·<em>beid</em>, enclit. ·<em>ro-bith</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><em>beit</em></td>
<td></td>
<td>·<em>bet</em>, enclit. ·<em>ro-bat</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td><em>bete</em></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

788. FUTURE

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 · fórbiat*, 1 *dund · órbiam-ni* gl. *peruenire* 27*²²*¹⁰, 10S*⁶*6 have been assimilated to **ben(a)id** (§ 611). like indicative *fris · ben*, du · *fórban* (§ 551).
Since the Welsh indicative byddaf means 'I shall be' in addition to 'I am wont to be', and Corn. bedaff, bythaf is likewise used as the future, it has been suggested with some probability that the inflexion of Irish bia 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

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 ni + (§794) and 3 sg. ba (§§802, 810, 813), see §242.

PRESENT INDICATIVE

792. 1. ABSOLUTE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. sg.</th>
<th>2. sg.</th>
<th>3. sg.</th>
<th>rel.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>am</td>
<td>ammi</td>
<td>adib</td>
<td>it</td>
<td>at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No relative form of the 1st plural is attested.

In close combination with air 'for' a- sometimes turns into i-: 2 sg. air-it Ml. 55°11, pl. ar-idib Wb. 16°9; for airammi we find airmi Ml. 23°23. Without preceding air the 2 sg. it occurs Ml. 108°2. Conversely airat for air-it (3 pl.) 123°3.

1 sg. am (later also written amm) may be traced back to IE. *es-mi, is to *esti, it to *senti (§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°28, Ml. 83°3, etc., the personal pronoun is suffixed. The form adi without -b Wb. 21°17 is probably a mere scribal error, as is also 3 pl. rel. et (instead of at) Ml. 27°9 (for adimmaic Wb. 9°13, see §152e.). Cp. further §§115a, 510.

793. Combined with ce, cía 'although' and ma, má 'if' the forms of the third person are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cesu cíasu, ceso cíaso</td>
<td>mas(s)u (másu), maso</td>
<td>cetu, ceto cíato</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms lenite (§233, ld). The apparently suffixed -u, -o may have been taken over from bésu, -o 'is perhaps' (§804.). In Ml. we also find cíasa 34°6 and masa 108°16, 118°5.

cid (§795) is apparently sometimes used as indicative also (Wb. 5°16). The other persons, which are but scantily attested, show various formations: 2 pl. cenutad (with no, cp. §426.) Wb. 4°10, cenotad Wb. II. 33°8 (cp. §795); but pl. 1 ciammin LU 6807, sg. 2 madda IT. I. 81, 16 (possibly a later formation).

794. 2. CONJUNCT

(a) (b) WITH NEGATIVE ni +`

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. sg.</th>
<th>2. sg.</th>
<th>3. sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-da</td>
<td>ni + ta, -da</td>
<td>ni + ta, &quot;-da</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-da</td>
<td>ní + ` -da</td>
<td>ní + `</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-t, -did (-id)</td>
<td>ní + tan, -dan (arch. -tam)</td>
<td>ní + tantad, -dad</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pl. 1</td>
<td>ní + tantat, -dat (nit Thes. I.) 437 note n.</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Thus with *co* n '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* n; pl. 1 *amal nondan*, 2 *amal nondad*, 3 *amal ata* n (*no* n 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* ML. 84°3), and also after *sechit* 'whoever, whatever it is', pl. *sechit* and *sechit* (§ 461b); cp. further 2 pl. *ce-nu-tad* § 793 (arch. *cenuded* § 799).

*co* 'that I am' *ML*. 44°11 is peculiar, since *co* (without n-, § 896.) normally takes absolute verbal forms; it has probably been influenced by the parallel condi.

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. *ni* + '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 + čh-* (§ 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 + t*, or *nách náich*; pl. *nandat* (but *cid natat* 'why are they not?' Wb. 28°1). Similarly *in-nach* 'is not?'

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Examples: *ní nad dír* 'something that is not proper' *ML*. 25°6; *natat beta* 'which are not small' 18°6; *amal náth annse*, *amal nách annse* 'as it is not difficult' Wb. 17°11, 6°9; *nant ní* 'that it is nothing' 10°26; *húare nand neutur* 'because it is not neuter' Sg. 64°11; *is follus nandat foirbthi* 'it is manifest that they are not perfect' Wb. 26°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 forsn[a]t or is a scribal error for forsn[a]t.

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 n preceded by a preposition, also after in 'in which', *co* n '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 *ML*. 51°2 beside *óndid* Wb. 12°23. It has doubtless arisen by assimilation of *nd* to *nn* (*connid* ML. 91°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* n°, *ar-a* n°, *Fri-sa* n° (but, not in *di-a* n°, *fu-a* n°) has become i (cp. § 492.); before forms constituting a syllable it has been elided (e.g. *arndid*).

In *ML.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 Ml. inndid) 'in which is'; frisin (and later frisndid < frisnid); lasin, lasinn (Ml.) 'is he?'.

799. The 1 pl., in archaic sources still oire nu-n-dem Cam., ni-tam Wb. I. 15º21, 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. ni (ni) probably represents an old contraction *něst 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 tá- (§ 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.: ni-m-tha laám 'I am not a hand' Wb. 12°21; nímtha (sic) firión 'I am not righteous' 8°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 cenuδ (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 firderb an-ad · chither tri themel 'what is seen through darkness is not wont to be truly certain' Wb. 12°12.

Not infrequently, however, the ordinary present of the copula is found in sentences of this kind.

801. IMPERATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>ba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bad (pad), bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pl. 1</th>
<th>ban (baán Wb. 5°22)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>bad, bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

802. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABSOLUTE</th>
<th>CONJUNCT</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg. 1</th>
<th>ba</th>
<th>-ba</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ba (be)</td>
<td>-ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ba (bá § 48)</td>
<td>-b, -p, ------, -dib, -dip (-bo, -po, -bu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td>bes, bas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 1</td>
<td>bede</td>
<td>-ban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-bad (-baid Ml. 115°10)</td>
<td>-bat, -pat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 803. For -mb- we sometimes find -mm-, e.g. **commín** for **com-báin** '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, arím** and **aírdíb, aírdíp, arndíp**; with **co** 'that': **condíb, condíp**; with **dia** 'if': **díom** (Dem Laws II. 122, 23. 25); with **i** 'in which': **ím** and **indíb**; with the interrogative particle **in**: **ím, im, imp** and **indíp**; with **ro**: **róp, rob, rúp, rub**; with the negatives **ní** + 'and **ná**: **ní + b, náp** (náib **Ml.** 31°9) and nadiip: with **sechí** 'whosoever': **sechíp**.

The 3 sg. conjunct has a rare by-form ending in -o, -u; e.g. **áchch ropo** beside **áchch rop** 'provided, if only (it) be'; **corbu** (with **con-ro-**); **níbó, níp** 'it shall not be' **Wb.** 27°9, 9°17. For **ró(d)bo robu** 'either, or', see § 886.

Here also belongs **bésú, bésó** '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 **-díb, -díp** 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 **bésó, -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.

### 805. With **cía** 'although' and **má + “if”**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3 sg.</th>
<th>6.8</th>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>mat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>cid, cith, ced, ceith</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>cit</strong> (ciat Fél.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mad, (maid Thes. II. 251</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>mat</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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°32, see § 124.), 2 mad (read **ma** ) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>ABSOLUTE</strong></th>
<th><strong>CONJUNCT</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. 1</td>
<td><strong>-bin, -benn</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>-ptha</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>bid (bith)</strong></td>
<td><strong>-bad, -pad, -bed (manibbad Sg. 17°8)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rel.</td>
<td><strong>bed, bad</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. 1</td>
<td><strong>bemmis, bimmis</strong></td>
<td><strong>-bemmis, -bim(m)is</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td><strong>betis, bitis</strong></td>
<td><strong>-bdis, -ptis (-dis, -tis).</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here too **mm** (m) for **mb** is common; e.g. **commín** for **com-báin**, pl. 1 **commimm(m)is, 3 commítis** ; or sg. 3 **armad** beside **armbad** (ara **n**), pl. **airmítis, aírmdíis**. On the other hand, the **m** has been elided in arbed **Wb.** 2°4, **arbemmis Ml.** 102°16; also in 3 pl. **ardís Wb.** 4°10. For **amal bid Ml.** 37°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).

807. With cía 'although' and mā + "if":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg. 3</th>
<th>cid</th>
<th>pl. citis, cetis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mad</td>
<td>matis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG. 1</th>
<th>ABSOLUTE</th>
<th>CONJUNCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>be, ba</td>
<td>-be, -pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bid bith</td>
<td>-be -pe, -ba -pa (ní-bbá Sg. 36°1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REL.</th>
<th>bes, bas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PL. 1</td>
<td>bemmi, bimmi, bami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>-beth (Fél. Prol. 188)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>bit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL.</td>
<td>beta (in Ml. also bat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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°17), with nasalization ro-m-bad; but ní-bad, ní-bbad, ní-pad; with interrog. pronoun: cipad, cía-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. Ml. 105°14 (cp. 2°2).

810. PRETERITE AND IMPERFECT INDICATIVE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG. 1</th>
<th>ABSOLUTE</th>
<th>CONJUNCT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>basa</td>
<td>-bsa, -psa, -sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>basa</td>
<td>-bsa, -sa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(&amp; rel.) ba (bá § 48)</td>
<td>-bo, -po, -bu, -pu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, ni-psa, öpsa ZCP. XII. 365, 10; with -ms- from -mbs-: romsa (for ro-m-b-sa). In du-rüménar romsa dia ocus rombith bēu 'I thought that I was God and that I was immortal' Mi. 49°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); hūare romsa Mi. 96°1.

In the 3 pl. m always appears for mb before the ending: romtar romdar; amtar 'while they were' (with a '), anámtar 'while they were not'.

If the perfect (with ro) is preceded by the negative nī + ḃnā + ḃor by cía 'although', the vowel of ro is elided and a nasal never appears before the b: sg. 1 nirbsa, anarbṛa 'while I have not been' Mi. 127°17 (but annarbsa 45°6), ciarpṛa; 3 nirbo, cinirbo, hōre narbo, ciarbo; pl. 1 nirbommar; 3 connarbtar 'so that they have not been'.

812. Examples of the conjunct forms:

With nī + ḃ: sg. 1 nipsa, 3 nibo nipo, nī + ḃu nī + ḃu nī + ḃbu; pl. 3 niptar.

With ro: sg. 1 ropsa, 3 robo ropo (Wb.), robu ropu rubu (Mi., etc.) robbu (Sg.); pl. 1 robum(ar)m, 3 robtar roptar;

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nasalized: sg. 1, 2 romsa, 3 rombo rombu; pl. 3 romtar romdar rumtar.

With nī + ḃ + ro: sg. 1 nirbsa, 3 nī + ḃro nī + ḃu; pl. 1 nirbommar, 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 (Wb. 10°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°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 coisctir lit. 'it is so that they may be good (that) they are corrected' Wb. 31°25; nibo in tain no-m-beid ar sūl tantum do-gneith toil far coimed 'it should not be only when ye are before (his) eye that ye do your lord's will' 27°9.
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 día as éola indium-sa* 'it is God who is knowing in me' Wb. 8°23 beside *is día rod·ordigestar* 'it is God that has ordained it' 6°3; *mat hé na briathra-sa for·cane* 'if it is these words that thou teachest' 28°21, beside *matis mu námait*.

duda·gnetis 'if it were my enemies who that had done them' Ml. 73°1; *is ed tobchétal nime in torainn* (pl. masc.) 'the thunders are the trumpet-song of heaven' Ml. 40°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-gním-som molad dæ* + 'their work was to praise God' Ml. 24°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 gním umal, bad hé do·n-gneith* 'every lowly deed, let it be it (masc.) that ye do' Wb. 5°27; *Críst didiu, is sí in chathir* 'Christ, then, he is the city' 21°5, ('the city is he', but the fem. pronoun is used to agree with *cathir*).

This construction is rarer where the personal subject is expressed by a noun; e.g. *di Iudéib do Barnaip* 'Barnabas (was) of the Jews' 18°6 beside *di chlaind Cham ind Egiptacdai* 'the Egyptians (are) of the race of Ham' Ml. 99°7; *can dia máthair* 'whence (was) his mother?' ZCP. XII. 246 § 21 beside *is úadib Crist* 'Christ is of them' Wb. 4°2. Cp. also can-so 'whence (earnest) thou?' (with the emphasizing particle alone) Anecd. 1. 22, 8.

The verbal noun of the substantive verb, *buith*, may also be used for the copula, the construction with a predicative nominative remaining; e.g. *buith nochtchenn* 'to be bareheaded' Wb. 11°12; cp. Ml. 44°6.

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°8 is identical in construction with *ammi cland-ni doibsom* Ml. 101°9.

PREPOSITIONS.

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 infixed 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-toer-com-ro- and icc-. For the use of the same preposition twice in compound verbs, see § 543b.

822. ad 'to, towards'

A. Before vowels and earlier w (which becomes β) 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. ·acobra (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 að before an original u in the following syllable in audbirt (acc. sg.), idbart, edbart, 'oblation' and aupaiith, epaid 'charm' (ad-buith), etc., see § 80c. Cp. further lautat (to-ad-uss-tét) 'comes near, arrives' LU1579, 1581, da-n-nautat 6199, da-n-netat (MS. -ethat) 6073; vb.n. titacht Wb. 25·13, tetacht Thes. 1. 496, 26, in SR. also tautacht, tuttacht.

Before r, l, n the preposition appears as að (§ 125); e.g. áram (ad-rím) 'number', ·áirmi 'counts'; fo-álgim (fo-ad-log-) 'I overthrow'; ánsem (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 tárachtain 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-ichtu 'reaching'. Cp. also ni-áirciu '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-riimi '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 infixed 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 infixed pronouns has sometimes led to ad being replaced by as in pretonic position. Thus beside ad-roilli (·ro-sili) 'deserves' we often find as-roilli (prototonic · árilli, ·áirilli); as-toidi 'shines'
beside ipv. attoïded, vb.n. atoiðiud; as-toither (read -oi-?) 'is kindled' Ml. 38°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., irdirg Wb., erdairc Ml.; t-air-issem and t-er-issem 'standing fast' Ml.; air-mitiu (féd) 'honouring' Wb., ermitiu Ml.; ·airbertis Wb. beside ·ebirmis Ml. (ar-beir biuth 'enjoys'); aircóiseat 'pity' Wb., erción 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. arrbartar Sg. 40°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°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·aurchanaíonn 1 prophesy' Sg. 6°12, do·n·aurchais Thes. II. 21, 33, probably from to·air·fo-can- (cp. W. d-ar-o-gan); but the vb.n. is tarc'chial in Wb., terchial in Ml. Similarly aurlem 'ready' Wb. 8°4, ZCP. VII. 481, from

-air·fo·lam (cp. synonymous addblam = 'ad·fo·lam), but otherwise in Wb. irlam (airlám 3°12) and in Ml. erlam. ar·u·iting 'refreshes' (air-uss·ding-) has vb.n. aurtach Corm. 796 (L.Br.), but irtach Wb., ertach Ml., partc, erdachtae; cp. also rem-eroirsid 'precursor' ZCP. VII. 485, pl. remerersidi (sic) Ml. 115°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 amnach-n·aurchóised 'that it might not hinder him' Wb. 8°4 beside fut. irchoi 7°11, partc, echlois Ml. (ipf. rel. ara·choïed). In other sources this aur- is often found, e.g. ni·aurchoë Eriu VII. 146 § 4, aurage 'prohibition' ibid. § 7, aur[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· aróm· aram-, rel. ardom· ardam-, 3 ara-, rel. arid-, etc. (the 1 pl. arin· is isolated), §§ 411, 413.

C. ar 'before, for' (air Ml. 51°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, airindo Ml. 53°15, 31°17, Tur. 110, airmib Ml. 90°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 airit and eruit (aurut), pl. 3 airriu and erru (rarely erriu); but always a· 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 ἄρηκομισκοῦς in Strabo, ἄρηκόμοι, ἄρηκενοῦ in Ptolemy, and the scansion Arēmoricus in Late Latin poetry. It is doubtless cognate, with Gk. νὸπ νόπα, νάνος, Lat. por-tendere, Goth. faūīr, faūra, OHG. fora furi, Eng. for, Skt. purā + , 'purāḥ 'before'.

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. pāri, Gk. nspi, 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. 5213, iriud O'Dav. 807 'margin' < *peri-itu-s? cp. Skt. parīta-ḥ 'surrounded'.

There is a Mid.W. prep. yr 'for' before nouns and pronouns (nonleniting), in compositionar- (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. atchumtach 'rebuilding' Mi. 135°8, adchumtach Tur. 80, beside aidchumtach Wb. 26°8; t-ath-air 'reprehension'; with assimilation to a following dental: atairbert (aith-to-air-) 'redactio' Sg. 197°15. Only rarely does this form spread farther; e.g. do-r-ad-chíuir 'redēmit' Wb. 2°9 (beside rel. do-rraidchíuir 32°10); ath-chían 'very far' Sg. 67°12. For occasional taich-, tach - in place of t-ath-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 Mi. 73°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· Mi. 114°10, 3 sg. neut. (rel.) adid· Wb. 12°13 ( §§412, 417, 418 ).

825. al (ol -, etc.) 'beyond'

Collection: KZ. XLVIII. 55 ff.

This preposition, Brit. at-, later ad-, Gaul. ate- in Ate-gnatus (Ir. Aithgnath), Ate-cingus, Ate-boduos, is related to O.Slav. otyn, 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.
D. The preposition survives in the adverb all(a)ei '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 all, corresponding to the adj. all 'amplus', lit. 'being beyond' (cp. the adverb ind all gl. ultra Sg. 2206), = O.Lat. allus (later ille) 'that (there)'; cp. ultra. In pretonic position o become a and il was simplified to l. The intermediate stage all has, however, made its way into stressed forms: all(a)ei, t-all, an-all (§ 483), all-muir 'one from overseas', etc.; but inn-onn 'thither' appears to come from 'inenn-all 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. 44910-11 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 332, 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. 1238; am(al) in n-altain 'like the razor' 728.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 samlum, 2 samlut, 3 saml(a)id; pl. 3 samlaid; 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. 203, 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. 2178-9 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. céit-

Zimmer, KZ. XXVII. 470 ft.

Found only in composition with the substantive verb. A. céit- (leniting), B. ceta-, cita- : ceta-bí consuet, pres. 'feels,' perf. 1 sg. cita-ro-ba, vb.n. céitbuid céitbaid 'sense' (cétaid § 124); con-céitbáin 'thou consentest' Wb. 1 g9 (§ 551).

The latter attested céitluth -ud 'companionship, cohabitation' possibly belongs here. In Britannic the preposition occurs not merely in W. canfod = Ir. céitbuidh, 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. korá ʔ'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-liae, cu-liae 'until the day'; Mid.Ir. go h- before vowels.

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' (con”) 'until, so that', apparently from co + sa” (§ 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” or kw. The comparison with O.Slav. κη (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 μ) 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 coim- cóem- before a preterite, see § 688.

In earlier forms com-imm- has become coim(m)- (§ 179); e.g. coimthecht 'accompanying', coimchlod, coimchlod -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.

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'; cuimbiud 'mockery' (com-tibiud); ipv. 2 sg. cocart 'correct' (com-cert-); cosmil 'similar' (com-samil).

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·coïd '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'.

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So too \(-m + m\) seems in the earliest period to have given single \(m\): arch. \textit{cumen}, later \textit{cuman} 'remembered' (\(com + men\)-), \textit{cuimne} 'remembrance', Mid.W. \textit{covein} \((v < m)\), as against later \textit{cum-masc} 'mixing' and the like.

(2) Later, prevocalic \textit{com} - (with \(\mu\)) came to be used before all consonants except \(m\) and \(b\). It lenites by analogy with \textit{rem-}, \textit{trem-} (§ 851, 856), \textit{imm-} (§ 841), etc. Examples: \textit{com-dlúthad} 'condensation', \textit{com-thinól} 'gathering', \textit{com-chétbuid} 'consensus', \textit{com-uidigud} 'composition', \textit{com-f + ògur} 'consonant'.

For \textit{com} as perfective particle see § 533.

B. Always \textit{con} -; e.g. \textit{con-ic} 'he can', \textit{con-boing} 'breaks', \textit{con-tifea} 'he will mock', \textit{con-certat} 'they correct', \textit{con-suidgther} 'is compounded', \textit{con-foldaibid} 'ye will share, \textit{con-mescatar} 'they are mixed', etc.

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 \textit{cotam-cotam}, 3 \textit{cot-} (\textit{cut-}); but rel. \textit{conid-}, in nasalizing relative clauses \textit{connid-}, 1 sg. \textit{condom-}, etc. (§ 412 f.).

C. \textit{co}, rarely \textit{cu}, with the dative, nasalizing; e.g. \textit{co n-etalceirt} 'with interpretation', \textit{co foirbthetu} \((f = \beta)\) 'with perfection'.

With the article: \textit{cos} (\textit{s} in \textit{d}), \textit{cosnaib}; with possessive pronoun: sg. 2 \textit{cot} (\textit{cut}) 3 \textit{cona}, etc.

D. There are but few traces of this preposition combined with a suffixed pronoun of the third person: 3 sg. masc. \textit{cono Ériu} XII. 32 § 39, neut. \textit{conu} ZCP. VIII. 310, 24, pl. \textit{condaib -503}

Auraic. 954. Otherwise it is always replaced by \textit{la} (§ 845) in this position as well as before the relative particle (\textit{S} \textit{a} -).

\textit{com-} (W. \textit{cyf-}, etc.) corresponds exactly to Lat. \textit{cum} (\textit{con-}), Osc. \textit{kom}. The \(-n\) in \textit{B} originated in the old final position (§ 176).

831. \textit{di}, \textit{de} 'of, from'


A. Before consonants usually \textit{di-}, but \textit{dē-} before \(o\), both leniting. Examples: \textit{di-riug} 'straight'; \textit{di-gbáil} 'diminution'; \textit{di-thrub, díthrab} 'desert; \textit{di-dnad} 'consolation'; \textit{de-r-gaba} (perfective subj.) 'he may diminish'; \textit{dermat} (\textit{de-ro-mét}) 'forgetting'. But in composition with \textit{gníd} 'does', \textit{dí} before palatal consonance and \textit{dē} before non-palatal; e.g. fut. 1 sg. \textit{dí-gén}, pres. 3 sg. \textit{dén} (with \(n\), from 'dē-gni'), pl. \textit{dénat} (and perf. 3 sg. \textit{dergéni}); further in \textit{di-co(m)-wed-}, perfective form of the verb 'to go' (§ 769), e.g. 3 sg. pres. \textit{dichet}, perf. \textit{dechuid}. For other compounds with \textit{dé-} see below.

Before vowels usually \textit{di}; e.g. \textit{diall} (\textit{di-ell}) 'declinatio'; in \textit{diárim} (adv.) 'innumero' Ml. 17\(6\); \textit{diúpart} (\textit{diuss-bert}) 'fraud'. (In this and similar words \textit{diu-} is generally written, although the diphthong \(iú\) was doubtless pronounced). But \textit{dé}, \textit{de} in nonce formations such as \textit{déainmmeichthech} 'denominatium' Sg., \textit{ni-de-intamladar} 'non disimilat' Ml. 27\(12\).

With \(é\) it combines to give \textit{dé-}: ipv. 2 sg. \textit{dé(i)ce} 'see' (\textit{di-en-}), \textit{dérig} 'deserts' (\textit{di-ess-}), etc.; but \textit{dítiu} 'protection' (\textit{di-étiu}, influenced by verbal forms like 3 sg. subj. \textit{dítia} Ml. 88\(2\) from 'dí-ema'). \textit{di-in} becomes \textit{dín}, e.g. for \textit{dingrat} 'they signify'; decmaing dec(u)ic 'strange, unlikely', from \textit{di-ecm-} or \textit{-acm-}?

In early examples it combines with the prep. \textit{fo} to give \textit{dí-}: \textit{dí-thraccar} 'I wish', \textit{dó-dú-r gimm} 'I excite'. But beside these we find forms like \textit{déo(a)id} 'gratis' (to folad 'substance'), \textit{díuag} 'washing' (\textit{di-fo-nig-} or \textit{diuss-nig-}), cp. 1 sg. \textit{do-fo-nug} Sg. 22\(5\), etc., and \textit{únach} 'washing' (§ 849, A). Before other instances of
old w-: diad and dead 'end' (W. di-wedd), didenach and dédenach 'last'. Corresponding to deuterotonic
forms like ipf. do-afortad 'he used to pour out' Ml. 36°22, perf. pass.

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do- rortad (read rór -?) Fél. May 27, we find later prototonic forms with dōirt- as well as dṓiert-; the
forms with a short vowel are doubtless the result of quantitative assimilation to deuterotonic -fort-.

Before ᵇ, cp. con-dieig (com-dlí-saig) 'seeks' Wb. 23⁴5, but more commonly con-daig (pass. con-degar),
subj. -cúntea (§ 185 d); i ndeigaid, i ndigaid (= digaid?) 'after' (dí-saigaid).

B. Generally do, du ; e.g. do-donaimm 'I console', du-roinnibetar '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°1, di-meccither beside do-mmecither Wb. (vb.n. dímiccem); de-éctar 'they are looked at' Otia
Merseiana I. 23 § 9 beside do-écaí Ml., 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 sid (s = ᵇ) 'little peace' Ml. 51°5 beside bec i-di dechur (d = ᵇ) 'little
difference' 72°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, dit, de, etc., § 435.

The form dí - (Britann. dl-) corresponds exactly to Lat. dě. The relationship between it and the other
stressed form dl dě is not clear. If the latter is by origin merely a shortened form of dl- 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 have' and 'to go'. It is also apparently contained in de 'thereof, from him', and perhaps in
Gaul. βπατου-đe (§ 311.). Further, dú- probably goes back to dě-wo- through intermediate dow(o)- (§
72, cp. § 69.). But de in words like de-bith, 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 ('dě') 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 dunailb; with possessive pronoun: dom, dot, etc., but before
a: dia, diar (dear Cam.), also di alailiu 'to the other'; with the relative particle: dia ·.

In other positions dí for do is very rare; e.g. bá brón di suidib 'it was a sorrow to these' Ml. 44°6 (cp.
55°1).

D. With suffixed pronoun: dom dam, duit (dait, 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 'appellatius' (acaldám 'address'); do-[^h]étbid 'adsensio' ZCP. VII. 482; dò[quis]idigli(sic) 'apposita' Sg. 63°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, dunndaib; with suffixed pronoun do = dò, dunn duun = dún(n). If Gaul. duci 'and' has been correctly analysed as du-ci, lit. 'to this' (ZCP. XVI 287), 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 = δi), Mid.W. y, Corn. de (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), dib. But *dů < *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. dō ('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. ETCHAR 'outside, without' ('sechtar 'out of, outside')

A. Only in nominal compounds, e.g. echтарgeinde 'alienborn'

C. With the accusative, e.g. echтар 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' Ml. 61°22 (cp. 54°20).

ETCHAR, 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: ë followed by gemination; e.g. ecr(a)e 'enemy' (car(a)e 'friend'); e(i)tech 'refusal', subj. 2 sg. ·etts LU3488; ecal (c = gg) 'timid' (gal 'valour'); etrocht (sic MSS., t = dd) 'shining' Fé. Feb. 10, rug-etrachtaib gl. praecelis Ml. 37°3 (cp. andracht Sg. 112°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-rechtair 'exlex' Sg. 113°2, es-car(a)e 'enemy', esigaire 'proclamation' (ess-com-gar-), cp. § 180; t-es-ta 'is lacking', perf. tesarbae (to-ess-ro-boi), vb.n. t-es-biuth; es-gailter 'excipiuntur' Ml. 145°1; es-bae, espe 'uselessness, idleness' (bae 'good, profit').
DIVERGENT FORMATIONS: In the verb ess-ren- 'pay',

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 ML. 20’2 (cp. Ériu VII.160 § 2.), pres. ind. 3 sg. -eirren Ériu I. 214; to judge from érrethcha, hérrechda gl. reddituia Sg. 27’2, 30’16, e- was long in these forms also. If syncopated forms, such as érnem (preces) gl. impendamus (sic Stokes, Goidelica p. 64, from the Liber Hymnorum, but erner 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 aisndis, vb.n. of aísdnet '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) ML. 14’13 beside -eper Sg. 73’11, vb.n. aipert ML. 50’8, usually epert; only in Middle Irish does apbecome 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)-apield ML. 85’8 beside 3 pl. (coni)-epéitais 99’2. The early spread of a to other forms, e.g. pres. ind. (coniid)-apiail 91’2 instead of more frequent -epil, was due to the fact that, in the deuterotonic forms with a- at: ess and ad were indistinguishable. The form as-srêud 'scattering' ML., beside aesreuth (sic MS.) Sg. 70’11, 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-foite 'sent forth' (essfold-) belongs to (b). It is otherwise with indasfenad (probably to be read int asfénad) gl. detestatio 2CP. VII.481, vb.n. of as-fénimm 'testificor', in ML. dat.sg. aspen -ud, aispenud (read -é-) with development of sf to sp (cp. Mid.Ir.aisal and aisalnad 'showing'); perf. ad-ru-spén ML. 78’5, 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. 18’7, perfective subj. do-airfena Laws v. 360, 18 f., etc.

B. Always as (ass); e.g. ass-irset 'they will arise', as-oirc 'strikes', as-in-gaib 'exceeds', as-toing 'refuses', as-to-aschter '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 ML. as-gnintar, etc.), vb.n. ecne; assa-flid 'ex[st]ero' Sg. 221’4. In ML. ess-gúis(s)- 'wish' (cp. partic. ecquisste § 31 d) has deuterotonic assa-guís and ad-gúsi in relative clauses, and the second form occurs also in Sg. 148’4 (non-relative 1 sg. ad-gúsiu SP. (Thes. II. 293, 3-4), later asa-gússim, assa-gússem LU 3247); similarly assa-foiter ML. 48’8 beside aïrendi as-foîte '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·-atom-, 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, ·apiail above, and also, according to Pedersen (§ 743, 2), in-glennat ML. 137’2 'they investigate', etc., for as· (cp. sg. 3 as-glinn, 2 ·eclinn·, etc.).

C. Before the dative of a noun a (á § 48), gerninating (Mid.Ir. a h-), e.g. a-llatin 'from Latin', a túaithe '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), asnáib; with the relative particle: as(s)·a·.
This preposition, as is shown by Gaul. Ex-obnus, Ex-cingus, Lat. Gk. ἐκ, goes back to ʻeks, Celt. ʻechs, 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 ʻechs 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.

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 Ml. is confined to relative clauses, seems to be modelled on ara- (§ 823.). Its non-relative use (in Sg.) may have been suggested by ceta-, cita- (§ 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 etar-cert 'interpretation', Ml. 2d2, Tur.64, otherwise etarcert; note also etsorsondi 'bariton' Thes. II. 42, 4, etsnlidiθ 'spider' ZCP. VII.483, lit. 'interspinner'. Only in the later Glosses (Ml., Sg.) is lenition sometimes found after it, e.g. etarothaim 'interitus' Ml. 406. Before a vowel: err- in etr-áin 'intervention', etr-antach 'intermittent' Wb. 23°13.

B. In Wb. and Tur. mostly eter, e.g. eter-scértar 'will be separated'; in Ml. etir, e.g. etir-gén 'I understood'. Less frequently itir Wb. 5°34, Tur.121; an exceptional form appears in the relative clause itir·na·thá 'which is between' Laws IV. 364, 9. 19 (formed like ara·).

Before infixed pronouns etar-; e.g. lasse etardan·rosar-ni 'when he has separated us' Ml. 120°3, but also itirnda·dibed 'that he should destroy them' 45°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°10 beside etir·scartar 73°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-ı-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. antār, or to OHG. untar ('n + nter) 'between'

Taking 'enter as the basic form in Celtic, one would expect Ir. ʻéter; accordingly it would be necessary to assume that the ê was shortened in proclitic position (B, C) and that ê spread thence to the stressed forms. Perhaps, however, we should rather postulate an early intermediate stage ʻinter, attracted by the preposition in-; cp. OW. ithr, Corn. yntre, Gaul. Interambes 'inter riuos' Endlicher's Gloss. In Irish int-had become یدd-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 apoepopated.

836. fiad 'in the presence of'
   C. With the dative, leniting; e.g. fiad chách 'in front of everyone'. With the article: fiad-in(d), fiadnaib; with the relative particle: fiada-.
   D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 fiadum, 3 masc. fiado -a, pl. 3 fiad(a)ib, etc., § 436.

This word is a petrified case-form of the noun corresponding to W. gwydd 'presence'; cp. Mid.Bret. a goez, a gouvez 'coram'. Its government of the dative may be modelled on ar 'before'.

837. fo 'under'

A. Before consonants fo or fu (fa § 68 81, 82 ), leniting e.g. fo-chr(a)icc 'reward', fo-ditiu I endurance, fo-chitith fochar (fo-saigith, § 131) 'tribulation', fu-dumuir fu-dumain 'deep', ar-fui-rig 'holds back', ·foirett -(fo-ń + érat) 'they prepare'. For the position before w- (Ir. f-) + consonant, cp. fúialascach (Ir. fúialascach) small branches, shrubbery', from flesc ('wísk') 'rod, wand'.

In medial position after the δ of ad we find b (= β) instead of f, e.g. adblam 'ready' (ad-fó-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 · féib 'he will cut' Ml. 96'7 beside 1 sg. pres. do-fuibnimm Sg. 12'1, 22'10, etc. (vb.n. tóbe ); de-f + ó becomes dů-, děo-, díu- (§ 831).

The -o fuses with following o, u to ó (úá) with a to ą; and with e, i to oí, óe. Examples: fócre 'proclamation (fo-uss-gar, or -oss-gar-), fúasnad 'perturbation' Ml. 16'12 (fo-osnad) ; ·fácaib 'leaves' (fo-ad-gab-); ·fóetatar 'they accepted' Anecd. III. 63. 13 (fo étatar), with air-to-: 1 pl. ara-roitmar Wb. 9'10; foindel 'roaming,' (fo-ind-). Here too the contracted vowel sometimes spreads to the deuterotonic forms; e.g. fo-d · úacair Wb. 11'24, fo-ácab Thes. II. 12, 28.

Only in very late formations fo is retained in hiatus, e.g. foammamugud (fo-ad-mám-) 'subjugation'.

The interchange of unlenited and lenited (silent) ō in ar · fóim, protonotic · 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. is not present at all. Examples: to · foing 'which he swears ' Ériu VII. 158 § 16, do-d · fongad Ml. 36'24, to the simplex tongid; du · fuit later deuterotonic form of · tuit 'falls' (to-tud-), earlier do-tuit (§ 773). This is especially common before the prep. oss, us (see § 849). So too the form ar · femat 'they receive' Ml. 15'4 (ep. 105'8, Wb. 8'28, 28'19) is due, not to the loss of o, but to the fact that the compound air-em- (cp. vb. n. airtiu, eritiu, subj. · airema Cam.) was influenced by air-fom- (3 pl. ar·fóimat Wb. 34'6, etc.).

B. In all positions fo, fu (§ 101) ; e.g. fo-daim 'suffers, endures', fo-fera 'prepares', fo-lléos and co fúllós 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 forb · fom-, 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. 37'14 (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. 9'1). With the relative particle: foa-, fua-, fo- ( - fó-, ?), § 492.

**fo** --Britannic **gwo-**, whence W. **gwa-** and **go-**, Bret. **gou-**, Gaul. 'wo- as in **Uro-reto-uiirus**--goes back to 'u-o, 'upo, and corresponds exactly to Gk. δινó, 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-us-anduid) 'illumination'. Sporadic examples of lenition after it first appear in the later Glosses, e.g. **fortacht** Mi. 93°15.

For **tóρ** - ̀ to-f + ὤ-see § 855. The 5 sometimes spreads to deuterotonic forms; e.g. **do-fórmbat** 'they increase' Sg. 53°11 (vb.n. **tórmag, tórmach** ) beside **do-n.fórmag** Féll. Oct. 18; **du- fór-ban** 'arrives, happens' Mi. 61°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,. 140°5, **ocus fur- aith-menter** 'and is remembered' Mi. 17°23.

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 **fordom· fordum· fordam· fortam** ·, 3 **fort** -, rel. **forid-** , etc., §§ 412, 413.

For the division of for into fo + r by to or an infixed 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** Mi. 44°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 **for·sa**- and **fora**-.

D. With suffixed pronoun: **form (forum-sa )**, **fort, for foil fair** (§ 81 ), etc.,§ 437.

**for**, Britannic **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. ςνέπ, Goth. **ufar**; cp. 2K

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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'


A. Before vowels mostly **frith**, seldom **frid** ; e.g., **frithoreon** 'offence', **frid-oirced** (ipv.) 'let him offend Wb. 14°27; **frith-alim** (read -álim) 'I expect' Mi. 49°3.In some compounds **fres-** appears instead: ·**frescat (frith-ad-cl-)** 'they hope', vb.n. **fresesi, frescissiu** ; [f ] resndal 'attending, service' Bürgsehaft p. 17 § 53, fresdel Wb. I 14c11 (later **frestal**, cp. pret. pass. **fres- ind-led** Féll. May 23).

**frith-ess-** seems to have become **fres- in **fresnabai** 'ascent, Ascension' (acc. **frisnabál** Mi. 42°30, cp. as-in-gaib 'exceeds'); also in **fresdás** 'diudicatio' Wb. 13 "Il (cp. aisdás '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. **frecree**, with c = g(g), 'answer' (frith-gaire); **freend (a)**ire, with c = k(k), 'present' (frith-con-derc-); **fretich** 'renunciation' (to tongid 'swears'); frepaid (**frebaid** Mi. 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°2; **frith-gnam** 'of-icium' (gnim 'deed, doing', subj. pass. **frith-ro-gnaither** Laws II. 308, 16); **frithsuidigthe** (s = s) 'op-positus'; even before t and d: ·frith-taísed (unlenited in accordance with § 231, 3) 'he should oppose ' beside pres. ·frittaít (frith-to-tét) Wb. 31°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.

C. **fri** (re Ml. 44°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°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°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 *gwurth* (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 frithu, 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 (fri) . 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 -uidigthe) 'postponed' Sg. 3 b31, farm-ui (read -uí ?) 'abnepotes' Ml. 119°12.

Before fo-saig, where the same form would be expected., we always find iarf(a)gid 'asking' (with unlenited f ), pret. -i-arfact, etc. Here f has probably replaced μ by analogy with deuterotonic forms like iarmi-foig.

In nominal compounds like iar-thúaiscerddach 'northwestern' Thes. II. 26, 41 the m has doubtless been dropped between r and a consonant; cp. iar-bunatattu 'posterity' Ml. 45°20. But in iar-testimin ' conclusion of a period' Ml.

the t is never lenited, presumably owing to the influence of the nasalizing form iar (C). The disyllabic form in iaram-geindi 'postgeniti' Ml. 97°11 is isolated.
B. Generally iar·mii e.g. iar·mi·foig 'asks'; but cp. iar·mu-ru·sudigestar gl. postpossuit ML. 13°7, armo·fuacht LL 234,48; in relative clauses also iar·ma. : iar·ma·foich Sg. 198.

With infixed pronoun 3 sg. rel. iar·mid·, § 413.

C. iar with the dative, nasalizlizing, e.g. iar n-dligúd 'according to law'. The form ier is found twice in Arm. (Thes. II. 240, 20, 24) and once, after the negative, in Sg. 197°10: nier n-etargnu 'not after knowledge' (beside iar n-etargnu ibid. 11).

With the article: iarsin(d), iarsnaib (íarnaib Laws iv. 176, 5) with possessive pronoun: 3 sg. and pl. iar·na, 1 pl. iar·nar; with the relative particle: iar·sa·.

D. With suffixed personal pronoun: sg. 2 iar·mut, 3 iar·um, pl. 3 iar·maib, § 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 iar·mut where it is not found with the other prepositions. It is conceivable that iar represents a development of IE. *épi (Gk. Ϝι, Skt. ápi) with a suffix beginning with r; *épi, with loss of the p, would have Celt. ei, ir. ē, in (cp. W. wŷr 'grandson')."

In pretonic position, especially in C, one would expect shortened forms. Perhaps such forms are to be seen in er cúl 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 bárách (beside iarn-a ') on the next day'. As early as Wb., however, iar 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

'external'; imb-rádud and im-rádud 'thinking'; imb·resnat 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 š it combines to give imp- (§ 187a); e.g. impúd (imb·šoud.) 'turning', past subj. impád (imb·šood); impesse (imb·šesse) 'besieged'.

Before all other consonants im, less frequently imm, leniting; e.g. im-thrénugud 'strengthening', im(m)-chom·arc 'inquiry, greeting'.

For coim- from corn-im(m)-, see § 830.

B. Always im· or imm·; e.g. im·act 'he drove', im·rádí '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. 10·18 is isolated.

With infixed pronoun: sg. 1 immum·immim·, 3 imma· and immme·, 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, 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., immúa- (= immúa-?) Ml. 18°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, 'Αμβι-λικοι, W. am, um-., OHG. umbi, OE. ymbe, Skt. abhi; cp. Gk. ς μϕι, 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°10) 'invicem', etruib immenetar 'among you mutually' Wb. 27°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. immobil-cúalammar 'we have heard of one another' Wb. 18°3, immus·asenat ' they advance towards one another' Thes. I. 6, 4. But for

a pronoun of the third person -a "n- may be used also, the verb being" then put either in the plural or the singular: ni 'ma- n-digbat nemid 'privileges do not diminish one another' Ir. Recit p. 12 n. 2: as-bert ni 'ma-n-ac ciątis 'he said they would not see one another' Trip. 212, 28, beside cona'ma-n-dherbar ' so that they may not overreach one another' Wb. 27°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. immobil-cúalammar 'we have heard of one another' Wb. 18°3, immus·asenat ' they advance towards one another' Thes. I. 6, 4. But for

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°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·engne 'understanding' Wb., Ml., pres. (subj. ?) pass. 3 pl. ·enggnatar Sg. 209°13 (but also ·ingn(a)en 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. cometeeh 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: en(a)id dat. sg. 'engrafting', to en-snád- (§ 724); d-es-sid 'has sat down'; el-lach 'union'; eirr, gen. erred, 'warrior in chariot', probably to réddid '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. aogasg). The verb ad·cum-aing 'happens' (where ad· represents in., see 2 below) has é in prototonic forms like
indat·to-gar-sa

persecute him' Ml. 18

With infixed pronoun: usually sg. 1

ep. also

without distinction of meaning. Thus also, perhaps, to the existence of different, but virtually synonymous, compounds which came to be used

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-grennát who persecute him' Ml. 18\(\textsuperscript{2}\))

to ind-to-gar-sa 'that I invoke thee' Ml. 72\(\textsuperscript{2}\), a n-unda. (read -inda- ) greinn-siu 'when thou dost
persecute them' 362, 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 (i § 48) with the accusative ('into') and dative ('in'), nasalizing. Where the nasalization is not shown, the. preposition is often written hi (hi), § 25. Examples: i n-airitu 'in the acceptance', i m-béire 'into a language', hi tír (t = d)

're into a land', i tuil 'in the will', i-nnim and i nim 'in heaven', hi fáthib 'in prophets', i-llestur 'in a vessel' and i lóu 'in (the) day', hi-rriaucht 'in shape'. Later (Ml., Tur.) also inn- before vowels: innécin 'in compulsion' Tur. 134, innechaib 'in horses' Ml. 433.

With the article: is(s)in, is(s)a, is(s)ind, isna, isnaib; also isin, etc. With possessive pronoun: im, it, pl. 2 i bar and ifar; but with nn before a: 3 sg. and pl. inna (but arch. ine Cam.), pl. 1 innar (also innalaill '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' 1051; and of in-ru instead of irru: in-ru-frescechae 'in whom he had hoped' 4419.

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. dýv and dývi 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 'inli < *eni; but W. yn,y', Corn. yn, Gaul. in Alxie 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-roudu, Ande-camulos, Ande-trogirix; in Britannic an(ne-), leniting, e.g. anne-l = Ir. inde, 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 'in-uito'), and that Latin endo indu, Ir. ind- have been assimilated to the prep. en, in.

Sometimes ind- has non-palatal -d-, e.g. ind(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-,
843. inge 'except'

C. In the earlier language inge can govern the accusative like a preposition; e.g. each sochur ocus each dochur . . ., is astathi . . . 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. nibóí (-bui MS.) i n-Hére cona Hinge Coirpre (-ri MS.) Gal fill (nom. sg.) 'there was no one in Ireland with his splendour but C.G. the poet' Fíannaig. 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. aṅga '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' Féil. 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-is, s-is, an-is (§ 483), we have íhtar 'the lower part' (like úachtar), ísel 'low' (like úasal). But Britannic is, ísel show that s(s) does not come from ks, and that íchtar is therefore an analogical formation.

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)ín, 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. 16’24); 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-ille (illei Wb.) 'hither' (§ 483) and imm-a-ille (-illei 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’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. dinsem; 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,
849. os(s) (uss) 'up, off'

847. ó, úa 'from, by'

C. ó, úa, often hó, húa (oa Kg. 129*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 (h)úa, (h)úa, (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' Kg. 7°15 (béi 'lip'), later ó(i)béla, òbélta, Mod. Ir. òbhéalta. In later nonce formations ùad- (presumably leniting) is used; e.g. ùad-fialichtí 'reuelatā' Kg. 15°4 (fial 'veil'); ind húad-airbertach bith gl. abusiue Kg. 3°24 (airbert bith 'use'); húád-lasasalchtae 'absolutus' 30°4. So too huaderet 'he uncovered' Kg. 51°14 is to be analysed húad-de-r(o)-ét, doubtless an artificial verbal compound.

The primary form of the preposition was ãu, 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 ùad (including the composition form ùad-), ùadi, and ùad(d)i dib may have been suggested by and, indib (§ 842).

For ò as conjunction, see § 893.

848. oc 'at'

C. oc, occ, in Arm. uc, ucc, in Kg. 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 Kg. always ocin(d), elsewhere also ocon(d), pl. ocnaib (ocna fem. Kg. 217°4). With possessive pronoun: sg. 1 ocmu ocmo, 2 acdu Kg. (occa t'adrad Kg. 5°25), pl. 2 ocbar; but before a usually with cc: 3 sg. and pl. occa, also occo (oco), once ocua (= ocúa or ocú-à?) Kg. 18°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.

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 ocm ucc, under the accent oc; e.g. ocm-biat 'they will touch', perf. ocu-ro-bae, pres. pass. pl. ocu-bendar, prototonic ocmanatar, vb.n. ocmith ocmaid, gen. ocmaid. The substitution of m for b (presumably μ for β) 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. *ogg- is probably cognate with Mid.W. wnc, wng 'close, near', cp. yn y wnc 'near him'.
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-olgud 'opening' Laws IV. 312, 11 (oslucud Ml. 46²5, cp. § 181), ar-os-aileic 'opens', vb.n. ir-s-o-looth 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-nll 'which enlightens' Anecd. v. 28, 12, vb.n. fursundud (andud 'kindling'); con-osciget, 'cums McGregor' they remove' (schoch-).

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-oceba 'he may raise', past subj. con-ucbad, etc., vb.n. cumgabál (ócbl Thes. II.13, 24, error for oc- ?); con-utuinc ·uata 'builds (up)', (uss-d-...), and vb.n. cumtach, cumdach; obbad, opad, subj. sg. 2 ·opais, 3 · op · oip (§ 627); ad-opuir ·opair 'offers' (oss-ber-), vb.n. edbart, idbart, acc. audbirt, etc., do- opir 'defrauds', vb.n. diupart; in-otgat 'they enter', subj. 3 sg. in-úait (§ 627, the vocalism is peculiar and secondary), vb.n. inotacht (tiágo 'I go'); do-ommalg 'I have milked' (§ 534, 3); diummus 'pride' (di-uss-mess).

Before l, r, n the preposition appears as ó (úa), ú; e.g. do-in-ó-la 'gathers'; ·r-ind-úá-ldatar 'have entered' (luid 'he went'); con-a-r-gabad 'has been raised'; ·di-úá-i-r-

§ 667, pres. ·diurat Ml. 72¹7 (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 changed by analogy to 3 sg. pres. to-dúacair Wb. 11°24, beside pret. pass. fo-ocrad ZCP, VIII. 306, 22); do-fúasailcet, do-fúasalcat 'they dissolve', vb.n. túas(s)ulcud (perf. pass. do-forsailcet); fúasnad 'disturbing' (but deuterotonic fu-fúasna, see § 543b); further, the perfects at-rópert, con-róptatar, but beside di-růtgæl 'has brought' Thes. II.239, 15 (Arm.) we find pl. d-a-rucellsat Ml. 126²7 (di-uss-gell-). On the other hand, to + o(ss)- apparently becomes tó-, tú-; e.g. topur 'well' (cp. in(d)ber 'river-mouth'); tossach 'beginning'; túcbl 'raising' Arm. (KZ. XXXI.245), ipv. tocailb Laws, though the later language has forms with tóe(a)b-.

Forms such as do-fúasailcet 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. · tuislider (to-uss-s(w)el-); do-fúissim '(pro)creates' beside vb.n. tuistiu (to-uss-sem-), so also perf. do-forsat for earlier do-rósat (§ 528); du-furgab 'raises' beside -turgab, vb.n. turcbál (to-ross-uss-gab-, ro being the preposition, not the perfective particle), perf. du-rurgab -gab.

B. as(s) - e.g. ass- oillg 'opens' Corm. 803 (L); as- boind 'refuses' Laws (aspoind, isboind MSS.), pass. as-bonnair 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. ὑψ '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, dyrchael = Ir. turcbál (but with kab- instead of gab-), di-e-bryd = Ir. diupart, ar-wy-re 'to rise up'--is inconclusive.

§ 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 Crist 'over Christ's head' Ml. 74°1.

With the article: ósin(d) úasin(d), ósnaitb; 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. urch '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 ri, rem- 'before, pre-' 
A. rem, leniting; e.g. rem-uidigd 'preposition' (remuidigthe 'placed before'), rem-thechtas 'precedence'.

B. remi- (remí § 48.), in relative clauses also reme- (remé Ml. 15°3). Examples: remi-suidigdis 'they used to place before'; remi-taat 'preasunt'; reme-bé do 'who may be over him' Ériu VII. 158 § 19; reme-n-úicsed 'that he should prefer' (lit. 'choose before') Ml. 47°12.

With infixed pronoun: remita-tét 'which precedes them' § 412; amal reminédbartamar 'as we have said it before' Ériu I. 215, 10.

C. Generally re (ré Wb. 9°16, Sg. 169°1, cp. § 48), less frequently ri, in later sources also ría, with the dative, nasalizing; e.g. re n-airite 'before accepting', ri techt (t- = d-) 'before going', ría cácht (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°15); with the relative particle: resa-.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 rium, 2 riut, 3 riám rián, 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 *prís, reduced form of the comparative stem = Lat. prior, prius, which we also find in prís-cus, prís-tinus. In that case the nasalization after it is not original but has been modelled on iar 'after' (§ 840), from which the diphthong ia was also eventually taken over. The forms with m like riám, remi, instead of being based on analogy with iar..m-, could be derived from a superlative stem *prí + šamo- (comparable with Lat. prīmus < *prí + ŝimos). The nn in renn-a is doubtless modelled on inn-a (§ 842).

852. ro

In Irish, as in Britannic, 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', derrmár derrmar very great, enormous' (W. dirfawr, O.Bret. pl. derrmorion).
In compound verbs *ro* seldom constitutes the first element, but is often found after other prepositions. Examples: · *ro-ga*n̄n 'finds room' ( KZ. LXIII. 114); · *ro-iy* 'reaches', for · *ro-sig* (to saigid 'seeks, makes for'); *do-roi-mnether* 'forgets', vb.n. *der*mat *der*mit; ir·di-rui-mdethar 'sins' (to midithir), vb.n. immarmus immormus; as · *ro-choll* 'determines', vb.n. écholluđ.

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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 · *deroïmed*, 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. · *erôima*, perf. ar·róet ·roit ·roíat), and that the *oi* has spread from the second; but perf. do·r-ët is regular.

For ra- in place of ro see § 82. In the preterite of the verbs *do-gni* 'does' and *do-slui*ndi 'denies' ri, rí replaces ro as perfective particle, with assimilation of the vocalism to the forms without ro: *do· rigëni* 'has done' (§ 661), after · *di-gëni*; *do· riftët* 'they have denied', after · *dïltët* (but fo·gni* 'serves' has perf. fo·ruigën*). Later there is an increase in such forms, apparently based on false analysis of di- as d-i-; e.g. doë ríucart 'he shouted' Corman. 1059, to di-uss-gar-, vb.n. diuca*. Before the verb lécëd 'leaves' re· appears in place of ro-, e.g. perf. pass. · *reïlded* Mi. 49*10* (deuterotonic ro-léced), influenced perhaps, as has been suggested, by re(i)lic* 'graveyard' from Lat. reliquiae; cp. · tei*lic*· beside do-lèc- · 855. *ro-f + ò and · *ro-f + or become ·rō- 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·ës-ar-bæ 'was lacking'; imm·ar-gal 'strife'; cp. immarmus, immormus above; similarly imim·-th-imm·-er-chelsat 'they have surrounded me' Mi. 44*25.

From torb(a)je 'profit', probably a compound of bae 'profit' with to-ro-, a verb ·torb*an* 'profits' is formed by analogy with the compounds of benaïd (such as fo·ben beside vb.n. fub(a)je); in the deuterotonic it has the peculiar form do·rorben (Bürgschaft p. 30 § 70), do·rorban. An analogue 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, ris, ránac, etc. Similarly ruc*ad* 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. npò, Lat. prò-, 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*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°2 beside lasse sechmi-n-ella Ml. 61°5, prototonic ·sechmalla, vb.n. sechmall; sechmadachte 'preterite' (to tiagu '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.

·tarmthiagat; tairmchrutto 'transformationis'. But also tarmorcenn, tairmesc 'termination' (to forcenn 'end'), dat. pl. tharmmorcnib Sg. 43a5; tairmchoslaid 'praeuaricator'. In tarbid 'abiding' Ml. 131°9 (-buith) m has been lost between r and b; but in Fél. June 4 the MSS. have tairm·rith, 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°5, trimi·berar Ml. 21°3, perf. trimi·rucad 21°17; with infixed pronoun: tremitíagat = tremid · t-

The form do·airmesca 'disturbs, prevents' Ériu III. 108 § 50 (cp. Mon. Tall. p. 127 § 2), beside vb.n. tairmesc (tairmmesc Ériu VII. 198 § 5), has arisen from the t- in tairm-mesc- being mistaken for the prep. to-; cp. W. terfysg 'disturbance', OW. termisceticon gl. sollicitos.

C. In Wb.tar and dar, in Ml. and Sg.tar, with the accusative; e.g. tar crích 'over the border', dar taimne 'beyond the commandment'

With the article: tarsin, tarsa, tarsna; with possessive pronoun: sg. 1 tarmu tarm darm (§ 439), 3 tara dara (in Ml. trá twice, 27°4, 101°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. tirāḥ, Avest. taró 'across'; cp. the derivative tairisce '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'


A. Before consonants usually to, tu, leniting; e.g. to-th(a)im 'fall'; to-mus 'measure' (mess); ·to-gaitha
A. and B. usually have forms modelled on D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 'fearlessness'.

C. to place For the change of C. and D. do not occur, always 'bestowed'; always Before vowels the form of A often replaces that of B in a principal or a leniting relative clause; e.g. do-formaig do-gaitha do-adbat do-dechuid (also to-dechuid) 'I cut off'; do-for-maig (also do-fórmagh, attracted by A) 'increases'; do-beir 'gives', fut. pl. do -bèrat; do-léctet 'they cast', etc. For du, cp. § 101.

But before 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-sol 'turns to'; du-fuí-bnimm 'I cut off'; do-for-maig (also do-fórmagh, attracted by A) 'increases'; do-beir 'gives', fut. pl. do · bèrat; do-léctet 'they cast', etc. For do, 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'; tarchet 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, 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 (§ 48) tre, with the accusative, leniting; e.g. tri chreitim '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: tresa-.

D. With suffixed pronoun: sg. 1 trium, 2 triut, 3 triit, fem. tre e, etc., § 433.

A. and B. usually have forms modelled on remi-, rem(§ 851):
B. tremi-, trimi- (tremiíí, trimíí, § 48), in relative clauses also treme-, trime-. It is often found in place of tarmi- (examples § 854); elsewhere it occurs, e.g., in trímedirdar (read trime-dirgedar) 'that he refers' Ml. 54a22, treme-thait (?. MS. tremiethai with t written under the h) 'which penetrates' 43-14.

A. trem-, certainly leniting; e.g. ·tremdirgedar Sg. 190a5, ·trem-feidliget 'per-manent', trem-airesach 'perfidus' Ml., trem-bethe 'saeculorum' Wb. 28a5 (to bith).

In one compound the forms are modelled on those of fri (§ 839): B. tris·gat(a)im 'I pierce' (perf. dris·rogat with d- Ml. 86a6); 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' Ml. 123a2, 129a9 (bongid 'breaks'), later attested tre-tholl 'perforated, full of holes' Met. Dinds. IV. 218 (=W. trydwll).

In OW. the preposition is trui, in Mld.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. trii (Mod.Ir. trid) is impossible to reconcile with this; it looks like a neuter participle originally ending in -in -nt + pronoun: cp. OHG. dräen. OE. þrəwan 'to turn', Gk. τρη + μα '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.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>DEUTEROTONIC</th>
<th>PROTOTONIC</th>
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<tr>
<td>ad·cí 'sees'</td>
<td>·aicci ·accai § 822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad·cuaid, in·cuaid 'has told'</td>
<td>·écid § 842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad·eirrig 'repeats, emends'</td>
<td>·aithirrig § 824</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad·greinn, in·greinn 'persecutes'</td>
<td>·ingrainn § 842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad·op(u)ir 'offers'</td>
<td>·audbir ·idbir ·edbir § 822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad·rími 'counts'</td>
<td>·áirmi § 822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad·slig 'induces'</td>
<td>·aslig § 822</td>
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<tr>
<th>DEUTEROTONIC</th>
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<tr>
<td>ar·cessi 'pities'</td>
<td>·airchissi ·erchissi § 823.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ar·utaing 'refreshes'</td>
<td>·irting ·ert(a)ing § 823</td>
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<td>as·beir 'says', as·rubart</td>
<td>·epir ·apir, ·érbart § 834</td>
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<tr>
<td>as·boind 'refuses'</td>
<td>·op(a)ind § 849</td>
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<tr>
<td>as·lúi 'escapes'</td>
<td>·élai § 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as·oirc 'strikes', as·comart</td>
<td>·essairc, ·escmart § 834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceta·bí, cita·bí 'feels' (con-suet. pres.)</td>
<td>·cétbi § 828</td>
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<td>con·certa 'corrects'</td>
<td>·cocarta § 830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>con·ic 'can', con·ánac(u)ir</td>
<td>·cumuing ·cumaing, ·coimnacuir § 830</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DEUTEROTONIC

\[
\begin{align*}
con\text{-}imchlaí & \ 'exchanges' \\
con\text{-}osna & \ 'rests' \\
con\text{-}tibi & \ 'mocks' \\
do\text{-}beir & \ 'gives', \ do\text{-}rat \\
do\text{-}coid & \ 'has gone' \\
do\text{-}dona & \ 'consoles' \\
do\text{-}essim & \ 'sheds' \\
do\text{-}fonig & \ 'washes (off)' \\
do\text{-}formaid & \ 'increases' \\
do\text{-}fúarat & \ 'remains over' \\
do\text{-}fúasailci & \ 'looses' \\
du\text{-}furcaib & \ 'raises' \\
do\text{-}gailtha & \ 'deceives' \\
do\text{-}gni & \ 'does', \ with \ ro : \\
do\text{-}róin(a)i & \\
do\text{-}opir & \ 'defrauds' \\
do\text{-}rósc(a)idi\text{-}róscai & \ 'surpasses' \\
eter\text{-}scaraetir\text{-}scara & \ 'separates' \\
fris\text{-}gair & \ 'answers' \\
friss\text{-}oirc & \ 'injures' \\
farmi\text{-}foig & \ 'asks, inquires' \\
im\text{-}rádi & \ 'thinks' \\
im\text{-}soi & \ 'turns' \\
in(n)\text{-}árban & \ 'expels' \\
in\text{-}snaid & \ 'grafts' \\
ocu\text{-}ben & \ 'touche' \\
remi\text{-}suidigedar & \ 'places before' \\
sechmo\text{-}ellasechmi\text{-}ella & \ 'passes by' \\
tarmi\text{-}beir, \ tremi\text{-}beir & \ 'transfers' \\
tremi\text{-}feidligedar & \ 'perseveres' \\
tris\text{-}gata & \ 'pierces'
\end{align*}
\]

PROTOTONIC

\[
\begin{align*}
\cdot coimchlaí & § 830 \\
\cdot cumsana & § 830 \\
\cdot cuitbi & § 830 \\
\cdot tab(a)ir, \ \cdot tarat & § 855 \\
\cdot dechuid & § 831 \\
\cdot didna & § 831 \\
\cdot tessim & § 831 \\
\cdot diúnic & § 831 \\
\cdot tórmaig & § 855 \\
\cdot diurat & § 849 \\
\cdot túsailci & § 849 \\
\cdot turgaib & § 849 \\
\cdot togaitha & § 855 \\
\cdot dén(a)i, \ \cdot dern(a)í & § 831 \\
\cdot diupir & § 831 \\
\cdot derscaigí & § 831 \\
\cdot etarscara & § 835 \\
\cdot frecair & § 839. \\
\cdot frithoirc (Fr. fridoire) & § 839 \\
\cdot larfaig & § 840 \\
\cdot imbráidi imbrádi & § 841 \\
\cdot impái & § 841 \\
\end{align*}
\]

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 túaithe 'north of' and des(s) (tess) 'south of', with the ace.; e.g. túaithe críca Cuire 'north of Corc's territories' LL 50 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) Argatnéul 'in the plain south of Argatnéul' (? Imram Brain I. 7 § 8, where, however, Meyer translates: 'in southern Mag Argatnéul'. 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 ni-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 rígthige '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.

i n-arrrad '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°1, dag (read dág) Wb. 5°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 -dógaid? acc. of 'di-áigid) '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 béláib '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).

cuit 'part, share': ar chuit 'as regards, as for'

cúl 'back': iar cúl 'behind', for cúlu 'behind' (direction); luid in grían for-a cúlu 'the sun went backwards' Ml. 16°10.

dead, diad 'end': i n-dead, i n-diad 'after'

éis 'track': do, di éis ' (to remain on) after (someone)', tar (dar) éis(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 °14.

NEGATIVES

nī + U+036, nī + ċon

860. The ordinary negative in both principal and subordinate clauses, apart from the cases 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°20. Only when it is desired to lay special emphasis on the negatived 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-sí as·biur-sa in so 'it is not because of envy of you (that) I say this' Wb. 12 °29.
For *nī + :... nech 'no one' see § 489. For the form of the infixed pronoun after *nī + see § 411; for the forms of the copula, § 794 ff.

861. In principal clauses *nī + is very often replaced by *nī + *con. This negative lenites in Wb. and Sg.; e.g. *nicon-chloor 'let me not hear' Wb. 23*41, cp. 2*21, 19*10, 30*4, Sg. 188*4. In Ml. it nasalizes t- in *nicon-dét 'it does not go' (cp. *connaconi + nī- § 896).

Before an infixed pronoun it is first found in Ml. (§ 420). In the Glosses it does not appear before forms of the copula; but *nī + *con is used (like *nī + ḫ) for 'is not' in Fél. 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 + *con would then have arisen as the counterpart of the common *nī nād ' (it is) not that', e.g. *nī nād-m-bia cumscugud 'not that there will not be a change' Wb. 13*17. This explanation seems to be contradicted by the lenition that normally follows *nī + *con; 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 + -ro- (§ 234. 2).

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*nā + , nā + ḫ, nā + ḍ, nacon, etc.

862. Before the imperative the negative is *nā + (geminating), before infixed pronouns *nā + ḫ- (§ 419); e.g. *na-cuindig 'seek not', nachib-berar 'be ye not borne'.

On the other hand, the jussive subjunctive has *nī + ḫ or *nī + *con; e.g. *ni-gessid 'ye shall not pray' Wb. 26*34 (ipv. *na-gudid); cp. *nicon-chloor § 861; *nī-ro-ḥéla 'may it not escape' 30*10.

863. In leniting and nasalizing relative clauses (§ 493 ff.), and after the interrogative particle in (§ 463), the negative is *nā + ḍ (conjunct particle), before forms of the copula (other than the 3 sg. pres. ind.) *nā + ḍ before infixed pronouns *nā + ḫ-. If followed immediately by the verbal particle *ro it appears either as *nā + ḍ with the stress falling on *ro, or as *na with *ro attached in enclisis.

Moreover, the forms *nā + ḍ and *nā + ḫ are always used after the conjunctions *ara" (§ 898), co" (§ 896 f.), and a" 'when, while' (§ 890), with which they combine to give respectively *arnā· arna-, *conna· cona- (arnach-, connach-), *anna· anaā; 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*24.

For the forms with infixed pronouns, including nad-id: beside nach-, nachid-, na-n-d-, etc., see § 419; for the forms with the 3 sg. of the copula *nā + ḍ, nan(t), *nā + ḍ, *nā + (i)ch, connách, subj. nadip and nap, §§ 797, 803.

Examples: *nahí nad-chrenat 'those who do not buy' Wb. 10*7; *amal nād-n-déni 'as it does not make' Sg. 63*17; in-nād-cúalaid-si 'have ye not heard?' Wb. 5*21; *aimser nāmba lóbur 'a time that he will not be feeble' 6*15; *nad-rognatha 'which have not been done' Ml. 115*4; na-ro-pridchissem-ni 'which we have not preached' Wb. 17b*1; ro-boí du chensí Daudí conna-rogáid do díogal for Saul 'such was the clemency of David that he did not pray to God for vengeance on Saul' Ml. 55*4; *dinad-ricthe nech 'of which some one shall not have been saved' Wb. 28*1.

In Ml. 128*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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*nà + áigder 'in which are not feared' beside inná-féra flechod 'in which it does not rain' SP. (Thes. II. 294, 15). There are also sporadic instances of *na- (not nad-) for *arnná 'lest' and *con(n)a- 'so that not'.
na-imroimser 'lest thou sin' Wb. 20°4; nachin-rogbu úall 'that pride may not seize us' 15°40; na-biam i n-gorti beside conna-biam i n-gorti 'so that we shall not be in hunger' 16°9-8.

nad (with the 3 sg. of the copula n§sch) may also introduce replies; e.g. 'da-bér (read do-bér) séotu dait. Nad-gébb-sa ón.' 'I will give thee treasures.' 'I will not take that.' LU 5806.


864. In the same way as ní + con is used beside ní + (§ 861), nad-con (in leniting relative clauses also nad-chon) appears beside nā + d, rarely in Wb., oftener in Ml.; similarly con(n)ac(c)on, arnacon (also connachon, arnachon) beside con(n)a, arna; e.g. nem nad-chon-rícchar 'a poison which cannot be healed' Ml. 33°10. We find nacon also after a preposition with the relative particle; e.g. dinacon-bí 'from which is not wont to be' ML. 85°7, tech asnacon-damar cert (ceart MS.) 'a house out of which right is not granted' Laws v. 160, 4.

Collection of forms in Ml.: Ascoli, Archly. Glottolog. Ital., Suppl. II. 121. Cp. further the gloss on non

865. Parallel non-verbal words or phrases in a negative clause are usually linked by nā + (geminating), before procitics nach. Examples: ní-frithalim-se rucai na-mmbeul 'I do not expect shame or disgrace' Ml. 49°3; conna-biam i n-gorti na nochti 'so that we shall not be in hunger or nakedness' Wb. 16°8; nachab-ticed for rí nach far túad '(they believed) that neither your king nor your people would come to you' Ml. 46°14.

But such words or phrases may also be linked together by the ordinary disjunctive nó 'or' (§ 885); e.g. ní hó mud neiṛt nó chaíne do·gairem-ni noíbu 'not after the manner of (their) strength or beauty do we name the saints' Ml. 37°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 diupartá '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 ní + 'was used (e.g. Wb. 6°22), or ocus was placed in front of the negative na (with the copula nā + (i)ch); e.g. ní ind fessin eirbhí ocus Nach do do-aisibí na-nní do-gní 'it is not in himself that he trusts and it is not to himself that he ascribes whatever he does' Ml. 51°12.

For later examples of ocus na, cp. Pedersen II. 254 (Ped.2 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:

a. na-thó (in later texts also ni-thó), the contrary of tó 'yes'; e.g. hi. (read in · ?) pridchabat? 'nathó' ol Póil. 'Shall they preach? 'Nay', saith Paul' Wb. 13°13.

b. 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 + fn didiu fa nacc 'is it through it (fem.) then indeed or not?' Wb. 2°4; no. scrútain-se . . . in-ru·etarscar fa naic 'I used to examine . . . whether it had departed or not?' Ml. 91°1. Cp. also air nirbu chumachtach-som, nacce 'for he was not powerful, nay!' Ml. 72°4.

Cp. further the gloss on non de nihiló Ml. 75°20: ni dí nacca dim.i. acht is du dim 'it is not of a nonthing, i.e. but it is of a thing', as against it nephdimdi 'nihil (sunt)' 130°7 (cp. § 874).

c. 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' Ml. 44°10-11.

In one instance náde does not appear to have a negative meaning: in inonn less parbulus et nutrix? náde æ + fn, is inonn 'Is paruulus the same as nutrix according to him? Verily, it is the same' Wb. 24°11. On
the other hand, there are some examples in which *ate (adde)* is possibly, though not necessarily, negative; cp. ML. 114*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*17*.

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ANALYSIS OF THE NEGATIVE FORMS

For the vocalism of *nī + ̆* 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. *nā, 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*" 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 relatival 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 sīi* 'yea verily, it is ye' Wb. 25*13*; *numquid egemus?* gl. *taccu, ni·adilgnimar* 'nay, we need not.' 15*2 (ep. 19*18*).

COMPOSITION FORMS OF THE NEGATIVE

869. 1. The Irish forms descended from the IndoEuropean negative prefix *n +* (Britannic and Gaul. *an-*, Skt. *a- an-*, Gk. *ἀ-, ἄ-, ἐ-, ῥ-*, 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*

"ignorant person" § 267), *ancretem* and *am(a)ires* 'unbelief', *anfochell* 'carelessness', *ancride* 'injustice' (to *cride* 'heart'), *a(i)mles* 'disadvantage'.

870. IE. *n +* 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 fial 'modest', is regular. In general, however, f is written; e.g. an-fir 'untrue', anfius, anfoirthte, 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-ulach 'beardless'.

This is the usual form before r, l, n; e.g. am-réd '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)ntrecht 'injustice, illegal claim' Laws.

In Welsh, too, am- 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 mb 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 'improbous'.

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').

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 inglán 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 écsamulus), Mod.Ir. éagsamhail; é-toich 'improper'; é-tromm étrumm 'light' (tromm 'heavy') Mod.Ir. éadtrum; éscid 'alert' (scéith 'weary'). But before nouns with initial c. we find mostly an -: an-cretem 'unbelief' (adj. ancreitmech), an-críde § 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 ecra(e) § 834A) 'enemy'; én(a)irt 'infirm' (nert 'strength'); es(s)am(a)in 'fearless' (omun, ómun 'fear'), cp. Mid.W. ehoñyn, Gaul. Exomnus Exobnus; dinnim 'careless' (snim 'care'); díthrub díthrab 'desert' (treb 'dwelling'); deserdi (s = s) '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 falsub . . . nebchretem an-ad-ladar di Christ 'it is the custom of philosophers . . . not to believe (lit. 'non-belief') what is declared of Christ' Wb. 27a10; ancretm 'unbelief' (§ 869) could not take any such complement. Similarly nephis (neph-f + iš) ocus nephetarctaenia inna
timnae n-dlade '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; nephatdánigthe 'not remunerated' Mi. 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 nephlax 'inremissus' Mi. 134a4; nebleisc 'non pigri' Wb. 5d17; nephni (to ni 'something' § 489), which repeatedly glosses nihil in Mi.; bid túa do 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 negatived by the preposition cen (§ 827), lit. 'without'. Examples: is ingir lem cen chrétim dúib, 'it grieves me that ye do not believe' Wb. 4b28; cid atob·aich cen dílgud cech ancridi '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 cenmithá, § 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(uídithi) sidi leo 'as in their opinion these are not compounded' Sg. 201b12; similarly indas 'kind' Mi. 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 riam hi tempul 'as they had formerly been in the Temple' Mi. 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*, *dú i*. The same construction is common with *méit 'amount, size'; e.g. méit as *i·do scribund* 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).

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", *ara", *cía*. Cp. also § 503).

The following is an alphabetical list of the conjunctions discussed:

- *a*, § 890
- *acht*, §§ 908, 904
- *adas*, § 909
- *airc*, *airg*(g) § 886
- *ara", *arnā + , *arnac(h)on*, § 898
- *ba", *bá*, §§ 464, 910
- *cammaib", *camaiph*, § 907
- *céin", *cé(i)ne*, § 892
- *-ch*, § 880
- *co","*coni", §§ 896, 897
- *danau", *daniu", *daneu", *dano", *dana*, § 900
- *dia", §§ 889, 903
- *emid*, § 884
- *fa", *fá*, §§ 464, 910
- *fo bith*, § 905
- *immurgu*, § 907
- *indid", *indat", *innách*, § 905
- *in tain", *in tan*, § 888
- *ísindí", § 891
- *las(s)e*, § 891
- *nā + , *nach*, § 886
- *nō + , *nū + , §§ 885, 910
- *(h) ó*, § 893
- *ol*, § 905
- *os*, § 878
- *robo", *robu", *rodbo", *rodbu*, § 886
- *scéo", *scéu*, § 879
- *siú*, § 895
- *abamin", *afameinn*, § 899.
- *acus*, § 878
- *air", *ar*, § 906
- *amal*, § 911
- *arindi*, § 905
- *calléic*, § 880
- *ce", *ceni*, § 909
- *cennithá*, § 887
- *cía", *ci", *cini", *cid*, §§ 909, 910
- *co", *con", *con(n)a", *con(n)acon", *connachon*, §§ 896, 897
- *dég*, § 905
- *didiu", *didu*, § 901
- *eter", *etir... ocus*, § 881
- *feib", *fib", *flu*, § 911
- *iarsindí*, § 894
- *in... in", *in... fa*, § 910
- *inge*, § 908
- *is*, § 878
- *iter... ocus*, § 881
- *mā + , *mani*, §§ 902, 908, 909
- *neoch ma", *i-nneoch ma*, § 902
- *noch*, § 880
- *ocus", *ocuis", §§ 878, 911
- *(h) óre", § 905
- *resiú", *risiú*, § 895
- *(h) úre", § 905
- *(h) úare", § 905
- *(h) úare", § 905
- *(h) úar", § 905
- *(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 ך 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 oculus 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 ך 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 ך is imétrom ך is sídamail in tuarasbail 'fine, light, and peaceful is the description' LL 266a33 f.; ba scíth ך ba torsech ך ba mertrech (read mertnech) 'he was weary, sad, and depressed' LU 9098.

In the rare exceptions, like lethán dóib ar thús in drochet, cóel ך 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 taircitul 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.

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' Ält. 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 infixed 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 ri 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, am 'indeed' (Wb. 5a18, Sg. 121b1), immurgu 'however' (Ml. 16d2, 74a2, Sg. 66b14), or calléic 'yet, nevertheless,' (Ml. 31b24). Examples: 'Anchises' ergo 'Anchisades' debuit facere, fecit autem 'Anchisiades', quasi ab 'Anchisios' nominativu gl. amal no-bed, noch ni-fail 'as if it were; yet it is not' Sg. 32a1; nam et ego Israhelita sum gl. noch æ + m am israhéide 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.

-čh corresponds to Lat. -que, Gk. τε, Skt. ca, etc.; cp. Gaul. eti-c, 'and

also'. So too *noch* may consist of -čh 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 ocul and governed by the preposition etet iter etir (§ 835), which precedes the first of them. Cp. the gloss on per tractus terrae Ml. 140a2: etir réid ɣamréid ɣetir fán ɣ ardd 'both level and unlevel, both valley and height'; cense fre căch eter carit et escarit 'gentleness towards everyone, both friend and foe', Wb. 30b27; di-rróggl ochter n-Achid cona sèll iter fid ɣmag ɣ 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-comachtmar-ní '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 ìres 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 foircldi 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 -čh. The first element is not clear; possibly se 'this' (§ 477 f.)

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 experundi (austera) quam (ob ea ipsa libere) conquirendi gl. emid du-scéula, emid ara-n-egea 'as well that he may experience as that he may lament' (as though the lemma were conquereendi) Ml. 95'4, 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 preceptór i n-æclis no thrii 'two preachers in a church, or three, are enough' Wb. 13'9.

The O.Bret. form nou, W. neu, points to *now[e] from *nē-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 día adíroni . . . t is hé som ad-róni do díə 'either it is God who has committed . . . or it is he who has committed to God' Wb. 29'29. 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. cenmithá 'besides that' (cp. § 775) may be followed either by a principal clause (as in Sg. 3°15) or by a nasalizing relative clause: cenmithá ara-n-ecatar coitchena in -or da(no) 'besides that common nouns in -or are also found' Sg. 65°11.

For dano 'also', see § 900.

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. tēlt spiritus ar n-ēnirti-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°27; in tan do-rolaig diá 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°15.

For 'whenever' nach tan is used, e.g. Ml. 58°5, etc.

889. dia' (i.e. di-a' § 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 (§ 473), neg. an(n)a, with ro: arru-, arru-, before a nasalizing relative clause indicates contemporaneousness, and is often used to paraphrase Latin participles. Examples: quia nuper cum Ebreo disputans quaedam testimonia protulisti gl. arru-cestaiger frissin n-Ebride 'while thou didst dispute with the Hebrew' Ml. 2°3; (facile) cantato (ipso mense apparebit) gl. am-bas céte 'when it shall have been sung' Thes. II. 17, 34.

an for a before c-, Ml. 39°11.

891. Simultaneous action is also indicated by la-se, lasse (§ 480), lit. 'with this (that)'; e.g. (psalmus Dauid) cure persequebatur (a filio suo) gl. lasse du-sente 'when he was being pursued' Ml. 142°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°11.

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 chūrsachta, lase fo-ruillecta béoil in chalich di mil cosse anall 'herein, then, he comes into contact with the bitter drink of the reproval, whereas the lips of the chalice have hitherto been smeared with honey' Wb. 7°9.

Occasionally isindí, lit. 'in that (that)', may also have instrumental force, e.g. Wb. 15°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\(^*\)23; *céine no-solfe-siu húaim* 'so long as Thou wilt turn from me' Ml. 33\(^*\). 892.

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\(^*\)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\(^*\)11 (*ad·cuaid* is perfect of *ad·fét*, § 533.).

894. 'After' can also be expressed by *íarsindí* (§ 474, 1), which as a rule, like *resíu* (§ 895), is not followed by a nasalizing relative clause (cp., however, Ml. 125\(^*\)9); e.g. *íarsindí dob·roíga-sa* 'after I had chosen you' Ml. 103\(^*\)15. Cp. *íarsindí batir inricci* 'after they were worthy' Wb. 5\(^*\)14, with the preterite, not the perfect, of the copula; similarly Ml. 21\(^*\). 894.

895. *resíu, risíu* '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.).

Examples: *molid resíu ro·cúrsacha* 'he praises before he reprimands' Wb. 4\(^*\)2; *resíu rís-sa* 'before I come' Wb. 14\(^*\)17.

The use of *síu* alone in this sense—e.g, *cid síu tísed 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* (§ 473.), also *con* (abbreviated ∤, 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* 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 'con* is also found at times. On the other hand, where the whole sentence is translated, 2. *co 'con* is nearly always used. Exceptions are very rare; e.g. Wb. 21\(^*\)9, where *creati in Christo Jesu in operibus bonis quae praeparavit 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 ludeu, coni·cloitis 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\(^*\)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\(^*\)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* 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\textsuperscript{a}13, Ml. 23\textsuperscript{*}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 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-i-gestais Ml. 131\textsuperscript{a}13, con-dánice Wb. 3\textsuperscript{*}27 (tánice), con-dositis 5\textsuperscript{a}11; even con-n-étá Ml. 32\textsuperscript{a}15, cp. conacon-n-ármadatar 54\textsuperscript{a}17.

897. Examples:

a. 'until': nipo irgnae con-tánicc lex 'it was not evident till (the) Law came' Wb. 3\textsuperscript{*}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-sc Harfom in cruth-sa co-ruc-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. coni-coímnacuir 'so that he could not' Ml. 116\textsuperscript{a}5; ni-fil ainm n-Assar isint salm, co-n-eperthe is dib 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\textsuperscript{a}8.

Where co 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\textsuperscript{a}16: combad notire rod-scribad 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\textsuperscript{a}9.

In narrative texts co '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\textsuperscript{*}10:

898. The most frequent final conjunction is ara' (i.e. ar-\textsuperscript{a}§ 823, conjunct particle), neg. arnā + , arnacon arnachon, which always takes the subjunctive. For the forms with the copula, such as arimp arim, arindib arindip, armbad armad, airdis 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\textsuperscript{*}20; is dobar tinchosc, ara-n-dernaid an-do-gniam-ni et arna-dernaid 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\textsuperscript{*}24 (perfectivc subj. of wish, § 531, 3).
ara" is also used, like co,

as an explicative conjunction, not only in clauses with final meaning like

as-rubart día friu-som ara·celebartis a sollumnu 'God has said to them that they should celebrate His

feasts' Ml. 102°3, but also in ni·torménmar-ní ara·m-betis in gnimai-sin 'we had not thought that those

deeds would be' 115°1.

899. An independent optative clause can be constructed either with the perfective subjunctive alone (§

531, 3) or with afameinn (Sg. 207°14), abamin, followed by the past subj. without ro; e.g. abamin for-n-

aidminite 'would that thou wouldst call to mind' Sg. 161°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 då 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°18) as dana; in Ml. as danau 37°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°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' Ml. 50°d10.

Probable from di-an-šiu, cp. §483.

901. Similarly the weakly stressed particles didiu, didu and trá (Ml. 42°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°10;

nitat torbi

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 besides 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, matís, see §§ 793, 796, 805, 807.

III. CONDITIONAL CONJUNCTINS
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. 25'30; mani-pridag at-bél ar gorti 'if I do not i.e. shall not) preach I shall die of hunger' 10'24; ni tairmthecht rechto mani·airgara recht 'it is no transgression of (the) Law unless (the) Law forbid' (generalizing clause) 2'18; maris tuicsi ní·rigad (rigad MS.) 'if they had been elect, it (the vengeance) would not have fallen (lit. 'gone')' 11'22.

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. 13'12.

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

dia·mmaldachae; ni lour dano in nebmaldaohad mani·bendachae 'it is not enough to bless if thou curse; nor is it enough not to curse if thou bless not' Wb. 5'23.

904. acht followed by the perfective subjunctive means 'if only, provided that'; e.g. bith and beos acht ropo i tuil dée 'let him still abide therein provided it be in God's will' Wb. 10'25. But where an impossible condition is implied, the subjunctive without ro is used (§ 530); e.g. acht ní-baird úall and 'if only there were no pride in it' 10'27.

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'. Co alone occurs apparently in this sense Fél. 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, hűare (for the construction see §§ 497a, 505). Example: is airi do-roigu dia geinti hóre nárbu bae la Iudeu creitem 'therefore hath God chosen the Gentiles because the Jews deemed belief of no account' Wb. 5'12.

Less frequently we find such clauses introduced by fo bith, dég (§ 858), and ol (neg. ol ni; olais for ol is Thes. II. 296, 9). Examples: fo bith is taipe in so 'since this is a fragment' Ml. 14'4; dég rombu écndairc dó 'since he was absent from him' Sg. 148'6; ol is amein 'since it is so' Wb. 6'8.

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. 3'13. 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. 5'34: indat Iudei itir–rosca(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
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 camaih (occasionally carnai, e.g. Wb. 3(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. 209a, where it lenites), the second never. The two may also appear together: camaih im(murgu) Sg. 9a22.

Examples: ham si orem lingua, spiritus meus orat, mens autem mea sine fructu est gl. ní-thucci mo menne im(murgu) 'yet my mind does not understand it' Wb. 12d11; ceso comprehensio literarum, as-berr camaih 'although (a syllable) is a comprehensio litterarum, nevertheless (a single vowel) is so called' Sg. 21a.

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 + ̄, which is really the compendium for Lat. sed) corresponds etymologically to Gk. ἕκτος 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 diá 'there is no care upon him except serving God' Wb. 10(9); ní-rádat-som acht bréie γτογάις (accusative) 'they speak only lying and deceit' Ml. 31(18). It can be strengthened by the addition of nammá, which follows the word it refers to; e.g. acht compart neut. nammá, lit. '(it is not found) outside the neuter comparative only' Sg. 41a8. The combination acht naming renders Lat. nisi forte Wb. 9(2)1, 12(3)2.

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-légisat canóin amal runda-légsam-ní, acht ronda-salbset-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(2)4; acht maire a clocha 'save that its (fem.) stones remain'. Fél. Prol. 194. In the same sense we find acht mà (e.g. Wb. 5(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 cosmulius delbe 'it is not an image they have adored, but it is the likeness of an image' Wb. 1(1)19.

inge (see § 843.) is used as a synonym for acht: inge má 'unless' Sg. 75(5), TBC. 265, 1244; inge in tan 'except when' Sg. 25(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. ceni, 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, cendi, cid ced, cit, cetis, cepu ciabo, ciaptar, see §§ 793, 796, 805, 807, 810; cp. also the negative cin-bat Wb. 4(6).
Examples: *cía rud-chúalatar ilbélre 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°28; *ci as-bera nech ropia (= rob-bia) nem cia du-gneid na rétu-sa, nipa fir* 'though any one say ye shall have Heaven though ye do these things, it will not be true' 22°23; *cí*

*chon-desin far súli, dos-m-bérthe dom* 'though I had asked for your eyes, ye would have given them to me' 19°24.

So too we often find *cid* (i.e. *cia* 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°10; *bieit cit geinti hiressich* 'there will even be faithful Gentiles' 4°36; and also *ro-batar cid ferte dia imthrenugud* 'there have even been miracles to confirm it' 24°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°12.

*cia* 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°4; *deithbir ci as-berthar casus nominatiuus* 'it is reasonable that one should say *casus nominatus*' Sg. 71°90.

In the combination *adas cía* Wb. 3°2, *Ml. 68°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°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-roilet, ciní-árisrer* 'whether they deserve it or not' Wb. 31°23; *i-m-bem i m-bethu, i-m-bem i m-báis, bad les-som* 'whether we be in life or in death, let it be with Him' 25°12; *omnis pars orationis quocunque modo deriuata, gl. im trí digbúil fa thórmach in dir-suidigud* 'whether the derivation be through diminution or increase' Sg. 188°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°15.

More rarely we find *cith . . . no (nu)* Cam. 37d (Thes. II. 245, 36), also *cid . . . nó cid* Ml. 145°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 the MSS.; cp. the preposition § 826. For the construction after it see §§ 498, 505. Examples: *ara-n-déna aith[rl]gi, amal dund-rigni Ezechias* 'that he may practise repentance as E. has practised it' Ml. 51°16; *sed (p) quasi consonanti digamma praepone recusantes gl. amal bith do chonsain, amal as i-di* 'as though it were to a consonant, (or) as it is to it' Sg. 9°11.

*feib* (fib Wb. 23°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°3. The cognate adj. *flu* '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-ní na rúna diadi et ad-cíi nech ní tri scáth 'we see the divine mysteries in the same way as one sees something through a mirror' Wb. 12'11 (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' 11'13; with the prep. fri: níta chumme-se friu-som 'I am not the same as they' 20'25.

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.

Relative clauses referring to a definite word usually come immediately after it. Accordingly we often find either the relative clause inserted ill tile 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. 8'10; connaro-gáid do dia digest for Saul inna n-ölc do·rigéniside fris 'so that he did not pray to God for vengeance on Saul for the evils he had done to him' Ml. 55'4, where the genitive inna n-ölc is separated from digest, 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 maíc-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. 33'8; atluchur do dia ce ru·báid fo pheccad nachib·fel 'I give thanks to God that, though ye were under sin, ye are not' Wb. 3'19. 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 diabul '(it is) meet, then, that they who have not accepted existence in gloria Christi should be in punishment with the devil' Wb. 26'23. Exceptionally we find in such periods a conditional clause placed at the end as a kind of supplement; e.g. is têchta cia imáána bóaire cid lóg secht cumal do t[h]arcud a c[h]uip fadesin . . . mad orba do·síl (read ·síl ?) '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 dúís appears before the principal clause in Ml. 35'24.

**APPENDIX FORM AND FLEXION OF LOAN-WORDS IN OLD IRISH**

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 in 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',

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. cebystyr; mod 'modus' W. madd (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 y 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 'stratutura, pack-saddle' (the a perhaps by analogy with srath 'valley bottom'), peccath peccad 'peccatum', tiach 'theca', mindech 'mendicus',

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 'scripulus (-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 syncpe did final -nt appear in native words, hence we find forms like aiccent, argumind beside aiccent, argumint 'accentus', 'argumentum'. So too the absence of n̄k in Irish accounts for ung(a)e 'uncia', as well as for caingel 'cancella (-illi)' and ingor 'ancora' (cp. in-gor 'unduteous'), although the Britannic forms of the last two words are also based on -ng- --Mid.W. kagell kangel (= kanell), Bret. kael; O.Bret. aior (from *añor)--and it is not certain that these have been influenced by the Irish forms.

ingcert Ml. 61'15 reproduces according to Irish orthography the Latin pronunciation of incert(um). The form ingchis (read -is) 'incensum, incense' Ml. 141'2 shows the scribe hesitating between the Latin and Irish pronunciations, the second of which is represented by later attested in-chis, with n, not n̄ (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. scrib(a)id 'scribit', Mod.Ir. scriobhaidh; léigaid 'legit', Mod.Ir. léighidh; mod 'modus', Mod.Ir. modh.

In martarlaic 'martyrologium' (Fél.), fetarlaic(c) (nom. sg., later attested), gen. fetarlic(c)e fetari(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. segyrrfyc) 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 abggitir (pl. aggitri) '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,

they are replaced by c and t; e.g. cárachtar 'character'. Crést 'Christus', tiach 'theca', teoir teuir 'theoria'; cp. sciam '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, -o, 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', fine 'uinea', nouns with suffix -ire = -ārius (§ 269), and Mid.Ir. ortha 'oratio' pointing to OL. 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 Britannic. Examples: oróit 'oratio'; féil 'uigilia', 'feast', W. gwy; scrín 'scrinium', W. ysgrin; ecul(a)lis (c = g) 'ec(c)lesia', W. eglwys; hirón 'ironia'; sanctáir 'sanctuarium' (gl. sacrarium Sg. 33°6); accus (flexion § 302, 3.) 'cause', from late Lat. accusio (O.FR. acoison) for class, occasio, W. achaws; fis '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 olea 'oleum', doubtless a somewhat later borrowing, W. olew, Goth. alæw. Cp. also sa(i) le from saliua, W. haliw.

917. Certain Britannic 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,

Bret. koraz, as likewise in Ic. corgus, gen. corgais; and Ir. cencige Ériu VII. 150 § 36, cenciges KZ. XXXI. 239 (Arm.), for quinquagesima 'Pentecost', is a similar formation. capitilium 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. ult, penneult for ultima, paeneultima; adiecht, posit, comparit, super(a)it, opt(a)it, infinit for adiectium, positius, comparatius, etc. (on these is modelled the secondary formation indidit, gen. -deto, 'indicatius', from ind-fêd-; but genitii, gen. -ten, 'genitiuus'); oblae Thes. II. 252, 8, ablu 251, 10, for obla (Host), gen. oble 252, 19 but obbl 949, 26 (Arm.). 'febræ, gen. febræ (Fél.), 'febrarius', as against enaír 'ianuarius' or 'ienarius'.

The use of -ién (cp. Priscien = Priscianus) in septiën 'Septuagint' is peculiar. The same ending appears in firiën beside firián, firión 'just' (gen. sg. and nom.pl, firién, firián, firión) from W. gwirion; the abstract noun férinne has probably been influenced by inne 'sense'.

918. In general, Britannic influence must always be reckoned with. Ir. pennit 'penitence' obviously corresponds to W. pensyd. 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, accidit for abstinencia and accidentia (also accidentes). In stoir 'historia' (h)i- has been lost, as in Bret. ster 'sense' (the y- of W. ystyr is a later development). The diphthong in cathair 'cathedra' is undoubtedly taken from Britannic (Mid.W. cateir). The vocalism of laubir lebuir 'labor' (§ 80c) indicates that the second syllable formerly had u, cp. W. llafur from labôr-. The formation of pôlire for pugillare, -res, -ria 'writing tablet' likewise recalls Britannic 'poullôr, Mid.W. peullawr. Already in the Britannic period septimana 'week' had been assimilated to the Celtic numeral 'seven' (cp. Bret. sizun suzun, Corn. seithun sythyn, beside Bret. sez, Corn. seith 'seven'); O.Ir. sechtmon, gen. sechtmaine, is likewise assimilated to secht.

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 Félire, 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, amein 'so' (§ 40) corresponds to Gk. μήνυv.

This led to syncope of interior vowels both in words borrowed before the time of syncope and ill subsequent borrowings which were assimilated to Irish models; e.g. apstal, abstal 'apostolus', epscop 'episcopus', felsub 'philosophus', etc. In montar and munter (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'; cu(i)the 'puteus, pit'; cland 'plant, plant, children', like W. *plant*; cascall 'planta, plant, children', like W. *plant*.

The same substitution probably occurs in *cíchnaigistir* gl. *striderat* Sg. 152 b2, cp. OW. *pipenn*, Mod.W. *piben* 'pipe'; *cúanéne* gl. *pugil* (taken to be *pugillus*) Sg. 50 a12; *cann*, Mid.W. *pann*, 'cup', Late Lat. *panna* from *patina* (cp. Loth, RC. XLII. 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 Britannic words. This is borne out by the Ogam form of *cruimther* 'priest' (§ 223), probably also

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 Blanfallteg 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 Ogam VOTEQO of *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. *preceupt, preciupt* Ml. (declined as a feminine a-stem) beside *precept* 'praecptum, 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 a2 for *póc* 'kiss'; *bellec* Thes. II. 226, 29 for *pellic* 'small bag' (cp. Lat. *pellicus*). 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 Britannic; 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-diil* 'of the fourth declension' Sg. 187 a1.

**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. *suirrn*, 'furnus', W. *ffwrn*; *senest(er)* Sg. 62 a1, pl. *senistri*, 'fenestra', W. *ffnestr*; *slécht(a)id* 'flectit, genuflects'; *sriān* 'frenum', W. *ffrwyn*; *srogell* 'flagellum (fragellum)', W. *ffrewyll*; *seib*, gen. *sebe*, 'faba', W. *ffa* (the Irish form goes back, perhaps, to a Britannic plural with umlaut *febb*); later attested *sūist súst* '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

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 s-; cp. gen. int suirnn Ml. 121'14. dat. du saint 90'9.

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 seboc(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 Historic 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: fin 'uinum', W. gwin; fiurt 'uirtus, miracle', W. gwyrth; fial 'uellum, veil'; cp. the borrowings from Britannic: foich 'wasp', O.Bret. guohi W. gwychi 'drones', O.Corn. guhi-enn 'uespa'; firiön, 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 Fél. Aug. 11.

Latin consonantal u combines with a to give the diphthong au (Dauid § 205, 1). After e, however, it is lost in ré(a)jíd 'reuelat', from which would seem to be derived the adj. réil

-'manifest', influenced, perhaps, in its form by réid 'even' and lénir 'zealous' (otherwise Loth, RC. XXXVI. 232). Final b (= ß) 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 creadal 'credulus, religious', with ë by analogy with creetid 'believes'. To the Britannic pronunciation of Latin is doubtless due the representation of the preposition prae- by pre-: precept 'praecptum, sermon', like W. pregeth; predchid (and pridchid) 'praedicat, preaches', like Breton prezek 'to preach'. But elsewhere, too, ae becomes Ir. é: ceist 'quaestio', demon ' daemon'. Cp. further spirít 'spiritus', ácher 'ácer', where the short quantity is attested by later poetry; scrapel 'scripulus (-um)'.

Long vowels for short: cárachtar (dat.pl. cáechtaeilb Sg. 3b27) 'chāracter'; barbär 'barbārus' Wb. 12'6; Etáil 'Itālia' 6'17, etc.; Pátr(a)icc 'Patricius' (d established by rhyme as early as Fél. April 14); lég(a)jíd 'liggit', doubtless after scrib(a)jíd 'scribit' (possibly supported by liacht, liachtu 'lēctio'); árc (acc. áirc Ml. 83a4, gen. árcaei 82dl) 'ārca', after bārc 'bārca'; Crist 'CHRISTUS', after Ísu 'Īesus(?).
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' (ē also in W. mesur); membrum(m)

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'membrana', presumably after Lat. *membrum. (W. *memrwn is peculiar); carmocel 'carbunculus', after mocol 'macula, mesh'; sollumun 'sollenne' (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 Fél. p. 180) is a real word; sūg 'sucus', after sūgid 'sūgit' (both probably loan-words); am-prom 'improbus', promad 'probatio', with m after prim. 'primus'; mebuir 'memoria', with dissimilation of m--μ to m--β tinder the influence of mebul 'shame', etc.

séol 'sail', OE. segel, probably formed its nominative from the frequent genitive (crann, ben) síul ( < *sīyli) 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(I)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(l)enn 'molinum, mill', and in echtrann 'extraneus' (§ 140); but it appears also in cucann 'cicina (coquina)', moirtchenn 'morticianum'; cp. persann beside persan § 291, 2. Further, -ll in bachall 'world'; -ord in ord, ord, 'corpus, -oris'.

925. There is a marked tendency to transfer Latin loan-words to the i-stem class. In words like caindleóiir '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°4, augtor Ml. 44°19, acc. pl. auctaru 35°17), trindōit 'trinitas' W. trindod, digaim 'digamma', canóin 'canon', argument argumentum 'argumentum', clíir (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 á-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. á-stem) 'cross' (as instrument) for crux, crucis, after cloch fem. 'stone'; cross 'cross' (as symbol), gen. cruísse Thes. II. 254, 19, from nom. crux, after coss fem. 'foot'. Cp. further sacart, gen. sacairt sacaird, 'sacerdos, -dotis'; corp, gen. coírp, (mase. 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); genitu, gen. geniten, 'genitiuus' to the abstract nouns in -tiu, -ten (§ 730) precept, gen. precepte, 'praeeptum' 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°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 spirut 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'; mǐl, gen. mǐled, 'miles, -itis'.

926. Adjectives are usually given an Irish adjectival suffix; e.g. rómándae and rómánach 'Romanus'; gentlide 'gentilis', berensdæ 'Beroensis', and, modelled on this, eolensta 'Aeolicus' Sg. 31°18; æeptadce egiptacidæ 'Egyptiacus', on which are modelled moabacdai 'Moabite (pl.)' Ml. 78°10, in doracdid 'dorice'
Sg. 204§9. Forms without a suffix are rarer: lax *laxus*, negative neph lax; amprom *improb us*; credal *credulus*; ennac *innocuus* (innocens).

**CONJUGATION**

927. Borrowed verbs follow the a-flexion; thus not only ·táichta 'tractat', ·scrúta 'scrutat(ur)', ·réla 'reuelat', ·oina 'ieiunat', but also ·scriba 'scribit', ·léga 'legit', ·sléchta 'flectit'. In baitsid *baptizat* and oirdnid *ordinat*.

s and n are palatal only because of the syncope of i; cp. pret. 3 sg. ·baithess Trip. 160, 8, ·ordan Wb. II. 33§5. In predchid pridchid prithchid 'praedicat' the quality fluctuates; e.g. 3 sg. rel. usually pridchas prithchas, but pridches Wb. 23§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§8, vb.n. ongad.

adorare is sometimes treated as a simplex (e.g. 3 sg. rel. adras Wb. 9§33), but generally as a compound (in which, however, the o is short); e.g. 3 pl. perf. ad-r-orsat Wb. 1§19, ipf. ad-orda is Ml. 36§16. So too consecrare consacrare seems to be always treated as a compound; e.g. con-secra imm Sg. 24§5, cut·secar 'he consecrated it' Thes. II. 242, 8 (Arm.), perf. pass. (with -ad-, § 532) con-a·sée rad Corm. 892 (Laud). The 1 sg. form cosacr-sa Ml. 45§12 is an error for con-sacrub.

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TRANSLATORS’ NOTES

1.p.l 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. 1 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).


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.

10.p.34 1.4. In some of these examples the mark of length has apparently been misplaced. Thus in Ml. 20°13 the MS. has ni fú for ni fu; similarly 72°12, 15°3, and 52.

11.p.37 1.34. Add feuir Mi. 90°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°8), KZ. XLV. 76.

13.p.42 1.30 f. In such personal names, Mail, being unstressed, lost the second element of its diphthong and was shortened. It is this shortened form that is represented in Malmuru, Mælcolm, and Melpatrekir.


15.p.44 1.33. The usual form in the Glosses is coós; e.g. coís Wb. 2°16, cóís Sg. 77°4, cóisid ‘causatiuus’ 77°3.

16.p.48 1.4. For ‘Gaul.’ read ‘Gallo-Lat.’.

17.p.49 1.4. But cp. ar·robert (to ar·berta) p.333 1.31, unless we should read ar-ro·bert with unstressed to after a pretonic preposition (p.30 1.5).


20.p.57 1.2 f. Here, since imma is proclitic, the absence of the glide is quite regular, just as in inna-mmerbi 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, Ériu 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.


24.p.75 1.22. But see O’Rahilly, Ériu 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.
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, Ériú 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. Ériú 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°55; glénuicht (: chirp) SR. 1358; lemnaicht LB. 9°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°34.
38. p. 103 1.35. The form ·accu occurs LU 1513, also ·acciu 5347.
39. p. 104 1.24 f. In tan (tain) and fell (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°12, Tar. 105; but Petar Ml. 38°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°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°5, drúchta LU 7012; further drúchtach (: 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 Ériú XII. 196 f.

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.
54. p. 158 1.16. For early examples of the subjective gen. in this con struction see note 103. Cp. also oc in grimmim 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. leithēit (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.p.178 1.16. Voc. a popuil occurs Ml. 103a4.

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, enoch 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.


64.p.186 1.7. Add gen. sg. trinoit ZCP. VIII. 197 § 9.

65.p.186 1.13. mét also Sg. 49 15 and Thes. II. 11, 40.

66.p.192 1.32. Instead of DEGO (no. 88), Macalister (Corpus no. 197) now reads DEGOS.


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 fessaך nidad derba scela ... fer n-Erenn BB 9b20 = 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 (: mórƒ + eirg) LL 138a9.

70.p.197 1.9. Add nom. pl. cnoe Thes. II. 249, 7.


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) Fél. July 12, Rawl. 127b35, 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 Senchas 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.


81.p.216 1.36. Add masc. bái togaitig 'deceptive kine' Thes. II.6, 32.

82.p. 219 1.5. Read perhaps lán-brón[ach].

83.p.219 1.21. Also Dermait, 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 badít n-amhrathor Fianaig. 14 § 31, sét bat n-amradar 16 § 39 (cp. p.233 1.20), which belong to a different type.

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°23, but by a word never treated as enclitic, éttrumu doib de 83°11; (3) that if it were enclitic, and therefore incorporated with the comparative, the d = unlenited 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.


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. ailbéim.

104.p.279 1.23 (and p.281 1.23). tuí is the reading of YBL; cp. Ériu XII.180 § 10.

115.p.304 1.21. But ade is also used for the fem. sg. the example on next line (Ml. 32°22), also Ml. 137°5.


117.p.307 1.35. But alá-aili Mi. 89°9. Cp. further the open acc. pl. ala-ailliu Sg. 32°5.

118.p.308 1.5. Cp. ala n-aille cell 'of other churches' AU. 863 (recte 864).

119.p.309. 1.24. For the use of neoich or in-neoich 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-aidblí bríga p. 321 1.19.
123. p. 314 1.29. After a’, ani, '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 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 ı́r fess
‘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 obviously the antecedent as the object of the relative verb. The first is to be translated rather:
‘Fínnachta 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. 25716 (quoted p. 264 1.18), Ml. 142³4 (quoted p. 552 1.26), Tur. 134 (quoted p. 261 1.9), and Ml. 4844.
131. p. 331 1.31. See note 17.
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.
137. p. 370 1.22. In the archaic construction described § 513b the imperfect is used without no; cp. Ériu XII. 204.
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. tíasair ZCP. VII. 311 § 19.
142. p. 397 1.1. It should be noted that in cot · n-era the f has been assimilated to the preceding unlenited b; cp. § 137.
144. p. 412 1.16. Filargirus 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.

147. p. 421 1.25. Cp. also the Mid. Ir. perf. dorígni, etc., Wi. Táin p. 963.
149. p. 426 1.5. Add pret. 3 sg. ar · foet Ériu III. 140, 177, ar · foet Y Cymmrodor XIV. 118 § 19.
185.p.519 1.3. The modern form appears to be teaglamadh with unlenited m, influenced by teclaim, vb. n. of do · eclaim; 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-dich (from imm-dl-fich).
188.p.524 1.32. For the unvoicing of the dental in do · intarraí see note 106.
189.p.529 1.11. The modern form appears to be teaglamadh with unlenited m, influenced by teclaim, vb. n. of do · eclaim; cp. RIA. Contr. T, col. 105 f.
190.p.529 1.14. The MS. reading seems to be · ruar.
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.) Fél. Prol. 226; des Maig Murthemni LL 119a41.
195.p.541 1.30. The MS. reading seems to be · ruar.
196.p.543 1.13. Later spellings like ainbhfíor, ainbhfios, 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 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” 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 óndi 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.
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 Félire is largely optional, there is nothing to show that Ualerán is meant to alliterate with idan.
206.p.572 1.37. See note 44.

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